EVALUATION OF THE CANADA – NWT COOPERATION AGREEMENT FOR FRENCH AND ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN THE NWT

FINAL REPORT

PART I

Prepared for :

the Government of the Northwest Territories

Prepared by :

New Economy Development Group
Ottawa (Ontario)

December, 1993

EVALUATION OF THE CANADA – NWT COOPERATION AGREEMENT FOR FRENCH AND ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN THE NWT

FINAL REPORT

PART I

Prepared for :

the Government of the Northwest Territories

Prepared by :

New Economy Development Group
Ottawa (Ontario)

December, 1993

Table of Contents

PART I

PART II

List of Tables and Charts

PART I

Charts

PART II

Charts

List of Appendices

List of Abbreviations

APS	Statistics Canada's Aboriginal Peoples Survey
C&C	Culture and Communications
DBE	Divisional Board of Education
ECE	Department of Education Culture and Employment
FFT	Fédération Franco-TéNOise
FY	Fiscal Year
GNWT	Government of the Northwest Territories
I/T	Interpretation and Translation
IBC	Inuit Broadcasting Corporation
ICS	Inuvialuit Communications Society
KTEP	Keewatin Teacher Education Program
LS	Language Survey
NCS	Native Communications Society
NWT	Northwest Territories
SSTEP	South Slave Teacher Education Program
TLC	Teaching and Learning Centre

Glossary of Terms

Cluster sampling : A probability sampling design involving the random selection (sampling) of complete group of units (such as households, postal code blocks, and so on)

First language : The language for which the respondent has the most current oral or written fluency.

Language development : Development activities and programs are language-related programs and activities which are not specifically designed to address either revitalization or maintenance objectives, and which aim at supporting the access to and use of the Aboriginal languages. ,

Language learned as a child : The language first learned during childhood at home or in a family setting.

Language maintenance : Maintenance programs and activities are required where the language is still being transmitted from one generation to the next as mother tongue (the language of the home) and is still used in a variety of community activities known to be Aboriginal language situations.

Language of preference : The language that the respondent is most comfortable speaking. Also referred to as the preferred language.

Language revitalization : Revitalization programs and activities are required when 10 per cent or more of Aboriginal children enter kindergarten with little or only a passive knowledge of their Aboriginal language. Passive knowledge is defined as the ability to understand but not speak the language.

Language spoken at home : The language which is most frequently spoken at home or in a family setting.

Quota sampling : A non-probability sampling design involving the selection of units on the basis of predefined targets by groups of units (such as a specific number of individuals from 5 to 14 years old, etc..)

Sample: The subset of the *survey population* which was surveyed. The sample was stratified on the basis of gender, language, community and age group.

Survey population : It includes: (1) school aged and older individuals who belong to a Band or an Aboriginal group, and; (2) individuals who are identified as Francophone speakers; in any of the thirty designated communities of the Northwest Territories.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

This evaluation pertains to the Canada - Northwest Territories Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the NWT that was signed on August 17, 1991, and which has provided $17.37 million for Aboriginal languages, and $12.35 million for French language programs during the three years from 1991-92 to 1993-94. This agreement is a consequence of a mutual interest by the Governments of Canada and the NWT in the status and future of the official languages of both jurisdictions, and builds on a previous (1984) Cooperation Agreement.

The purpose of the Cooperation Agreement is twofold. With respect to the French language, the agreement is to "provide French-language services and to ensure the implementation of French as an official language in the NWT." With respect to Aboriginal languages, the agreement has as its goal the "preservation, development and enhancement of Aboriginal languages in the NWT, and the provision of services in those languages so as to assist in the implementation of Aboriginal languages as official languages in the NWT."

Scope of the evaluation

The objective of this evaluation is to determine the extent to which the goals of the agreements have been met. In order to carry out the evaluation, two major types of activity are used : an activity review and an impact analysis. The activity review primarily addresses the areas of rationale, effectiveness and alternatives, while the impact analysis assesses the short-term and projects the longer-term effects of the Agreement on the various stakeholders in the areas of language use and fluency, and access to services.

The structure of this evaluation report reflects the funding arrangement of the Agreement, in which funding for Aboriginal and French language activities are kept separate within one overall agreement. The evaluation report has been constructed in two parts. Part I represents the main body of the report, while Part II consists of supporting documentation and findings.

Methodology

Four evaluation question areas were identified in the Terms of Reference and used as guides in developing the evaluative methodologies. These are: rationale; effectiveness; impacts and effects; and alternatives. Four major research activities form the basis of the evaluation. These are: community surveys; interviews with key stakeholders; a review of program files and documents pertaining to French and Aboriginal language programs; and a review of the literature on the maintenance, development and enhancement of Aboriginal languages.

The community surveys are based on interviews with over 2,160 people from 31 communities. The surveys were undertaken in the summer of 1992 and repeated one year later, allowing for a comparative analysis. Individuals who participated in the surveys belong to the Francophone community or to one of nine Aboriginal linguistic groups: Chipewyan; Cree; Dogrib; Gwich'in; Inuktitut; Inuvialuktun; Inuinnaqtun; North Slavey; and South Slavey. Surveys for both French and for the Aboriginal languages took place in seven of these 31 communities.

Key stakeholders consultations were undertaken primarily during the summer and early fall of 1993, by means of in-person interviews. A total of 52 interviews were conducted in the different regions of the NWT and in Ottawa. Three main target groups were targeted for these interviews : Cooperation Agreement's beneficiaries and community

members; government officials, and the Agreement's program administrators.

Evaluation findings

Aboriginal languages

- In the area of language fluency and literacy, English is the language spoken most frequently in the homes of Aboriginal respondents. Inuktitut and Dogrib are the next most frequently used languages. The use of Aboriginal languages has declined over the lifetime of the respondents, while the use of English has increased. There are marked differences in fluency amongst language groups.

- Results by age show that a much larger proportion of older respondents have good fluency than do younger respondents. Fluency patterns vary between language groups, however. As with oral fluency, literacy characteristics vary between linguistic groups.

- The survey shows that Aboriginal languages are the most used at home and the least used in the school environment. For respondents who report a change in language use over time, the intensity of migration toward English varies according to language group, the dominant factor reported for this change being the influence of school.

- The survey points to a perception of greater availability of social services, and less availability of services in the educational and work related areas. Results also indicate that more people report that access to service is either easier or has remained the same during the last three to five years.

- The review of the literature provides an overview of issues related to the maintenance, development, and enhancement of Aboriginal languages. It discusses the phenomenon of "language shift" to

explain what happens when different language groups come in contact with one another. It also highligths the dramatic decline in the number of Aboriginal speakers in the NWT and the factors behind assimilation and resistance to it. A lack of resources is proffered as the main reason explaining the slow development of Aboriginal language programs in Canada.

- The research on survival of endangered languages suggests a distinction between indigenous peoples and established minorities, the former generally being less favored from a service and policy standpoint. The discussion on models of government language services acknowledges the wide spectrum of existing policies.

- The key stakeholders are in general agreement with the Agreement's objectives and scope although their knowledge of it is limited. A consensus exists that the Agreement has been effective at providing services in the Aboriginal languages. Specific suggestions are made to improve the managerial aspect of the Agreement, because of the perception that it is currently cumbersome, inflexible and overly complex. Greater community participation in the design, development and implementation of the Agreement is seen as being very important.

French Language

- In the area of fluency and literacy, survey results indicate that English is making some inroads in the French community. Oral fluency is good to excellent for most respondents. Literacy levels are relatively good, with over two thirds of all respondents displaying a high literacy skill level.

- French is used primarily in the home environment. In most public settings, it is used much less frequently. All respondents report using French less than 25 per cent of the time when accessing government services.

- Health and justice-related services are perceived to be more widely available than other types of government services. While awareness of service availability in some areas is low, demand is high among those who know that the service exists. There is a general perception that access to services in French has either not changed or has improved in recent years.

- Only a small number of community members have undertaken French language training but a high level of satisfaction is reported. The same is true of translation and interpretation services.

- In general, the key stakeholders are in agreement with the Agreement's objectives and scope although their knowledge of it is limited. There is a consensus that the Agreement has been effective at providing services in French but the demand for and knowledge about these services is relatively low.

- The use of a Francophone organization to assist in the delivery of some of the Agreement's activities is heralded as a model to follow. The point is made also that more community participation and a possible decentralization of the Agreement's funds and decision-making is warranted.

Conclusions

A number of issues and conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of the evaluation's findings. While many of these issues relate specifically to either component – the French and the Aboriginal languages – of the Agreement, there are general conclusions which can be addressed to both components and they are presented first.

By and large, the rationale and objectives of the Cooperation Agreement are generally received positively and are supported by those who are aware of them, but the overall level of understanding of the Agreement is limited. However, the absence of established

standards of service has been pin pointed as a factor hindering the understanding of how each of the Agreement's activities or programs contributes to the support of French and Aboriginal languages and communities. Community members at large do not possess full knowledge about the Agreement but they are generally more concerned about accessing the services they need.

The Agreement appears to be meeting its objective of providing services in French and in the Aboriginal languages. Results from the community survey show that a significant proportion of respondents feel various services are available in their language and that access to these services is becoming easier (or it does not change). This perception is stronger among Aboriginal peoples than among members of the Francophone community.

In the area of managerial and administrative improvements, an important advance would be a more flexible and administratively simplified framework agreement modeled on other federal-territorial accords. Precedents exist in other federal-territorial agreements which include much more flexible and responsive administrative, and accountability policies and procedures. The pre-conditions now exist for the application of these experiences to any future official languages agreements.

At the operational level, improvements have been suggested including: greater delegation of authority; a simplification of the reporting and accounting requirements; an improved forecasting capacity to better anticipate for and respond to funding lapses; the identification of standards or levels of service which can be used for evaluative and reporting purposes; greater operational flexibility to reallocate resources and commit to new projects during the year within an overall annual plan; and the establishment of a decision timetable and planning arrangement to ensure timely approval of annual plans and allocation of funding.

Above all, it is premature to judge the full extent of the impacts and effects of the Agreement given that these effects take time to become apparent. More time is needed before one can make a fair assessment of the impacts of the Agreement programs and activities on its target groups and it is suggested that the main program and language indicators – fluency levels, service access, training efforts, and so on – be revisited a few years down the road.

Aboriginal Component of the Cooperation Agreement

Results from the community survey indicate considerable interest in Aboriginal language issues, as expressed through participation in various activities. In spite of this interest, key stakeholders perceive that much of this involvement has been passive in nature, with communities present as recipients of services. Community participation has been hindered by the limited availability of information on the Agreement, leading to a situation where many communities receive its benefits unknowingly.

There is some indication that the implementation of language services and programs is not perceived by some stakeholders as an important priority given its potential implications in terms of increased workload and the limited availability of government funds. In addition, the relationship and the distinctions between the two focal points of the Agreement – the Aboriginal languages and the French language sections – are not well understood. The reaction to the Agreement is, nevertheless, positive overall and there is a growing recognition of the Agreement's potential to strengthen Aboriginal pride and cultural vitality.

The Agreement contributes to Aboriginal development in other ways. First, delivery of several programs occurs through local community institutions which, in turn, gain in visibility and in local importance as more people benefit from their activities. Secondly, communities are strengthened as more of their members become involved in common

activities. Thus, activities which bring people together with common interests which are likely to expand to other areas of common concern. Furthermore, to the extent that the Agreement is successful in promoting increased interest in Aboriginal language usage and traditional cultural activities, linkages between youth and elders may be further strengthened.

A long-term effect of the Agreement on community development is the fact that Aboriginal people will be better served by the justice and health systems as services in their language become available. The level of understanding of these systems will also increase as people become more informed about their operations. As well, the Agreement contributes positively to the local human resource base through such things as teacher training and training of interpreter/translators in health and legal areas.

With regard to the effect of the Agreement on maintenance, revitalization and development of the languages, a sense emerges that maintenance and development have been the focus of Agreement programs to date. Key stakeholders hold different opinions about the Agreement's contribution to any long-term objectives for Aboriginal languages. Some recognize that the provision of language services and infrastructure has been the major thrust to date and, as a result, some community members and groups feel that their language-related needs are not yet satisfactorily met.

Qualitative assessments of cost-effectiveness are provided by several key stakeholders who point out the relative absence of budgetary flexibility, limited delegation of authority, and over-centralization of control and funds. By and large, an appraisal of cost-effectiveness is complicated by the wide-ranging objectives of the Agreement. The combining of objectives for service delivery with those of development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages into a single contribution agreement creates a complex structure to manage and assess.

Several conclusions of a more qualitative nature can be made. The attention to building language infrastructure and capacity will result in a number of immediate and longer term pay-offs. Many of the program activities undertaken under the Agreement relate to the creation of an inventory of resources that may be expected to form the basis for future language development activities in the NWT.

There is some agreement that the demand for services and resources will inevitably grow. In the longer term, the investment in language services and programs may be seen to be a normal cost of doing business and may be accommodated by departmental budgets as a regular expense item. There are indications that this change is already taking place in a number of departments and institutions.

It is also noted that in certain language groups, there is a growing demand for the use of the local Aboriginal language in formal meetings where the use of English had been the practice in the past. Many of these views point to a growing awareness of the crucial role communities have and must play in the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement.

Many of the long-term effects noted here may contribute to positive developments in the development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages. Community involvement in education and language-related activities, increased use of signage on buildings, support for the increased use of Aboriginal languages in broadcast and print media are important in terms of language maintenance and revitalization and go well beyond symbolism.

It is clear from the research that the point of greatest vulnerability of Aboriginal languages is among youth. Therefore, activities that serve to support and promote the use of these languages by youth are critical. Education, for one, is of primary importance. Community programs often serve to form a bridge between youth and elders in the community and such programs are also critical to promoting language use amongst youth.

This evaluation concludes that there is a need to adopt a more strategic and balanced approach to the planning and implementation of Aboriginal language programs. First, priorities and objectives need to be tailored to the specific context of each language group. An assessment of language-related needs that takes age, gender and other relevant factors into consideration – in addition to language groups – may further contribute to effective planning.

Second, a balance between service delivery and activities related to language development, maintenance and revitalization must be reached. This balance may be expected to vary depending among the specific language groups and regions. The challenge throughout will also be to encourage community involvement and maintain flexibility while focusing on the effective achievement of specific objectives. In light of that, an alternative to the current delivery model of the Cooperation Agreement is one which makes use of existing regional or community institutions as delivery mechanisms, on a contractual basis.

Conclusion

By and large, this evaluation concludes that the rationale and objectives of the Cooperation Agreement are received positively and are supported by those who are aware of it. There is a growing awareness of the existence of services in the Aboriginal languages and it is expected that this will lead to a growth in demand for such services. There is also a growing recognition that the Cooperation Agreement can strengthen Aboriginal pride and cultural vitality as well as support the growth of Aboriginal languages.

The rationale behind the objectives of providing services and those of developing, maintaining and revitalizing Aboriginal languages need to be clarified on a language-specific scale. In particular, attention needs to be paid to needs which are specific to each language group, age group, gender, and social background. In this context, an assessment of language-related needs which would take into account these various

A number of ways to improve the Cooperation Agreement are identified. First, the Agreement could be improved by paying more attention to language-related needs which are not currently addressed by the Agreement. Second, the potential of the private sector to join forces with the GNWT and Francophone organizations to participate in the implementation of certain programs may offer some potential.

The delivery of some of the Cooperation Agreement's activities and programs to the Francophone community has benefited from a productive arrangement to share program delivery responsibilities with a Francophone organization and this evaluation concludes that this model should become a standard feature of the Agreement.

The evaluation identifies considerable support for the development of a more significant role for the Francophone community in the overall design and implementation of the Agreement. The identification with the community of desirable program outputs and mutually agreed upon priorities is perceived to be an important priority.

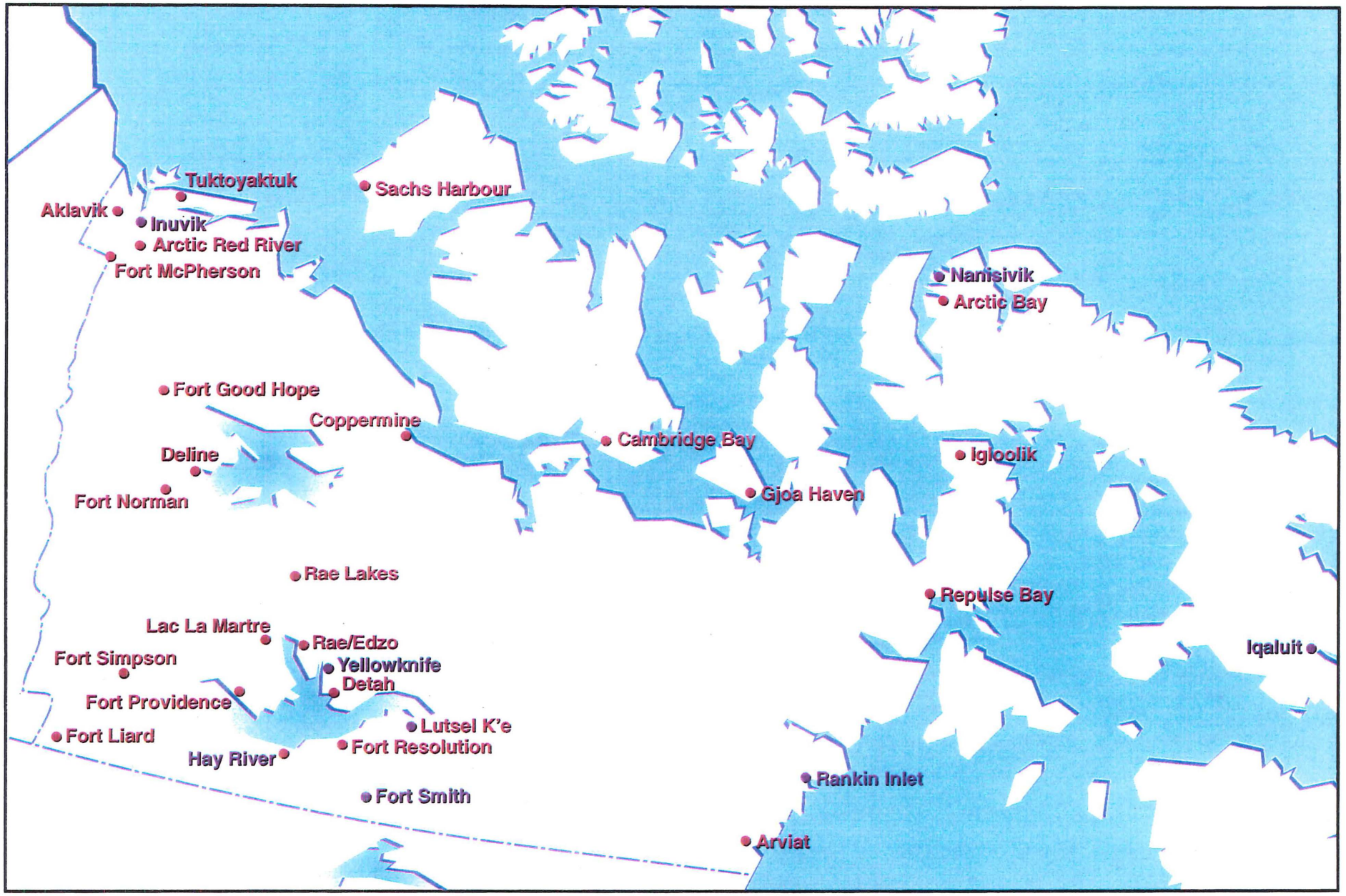
Conclusion

The provision of French language services and the implementation of French as an official language in the NWT are now a firm reality in the NWT. In symbolic and practical ways, significant progress has been made such that the Francophone community and the GNWT now share a relatively positive and cooperative relationship, in contrast to earlier, more difficult times. It is important to reiterate as a conclusion that most key stakeholders and respondents from the community survey are satisfied with existing efforts to provide services in French. There are still areas where services in French are perceived to be less available but this may be linked to low demand for these services.

By and large, the consultations and results of the community survey amount to a positive assessment of the French component of the Cooperation Agreement and the various suggestions which are made in this evaluation provide useful and specific suggestions to improve it. It

is hoped that efforts continue to be applied to make French a language of daily use to the many Francophones living throughout the NWT. Such efforts, if they were sustained, would undoubtedly contribute to the reinforcement the cultural and linguistic fabric of the Francophone community.

MAP OF SURVEYED COMMUNITIES



Aboriginal Survey French & Aboriginal Survey

I. INTRODUCTION

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE AGREEMENT

In March of 1984, in response to the prospect of court challenges to the English-only status of the institutions of the governments of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the federal government introduced an amendment to the NWT *Act* making French an official language of the NWT. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) opposed this amendment on the grounds that legislation on official languages for the NWT should be passed by the Legislative Assembly not the Parliament of Canada, because official languages for the NWT falls within the jurisdiction of the GNWT. This amendment to the *NWT Act* was allowed to die on the order paper when the GNWT passed the *Official Languages Act* recognizing English and French as official languages and recognizing Inuktitut, Chipewyan, Dogrib, South Slavey, North Slavey, Gwich'in and Cree as official Aboriginal languages.

On June 28, 1984, the Government Leader of the NWT and the Secretary of State of Canada signed an agreement under which the Federal Government agreed to provide $16 million for the enhancement of Aboriginal languages and to bear all of the costs related to the implementation of French as an official language on an ongoing basis. For its part, the GNWT agreed to adopt legislation to make French an official language in the NWT.

In March 1985, Canada and the NWT signed a five year contribution Agreement for $16 million on Aboriginal Languages covering the period 1985-1990. This meant that there had been a one-year delay in implementing the original agreement signed in 1984.

In late 1989, the federal government and the GNWT agreed to extend the Aboriginal Languages Agreement for an additional year by utilizing

previously lapsed funds, thereby providing the GNWT with $3.3 million for the 1990-91 fiscal year.

The *Official Languages Act* was amended on April 6, 1990 to include as official languages : Cree, Chipewyan, Gwich'in, Inuktitut, Slavey, and Dogrib. Inuktitut includes Inuvialuktun and Inuinnaqtun while Slavey includes North and South Slavey.

In October 1990, the *Official Languages Act* of the NWT was amended, delaying until April 1, 1992 the existing statutory requirements to translate existing NWT legislation into French; and on December 21, 1990, an amendment to the NWT *Act*, giving federal consent to this amendment, was passed by the federal parliament. On March 21, 1991, the *Evaluation Report of the Aboriginal Languages Programs*, as required under the terms of the 1985-90 Agreement, was tabled in the Legislative Assembly. On March 31, 1991, the 5 year agreement on Aboriginal languages ended.

On August 17, 1991, the Ministry of Culture and Communications and the Secretary of State concluded negotiations for a multi-year agreement by signing the Canada-Northwest Territories Cooperation Agreement for French and Aboriginal Languages in the Northwest Territories. The Cooperation Agreement provides $18 million for Aboriginal languages and $12.8 million for French language services for the period 1991-92 to 1993-94.

B. CONTEXT OF THE AGREEMENT

The Northwest Territories is comprised of a population of 57,649 people (June 1991 census) living in 60 communities spread across 3.38 million square kilometers of land – an area making up one third the land mass of Canada. Sixty-one per cent – 35,302 individuals – of this population is Aboriginal. Of the 22,347 non-Aboriginal population,

over half (12,572) live in Yellowknife, where they comprise 83 per cent of the population of the city. On the other hand, in the eastern Arctic, the Inuit form a large majority of the population, making up roughly 85 per cent of the population of this area. In the Fort Smith region, the Dene comprise 46 per cent of the population living outside Yellowknife, while the Métis make up an additional 17 per cent.

Unlike the situation elsewhere in Canada, Aboriginal peoples are not politically separated from non-Aboriginal neighbours through reserve governments. Rather, municipal governments include both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and a framework exists (Charter Communities Act) which would allow Band Councils to combine with non-Band members to form a local government. Only one reserve, that of Hay River on the south shore of Great Slave Lake, exists among the 22 Bands in the NWT.[1]

The linguistic landscape of the NWT is complex.[2] In the Mackenzie Valley, most Aboriginal people speak one of the five Dene languages: Chipewyan, Dogrib, Gwich'in, North Slavey and South Slavey. According to the June 1991 census survey, 9,647 people belong to the Dene ethnic groups. The Inuit languages (Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Inuinnaqtun and dialects) are the most common languages of the eastern NWT and along the Arctic coast. The 1991 census counted 21,565 people belonging to Inuit groups. In addition to Dene and Inuit languages, a small number of Cree speakers live in the Fort Smith region. The Francophone population makes up approximately seven per cent of the non-Aboriginal population of the NWT (based on the 1991 Census). Apart from the Fort Smith region (Yellowknife, Hay River, Fort Smith), Francophone communities are found in Rankin Inlet, Iqaluit, Nanisivik and Inuvik.

The context within which the GNWT operates is unique in Canada. As a territory, the NWT was governed by a commissioner appointed by the federal government and accountable to a minister in Ottawa. Since the 1960s, there has been an evolution towards self-government. In 1967, the establishment of the seat of NWT

government in Yellowknife was approved. A continuing devolution of power from Ottawa to elected officials of the GNWT has followed. Today, most MLAs are Aboriginal people. The Legislative Assembly is not divided along party lines, but rather operates through a consensus system – an approach which reflects Aboriginal practice better than the adversarial party system adopted in the rest of Canada.

The situation is described well in the "Report of the Project to Review the Operations and Structure of Northern Government" :

> The GNWT is confronted with several unique complicating elements in the land and people it governs. Both the ethnic mix of the population and the consensus style of legislative assembly decision-making are not found elsewhere in Canada. There is a rapidly growing, immobile labour force which, although skilled in traditional pursuits, is largely unskilled in most other occupational fields. This work force is growing in excess of current rates of job growth. A compounding employment problem is eight working languages, one with many dialects. The government lacks a significant tax base from which to draw revenue and yet strives to provide a wide range of programs and services equally throughout the North. A large proportion of the population view these services and programs as entitlements. The heritage and traditions of the federal Government's involvement in the Northwest Territories, and the fiscal growth over the last two decades, have supported these expectations. The GNWT is now facing increasing expectations on the part of the public coupled with reduction in revenues.

C. PURPOSE OF THE COOPERATION AGREEMENT

As expressed in the text of the Agreement, the purpose of the Cooperative Agreement is "to establish a framework for cooperation

between Canada and the GNWT" on language issues which were of mutual concern to both these governments with respect to :

a) the provision of French-language services and the implementation of French as an official language in the NWT;

b) the preservation, development and enhancement of Aboriginal languages in the NWT, and the provision of services in those languages so as to assist in the implementation of Aboriginal languages as official languages in the NWT;

c) any other related purposes as may be agreed upon by Canada and the GNWT.

The Contribution Agreement set out the framework within which the objectives of both the Government of Canada and the Government of the Northwest Territories could be met. These objectives are outlined in the text of the Agreement and include the following elements :

- develop, maintain and revitalize Aboriginal languages through enabling/encouraging their use in the home, in school and in the community
- provide Aboriginal language services, thereby contributing to the implementation of Aboriginal languages as official languages in the NWT
- develop and provide French language services and implement French as an official language in the NWT
- support the vitality of the Francophone community and of the Aboriginal communities
- encourage dialogue and mutual understanding among the linguistic communities of the NWT

Source : Canada-Northwest Territories Cooperation Agreement

Responsibility for coordination of official languages programs rests with the Official Languages Unit (OLU), which is located within the Department of the Executive. This unit was established in July 1992, following recommendations made in the GNWT cabinet document entitled "Reshaping *Northern Government.*" Previous to the establishment of the OLU, an Official Languages Section, within the Department of Culture and Communications, coordinated language-related activities.

The mandate of the Official Languages Unit includes the following:

- coordinate delivery of official languages services throughout the GNWT, including development of government-wide guidelines for the provision of services;
- coordinate GNWT initiatives with respect to the maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages, including the identification of priorities;
- coordinate negotiations with federal government for funding under Official Language Agreements;
- coordinate implementation of Official Language Agreements and evaluation and monitoring of those Agreements;
- coordinate responses to reports, recommendations and requests for information from the official Languages Commissioner.

Source : Official Languages Unit

The restructuring also led to an amalgamation of the Department of Culture and Communications and the Department of Education to create the new Department of Education, Culture and Employment. The Department of Government Services and the Department of Public Works were also brought together, prior to fiscal 1992-93, under the new Department Responsible for Government Services and Public Works.

Aboriginal language programs that received funding through the Cooperation Agreement, and the responsible departments are outlined

in Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.1. French programs and the responsible departments are outlined in Part II, Chapter III, Table 3.1.

D. PURPOSE AND OVERVIEW OF THE EVALUATION

Section 12.3 of the Contribution Agreement outlines the importance of evaluating the progress made toward the overall objectives of the Agreement to both the federal government and the GNWT. The mutual interest of these two governments in assuring that appropriate evaluative activities were undertaken led to the joint development of, and agreement to, the parameters and plans for this evaluation. Specific reference in the Agreement was made to the need for gathering baseline community data relating to the use of French and Aboriginal languages.

The purpose of this evaluation is to determine the extent to which the goals of the Agreement have been met, and to assess the specific objectives of the Agreement in light of the overall goals. Four evaluation question areas underlie the evaluation approach. These include: rationale; effectiveness; impacts and effects; and alternatives. The specific evaluation questions which relate to these four areas are noted in the following chapter on methodology.

E. ORGANIZATION OF THE EVALUATION REPORT

The evaluation report has been constructed in two parts. Part I represents the main body of the report, while Part II consists of supporting documentation and findings.

Part I contains five chapters including this Introduction and a discussion of the Methodology (Chapter II). These chapters are

followed by chapters which present findings from the community surveys related to Aboriginal languages (Chapter III) and to French (Chapter IV). In the chapter on Aboriginal languages, a brief literature review is presented (Section C).[3]

Conclusions are presented in Chapter V in two sections – Section A relates to the Aboriginal languages component while Section B relates to the French component of the Agreement. These conclusions are based upon material presented in both parts of the report and reference is made frequently to material contained in Part II. In fact, the structure of this evaluation report reflects the funding arrangement of the Agreement, in which funding for Aboriginal and French language activities are kept separate within one overall agreement.

Part II consists of three chapters. In the first chapter, a profile of the Aboriginal language programs implemented under the Cooperation Agreement are presented. In the second chapter, findings from the community surveys that relate to Aboriginal languages are presented for each language group. In this chapter, details of the methodology used for the community research are presented. The final chapter of Part II discusses the French program profile.

Notes

[1] Schedule of Indian Bands, Reserves and Settlements, December 1990 – INAC; Band list from "Chiefs and Indian Band Offices", INAC September, 1992.
[2] The linguistic landscape, in the context of this evaluation, is to be distinguished from the ethnic one. The consideration of the latter would imply, for instance, discussion about the Metis and other groups.
[3] A more in-depth Literature Review is provided as a separate document and references to the Literature Review refer to this document.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. EVALUATION DESIGN

A.1 Design elements and data gathering strategies

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of the evaluation is to "determine the extent to which the Agreement's goals have been met and to assess the Agreement's specific objectives in light of its overall goals" (Terms of Reference, page C-7). In order to carry out this evaluation, two broad evaluative activities are used : an activity review and an impact analysis. The activity review provides a measure of the magnitude and scope of the Cooperation Agreement, as well as insights into the relevance of the Agreement regarding language needs; the reasons behind its creation; the policy environment; the specific linguistic needs of the French and Aboriginal communities; and other language support approaches and services. The impact analysis assesses the short-term and projects the longer-term effects of the Agreement on the various respondents in the areas of language use and fluency, and access to services.

Four evaluation question areas were identified in the Terms of Reference and used as guides in developing the evaluative methodologies. These are :

- rationale
- effectiveness
- impacts and effects
- alternatives

In addition, several evaluation questions were defined and represent the specific areas covered by this evaluation. These questions are :

Cooperation Agreement rationale

a) To what extent are the objectives of the Cooperation Agreement known, understood and supported by the stakeholders?

b) To what extent has policy and program development and implementation under the Cooperation Agreement involved community participation and how important is this to the success of the Cooperation Agreement?

c) Are there legitimate goals and objectives relating to language matters which are not addressed in the Cooperation Agreement?

Effectiveness

a) To what extent has the Cooperation Agreement led to the provision of French and Aboriginal languages services by the GNWT?

b) To what extent has the Cooperation Agreement contributed to the development of the Francophone and Aboriginal communities of the NWT?

c) To what extent has the Cooperation Agreement contributed to the development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages in the NWT?

d) Does the Cooperation Agreement represent a cost-effective approach to:

   (i) the provision of French and Aboriginal language services;
   (ii) the development of the French and Aboriginal communities;
   (iii) the development, maintenance and revitalization of the Aboriginal languages of the NWT?

Impact and effects

a) What are the anticipated long-term effects, including spin-offs of language programs and services implemented by the GNWT and funded under this Cooperation Agreement?

b) What are the impacts and effects of funding the GNWT for the development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages?

c) What are the impacts and effects of other variables, if any, on Aboriginal languages?

d) What are the impacts and effects of funding the GNWT to implement French as an official language?

Alternatives

a) Are there ways to improve the Cooperation Agreement?

b) Are there alternative approaches to implementation of language services and programs which are applicable to the NWT?

c) Are there alternative approaches to supporting the development of the Aboriginal and French communities of the NWT?

d) Are there alternative approaches to developing, maintaining and revitalizing the Aboriginal languages in the NWT?

One of the two broad evaluative activities – the activity review – addresses primarily the areas of rationale, effectiveness and alternatives, while the other – the impact analysis – focuses upon assessing the impacts and effects of the Agreement's activities and programs. In addition, since answers to the range of evaluation questions outlined above necessarily encompass different kinds and levels of data, several specific methodological strategies have been employed. These are :

- review of the literature
- review of program files and documents
- interviews with key program staff and officials, service providers, government officials and other stakeholders
- community surveys

A.2 Linkage between evaluation questions and methodologies

Each of the methodologies outlined in Section A was developed so as to make an information contribution to each of the above evaluation questions. While a precise allocation of the contribution of each method to each evaluation *question* is not possible, Table 2.1 indicates the approximate amount of information that each method should contribute (in percentage of total) to each evaluation *area*. In addition, Appendix A provides a breakdown of the amount of anticipated information that each method should contribute (in percentage of total) to each evaluation *question*.

Table 2.1
Evaluation Question Grid

Evaluation question areas	*Literature review*	*File review*	*Interviews*	*Community research*
	Amount of information to be contributed *Percentage of total*			
Rationale	20	5	60	15
Effectiveness	5	30	30	35
Impacts and effects	5	15	15	65
Alternatives	35	5	45	15

The evaluation provides baseline data which may serve as a benchmark for future study in the area of language use. In particular, the community survey instrumentation and data processing procedures were developed so as to provide a comprehensive and easily accessible data base on language competency and usage, which could serve as both a baseline and a model for future, long-term language support monitoring. The same data base could also provide an ongoing information source with respect to broader cultural and linguistic issues at the community, regional and territorial levels.

B. REVIEW OF PROGRAM FILES AND DOCUMENTS

The file and document review seeks to facilitate the assessment of the goals and objectives of the Agreement. As a first step, program files in Yellowknife were examined during the summer of 1992. Agreement activity reports for each department were obtained for the fiscal year (FY) 1991-92 and 1992-93 (interim period), and departmental financial statements for FY 1991-92 were examined. Additional file and document examination took place during the summer and early fall of 1993, at which point more complete Agreement activity reports and financial statements for 1992-93 were obtained.

FY 1991-92 and 1992-93 budgets and expenditures for the French and Aboriginal language programs are tabulated in aggregate and by department and program in order to highlight areas where spending is on target and to identify areas of under-spending. A tabular format is adopted to summarize program activity areas, allowing expenditure and budget comparisons to be made between FY 1991-92 and 1992-93. More detailed summaries of departmental activities are developed in a document format. The results of these reviews aid in the identification of programs implemented and facilitates the identification of constraints which affect the pace of program implementation.

As a result of a preliminary analysis of the files and documents, questions remaining outstanding were addressed to relevant departments in order to complete the review of files and documents. The combination of directly analyzing the files and documents and probing departmental representatives for additional information gives valuable information about the administrative and financial aspects of the Agreement.

C. COMMUNITY RESEARCH

C.1 Overview of design

The community research aims primarily at assessing the impacts and effects of the Agreement's programs and activities on the French and Aboriginal languages, and on the French and Aboriginal communities. In particular, the community research seeks detailed measures of the current state of, as well as recent changes in, Aboriginal and French language use, retention and acquisition from a "cluster sample" of the targeted linguistic community members. Analysis of fluency characteristics includes examination of oral fluency and literacy. In addition, the surveys gather a relevant range of personal and institutional information through which an analysis of the various sources of existing language support and services, as well as changes over time in language preference and competence, may be identified and understood.

In order to assess impacts and effects, a static comparative analysis is used, in which data were collected between July and October of 1992 and again between July and September 1993, and then compared in order to assess changes. In accordance with this methodology, community surveys are conducted twice and for two years in a row, in which the same respondents are targeted each time. The surveys are administered on a one-to-one personal interview basis in the appropriate language by locally recruited and project trained interviewers.

The target population includes those permanent residents, school aged and older, who belong to one of the linguistic groups. The inclusion is not contingent upon any prior attempt to categorize their current language preferences or fluencies. As per the Terms of Reference, a total of 31 communities were selected for inclusion in the community survey.

C.2 Sampling

The *frame* of the survey – the list of all units comprising the survey population – was defined as all school-aged permanent residents of the Northwest Territories who belong to one of the linguistic groups under consideration. The sampling procedure that best suited the particular population targets and research goals is referred to as *multi-stage cluster sampling*. This procedure is used when: (1) it is either impossible or impractical to compile an exhaustive list of the survey population (from which a "simple random sample" could be drawn), and; (2) there is a need to conduct the analysis at the level of non-homogeneous groupings within the overall target population (in this case discrete communities and linguistic groups).

The first stage of the procedure involved selecting a sample of communities from all communities of the Northwest Territories. The selection of a non-probability sample of 31 communities was done on the basis of a list contained in the Terms of Reference. The second stage involved stratifying each community sample by gender and by age group, using pre-defined sample ratios for determining community sample size. The intent of the stratification process was to obtain representative samples, that is, samples in which the relative gender and age distribution of each community sample corresponds to that of the base population.

The sample ratios – the size of the sample compared to the size of the community – is defined as non-proportional, that is, the weight of each community sample within the total sample does not correspond to the weight of that community within the base population. The ratios were arrived at by using the following guidelines, which represented the optimal trade-off between sample theory and administrative constraint:

(1) Based upon population data obtained from the Department of Culture and Communications and from the Bureau of Statistics, the

size of each linguistic group for all surveyed communities was estimated.

(2) For each selected community, a minimum sampling size was set at either: 50, which represents a compromise between an acceptable number of observations (cell counts) for all groupings and cost; or a 15-to-1 sampling ratio, whichever was the higher. For communities with less than 50 members of a particular linguistic group, a full census (where every eligible community member was interviewed) was undertaken.[1]

The third and final stage was the selection of individual respondents within each community sample. This stage involved a mix of *quota* and *cluster* sampling : interviewers were provided with target numbers by age group and gender for their community, and they were encouraged to meet these targets – or quotas – to the extent possible. In addition, local interviewers were allowed to select several members of each visited household – or clusters, as long as they met the initial target numbers.

Interview process

Central to the research design was the requirement to rely exclusively on local interviewers to conduct the field work and not to provide direct, person-to-person supervision in the surveyed communities. As a result, the idea of locating survey coordinators and senior researchers in four (4) regional centers - Iqaluit and Rankin Inlet for the Eastern Arctic, and Yellowknife and Inuvik for the Western Arctic - was adopted. These centers were used both as training centers and as locations from which the team's senior staff would be supervising the field work.

A one-day training session was conducted with all local interviewers expected to initially take part in the community research. A training manual was developed and provided to local interviewers during the

training session, to be used as a reference guide. The content of the training sessions themselves went well beyond data sheet familiarization. Interviewers were given intensive instruction in the concepts behind the various questions so as to ensure more informed interpretation of respondents' answers. Since the interviewers were recruited from within their subject communities, they helped validate the relevance of the survey instruments, particularly the fluency test materials. Finally, the interviewers engaged in reverse "role playing", a well established training technique which requires each interviewer to play the role of the respondent, thus gaining sensitivity on how to maximize respondent confidence. Details on the community research protocol may be found in the separate technical paper accompanying this report.

Community Research Protocol

The community research was organized on the basis of a structured protocol :

- interviewers were provided with a sampling plan containing target numbers of interviews (broken down by gender and age group);
- interviewers were asked to send to their regional supervisors by fax their first and fifth completed data sheets, so that the supervisors could verify the accuracy of the answers. Where anomalies were found, further instructions were given by phone;
- bi-weekly and, in some cases, daily telephone reporting was required of local interviewers;
- contingency plans were designed to allow survey supervisors and coordinators to fly to communities if and when problems arose.

C.3 Instrumentation

Instrumentation consists of a combined personal information/ evaluation schedule and linguistic competency test. The interview schedule (see Appendix D) was developed in consultation with the Official Languages Unit, and the linguistic competency test was designed by the project's linguist in consultation with staff from the Language Bureau and with local interviewers (inputs from local interviewers insured that the local and regional contexts were taken into account).

The interview schedule and linguistic competency test is integrated into one easy-to-use survey form, to be administered by local interviewers. The form is comprised of four main sections : identification and profile of the respondent; linguistic profile; access to language and other services; and competency test. Most of the questions contained in the form are close-ended questions (where respondents have to choose between a limited number of alternate answers).

Pre-testing

The adequacy of the survey instrument was tested during the first year, baseline data collection phase. Overall, the survey instruments proved very effective at gathering the required information. In particular, the fluency test materials were well understood by local interviewers and well received by respondents. These results can be explained by the fact that significant inputs from local speakers of the various languages were obtained and integrated into final versions of the survey materials.

Validation

An essential element of the survey design is the validation of both the overall survey construct and of the results. A detailed discussion of

the validation process and findings is presented in Part II, Chapter II, Section A. By and large, the analysis presented in that section indicates that results from the community research present a relatively high level of validity.

C.4 Comparative Analysis

As mentioned in Section C.1 of this chapter, a static comparative analysis is used to help determine the impacts and effects of the Cooperation Agreement on access to services, and language use and fluency. For this purpose, a first set of information – baseline data – was collected by way of personal interviews between July and October of 1992. The second set – comparative data – was assembled between July and September of 1993, thereby allowing a one-year interval to measure changes.

The baseline data set also served as a basis for describing language use and access to services by language group. This descriptive analysis can be found in Section B of Chapters III and IV, for the Aboriginal and French languages respectively. It is worth noting that information from the (1993) comparative data set was used to answer specific questions on service availability and on literacy – also contained in the above mentioned sections – given that minor changes made to the 1993 survey questionnaire allowed a more detailed analysis of these questions than the 1992 data set.

For the comparative analysis, a series of statistical tests were designed to measure the impacts of the Cooperation Agreement on a number of key variables. The results of this analysis can be found in Appendix F. Generally speaking, the tests aimed at measuring changes over time (the one-year interval) between averages for the key variables. The choice of which tests to utilize hinged, in the present case, on a number of considerations :

- the sample size
- the number of samples to compare
- the extent to which the samples are logically related or not (independent or dependent samples)
- the extent to which the value distribution of the key variables approximates a normal distribution

Based on these considerations and after analyzing the characteristics of the two data sets, *non-parametric tests* were retained for the purpose of the comparative analysis.[2] These tests provide the best compromise between explanatory power and assumptions about the randomness of the samples.

D. KEY STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS

D.1 Overview of design

The key stakeholder interviews are critical to answer evaluation questions related to the Agreement's rationale, alternatives and, to a lesser extent, effectiveness. In addition, the interviews seek to establish the program delivery features as experienced and understood by key personnel within each of the several stakeholder groups.

Three main groups were targeted for these interviews : program beneficiaries and community members; government officials; and the Agreement's program administrators. Each of these groups possesses a unique perspective on the Agreement's structure, scope and effects, and they provide information that could not otherwise be obtained. Given the sensitive nature of the information gathered through key stakeholder interviews, the contractor's senior research staff was responsible for conducting this phase of the evaluation.

D.2 Sampling

A representative but non-random sample of the three target groups was selected on the basis of : (a) a preliminary list provided by the Official Languages Unit of the Department of the Executive, and (b) a list drawn up by the evaluation team. The sample size was initially set at 75 key stakeholders (see Appendix E for the list of persons consulted). Some interviews took place during the summer of 1992 (particularly with program administrators) but most of the interviewing activity took place during the summer of 1993.

D.3 Instrumentation

An interview schedule (questionnaire) derived from both the Terms of Reference and the review of the program documents was utilized as the main vehicle for soliciting and categorizing respondent perceptions of, and experience with, the Agreement. The questionnaire is divided into three main sections – one for each of the target groups, and contains mostly open-ended questions, in accordance with the nature of the information being sought. Given the relatively large number of open-ended questions, the analysis of the information provided by the interviews relied to a large extent upon categorization and pattern identification.

Notes

[1] The decision to use a maximum 15-to-1 ratio rather than, say, a 10-to-1 ratio was based on: (1) sampling theory and our experience with comparable surveys, and; (2) cost limitations. It is useful to add that in developing our sample design, we were careful to proportion the main sub-cluster characteristics, gender and age categories, within each main cluster according to the available demographic data. As a consequence, each interviewer was provided with sample target numbers relative to each gender and age group.

[2] Non-parametric tests are used primarily when assumptions about random distributions do not hold. Our analysis of key variables for both the 1992 and the 1993 data sets indicates that a majority of these variables are heavily skewed and, therefore, they do not follow a normal distribution. On the basis of these findings and in light of the sampling methodology that was used - multi-stage cluster sampling, non-parametric tests are more powerful.

The main test that fits the purpose of the comparative analysis and the type of data - a mix of ordinal and interval data - contained in the data sets is the so-called Mann-Whitney U test. This test assumes two independent samples and a level of measurement which is at least an ordinal scale. Other tests - Wald-Wolfowitz Runs Tests and Kolmogorov-Smirnov Tests - were also used when deemed suitable for the type of variables under examination. Results of this statistical analysis can be found in Appendix F.

III. ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES PROFILE AND FINDINGS

A. INTRODUCTION

A detailed overview of Agreement programs related to Aboriginal languages is presented in Part II, Chapter I of this report. It examines the program and activity profiles of each department involved in Aboriginal language initiatives supported by the Cooperation Agreement. It also reviews the budget allocation and actual spending of the Agreement resources. Budget allocation by language group is also examined where data is available, as well as by expenditure category.

This chapter presents and discusses the main findings on Aboriginal languages derived from baseline (1992) survey data, as well as a summary of the review of the literature on Aboriginal languages. An introductory overview of the survey results is followed by an analysis of the situation of Aboriginal languages according to four sub-sections, including fluency, language use, access to service and other characteristics. Findings from these sections are drawn from the community survey contracted by the Government of the Northwest Territories and carried out by New Economy Development Group Inc., unless otherwise specified. The review of the literature follows. Together, these perspectives on Aboriginal languages provide important insights on the impact of the Cooperation Agreement on language fluency and usage, and access to services.

B. LANGUAGE USE AND ACCESS TO SERVICES : BASELINE DATA

B.1 Overview

Information on completed surveys by community for both the baseline (1992) and the comparative (1993) data sets can be found in Table 3.1. The table shows that survey coverage has been fairly consistent between the two data collection periods. There are some variations on a community basis for a small number of communities, but overall the level of coverage is about the same. The 1,962 (Aboriginal) surveys completed in 1992 compare well with the 1,952 obtained in 1993.

As discussed in Chapter II, community surveys were conducted over two consecutive years. Both surveys targeted the same respondents. However, a number of respondents did not participate in the second, comparative data collection for various reasons – refusal, moving, unavailability at the time of the survey, and so on. As a result, these respondents were replaced in the 1993 survey by new respondents with the same demographic characteristics, where possible. This replacement process kept the two samples at a comparable size.

Table 3.2 shows the extent of the replacement process on a community basis, expressed as a respondent return rate. The return rate represents the number of respondents who participated in both surveys, expressed as a proportion of the number of respondents in the 1993 survey. The rate varies from a low of 16.1 per cent (excluding the communities where the survey did not take place in either 1992 or 1993) to a high of 95.1 per cent. Overall, the return rate amounts to 65.1 per cent, which means that two-third of the respondents in the 1993 survey participated in the 1992 baseline survey.

Table 3.1
Completed Surveys by Community
Baseline (1992) and comparative (1993) data

Community	*Linguistic Group*	*Interviews completed 1992*	*Interviews completed 1993*
Aklavik	Gwich'in	50	50
Aklavik	Inuvialuktun	50	50
Arctic Bay/Nanisivik	Inuktitut	103	102
Arctic Red River	Gwich'in	30	0
Arviat	Inuktitut	195	194
Cambridge Bay	Inuinnaqtun	25	31
Coppermine	Inuinnaqtun	46	43
Deline	North Slavey	50	51
Detah	Dogrib	6	38
Fort Good Hope	North Slavey	45	50
Fort Liard	South Slavey	50	50
Fort McPherson	Gwich'in	33	51
Fort Norman	North Slavey	55	55
Fort Providence	South Slavey	36	22
Fort Resolution	Chipewyan	50	50
Fort Simpson	South Slavey	50	50
Fort Smith	Cree	50	50
Fort Smith	Chipewyan	50	50
Gjoa Haven	Inuktitut	0	44
Hay River	South Slavey	57	50
Igloolik	Inuktitut	104	102
Inuvik	Gwich'in	48	49
Inuvik	Inuvialuktun	0	35
Inuvik	North Slavey	10	0
Iqaluit	Inuktitut	227	329
Lac La Martre	Dogrib	60	61
Rae Edzo	Dogrib	80	80
Rae Lakes	Dogrib	50	50
Rankin Inlet	Inuktitut	95	0
Repulse Bay	Inuktitut	51	51
Sachs Harbour	Inuvialuktun	56	51
Lutsel K'e	Chipewyan	54	45
Tuktoyaktuk	Inuvialuktun	71	0
Yellowknife	Dogrib	25	18
TOTAL		1,962	1,952

Table 3.2
Respondent Return Rates* by Community
Comparative (1993) data

Community	*Linguistic Group*	*Return rates %*
Aklavik	Gwich'in	60.0
Aklavik	Inuvialuktun	94.0
Arctic Bay/Nanisivik	Inuktitut	95.1
Arctic Red River	Gwich'in	-
Arviat	Inuktitut	94.3
Cambridge Bay	Inuinnaqtun	16.1
Coppermine	Inuinnaqtun	83.7
Deline	North Slavey	88.0
Detah	Dogrib	0.0
Fort Good Hope	North Slavey	70.2
Fort Liard	South Slavey	80.0
Fort McPherson	Gwich'in	21.6
Fort Norman	North Slavey	94.5
Fort Providence	South Slavey	87.0
Fort Resolution	Chipewyan	76.0
Fort Simpson	South Slavey	70.0
Fort Smith	Cree	70.0
Fort Smith	Chipewyan	68.0
Gjoa Haven	Inuktitut	0.**
Hay River	South Slavey	62.0
Igloolik	Inuktitut	83.5
Inuvik	Gwich'in	85.4
Inuvik	Inuvialuktun	0**
Inuvik	North Slavey	-
Iqaluit	Inuktitut	32.5
Lac La Martre	Dogrib	73.8
Rae Edzo	Dogrib	71.6
Rae Lakes	Dogrib	62.0
Rankin Inlet	Inuktitut	-
Repulse Bay	Inuktitut	94.1
Sachs Harbour	Inuvialuktun	68.0
Lutsel K'e	Chipewyan	93.3
Tuktoyaktuk	Inuvialuktun	-
Yellowknife	Dogrib	27.8
AVERAGE		65.1

* The number of respondents who participated in both the 1992 and the 1993 surveys, presented as a proportion of all 1993 respondents.
** There were no surveys completed in these communities in 1992.

Results indicate that the two samples are closely matched on the basis of the relative weights of language groups. The comparison of completed surveys by language group – Table 3.3 – indicates that each language group receives relatively equal consideration in both surveys.

The largest discrepancy relates to the Inuktitut group which represents 39.5 per cent of the 1992 sample but 42.1 per cent of the 1993 sample. The smallest difference - of 0.1 per cent - occurred with the Cree language group.

Table 3.3
Completed Surveys by Language Group
Baseline (1992) and comparative (1993) data

Language Group	*1992 Number of cases*	*Percentage of total*	*1993 Number of cases*	*Percentage of total*
Chipewyan	154	7.8	145	7.4
Cree	50	2.5	50	2.6
Dogrib	221	11.3	247	12.7
Gwich'in	161	8.2	149	7.7
Inuinnaqtun	71	3.6	74	3.8
Inuktitut	775	39.5	821	42.1
Inuvialuktun	177	9.0	135	7.0
North Slavey	160	8.2	156	8.0
South Slavey	193	9.8	175	8.8
TOTAL	1,962	100.0	1,952	100.0

B.2 The General Picture

This section presents the combined results of the community survey for the Aboriginal languages. Four sub-sections address specific aspects of the community survey: socio-demographics; language fluency and literacy; language use in different environments; and availability, use and satisfaction with services. All results are derived from the baseline data, unless otherwise mentioned.

B.2.1 Socio-Demographics

Chart 3.1
Population Distribution by Age Group, 1992
Aboriginal respondents and data for the Northwest Territories in general

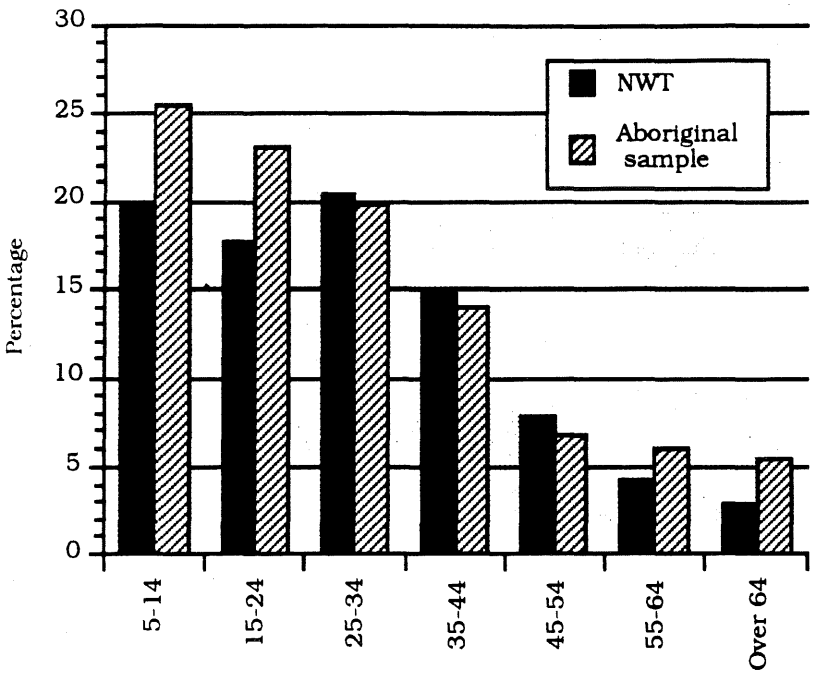
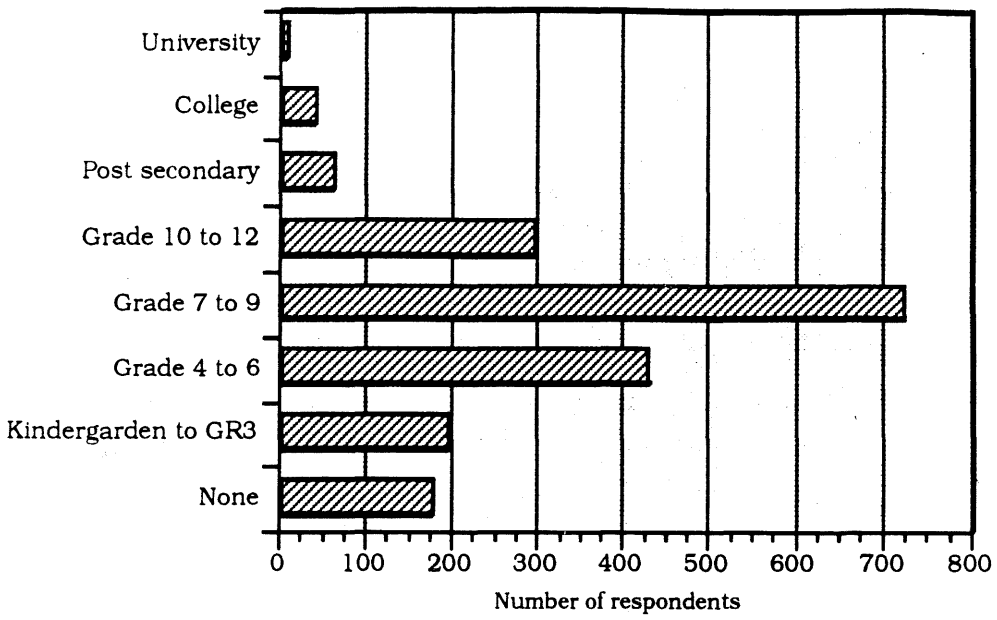


Chart 3.1 compares the population distribution by age group of the sample with that of the Northwest Territories. The chart shows that the sample tends to be weighted at both ends of the age distribution scale, that is, it contains a higher proportion of both young and old people than is the case for the Northwest Territories in general. For example, the *5 to 14 years old* group represents 25.3 per cent of the sample compared to 19.9 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories. Similarly, the proportions for the age group that is *over 64 years* is 5.4 and 3.9 per cent respectively.

Chart 3.2
Highest Level of Schooling Achieved, 1992
Number of Aboriginal respondents



Data on school achievement levels (Chart 3.2) reveal that the median respondent education level falls in the *Grade 7 to 9* range, with 724 respondents – 36.9 per cent of the total – fitting into this category. While 19.1 per cent have a *Grade 3* education, or less, more than five per cent of the sample has a post-secondary level of education, or higher. There is very little difference between male and female participation at each level until the post-secondary level; at this stage, female respondents report slightly higher education attainment levels. With respect to education level and age, those who have had no formal education are predominantly in the older age groups. Only nine per cent of respondents having no education are under the age of 45, while 68 per cent of those in this education category are 55 years old or older. Sixty-one per cent of those over 54 years old have had no formal education. Among the 76 respondents who have achieved post-secondary levels or higher, only 12 per cent are 45 years old or older.

Another interesting finding relates to participation in traditional activities (Table 3.4). A large majority of respondents – more than 73 per cent – participate in traditional activities of some sort. Table 3.4 also shows that participation rates vary widely by language group. At one end of the scale, the Inuinnaqtun, Cree, Inuvialuktun and Dogrib groups have participation rates of more than 80 per cent. By comparison, Gwich'in and Chipewyan respondents indicate participation rates of less than 65 per cent. Part of the discrepancy may be explained by sample size, since the very small sampling in some language groups might not generate representative trends (see sub-section C.3 – Results by language Group – for data on participation in specific traditional activities on the basis of language group).

Table 3.4
Participation in Traditional Activities by Language Group, 1992
Aboriginal respondents

Language group	*Participation*	
	YES *% of language group*	*NO* *% of language group*
Chipewyan	62.9	37.1
Cree	86.0	14.0
Dogrib	82.4	17.6
Gwich'in	55.6	44.4
Inuinnaqtun	98.6	1.4
Inuktitut	72.4	27.6
Inuvialuktun	83.1	16.9
North Slavey	71.9	28.1
South Slavey	71.0	29.0
AVERAGE	73.5	26.5

Since it is often assumed that language fluency and retention is a key element in maintaining traditional cultural activity, statistical tests were conducted to determine the degree of association between participation in traditional activities and fluency in an Aboriginal language. The results were somewhat surprising, indicating a

relatively low degree of association between fluency and participation in traditional activities.[1]

B.2.2 Language Fluency and Literacy

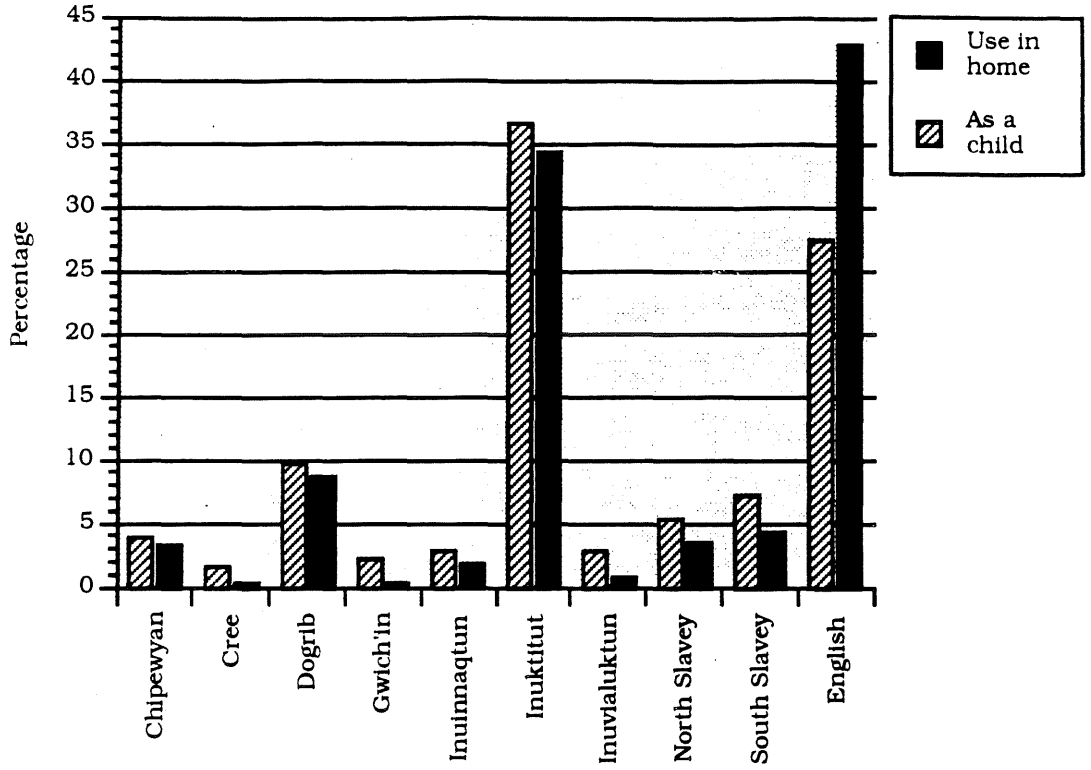
Respondents were asked several questions about their language history, changes in their use of languages, and their language habits at present. Chart 3.3 indicates responses to questions about the language first learned in childhood and the language spoken most frequently at home today.

A somewhat higher proportion of respondents learned Inuktitut as their first language compared to those who learned English, but today English is in the accent. English is the language spoken most frequently now in the homes of the majority of respondents, all of whom are of Aboriginal background. Inuktitut and Dogrib are the next largest groups.

Use of languages has changed over the lifetime of the respondents. All aboriginal languages have lost ground in terms of the proportion of respondents who use an Aboriginal language in the home today compared to the proportion whose first language was an Aboriginal language. Some women and men who spoke an Aboriginal language as children have switched to using English for at least part of their daily communication.

It is important to note that some Aboriginal languages, such as Cree, are widely spoken outside the Northwest Territories, while other languages, such as Inuinnaqtun, are unique to the Territories.

Chart 3.3
Language Learned as a Child and Language Used in the Home Today
As a percentage of all respondents, 1992



One measure of the degree to which a language is endangered is indicated by the numbers of people who learn that language as a child and then later shift to another language as their language of daily use. Of the 1,330 respondents reporting an Aboriginal language as their first language, 166 – or 12.5 per cent of these respondents – had adopted English as their first language by 1992. However, as Table 3.5 reveals, the shift from Aboriginal language to English varied greatly by language group. The low 3.4 per cent for Dogrib may partly be explained by the small Dogrib sample size.

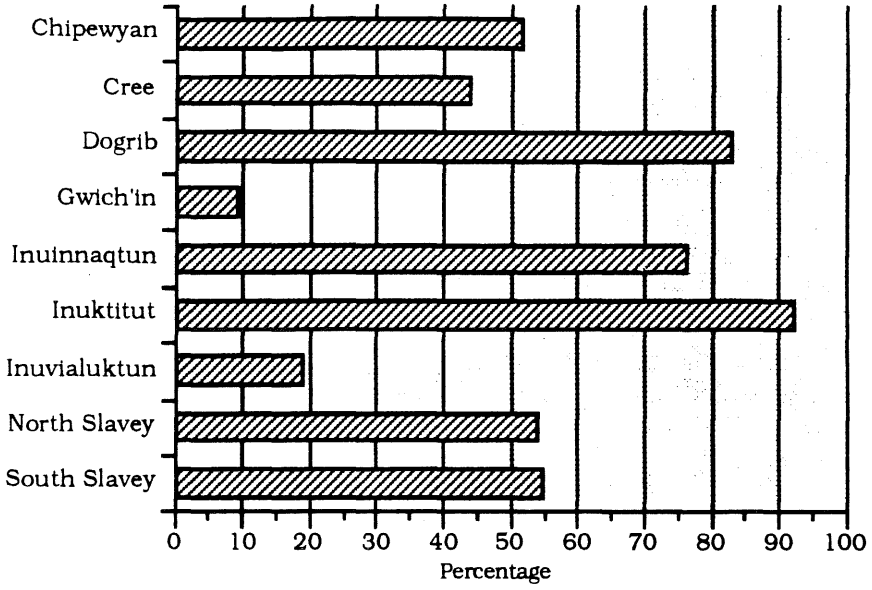
Table 3.5
Proportion of Respondents Who Report English as Their First Language
By Language First Learned as a Child, 1992

Category of language	*Percentage*
Chipewyan	25.0
Cree	25.8
Dogrib	3.4
Gwitch'in	61.0
Inuinnaqtun	13.7
Inuktitut	6.1
Inuvialuktun	37.7
North Slavey	10.3
South Slavey	23.7
AVERAGE	12.5

However, this tendency to adopt a different first language later in life is not totally associated with shifting from an Aboriginal language to English. Of the 477 respondents who reported they spoke English as a child, 49 indicated some other language as their current first choice.

The present language habits of respondents were captured by a question on the language in which they claim the most fluency today. Answers to this question are provided in Chart 3.4, which shows that there are wide variations among the language groups. For example, more than 60 per cent of the Inuktitut, Dogrib and Inuinnaqtun respondents report being most fluent in their Aboriginal language. By way of contrast, less than 20 per cent of the Gwich'in and Inuvialuktun respondents say they are most fluent in their respective Aboriginal languages.

Chart 3.4
Respondents Reporting the Most Fluency in Their Aboriginal Language
As a percentage of all respondents in each language group, 1992



Oral fluency characteristics

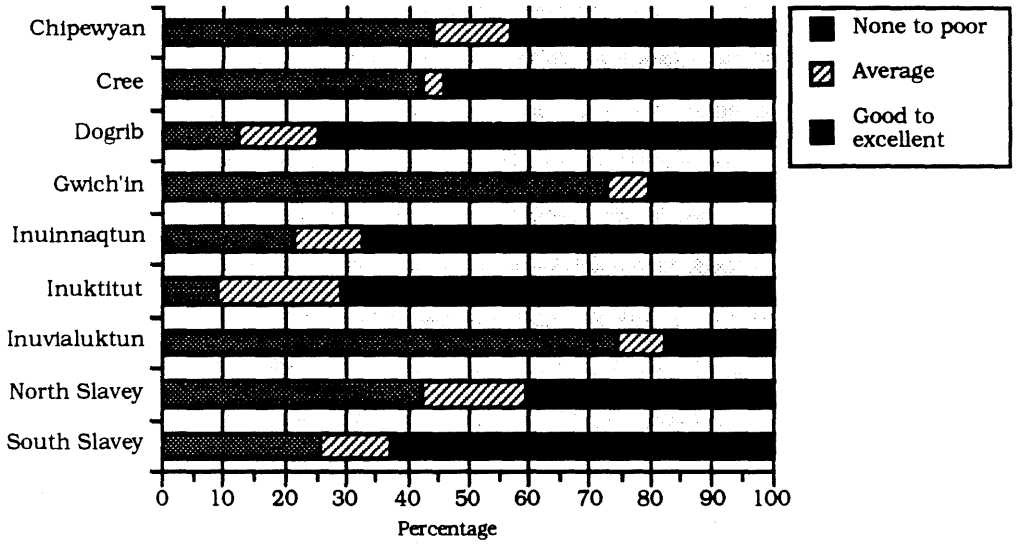
The 1992 survey questionnaire included seven questions to determine respondents' oral skills and nine questions about reading and writing skills in one of the Aboriginal languages. The final question in the oral fluency section enabled the interviewer to make a general assessment of respondents' overall speaking and comprehension skills. Since the results of this assessment are highly consistent with the results of the other fluency questions, it is used here as a basic measure of fluency. Chart 3.5 depicts three fluency levels (none to poor, average, good to excellent) for each language group.

Overall, more than 56 per cent of Aboriginal respondents show a *good to excellent* level of fluency. The majority of participants in five languages are rated as *good to excellent.* The Dogrib, Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun language groups, in decreasing order, contain the highest proportion of *good to excellent* speakers. At the other end of the

spectrum, the Gwich'in and Inuvialuktun language groups contain relatively small proportions of *good to excellent* speakers – 20.4 and 17.5 per cent respectively.

The wide range of fluency levels found between language groups indicates that Aboriginal speakers are not maintaining or developing their language skills at the same rate, which might reflect a variance in the availability of opportunities to use their Aboriginal language. Since fluent speakers are the main resource by which a community can maintain its language, these trends are important.

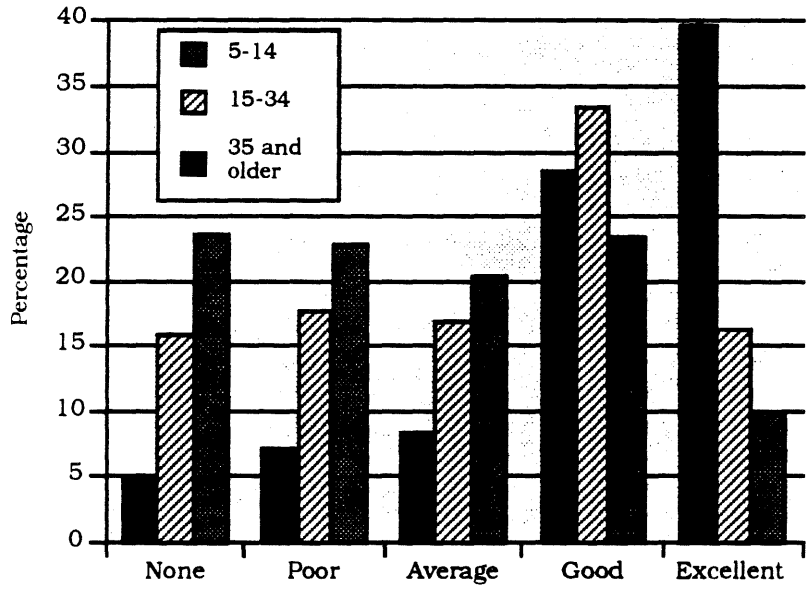
Chart 3.5
Interviewers Oral Fluency Evaluation by Language Group
As a percentage of all respondents in each language group, 1992



How are these fluency levels distributed among younger and older people? Chart 3.6 analyzes fluency levels for Aboriginal respondents by age group (5 to 14 years old, 15 to 34 years old, and 35 and older). The chart shows that respondents from the *15 to 34* age category are spread fairly evenly across all the fluency levels, with the exception of a higher concentration at the *good* level. Young speakers – 5 to 14

years old – are also more or less evenly distributed across fluency levels, with the exception of a lower concentration at the highest – or *excellent* – level. Finally, a much larger proportion of older respondents – those *35 years and older* – are found in the *good* and *excellent* fluency categories. While some of this difference can probably be accounted for by a natural increase in language skills as one grows older, it is possible also that younger speakers tend not to learn an Aboriginal language as well as their forebears.

Chart 3.6
Interviewer's Oral Fluency Evaluation by Age Group
As a percentage of all respondents for each group, 1992*

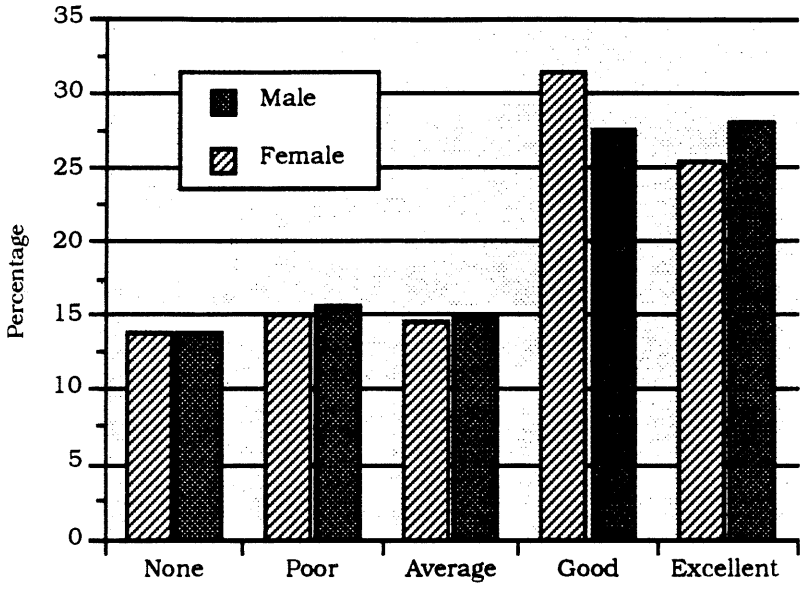


* totaling all answers for one age group equals 100 per cent

Another approach to oral fluency involves gender analysis. Chart 3.7 indicates that there are no marked differences between men and women on the fluency assessment measure. A slightly larger proportion of men were rated as *excellent*, but a higher share of women were rated as *good*. These patterns may reflect the fact that the languages of men and women in some cultures are somewhat

different and are valued differently. At the lower levels of fluency, the ratings of men and women were quite similar as well.

Chart 3.7
Interviewer Oral Fluency Evaluation by Gender
As a percentage of all respondents for each gender, 1992*



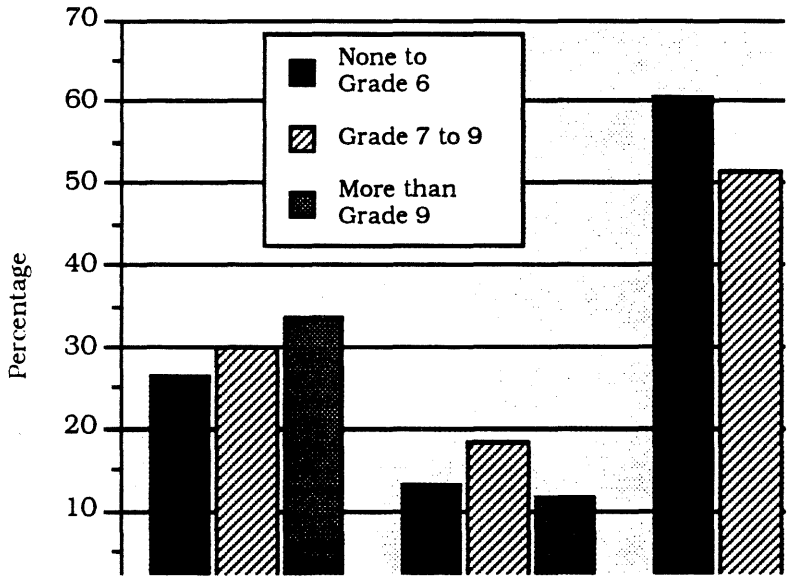
* totaling all answers for one gender equals 100 per cent

It is also useful to look at the relationship between schooling and fluency. Chart 3.8 relates the fluency assessment scores to the education level of respondents. School attainment levels were grouped into *none to Grade 6* education level – drawing 797 respondents, *Grade 7 to 9* (720 respondents), and *more than Grade 6* level, which includes 400 persons. Fluency was grouped into *none to poor*, *average* and *good to excellent.*

The results show that among those with lower school attainment levels – *none to Grade 6*, most are at the highest levels of fluency. However, people with high levels of fluency are also fairly well represented at all the other levels of educational achievement. These findings are encouraging since they show that many people have been

able to maintain their Aboriginal language fluency while doing well in education. On the other hand, these results also suggest that the schooling received by the respondents might have had some negative influence on Aboriginal language maintenance. Chart 3.6 showed that age and fluency are linked, with older people tending to be more fluent. A comparison of age and schooling would show clearly that those who have had no schooling at all are in the older age ranges. Thus, the people with no schooling are highly likely to be older and more fluent.

Chart 3.8
Interviewer Oral Fluency Evaluation by School Attainment Level
As a percentage of all respondents for each school attainment level, 1992*



* totaling all answers for one level equals 100 per cent

In sum, fluency levels vary across the languages. Older speakers tend to be more fluent and younger speakers less. Men and women appear to be about the same in fluency. Those with no education tend to be quite fluent, while among those at all other levels of education, people with high levels of fluency can be found. For some language groups, low education is more associated with fluency, for others, it is high

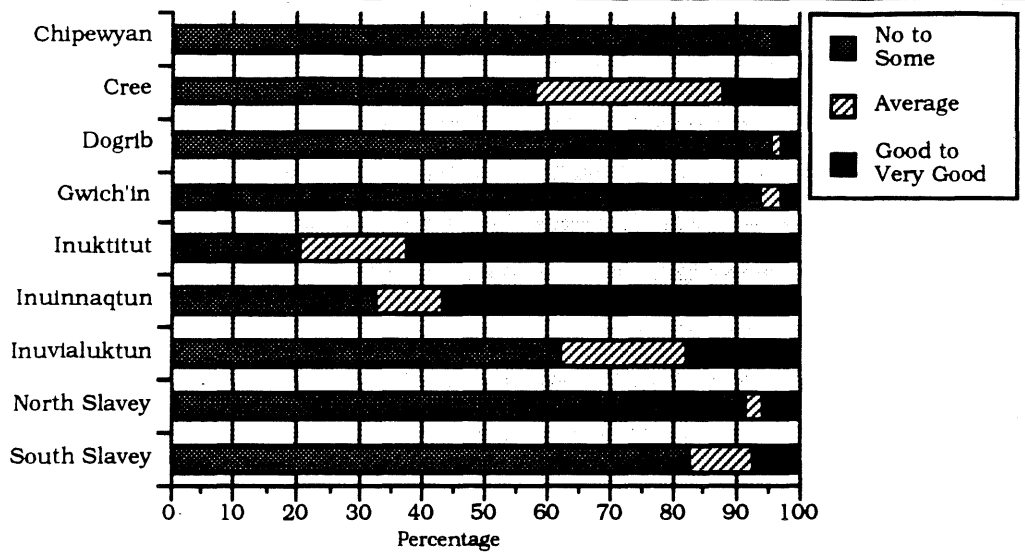
education, and for yet others, both high and low fluency appears most at the higher levels of education.

Literacy characteristics

In the 1993 survey, a question was included on literacy that paralleled the interviewers' overall oral fluency assessment.[2] After going through eight questions in which the respondents demonstrated their reading and writing skills, the interviewer provided an overall assessment of their literacy skills. Literacy skills were rated as *no fluency, some, average, good* or *very good.* This measure is used here to represent the outcomes of all the literacy questions on the survey. One should keep in mind that the history of writing systems and the use of literacy among the Aboriginal peoples of the NWT has differed considerably from group to group, so many historical factors influence the patterns in the data.

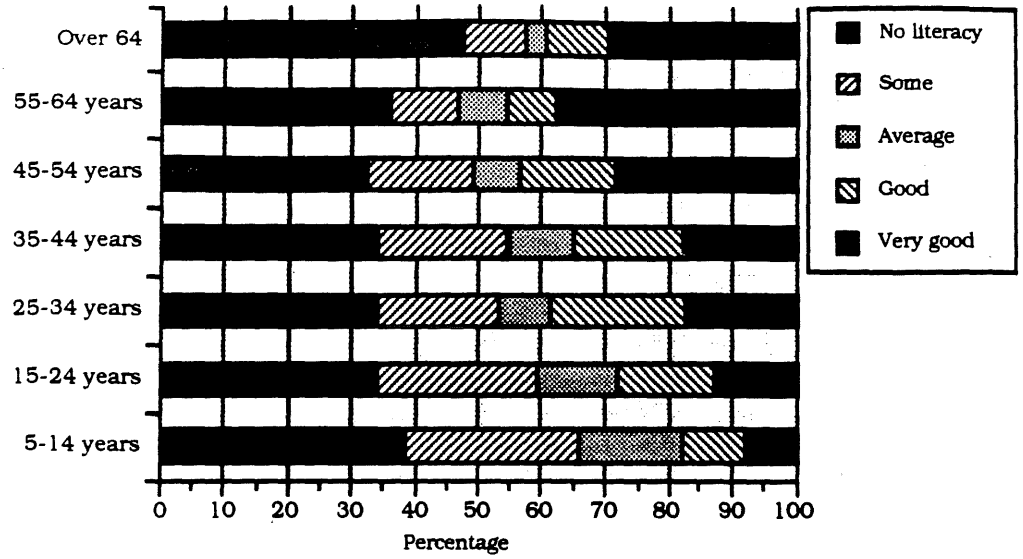
Chart 3.9 shows the aggregate results of the interviewer literacy evaluation by language group. Inuinnaqtun and Inuktitut make a strong showing probably because of at least a century of widespread use of several writing systems. More than 62.5 per cent of all Inuktitut respondents are rated as having *good to very good* literacy (56.7 per cent for Inuinnaqtun respondents). At the other end of the spectrum, Gwich'in and Dogrib's have *good to very good* writers and readers in the proportions of 2.7 and 2.8 per cent respectively. These results show that there are wide variations among language group. It is also worth noting that there is no strong relationship between high levels of oral fluency (Chart 3.8) and corresponding levels of literacy. The language group with the lowest literacy rates are not necessarily those with the lowest oral fluency levels.

Chart 3.9
Interviewer Literacy Evaluation by Language Group
As a percentage of all respondents for each language group, 1993



Younger people, in school or recently having been in school, might be expected to be more literate than older people if one assumes either that literacy skills in one language can support literacy skills in another or that literacy in an Aboriginal language is being taught in school. However, older people may be more literate if Aboriginal reading and writing are largely taught in the community rather than in the school and/or if literacy in Aboriginal languages were taught by schools, churches or other institutions in earlier times. Also, good literacy skills take time to develop, so that older people might have an advantage. Chart 3.10 shows literacy levels analyzed by age.

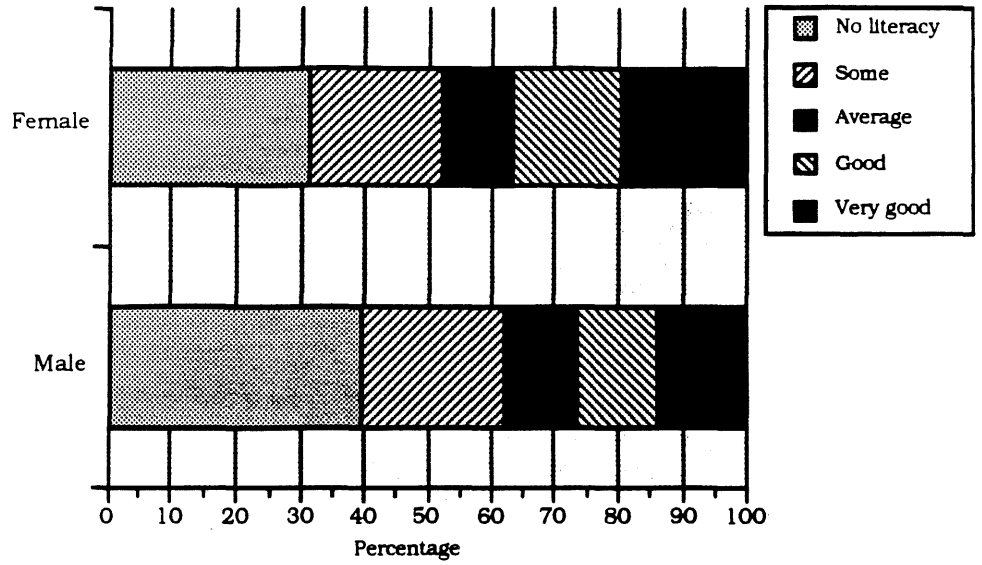
Chart 3.10
Interviewer Literacy Evaluation by Age Group
As a percentage of all respondents for each age group, 1993



It seems that older and middle-aged respondents are better represented at the highest levels of literacy. However, a considerable percentage of all age groups are at the *no literacy* end as well. Thus, it seems that schooling is not having much impact on younger people as far as Aboriginal language literacy is concerned, and that older people tend to be either quite skillful or not skillful at all.

It was noted above that there was not a great deal of difference between men and women with respect to Aboriginal language fluency. At the highest level, the men had a slight advantage. Chart 3.11 explored literacy skill levels with respect to gender. In the case of literacy, women do much better than men. The differences get greater as skill levels increase. It is difficult to account for this strong pattern.

Chart 3.11
Interviewer Literacy Evaluation by Gender
As a percentage of all respondents for each gender, 1993

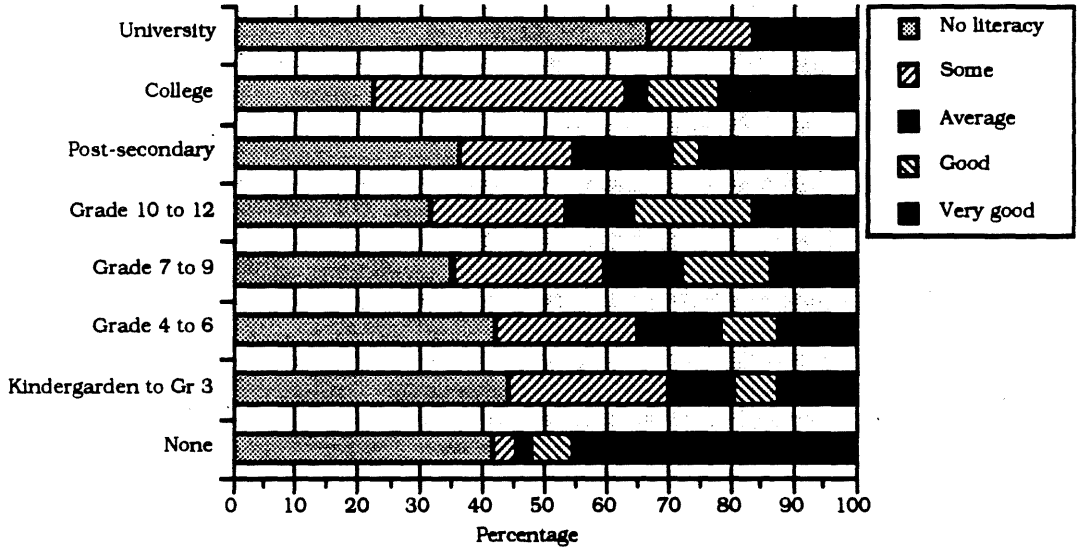


As noted above, older people tend to be the most fluent and to have less education. Since literacy is linked to both knowledge of the language and specific skills in reading and writing, the link between literacy and schooling is interesting, since it is in school where literacy skills in one language or another are usually, but not necessarily, acquired. Chart 3.12 relates Aboriginal language literacy skills and levels of formal education.

Literacy skills are highest among those respondents that have had no schooling. In this group, over half have *good* to *very good* literacy ability in their Aboriginal language. It is interesting to note that this group is highly polarized in its literacy ability – over 40 per cent have no literacy skills. It was found above in the discussion about age and literacy (Chart 3.10) that older people tend to be either very literate or not literate at all. Since most people having no formal schooling are in the older age groups (as discussed earlier), the literacy pattern found in the group having no education reflects the pattern found in the older age groups. Among those having some formal education,

fewer have high levels of literacy than those who have had no education. Since literacy increases among the older age groups, and since many of those in these older categories have had no schooling, it is not surprising that those having formal education reflect a lower level of literacy skills.

Chart 3.12
Interviewer Literacy Evaluation by School Attainment Level
As a percentage of all respondents for each level, 1993



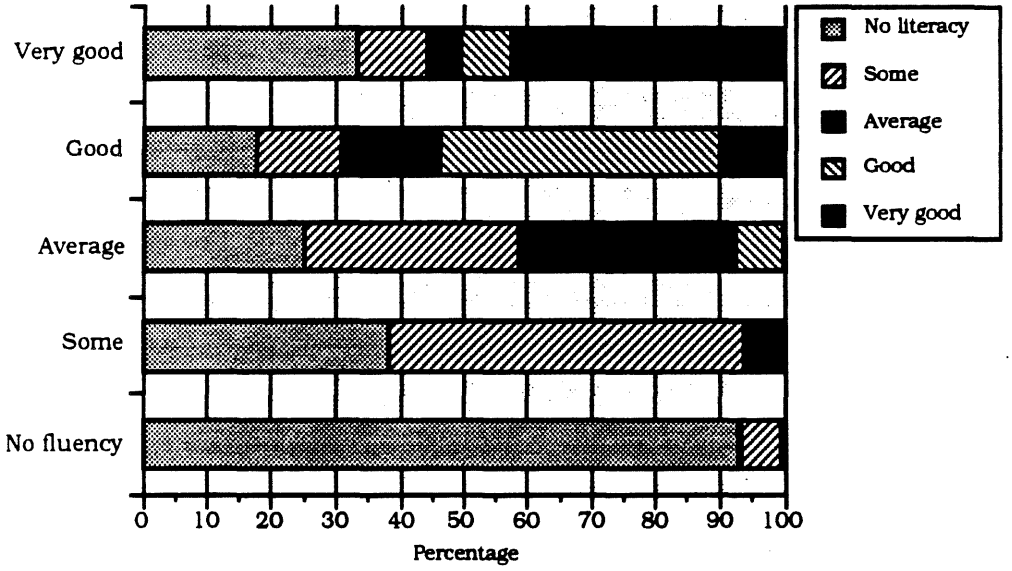
Nonetheless, literacy levels do seem to increase from the low levels of schooling to higher levels. The pattern is not simple and this indicates that education does not determine literacy independently from other factors. Clearly, age, education, fluency and literacy are inter-related.

It appears then that two factors are operating. First, almost half of those with no schooling are very literate, presumably because of their fluency skills and earlier opportunities to learn literacy skills in the community. On the other hand, those with a good deal of education tend to have higher Aboriginal literacy skills than those with less – but

some - schooling. This is presumably because they were able to transfer some of the literacy skills they learned in school, in the context of another language, to their Aboriginal language.

While generic literacy skills learned at school seem to play a part in accounting for levels of Aboriginal literacy among the more educated, fluency has a definite impact on Aboriginal language literacy. Chart 3.13 shows Aboriginal literacy in relation to fluency in Aboriginal language using as a basis, the 1993 data.

Chart 3.13
Interviewer Literacy Evaluation by Oral Fluency Level
As a percentage of all respondents for each level, 1993



This chart clearly indicates that fluency is strongly linked to Aboriginal literacy skills. Those with no or little fluency show low levels of literacy as well. Average and good speakers have average and good literacy skills. As one would expect from the findings on the last few charts above, the most fluent speakers are divided among those with low literacy skills and those with the highest level of skills, but this

time more than half of the excellent speakers are at the top literacy level. It seems then that fluency is an even more important factor in Aboriginal literacy than level of formal education.

In sum, Inuinnaqtun, and Inuktitut speakers show relatively high levels of literacy in their languages. Inuvialuktun, Cree, and the Dene languages have considerably lower levels. Younger people do not demonstrate very high levels of Aboriginal literacy, the middle age category shows mixed abilities, and the oldest group seems largely split between no Aboriginal literacy skills at all and very high levels of skill. Women are more likely than men to have good Aboriginal literacy skills. Relating education with literacy brings out the patterns seen in the age breakdown, and it also shows that those with the highest level of education tend to have good Aboriginal literacy skills. Finally, oral fluency is strongly linked with literacy except at the highest levels of fluency where there is again a split between those with low literacy and those with high levels. It is assumed that older people are in the majority in this group.

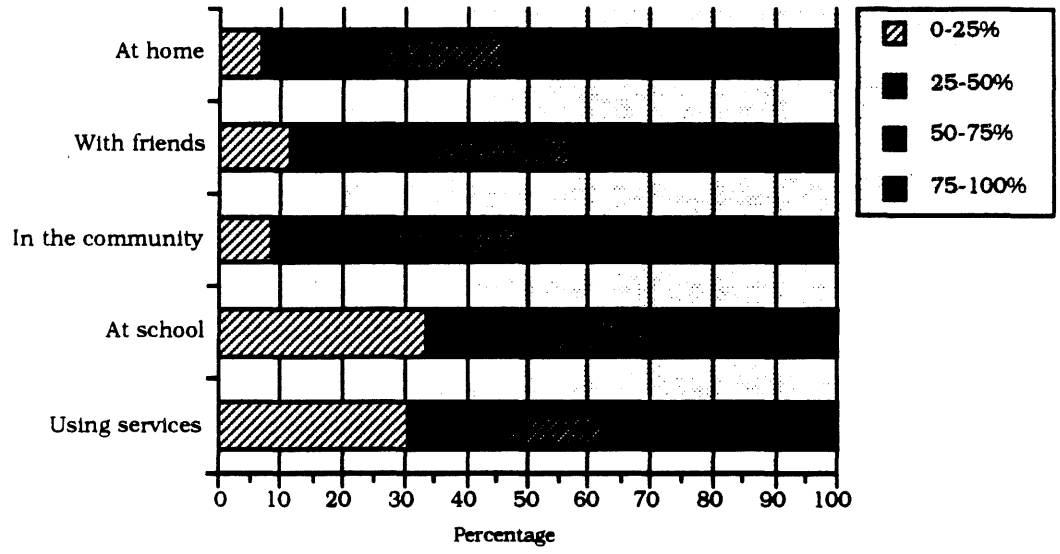
B.2.3 Language Use in Different Environments

This section describes major trends associated with the use of each language in different environments. The influence of various settings on the use of Aboriginal languages is determined by answers to questions about how much of the Aboriginal language was spoken in environments such as the home, with friends, the community, the school, and when using government services. A summary of the results is found in Chart 3.14.

The results indicate that more than 50 per cent of the respondents reporting the most fluency in their Aboriginal language speak it more than 75 per cent of the time at home and in the community. This proportion is lowest for the *school* environment, where only 21.5 per cent of the respondents state that they speak their Aboriginal language more than 75 per cent of the time at school. Combining the *between*

50-75 per cent and the *75-100 per cent* categories, one can see that the Aboriginal language is used quite extensively – by more than 50 per cent of the respondents, except for school – in the different environments.

Chart 3.14
Intensity of Aboriginal Language Usage in Various environments
For Respondents Reporting the Most Fluency in their Aboriginal Language
As a percentage of all respondents in each language group, 1992

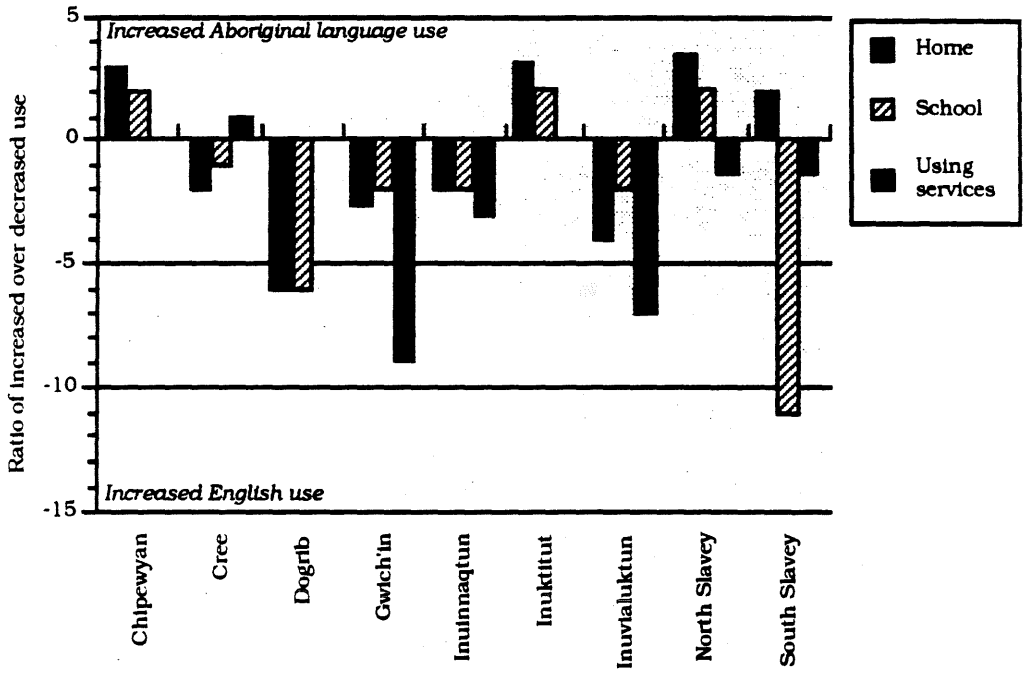


The above-mentioned results provide a current picture of the use of the Aboriginal language in various settings. A more critical aspect of language use in different environments is the degree to which respondents have increased or decreased their use of the Aboriginal language over time. Respondents were asked to assess the extent to which their (oral) use of the Aboriginal language – and of other languages including English – has increased or decreased during the past five years, in various environments.

Chart 3.15 expresses, as a ratio, the magnitude and direction of language change – from the Aboriginal language to English, between

1988 and 1993, and for the home, school, and services environments. A ratio of 2, for example, would indicate that twice as many respondents who reported a change in language use have migrated from English to the Aboriginal language. By comparison, a ratio of -2 would reveal the same magnitude of change but in the reverse direction – from the Aboriginal language to English.

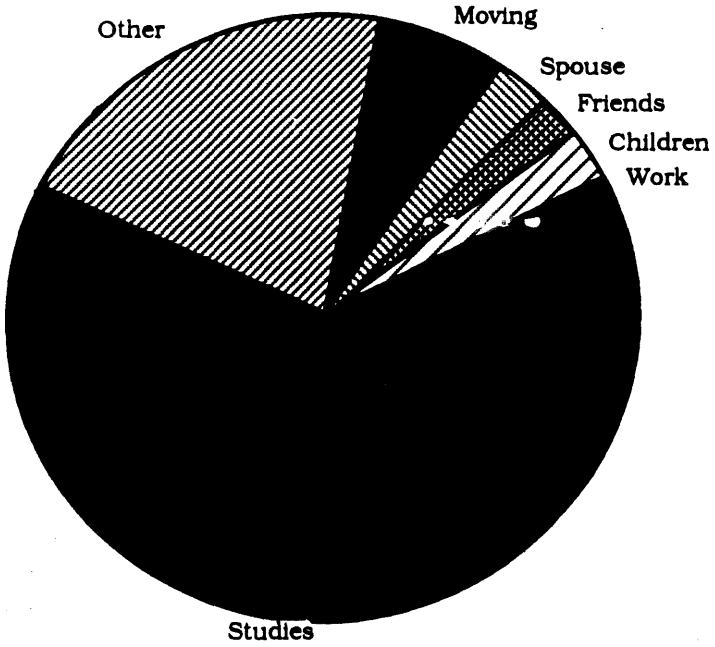
Chart 3.15
Direction of Language Change in Various Environments
Respondents Reporting a Change in Language Usage, 1988-93
Ratio of those who moved from English to the Aboriginal language to those who moved in the opposite direction



The chart shows that transfer patterns from the Aboriginal language to English (negative ratios) are much more prevalent both in numbers – the number of Aboriginal languages and of environments involved – and in magnitude. For example, more than 10 times as many Gwich'in respondents reported using English more than their Aboriginal language at school. In fact, a majority of respondents from six

different language groups report that they have increased their use of English at school. When using government services, respondents from five language groups state an increased use of English and only one group – the Cree – shows an increase in use in the other direction. The only significant gains relate to the use of the Aboriginal language at home, where four language groups show a positive trend. These findings, if they could be generalized, would suggest that any perceived improvement in the availability of services in the Aboriginal language (see next section), or any anticipated positive impact of the education system on language fluency has to be viewed against the overall gains by the English language.

Chart 3.16
Reasons Given for Changing Language Preference
As a percentage of all respondents who reported a change in language preference 1992



Another dimension of language habits is the change in language preference that respondents experience in their lifetime. Survey results show that 19.3 per cent of the respondents had changed their

language preference at some point in their life and of those, 63.4 per cent switched from an Aboriginal language to English. Chart 3.16 above outlines the main causes for language preference change. It shows that *studies* – presumably meaning the dominant language of the school – stands out as the singular dominant factor in the change of preference, accounting for 79.1 per cent of all responses.

B.2.4 Availability of Services, Use and Satisfaction

Respondents' perceptions about availability and use of services in their Aboriginal language are important given that one of the Cooperation Agreement's purposes is to provide such services. Respondents were asked about community availability of various services in the Aboriginal language over the past five years, and about their use of these services. It should be noted that the results presented in this section are derived from the 1993 data set, given that slight revisions to the 1993 survey questionnaire allow a more refined analysis of these questions (see Appendix D) than would the 1992 set.

Table 3.6 presents the aggregate answers to these questions. On the subject of availability, three answer options were provided : *Yes*, *No* and *Don't know* (the table shows the proportion of respondents who said YES to the question on availability). It should be emphasized that the questions deal with respondents' perception of availability. *Yes* answers do not necessarily reflect actual availability, and similarly, *No* answers indicate only that the user does not believe the service to be available.

It is interesting to compare the perception of service availability of respondents with a more objective assessment of these services. An independent appraisal of service availability in the various communities was obtained in 1992 through the community surveyors who were familiar with their communities (Appendix K). All but one of the surveyors indicated, for example, that Aboriginal language services related to obtaining fishing/hunting licenses were available,

while only 29 per cent of respondents (Table 3.6) perceived these services to be available. On the other hand, surveyors from only two communities indicated that Aboriginal language services were available at regional health centres, while 56 per cent of respondents felt that they were. Surveyors from all but two communities indicated that services were available at nursing stations, while only 62 per cent of respondents shared this perception.

Service availability clearly depends both upon a service being offered, as well as upon a knowledge that such a service is offered. If a service is not known to be available by an individual, it is, functionally, unavailable to that person. Availability, therefore, incorporates both objective and subjective elements.

Table 3.6
Perception About Availability of Services in the Aboriginal language and Use of These Services, 1988-93

Types of services	*Service availability*	*Use of services*
	*Percentage of all respondents**	
Nursing stations	62.1	57.1
Regional health centres/hospitals	55.9	53.5
Family assistance	40.8	51.5
Justice services	36.6	37.2
Information on job/employment	28.7	47.7
Obtaining fishing/hunting licenses	28.6	42.2
Help for recreational activity	23.5	28.7
Obtaining information on trapping	23.1	35.7
Library	19.6	37.4
Obtaining student assistance	13.4	12.4
Boarding homes	10.0	34.4
Information on home construction	8.5	45.7
Help for businesses	8.1	13.7

* For *Use of services*, the percentages are calculated on the basis of those who indicated that services were available.

One can see from the table that the general trend is to perceive greater availability for social services – health, social assistance, justice – and less availability in the educational and work related areas. It may be that perceived availability is a function of service demand, that is, services which are most often used or likely to be used are perceived as being more available. Answers to the question on *use of services* (the second column of Table 3.6) partly corroborate this assumption, as services perceived as being more available generally are used more frequently.

There are marked differences in perceived availability and use of services. Perceived availability ranges from 62.1 per cent for *nursing stations* to 8.1 per cent for *help for businesses*. Use of service ranges from a low of 13.7 per cent for *help for businesses* to a high of 57.1 per cent for *nursing stations*. However, these findings show an incomplete picture of access to services as they do not indicate how the provision of services in the Aboriginal languages has changed over time.

In addition to assessing service availability and access, the evaluation asked respondents whether access to the various services is easier or more difficult now than three to five years ago (before the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement). Results of this question are compiled in Table 3.7. It shows that the overwhelming majority of respondents who provide a specific rating (thus excluding the *don't know*) indicate that services in the Aboriginal language are either more accessible or that the situation has not changed. This perception is particularly strong for the "social services" – health, family assistance and justice. This general view suggests that efforts to provide more services in the Aboriginal languages are bearing fruit.

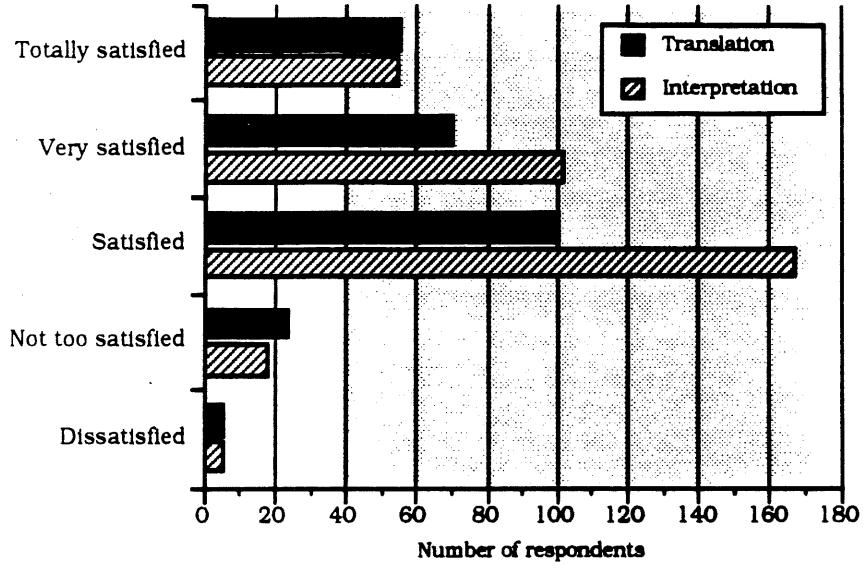
Table 3.7
Change in Ease of Access to Services in the Aboriginal Language Between 1988 and 1993

Types of services	*Easier or more difficult to access?*			
	No change	*More difficult*	*Easier*	*Don't know*
	*Percentage of all applicable responses**			
Nursing stations	33.6	2.5	42.4	21.5
Regional health centres/hospitals	29.2	4.4	39.7	26.7
Family assistance	26.8	4.2	34.2	35.0
Justice services	27.4	6.0	26.2	40.3
Obtaining fishing/hunting licenses	31.7	4.0	20.5	43.8
Obtaining information on trapping	24.8	2.1	18.1	55.1
Help for recreational activity	24.6	4.6	18.1	52.8
Information on job/employment	33.4	2.9	17.1	46.7
Information on home construction	13.1	3.3	13.9	69.8
Library	25.7	2.7	13.3	58.3
Boarding homes	15.5	3.6	11.7	69.2
Obtaining student assistance	16.2	3.1	11.3	69.4
Help for businesses	14.7	4.3	3.0	78.0

* excludes the *Not applicable* answers

Translation and interpretation services represent important Cooperation Agreement activities, and respondents were asked about their satisfaction with these services. Chart 3.17 presents the results of this part of the questionnaire. One can see from the chart that the level of satisfaction with both services is relatively high; median responses falling under the *satisfied* category and less than 15 per cent of respondents reporting to be either *not too satisfied* or *dissatisfied.* These findings, while fairly positive, should be seen in the context of an overall low response rate to these questions. Translation services were used by only about 10 per cent, and interpretation services, by less than 15 per cent of the total sample.

Chart 3.17
Satisfaction with Translation and Interpretation Services, 1993
Number of Aboriginal respondents who reported using the service



Respondents' participation in language (oral and literacy) training is reported in Table 3.8. The results show that less than 12 per cent of all Aboriginal respondents undertook any form of language training in 1992.[3] The most popular form of training was *literacy training in the Aboriginal language*, attracting 6.0 per cent of all respondents. It is interesting to note that other forms of language training – including training in a second language such as English – did not attract large numbers of participants - only 1.3 per cent of all respondents, or 28 persons. It is also noteworthy that a small group of respondents participated in both oral and literacy training.

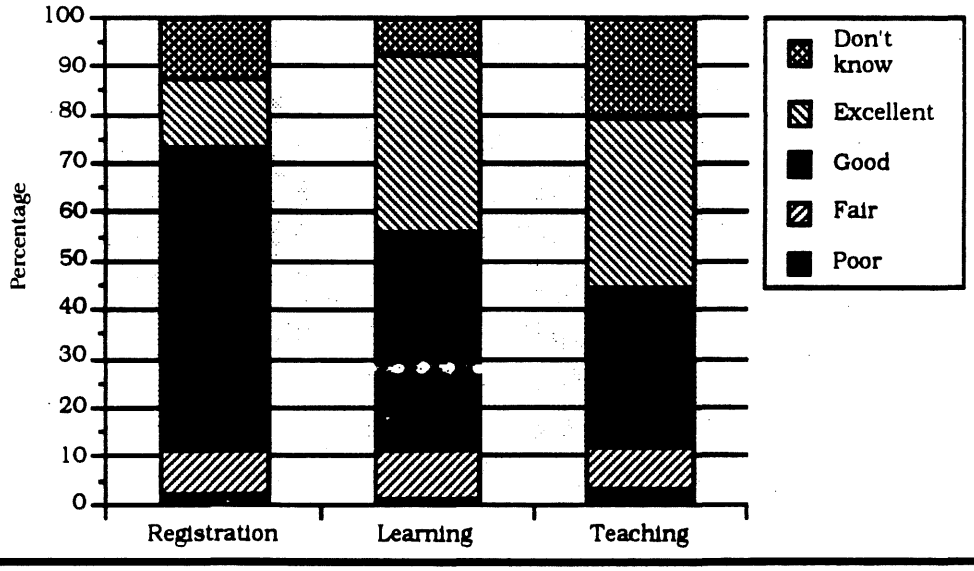
Table 3.8
Participation in Language Training, 1992
Aboriginal respondents

Types of training	*Participation*	
	Number	*Percentage*
Did not participate in any training	1,896	88.8
Oral training in the Aboriginal language	45	2.1
Literacy training in the Aboriginal language	127	6.0
Both oral and literacy training	40	1.9
Other*	28	1.3

* includes oral and literacy training in a second language or any combination of the above.

In general, satisfaction with language training is high (Chart 3.18). Less than five per cent of the respondents who participate in language training report dissatisfaction, in all three areas: *registration*, *learning* and *teaching*. A large majority report a *good* to *excellent* degree of satisfaction with all aspects of the training. Again, these positive

Chart 3.18
Satisfaction with Language Training, 1993
Percentage of Aboriginal respondents who reported participating in training



results should be seen in the context of generally low participation rate in language training (11.2 per cent of all respondents).

C. MAINTENANCE, DEVELOPMENT AND ENHANCEMENT OF ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES : A LITERATURE REVIEW

C.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature on the maintenance, development, and enhancement of Aboriginal languages. Because there is a vast amount of writing on this topic, the review has been limited in various ways. First, the materials reported on here come from sources that are readily available to the reader through libraries, so that they can be accessed for full reference. Secondly, an effort has been made to report a sample of documentation directly relevant to Aboriginal languages in the NWT while placing emphasis on the coverage of areas likely to be less well known. Third, given the volume of literature that relates to language development, only the most general themes could be addressed in this short paper. For more in-depth coverage of these themes – and fuller reference to the applicable literature – the reader is referred to the more detailed Literature Review that is included as a separate technical document and which was commissioned alongside the present literature review.

The chapter is organized among the following topics: language loss of minority language groups; maintenance, development and enhancement of Aboriginal languages (numbers of speakers, scales of language vitality, general concepts about maintaining languages, maintaining language through education, maintaining language through literacy, and other areas of language development); research on survival of endangered languages in other countries; and models of government language services. An extensive bibliography has been provided with this chapter. Many items in it are specifically related to the NWT.

In reviewing matters related to language and culture, it is worth remembering the impact of the researchers' values and assumptions on their treatment of the subject matter. Readers as well must keep

in mind the biases they bring to bear on their consideration of language and culture policy issues. This chapter illustrates in some measure the diversity of approaches found in Canada and abroad.

C.2 Language Loss of Minority Language Groups

Since World War II, many researchers have examined what happens when different language groups come in contact with one another. A common phenomenon is "language shift," that is, one language gives way partially or completely to another. Two notable authors on this subject are Christina Bratt Paulston and Joshua Fishman; their works discuss concepts of linguistic behavior that are particularly relevant to Aboriginal languages in the Northwest Territories.

In "Linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in multilingual settings" (1986)[4] Bratt Paulston writes about circumstances that help a minority group avoid language loss. She identifies three scenarios: 1) a group separates itself from others (e.g. the Amish in the U.S.); 2) there are externally imposed boundaries (e.g. racist segregation or geographic isolation); and 3) situations in which the two languages serve different purposes in the society (e.g. religious versus everyday use). She points out, however, that language loss is the norm and that group bilingualism – the use of two languages by a community – is unusual. Bratt Paulston also notes that language maintenance is an emotion-charged issue; it is difficult, therefore, to collect objective data about it.

Joshua Fishman discusses the complexity of bilingualism in two texts: *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society* (1972), and *Bilingual education: An international sociological perspective* (1976). He points out that bilingual individuals tend to use each of their languages for different functions and have different degrees of fluency in them. For example, one language is used more for oral communication, the other for written. He asserts

that no society raises its children with two mother tongues. His studies on how groups use and maintain two languages can shed light on whether and in what ways language shift may occur in certain circumstances. But he also stresses that each situation is unique and that one must be careful with generalizations.

A number of researchers have looked at ways in which the languages themselves change or evolve when in contact with others. Such contact can result in the development of a new language, as in the case of Yiddish or Michif (a blend of French and Cree). It can also enrich a language. But often it means language decline.

Uriel Weinreich in *Languages in contact: Findings and problems* (1968) discusses changes in phonologies, grammars and vocabularies. In essays published in 1971 and 1972, R. Wick Miller examines the process of slow erosion of language among the Shoshoni people in the U.S. The two essays are: "The death of language or serendipity among the Shoshoni" and "Obsolescing languages: The case of the Shoshoni."

José Mailhot in a 1985 paper called "Implementation of mother-tongue literacy among the Montagnais: Myth or reality?" examines similar issues among the Montagnais. Other authors – Sharon Nelson-Barber, Mary Miller, Mark Fleischer and William Leap – discuss the development of various forms of "Indian English."

C.3 Maintenance, Development and Enhancement of Aboriginal Languages

The literature on linguistic theory and on minority languages in various parts of the world is vast. Data are scattered widely in the general literature of a score of academic disciplines. Much of it is not easily available to a wider audience, being located in unpublished reports, local materials, and the oral culture.

Numbers of speakers

Data on numbers of Aboriginal language speakers and degrees of fluency are important for language planning but difficult to obtain. Detailed studies are scattered, depending on where social scientists have done in-depth work, while general data come largely from estimates or from self-reported sources such as the census.

A 1965 paper by Wallace Chafe entitled "Corrected estimates regarding speakers of Indian languages," is an early example of an estimate of Aboriginal language speakers in North America. In 1978, researchers James Kari and Bernard Spolski published an extensive literature review on Athapaskan languages in the U.S. and Canada ("Trends in the study of Athapaskan language maintenance and bilingualism"). In 1982, Michael Foster estimated the survival prospects of various Aboriginal languages in Canada in his paper "Canada's indigenous languages: Present and future."

Barbara Burnaby and Roderic Beaujot analyzed 1981 census data to present a picture of the major Aboriginal languages and language groups in Canada. (*The use of Aboriginal languages in Canada: An analysis of 1981 Census data*, 1986.) Their major finding was a dramatic decline in Aboriginal language speakers between 1951 and 1981. George Jarvis analyzed the 1981 census data by province in his *Changes in language use among Native peoples of Canada* (1984). He paints a more optimistic picture of Aboriginal language maintenance in the NWT.

This view is supported in two surveys conducted by Aboriginal peoples groups. The studies are: *Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations* (1990) by the Assembly of First Nations and *Sociolinguistic survey of Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan: On the critical list* (1991) by the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee. Both found that Dene communities were in relatively good health in terms of language maintenance.

All the above studies indicate, however, that English is making inroads everywhere and that even large groups and isolated communities are in danger of language loss.

Scales of Aboriginal Language Vitality

Several linguists have developed scales to measure the vitality of a language, whether it is healthy or in a state of decline. One such scale is in R. Wick Miller's 1972 study on the Shoshoni in which he classifies languages as flourishing, obsolescing, obsolete or dead. James Bauman, in his 1980 study *A guide to issues in Indian language retention*, created a five-level scale describing the different states of viability of Aboriginal languages from the flourishing to the extinct. The scales are useful in suggesting strategies for language retention, but they should not be applied too rigidly, given their lack of overall precision. They are helpful as guides, but only take into account certain variables. There are always other variables present which differ, depending upon the specific circumstances.

Maintaining language: General Concepts

Various researchers discuss Aboriginal language maintenance as a success story, a phenomenon of survival in light of the pressures from the new dominant culture. Bratt Paulston in a 1981 essay ("Bilingualism and education") suggests reasons for indigenous resistance to assimilation. William Leap in a 1981 paper entitled "American Indian languages" provides detailed descriptions of how Aboriginal groups in the U.S. maintained their languages. Ronald Wardaugh in Chapter 10 of his text *Language and nationhood: The Canadian experience* (1983) does the same for Canadian groups. Willard Walker ("Native American writing systems," 1981) discusses the success of certain groups, notably the Cherokee of Oklahoma, to develop their own culture of literacy. He also analyzes how the

growing domination of the Anglo majority may have suppressed Aboriginal literacy.

Joshua Fishman discusses language policy in *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective* (1989). He states that: 1) strong community will is essential to maintaining an endangered language; 2) the first goal of language policy must be to ensure use of the language in everyday life; and 3) society at large must support or at least not interfere with this process.

There is much evidence to show that Aboriginal peoples want to maintain their languages and see them as central to cultural survival. This issue was raised often by those who addressed the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1992. However, various studies also show ambivalence – a tension between what communities believe in theory and what they do in practice. The ambivalence is at least in part the legacy of past policies and practices which had the effect of suppressing Aboriginal languages. Authors who raise this issue include William Leap (in his 1981 study), Shkilnyk (in a 1986 report), and the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee (through their survey of 1991). The Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (Task Force, 1986) makes reference to such practices, as does the Profile of Aboriginal Languages in the Yukon (Yukon Government, 1990)

The U.S. experience offers some general lessons for Canada on Aboriginal language retention. There are three texts that have provided guidance on this subject in the U.S. over the past decade. They are: 1) Bauman's *A Guide to Issues in Indian Language Retention* (1980); 2) Leap's "American Indian languages" chapter in *Language in the U.S.A.* (1981); and 3) St. Clair and Leap's collection of articles, *Language Renewal among American Indian Tribes: Issues and Problems* (1982).

Bauman writes of the need to set realistic, practical goals when establishing language policy and the need to focus on children. He

also stresses community control and involvement in language programs.

In "American Indian languages," Leap reviews some successful Aboriginal language programs in the U.S. for various age groups. He gives five prerequisites for language maintenance programs: basic research; development of a functional writing system; staff training; teaching materials; and an evaluation plan.

The St. Clair and Leap book is a collection of articles on strategies for language renewal. Among the papers presented are examples of the role of the linguist, the importance of context for child language learning, and language learning in early childhood education. The book emphasizes that positive pressure is put on children to succeed in a language renewal program when that program is highly valued by the adults around them. This book and the preceding two publications point out that each setting is unique and that programs must be adapted accordingly. The Report of the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages (Task Force, 1986) proposes a series of ideas and options relevant to the NWT.

Maintaining Language Through Education

For a historical perspective on the role of Canadian Aboriginal languages in education the following studies are relevant: Barbara Burnaby's *Languages and their roles in educating native children* (1980) and Kelleen Toohey's *Northern Native Canadian second language education: A case study of Fort Albany, Ontario* (1982). Both give overviews of policy. Also useful are Linda Tschanz' *Native languages and government policy: An historical examination* (1980), and Philip Howard's "History of the use of Dene languages in education in the Northwest Territories" (1983).

Two key studies provide an overall picture of the numbers and characteristics of Aboriginal language programs in schools in Canada.

The more recent and comprehensive is a 1992 survey by the Canadian Education Association of all federal and band schools and about 500 provincial schools. The main weakness, say the authors, Verna Kirkness and Sheena Bowman, is a dearth of courses that use First Nations languages as the language of instruction or as part of an integrated system. The exception is Inuktitut where it is used in the NWT as a language of instruction in primary grades.

Another survey is the one done in 1990 by the Assembly of First Nations. This study focuses mostly on community concerns about Aboriginal language teaching. The results indicate that Aboriginal language instruction is far from adequate and is not meeting community goals.

There are many discussions of Aboriginal language programs in specific communities. Some examples :

- Paul Rosier and Wayne Holm report on a very successful program at Rock Point, Arizona, using Navajo as a medium of instruction. (*The Rock Point experience: A longitudinal study of a Navajo school program*, 1980)

- Arlene Stairs offers two articles on Inuktitut in the Kativik School Board in Arctic Quebec. ("The developmental context of Native language literacy: Inuit children and Inuktitut education," 1985, and "Beyond cultural inclusion: An Inuit example of indigenous educational development," 1988.)

- Lynn Drapeau discusses a Montagnais program for early grades at Betsiamites, Quebec. (*Le Montagnais comme langue d'enseignement dans les écoles de Betsiamites: Le projet pilote, objectifs et cadre théorique*, 1983)

- Emily Faries (1989) studies community attitudes to language and education at a James Bay community. ("Language education for Native children in northern Ontario," 1989.)

- Burnaby, Nichols and Toohen present a study on English and Aboriginal languages in education in northern Ontario schools. (*Northern Native languages project: Final report*, 1980)

- Verna Kirkness (1976) reports on Cree as a language of instruction in northern Manitoba schools. (*Manitoba Native bilingual program*, 1976)

- Anastasia Shkilnyk's 1986 study includes a report on an immersion-style language program at Kahnawake in Quebec. (*Canada's Aboriginal languages: An overview of current activities in language retention*, 1986.) Marie Battiste describes a program in Micmac ("Mi'kmaq linguistic integrity: A case study of a Mi'kmawey school," 1987) that reinforces the value of the language and culture, and Shirley Fredeen in *A foundation for Cree immersion education* (1988) outlines a model for Cree immersion education in Saskatchewan.

Relevant publications on the kind of support needed for Aboriginal language programs are scattered across various disciplines. The Assembly of First Nations 1990 survey discusses a lack of resources as a major problem in planning and implementing language programs. Two interesting studies exist on aspects of provincial policies. One is by Keith Lickers ("Native languages and the role of research in formulating language policy," 1988). It deals with the need to ground policy development in research appropriate to local issues. The other is an untitled paper by Florence Paynter and Esther Sanderson presented at the Native American Languages Institute Issues Conference of 1991. It discusses a Manitoba training program for Aboriginal language instructors.

Teacher training is a focus of the 1976 Ontario Ministry of Education's *Summary Report of the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario*. The Report made a number of recommendations, some of which were partially implemented, but none fully. The recommendations included a procedure for informing communities

about their options concerning Aboriginal or official language as a medium of instruction and the implications of these choices, and for supporting community decision-making on language in local schools. In addition, many suggestions were made about Aboriginal language development, right down to the development of typewriters for local Aboriginal writing systems. Finally, implementation through pilot programs was encouraged.

The most comprehensive study of Aboriginal teacher education programs in Canada was conducted by Arthur More in 1980 ("Native Indian teacher education in Canada") and his evaluation of existing programs was optimistic. By contrast, Sandra Clarke and Marguerite MacKenzie in a 1980 paper ("Education in the mother tongue: Tokenism versus cultural autonomy in Canadian Indian schools") are highly critical of existing programs. Lorna Williams and June Wyatt ("Training Indian teachers in a community setting: The Mount Currie Lil'wat programme," 1987) document successes and concerns related to the employment of trained Aboriginal teachers.

James Bauman's 1980 paper and the Assembly of First Nations' 1990 survey discuss materials and resources necessary for Aboriginal language maintenance. Major conclusions of both these reports are that such resources are sorely lacking. Aboriginal language teachers must create most of their own materials, but require training in this area. In a paper on Native writing systems, Mary Mitchell shows how fluent speakers from the Ojibwe community can be involved in creating teaching materials. ("Syllabic literacy: The first year," 1985.) The Shkilnyk paper cited above also discusses how community resource people become involved in developing materials. Robert Leavitt and Arlene Stairs, in separate reports, describe how culturally appropriate behavior can be integrated into teaching for Aboriginal students. Leavitt's paper is "Language and cultural content in Native education" (1991); Stairs' is "Learning processes and teaching roles in Native education : cultural base and cultural brokerage" (1991).

In a 1984 study, Arthur More reviewed existing research into the quality of Aboriginal education in Canada ("Quality of education of Native Indian students in Canada: A review of research"). He found that the evaluations were of uneven quality and had some specific defects. In a similar study, Yvonne Hebert calls for better evaluation processes. ("Evaluation of Indian education: Issues and challenges," 1987.) Freda Ahenakew discusses the importance of assessment in the work of the Saskatchewan Indian Languages Institute. ("Program evaluation and quality control in Native language education," 1988)

Finally, Bauman's 1980 text offers some general guidelines for assessments of programs and students.

Maintaining Language through Literacy

Aboriginal peoples are divided over the usefulness of stressing literacy in ancestral languages (Kirkness, 1988). Some are not keen on teaching Aboriginal writing systems - which did not exist before the era of European contact - in schools. Others believe that reading and writing are key to language preservation in a world which is focused on the written word. Literacy is seen not only as a tool for language teaching, but also for documenting the culture (Ryan & Robinson, 1990; Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, 1990b). A problem, however, is that practical writing systems are still in the development stage for many Aboriginal languages (Task force on Aboriginal Languages, 1986). These issues and related ones are discussed in a paper by Amy Zaharlick ("Native Americans and literacy," 1982) and in 1990 reports of the Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs of the House of Commons. The best available data on levels of Aboriginal literacy in Canada are from the Assembly of First Nations 1990 survey.

Another relevant publication is *Promoting Native writing systems in Canada*, 1985, by Barbara Burnaby. This is a collection of 20 articles on the implementation of Aboriginal writing systems. Particularly relevant to the NWT are articles on Dene literacy standardization, on

Inuktitut standardization and on Cree. Of interest too, are two studies by Perry Shearwood: *Secondary school writing in the Northwest Territories of Canada*, 1986 and "Literacy among the Aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Territories," 1987. They provide a framework for analyzing the functions of literacy in all the official Aboriginal languages of the NWT. The Willard Walker paper cited above ("Native American writing systems," 1981) is also relevant in this context.

Other areas of language development

A variety of activities and services in addition to formal education are generally recognized as contributing to the vitality of a language. These include media, cultural centres, community meetings, government publications and social services in the Aboriginal language. The Assembly of First Nations survey offers a range of strategies for maintaining, developing or reviving Amerindian languages depending on the state of language in a particular community. Other researchers who discuss methods of language development include Lena White and Barbara Burnaby. White's work includes a 1983 article: "Native language revival program on Walpole Island" and her unpublished masters research paper: *Teachers speak: A Native language survey report, an attempt to determine needs and strategies for language development* (1984). Barbara Burnaby's *Aboriginal languages in Ontario* (1984) contains relevant discussions of this issue. Mary Upper and Modina McKay provide interesting data on the language development of a child growing up in an Oji-Cree speaking family ("The acquisition of Oji-Cree as a first language: A preliminary study," 1987).

C.4 Research on Survival of Endangered Languages: Lessons from Other Countries

This section does not dwell on the maintenance of languages such as Irish, Basque or Catalan – the languages of what are called established

minority groups. Their circumstances are very different from those of Aboriginal languages and comparisons are therefore not particularly relevant. Generally, established minority languages have received more policy advantages than indigenous languages, but still have not fared much better. These groups do not offer models of successful strategies that could be applied in Aboriginal communities. The modern-day revival of Hebrew is certainly a dramatic success story, but it occurred under very special circumstances that could not be duplicated. Therefore research on Hebrew development is also not helpful for a study of the Aboriginal situation.

In 1986, Stacy Churchill published a widely accepted study: *The education of linguistic and cultural minorities in the OECD countries.* This study distinguishes indigenous peoples from established linguistic minorities and from new immigrant groups. Churchill found that policies and services for established minorities are relatively well coordinated, whereas indigenous peoples and new immigrants do not fare so well. In fact, Churchill states that "the particular problems of indigenous peoples are among those most poorly dealt with in all jurisdictions."

In "Bilingual education policy and social justice," (1992), David Corson comes to a similar conclusion about education for minority groups in OECD countries.

The former Soviet Union presents an interesting area of comparison with North America. Its policies towards linguistic minorities were liberal on the surface, in that many resources were put into their development, but assimilationist in practice, in that it was not economically or politically advantageous for speakers to use these languages outside of local situations. Joshua Fishman offers a review (*Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*, 1989).

Aboriginal languages in other countries are more suitable areas of study. The Assembly of First Nations' 1990 survey provides a brief literature review about Aboriginal language developments in the U.S.,

Australia and New Zealand. James MacPherson in a 1991 study (*Tradition and education: Towards a vision of our future*) covers similar ground. Of these three countries, only New Zealand is seen by these authors to have much more success than Canada in supporting an Aboriginal language.

In 1978, Richard Benton did a comparative study of language education for indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia and Micronesia. He found that governments and societies in all these countries viewed Aboriginal languages as unimportant compared with the dominant English or French. New Zealand society gave some attention to Maori, but more to appease the Aboriginal population than out of respect for the culture. In a 1982 study, Benton (1986) found that Maori had risen in status over an eight-year period to become comparable to the situation of Irish in Ireland. Both examples show, however, that despite official recognition, these two languages are under considerable pressure; people in both countries accept the symbolic functions of the language but do not necessarily support their revival as practical everyday languages.

The most promising language development model from another country is the *kohanga reo*, or "language nest" movement in New Zealand. This is a system of community-based and family-based immersion programs for children from infancy onwards. Benton describes how the language nests work and reviews their history – the remarkable development of what was a mere concept in 1981 into a widespread system of language learning centres and an influential movement. But although it is an inspiring example of what can be done, one must bear in mind the differences in the Canadian situation. New Zealand has one Aboriginal language in addition to one dominant language (English), while Canada has more than 50 Aboriginal languages in addition to English and French. In other words, Maori in New Zealand is in a political position more comparable to that of French in Canada than to that of Aboriginal languages in Canada.

Some other interesting references on Aboriginal language development in other countries are:

- Ruth Lipscombe and Don Burnes (*Aboriginal literacy: Bridging the gap*, 1982) on Aboriginal literacy in Australia.

- Richard Harker and Keith McConnochie (*Education as cultural artifact: Studies in Maori and Aboriginal education*, 1985) on education and culture in Australia and New Zealand.

- Richard Benton (*The flight of the Amokura: Oceanic languages and formal education in the South Pacific*, 1981) on languages and education in Oceania.

- Juha Pentikainen et al. (*Cultural pluralism and the position of minorities in Finland*, 1979).

- Mary Kalantzis et al (*Minority languages and dominant culture: Issues of education, assessment and social equity*, 1988) on language issues in Australia.

C.5 Models of Government Language Services

The topic of approaches to government language services is broad and complex, and is dealt with under many different headings. "Language planning" is a term often used to refer to government activities aimed at influencing language use in a specific area. The research in this subject area is vast and cannot be fully dealt with in this report format. In place of a comprehensive overview of service models in other jurisdictions, references to a number of papers of particular relevance to language planning in the NWT are presented. The texts mentioned in the preceding section on the survival of endangered languages are also relevant to the topic of language service models.

The implementation of *The Official Languages Act* in Canada is a case in point. It provides an insight into the complexity of language planning and is worth examining. This *Act* involves issues such as minority language rights in legislation and in the Criminal Code; use of official languages in the federal administration; the promotion of official languages throughout society; and second-language education. These and other activities stemming from the *Act* are summarized in annual reports of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

A number of researchers have developed their own models of language activities, that is, ways of classifying and analyzing these activities to present a picture of what is going on in language development at a particular time. These models vary, and are based on the researchers' values and assumptions, just as the policies they describe are based on certain biases.

In *Language Planning and Social Change* (1989), Robert L. Cooper provides an overview of language-planning macro-categories. He starts with detailed descriptions of four interesting examples of language initiatives: 1) the founding of France's Académie française; 2) the promotion of Hebrew in Palestine since the mid-19th century; 3) changes in language as a result of the modern women's movement; and 4) the mass adult literacy campaign in Ethiopia in the 1970s.

Cooper then offers definitions of language planning and discusses them in light of who is involved in taking action, what kinds of activities are undertaken, what goals are sought, for whom is change being made and how. After considering some of their theoretical characteristics, Cooper discusses uses of descriptive frameworks and other factors of language planning.

Cooper's book shows the underlying components which can be part of models of language planning. One specific model is given by James W. Tollefson in *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community* (1991). Tollefson's focus is the role of language in society's power relations. He argues that language planning is never

politically neutral and discusses such issues as the importance of language policies in struggles for power and on people's access to economic and other resources. This relationship between language and power in society is becoming increasingly important to language planners.

Another useful text on language planning models is offered by Stacey Churchill in *The education of linguistic and cultural minorities in the OECD countries* (1986). Churchill's work, described briefly in the preceding section of this paper ("Research on Survival of Endangered Languages"), creates a scale for rating and analyzing governments' minority-language education policies. The scale has six stages, describing a progression of responses to minority groups' language issues. At Stage 1, government policy views minority groups as suffering from a deficit, that is, they are handicapped because they lack the majority language. The typical response is to promote a speedy transition from the minority to majority language. At Stage 6, the government recognizes the minority language as equal in status to the majority language. Stages 2 to 5 represent a progression towards this more liberal approach.

Using Churchill's scale, David Corson analyzes language policies in a number of countries in his work *Language policy across the curriculum* (1990). The analysis is very useful for comparing policies of various countries and for understanding how and why certain policies have been undertaken. Corson also proposes his own ideas on developing viable language-in-education service models.

The policies that Corson examines include those of the US, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the Soviet Union. (His book was written before the break-up of the USSR.) He begins with the United States Bilingual Education Act, suggesting that there is a discrepancy between intent to promote bilingual education and practice. As evidence, he refers to a survey by Chamot (1988) on U.S. school districts' policies towards linguistic minorities. He also mentions research by Philips (1983) showing that attempts to raise minority

groups' overall school performance by focusing on their English did not succeed.

Official British attitudes to linguistic minorities are similar to those in the U.S. except with regards to protected Celtic-speaking areas, Corson states. A major British government study, the Swann Report (DES, 1985) rejects bilingual education or mother-tongue maintenance at an official school level.

Corson points out that the Australian situation is very complex because of the diversity of linguistic groups there. Recognizing the value of linguistic pluralism, Australia set out in the 1980s to develop a coordinated language policy beginning with a major inquiry by the Standing Committee on Education and the Arts. Its comprehensive report came out in 1984, followed in 1987 by a proposed *National Policy on Languages* (the Lo Bianco Report). The wide-ranging policy was implemented with the help of a $70 million funding over three years. Corson contrasts Canada's "vague" multi-culturalism ideals with Australia's more concrete support of minority languages and argues that Australia may be more likely to succeed in its goals. Corson also discusses the place of Maori in New Zealand, citing the *Maori Language Act* of 1987 which declared Maori to be an official language of the country.

Referring to a 1987 text by Marcellesi and Eliman, Corson outlines early Soviet linguistic policies which tended to swing from one extreme to another. He points out that the USSR, home to 130 languages, achieved the goal of universal literacy only by educating people in their own languages. The USSR also gained much experience with promoting bilingualism and with bilingual education, and in this respect its education policies could offer useful lessons to other countries.

To sum up, language planning is a highly complex field involved as it is with the complicated matter of human communication. Many countries have some kind of official policy on language, and these

policies can range from those which greatly respect the value of minority languages to those which ignore them or even work to eliminate them. The texts cited here will provide an insight into some service models.

As mentioned elsewhere in this paper, language development and language planning are very broad subjects scattered over many academic disciplines. A vast literature exists on these subjects, but unfortunately it is not co-ordinated. There are no databases, networks, or similar research tools devoted to these fields.

Notes

[1] A rank order correlation coefficient was calculated by ranking - from 1 to 9 - both the level of fluency in the Aboriginal language and the level of participation in traditional activities. The resulting coefficient, standing at 0.38, suggests a relatively low degree of association between the two variables.

[2] This question was not included in the 1992 questionnaire but overall assessment of fluency for 1992 is calculated on the basis of the 9 literacy evaluation questions.

[3] In the context of this question, language training excludes language courses undertaken as part of the regular school curriculum.

[4] To avoid creating a cumbersome document, we give only the titles and publication dates of texts cited here. Works in quotation marks are journal articles, essays or chapters of books. Italicised publications are books or reports. For the full publication data, please consult the "References" section of the technical paper appended to this document.

IV. FRENCH LANGUAGE PROFILE AND FINDINGS

A. INTRODUCTION

A detailed overview of Agreement programs related to French may be found in Part II, Chapter III of this report. The overview examines the program and activity profiles of each department involved in French language initiatives supported by the Cooperation Agreement. It also reviews the budget allocation and actual spending of the Agreement resources. In addition, budget allocation by expenditure category is examined.

This chapter presents and discusses the main findings relating to French that can be derived from the baseline (1992) survey data. The first section describes the characteristics of French respondents from the perspectives of their socio-economic profile, fluency and language use. The focus, however, is on access to services in French, which are discussed in Section C of this chapter. These different perspectives on the community survey offer important insights on the impacts of the Cooperation Agreement on access to, and satisfaction with, services in French.

B. LANGUAGE USE AND ACCESS TO SERVICES : BASELINE DATA

B.1 Overview

Information on completed surveys by community for both the baseline and the comparative data sets can be found in Table 4.1. The table shows that, overall, survey coverage is fairly consistent between the

two data collection periods. There are some variations on a community basis for a small number of communities but, overall the level of coverage is approximately the same. The 204 surveys completed in 1992 compare well with the 196 obtained in 1993.

Table 4.1
Completed Surveys by Community
Baseline (1992) and comparative (1993) data

Community	*Interviews completed Baseline*	*Interviews completed Comparative*
Fort Smith	29	13
Hay River	16	16
Inuvik	17	34
Iqaluit	49	49
Nanisivik	34	34
Rankin Inlet	9	0
Yellowknife	50	50
TOTAL	204	196

As discussed in Chapter II, the *static comparative analysis* used for the impact assessment dictates that community surveys are conducted twice and for two years in a row, and the same respondents were targeted each time. However, a number of respondents did not participate in the comparative data collection activity for various reasons – refusal, moving, unavailability at the time of the survey, and so on. As a result, these respondents were replaced in the 1993 survey by new respondents sharing the same demographic characteristics (to the extent possible). This replacement process allows to keep the two samples at a comparable size.

Table 4.2
Respondent Return Rates* by Community
Comparative (1993) data

Community	*Return rate* %
Fort Smith	61.5
Hay River	25.0
Inuvik	35.3
Iqaluit	43.5
Nanisivik	61.8
Rankin Inlet	-**
Yellowknife	42.0
Average	44.9

* The number of respondents who participated in both the 1992 and the 1993 surveys as a proportion of all 1993 respondents.
** There were no surveys completed in this community in 1993

Table 4.2 shows the extent of the replacement process on a community basis, expressed as a return rate. The rate varies from a low of 25.0 per cent for Hay River to a high of 61.8 per cent for Nanisivik. Overall, the return rate is 44.5 per cent, implying that less than 50 per cent of the respondents in the 1993 survey are returning respondents. Such relatively low return rates can be explained by the timing of the survey - the summer - and the fact that the French population tends to be more transient than the Aboriginal population.

B.2 Socio-Demographics and Language Use

The following characteristics of the French respondent group are derived from a sample of 204 people of French background in the communities of Fort Smith, Hay River, Inuvik, Iqaluit, Nanisivik and Yellowknife.

Socio-demographic profile

Table 4.3 presents the age distribution of respondents and shows that the majority (57.1 per cent) of the people are between the ages of 25 and 44. Twenty-two per cent of the Francophone respondents are aged *5 to 24 years*. This is a considerably lower proportion than that of the NWT as a whole, where 38 per cent fall into this age group. The profile of respondents aged 45 or older is similar to that of the general NWT population profile.

Table 4.3
Age Distribution of French Respondents, 1992

Age group	*Count*	*Percentage*
5 to 14 years old	30	14.6
15 to 24 years old	16	7.8
25 to 34 years old	60	29.8
35 to 44 years old	56	27.3
45 to 54 years old	22	10.7
55 to 64 years old	12	5.9
65-plus years old	8	3.9
TOTAL	204	100.0

The education profile of the Francophone respondents indicates a well educated group (Chart 4.1). Twenty-five percent have achieved a *Grade 10 to 12* education, while twenty-three per cent have a *university* education. Just over half (51 per cent) of the group have obtained some level of post-secondary education.

Chart 4.1
Highest Level of Schooling Achieved, 1992
As a percentage of all French respondents

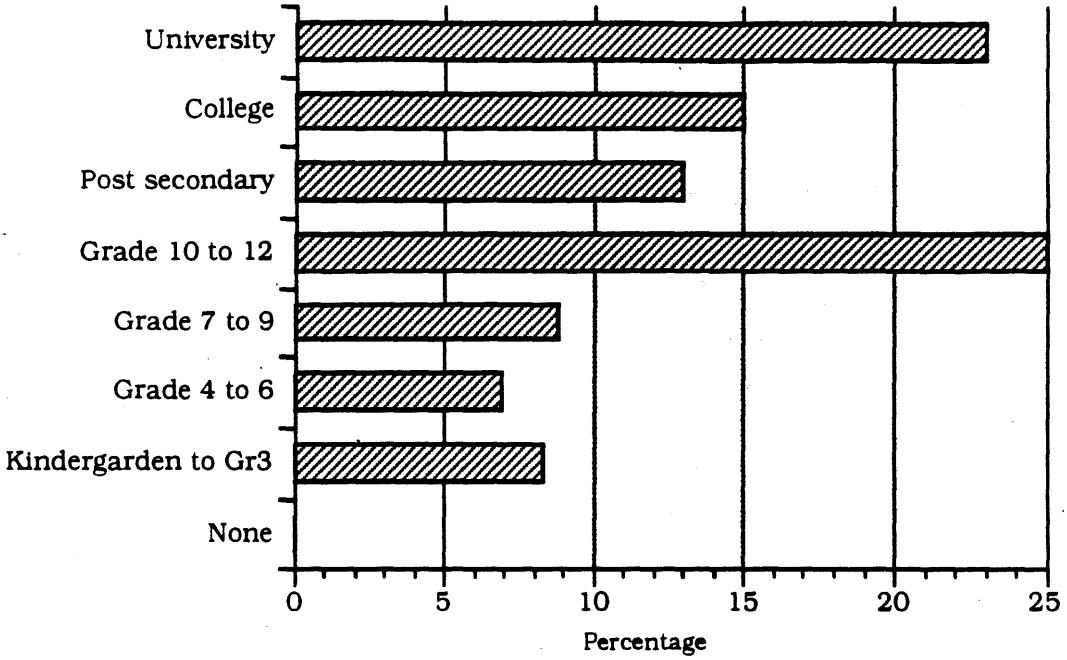
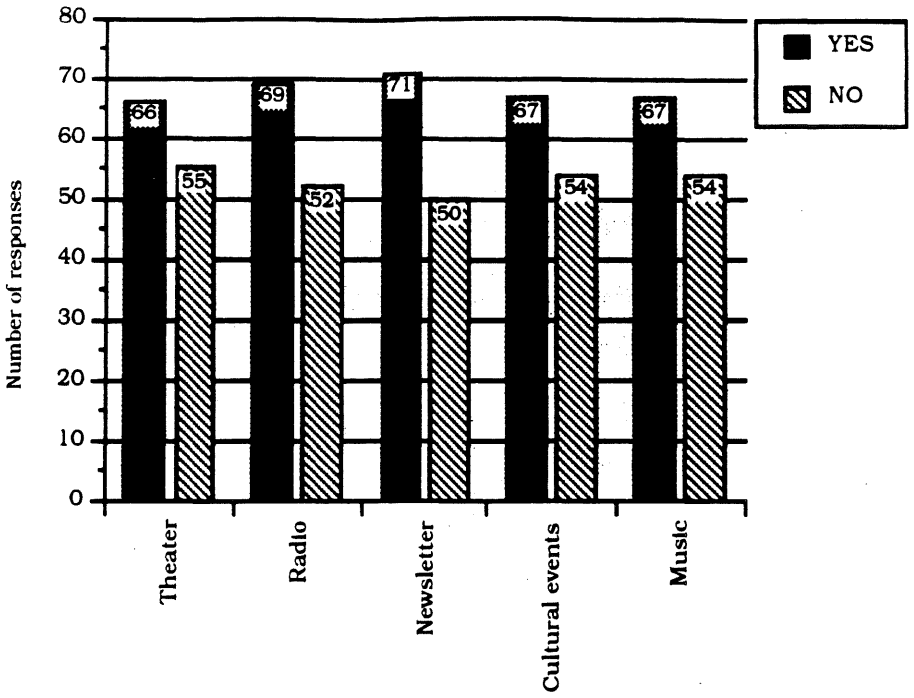


Chart 4.2 shows the range of recreational and social activities in which the French respondents participate. It is clear that they actively take part in social activities, as indicated by the participation rates for attendance at theater and cultural events (66 and 67 per cent respectively). These rates closely approach the high rates for listening to radio (69 per cent) and reading the newspaper (71 per cent).

Chart 4.2
Participation in Social and Recreational Activities, 1992
Number of French respondents



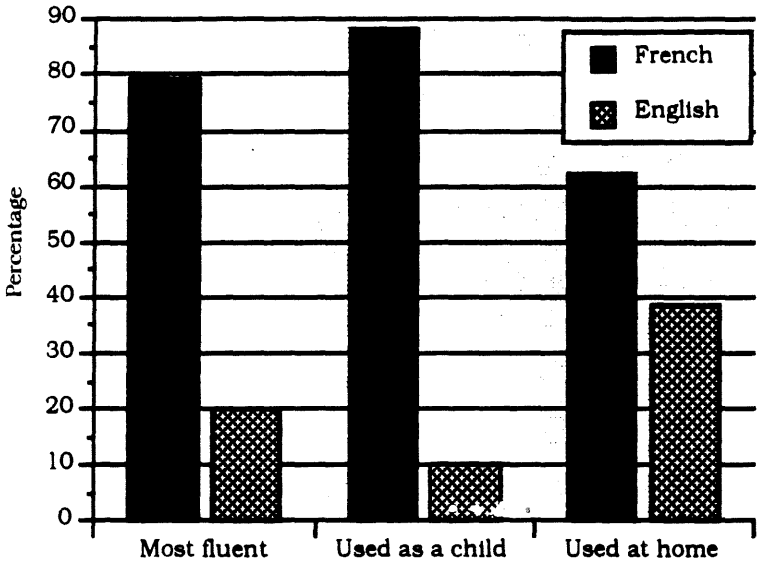
Language Fluency and Literacy

Several questions on the survey asked respondents about their language history, preferences and use, in order to determine languages spoken in order of fluency, the language first learned as a child, and the language most frequently spoken in the home at the present time. Chart 4.3 shows the results of this part of the survey.

The chart indicates that about 88 per cent of the French respondents learned French as their first language as a child. However, only about 79 per cent reported that French is their most fluent language today and only 63 per cent speak it most frequently at home at present. English was the first language learned of about 10 per cent of respondents, but is now the most fluent language of 20 per cent, and the home language of 37 per cent. The comparison between the

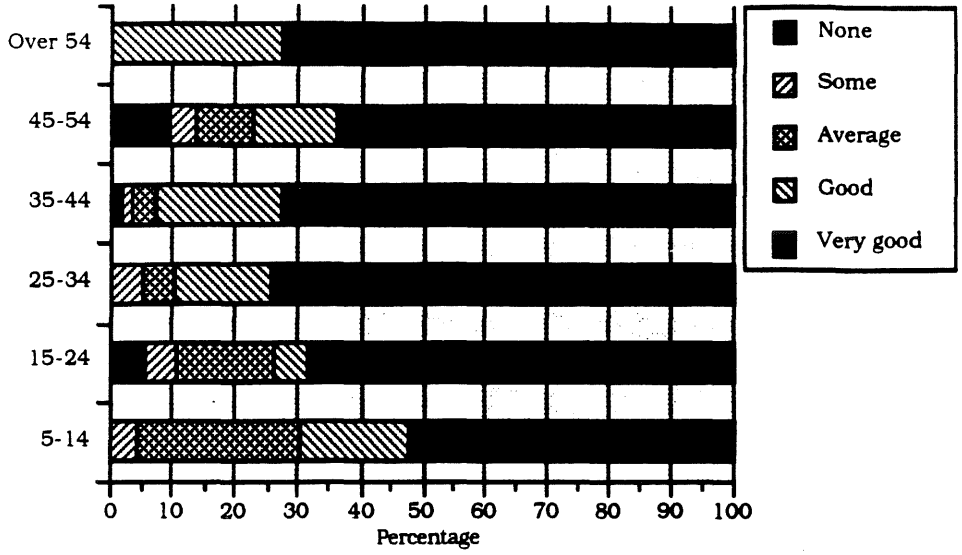
proportion of respondents who used French as a child and those who use it in the home today suggests that a switch towards English is making some inroads in the French community, but that French is still an important part of the language life of a considerable majority of the respondents.

Chart 4.3
Language Characteristics for French Respondents, 1992
As a percentage of all French respondents



It is useful to look at fluency in relation to age of speakers to determine whether the younger people are fluent in French. The comparative (1993) survey included seven questions in French to determine the respondents' level of vocabulary and grammar, and general fluency in the language. The last question in this series asked the interviewer to assess how well the respondent spoke French. Chart 4.4 shows these data for all the French respondents.

Chart 4.4
Interviewer Assessment of Oral Fluency by Age, 1993
As a percentage of all respondents in each age group



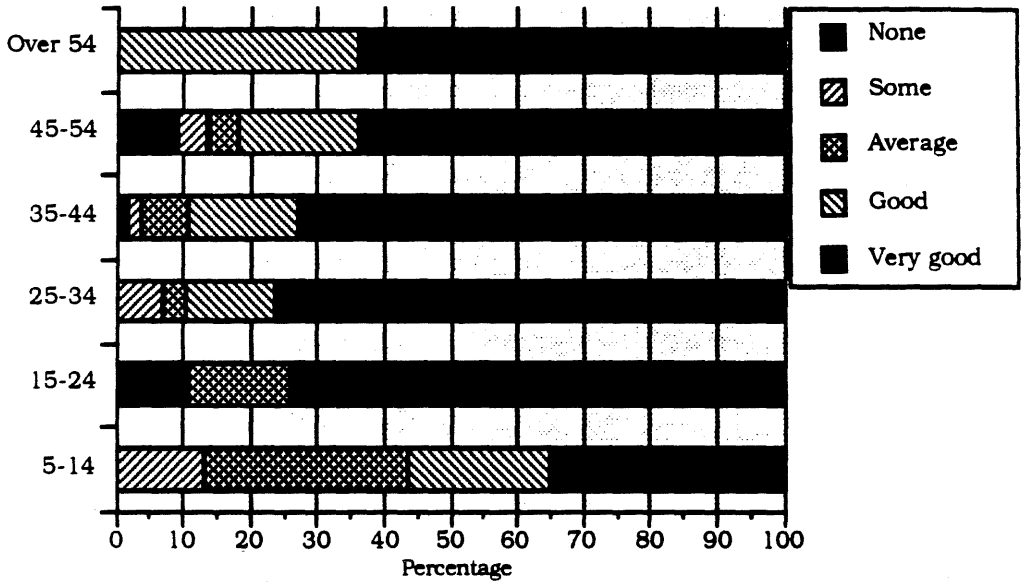
All the age groups contain a high proportion of *good* to *excellent* speakers. More than half the children were assessed at the high end of the range of fluency but they nevertheless have the smallest proportion of speakers in this category. The few poor and non-speakers can be found in various age groups but no respondents in the *25-34 years old* group and *over 54* years of age are in these categories. This result may indicate that younger speakers are tending not to learn the language at all or not as well as their elders, or it may reflect a natural increase in language skills as one grows older.

Overall, more than 69 per cent of the respondents were rated as excellent speakers and an additional 16 per cent were rated as good. Less than three per cent were considered not to have any fluency. These results indicate that, overall, oral fluency is very high amongst French respondents.

In the comparative survey, eight questions probed respondents' skills in reading and writing French. Based on these data, the interviewer gave an overall assessment of each respondent's French literacy skill

(this overall assessment question was not included in the 1992 survey). Overall, less than three per cent of the respondents are considered to have no literacy in French. By contrast, more than 67 per cent have very good skills, and, grouping the *good* and the *very good* answers, a vast majority of respondents - 83.6 percent - are quite literate. In general, these results parallel those obtained on the oral fluency question, in that the vast majority of respondents are highly skilled in the use of French.

Chart 4.5
Interviewer Assessment of Literacy by Age, 1993
As a percentage of all respondents in each age group



The data on the relation of literacy to age of respondents (Chart 4.5) show trends which are similar to those on oral fluency and age (Chart 4.4). The chart shows that younger people are somewhat less literate in French, but this is to be expected since they have not finished school. Thus, the chart shows no clear relationship between age and a high literacy level; each age group except the younger age group has about the same proportion of the highly literate people (but the *over*

54 years old group contains only 11 respondents, which is not a large number). The proportion of respondents with a *good* literacy level and below varies in seemingly random patterns and, thus, it is difficult to draw conclusions from these data.

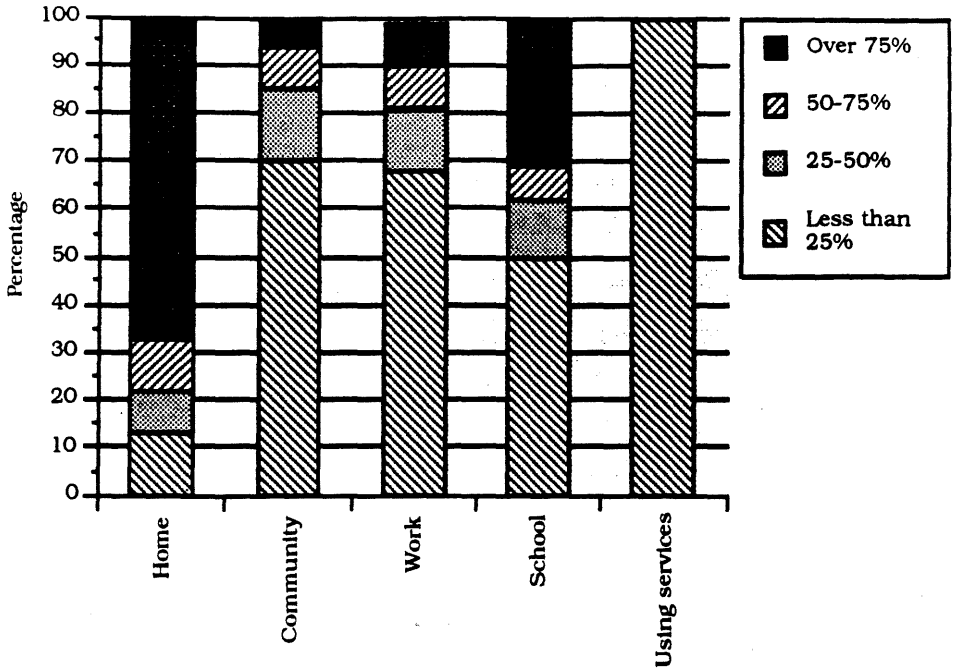
In sum, less than three per cent of the French sample was assessed to have no literacy skills in French, and more than 67 per cent were considered to have a high level of skill. Older people do not have more French literacy in general than younger people.

Language Use in Different Environments

This section describes major trends associated with the use of French in different environments. Perceptions about the influence of setting on the use of French are detected by answers to questions about how much the language is spoken in various environments. Chart 4.6 presents a summary of the results.

The data show that respondents tend to use French mostly in the home environment. Thus 67 per cent of respondents use French at home more than 75 per cent of the time and 78 per cent use it more than half of the time. In all other settings French is used less than half the time by most respondents. It is worth noting that all the respondents report speaking French less than 25 per cent of the time when using local *government services*, while only 15 and 18 per cent use it more than half the time in *community* and *work* situations respectively. The situation is somewhat different in the *school* environment, with 31 per cent reporting use of French more than 75 per cent of the time. Clearly, the use of French primarily occurs in private rather than in public settings.

Chart 4.6
Intensity of French Language Use in Various Environments, 1992
As a percentage of all French respondents



C. AVAILABILITY OF SERVICES, USE AND SATISFACTION

This section focuses on ability to access services in French and on perceptions of whether or not access to such services has improved over time. These issues are important, given that one of the main Cooperation Agreement's purposes is to provide services in French. The section also discusses the use and impact of various government language services. Note that the results in this section are derived from the 1993 data set, because the slight revisions to the 1993 survey questionnaire allow a more detailed analysis of these questions (see Appendix D) than would the 1992 set.

C.1 Access to services in French

Table 4.4 summarizes the respondents' perceptions about the availability of services in French and about the use of these services among those who said the services are available.

Table 4.4
Perception About Availability of Services in French and Use of These Services, 1988-93

Types of services	*Service available?*		*Use the service?*	
	Yes	*No**	*Yes*	*No*
	Number of responses		*Number of responses*	
Justice services	120	60	33	84
Regional health centres/hospitals	118	77	49	68
Help for recreational activity	65	129	51	8
Library	61	134	47	10
Information on job/employment	51	133	18	28
Family assistance	45	143	6	35
Driver licenses	43	142	23	19
Help for businesses	43	141	31	11
Others**	13	17	10	0
Information on mining security	4	179	0	3

* includes the *Don't know* answers
** includes services such as day care, post office, school and the government information line

Perceived access to services in French varies according to the type of service (Table 4.4). Health and justice-related services are perceived the most widely available - by 61 and 63 per cent of respondents respectively. The remaining types of services are seen as less available, with fewer respondents reporting availability. It is interesting to note that the perception of availability is generally higher for those services that relate to personal service areas (health, justice, recreation, library) than for those areas related to business and employment.

The most frequently used French language services are in the areas of recreation, health and library services - with 51, 49 and 47 per cent of respondents using these services, respectively. When usage is considered in terms of the proportion of respondents aware of service availability, recreational and library services continue to rate highly, with 86 and 82 per cent of people who are aware of these services actually using them. However, only 42 per cent of respondents who believe that health services are available, and 28 per cent who perceive justice service availability, actually use these services. These examples suggest that while awareness of business services may be low - not everyone has occasion to require such services - demand is high among those who know the service exists.

A second question relates to the change over time in ease of access to services in French. The results that are presented in Table 4.5 are ranked according to the perception of *easier access*.

Table 4.5
Change in Ease of Access to Services in French Between 1988 and 1993
All French respondents

Types of services	*Easier or more difficult to access?*			
	No change	*More difficult*	*Easier*	*Don't know*
	*Percentage of all applicable responses**			
Justice services	32	1	32	35
Regional health centres/hospitals	42	2	35	20
Others**	14	17	34	34
Help for recreational activity	49	1	20	30
Library	36	6	19	39
Information on job/employment	32	2	10	57
Driver licenses	49	4	9	38
Family assistance	21	1	9	70
Help for businesses	30	0	8	62
Information on mining security	28	0	2	70

* excludes the *Not applicable* answers.
** includes day care, weather report, post office, school, the government information line

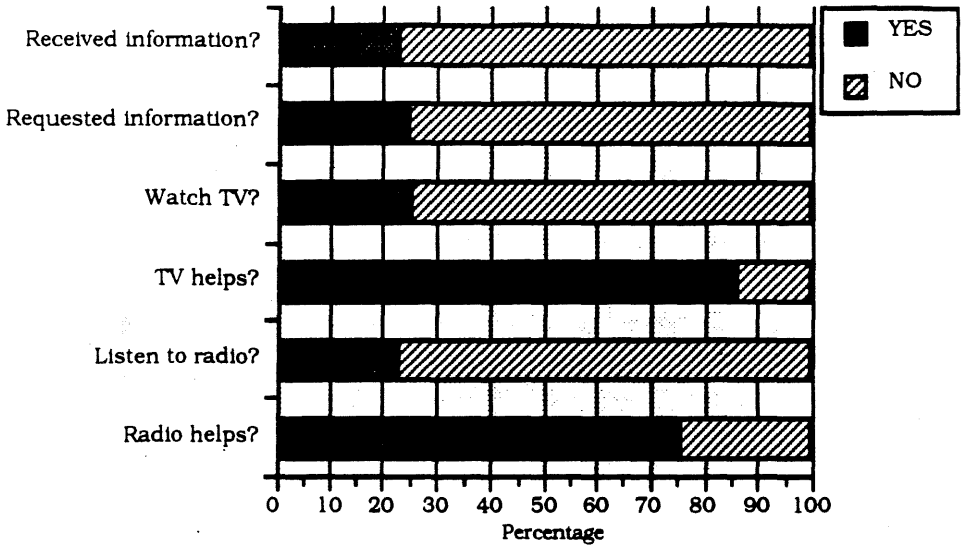
The table indicates that, generally, respondents perceive that access to French services has either become easier or has not changed during the past three to five years. Among those who express an opinion on the matter (excluding *don't know* responses), more respondents feel service has become more accessible than the reverse and this is the case for all service types. However, the number of respondents who perceive no change in accessibility exceeds those who feel access has become easier in all service types except those related to justice. An equal number feel justice services have become more easily accessible as have perceived no change.

Overall, the proportion of respondents who report *don't know* is high (between 20 and 70 per cent of all respondents), indicating a relatively low level of awareness related to the issue of accessibility of French language services. It is worth noting the relatively large number of respondents – 17 – who perceived that it is more difficult to access *other services*. These services include day care, weather report, post office, school and the government information line.

C.2 Language activities and services

Chart 4.7 presents responses to survey questions about receipt of unsolicited information and receipt of requested information in French from government sources. The chart also presents results of the questions related to watching/listening to TV and radio programs in French, and the respondents' perception of whether these programs help them to learn or maintain the language.

Chart 4.7
Use of and Impact of Various Government Services, 1993



A relatively high proportion - 23 per cent - of Francophone respondents report having received unsolicited government information in French. The proportion of Francophone respondents who have requested information in French exceeds this amount slightly, at 25 per cent. Clearly an awareness of the possibility of obtaining such information, and a demand for such a service exist. It is important to note the relationship between receipt of unsolicited French material and demand for further French language information.

Twenty-five per cent of Francophone respondents report watching French language programs on television, while 23 per cent listen to French language radio programs. These respondents seem convinced that the availability of French programming in these media helps them maintain or improve their French (Chart 4.7). As noted earlier (Chart 4.2), 69 per cent of Francophone respondents listen to radio. Hence, the relatively low percentage of respondents who listen to French programs on radio seems to indicate little attractive French language radio programming.

C.3 Language training, translation and interpretation

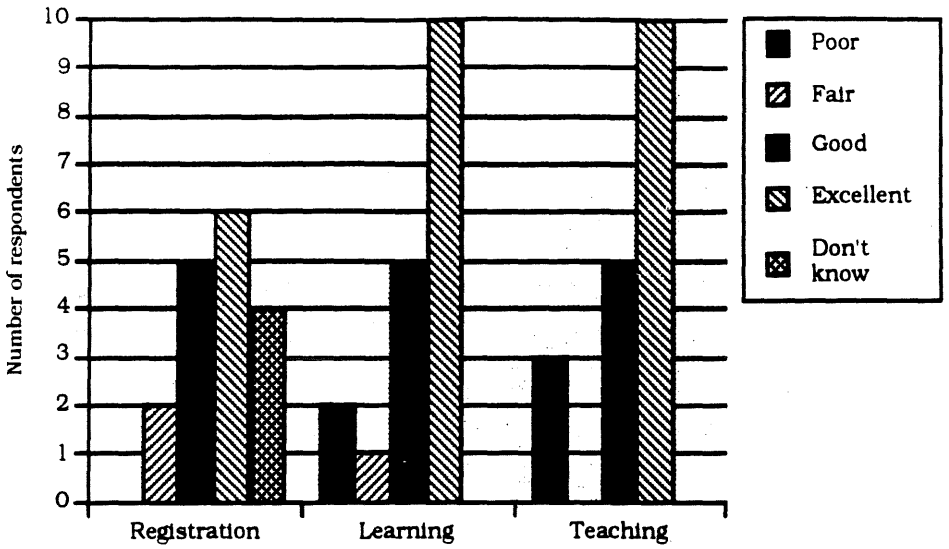
Language training, translation and interpretation represent important Agreement activities. A review of the French component of the Agreement (Part II, Chapter III) shows that translation and interpretation represents a relatively large budget item and is used to a large extent by government. These services are also accessible to the general public. Language training is used by all constituencies. Table 4.6 provides feedback from survey respondents who have undertaken language training.

Table 4.6
Participation in Language Training, 1993
French respondents

Types of language training	*Number of responses*	*Percentage*
No training	176	89.8
Literacy in French	4	2.0
Oral fluency in French	2	1.0
Literacy in a second language	2	1.0
Oral fluency in a second language	1	0.5
Combination of the above	11	5.6

The table indicates that a very small fraction of the French respondents have participated in training during the past year. Almost 90 per cent of all respondents did not take part in any language training. Of those who did, a majority undertook a combination of literacy and oral training in either French or a second language. It may be that the relatively high literacy rate achieved by French respondents partly explains the low participation in language training.

Chart 4.8
Satisfaction with Use of Language Training, 1993
Number of respondents who reported participating in training



As Chart 4.8 indicates, those who undertook training appear highly satisfied with the training; particularly with how much they learned and with the quality of the teaching. Fifty-six per cent of all trainees report a high level of satisfaction with the effectiveness of the training (how much was learned) and an equal proportion rate the teaching at the same level. Overall, the results suggest a strong endorsement by participants of both the effectiveness and the delivery of the programs.

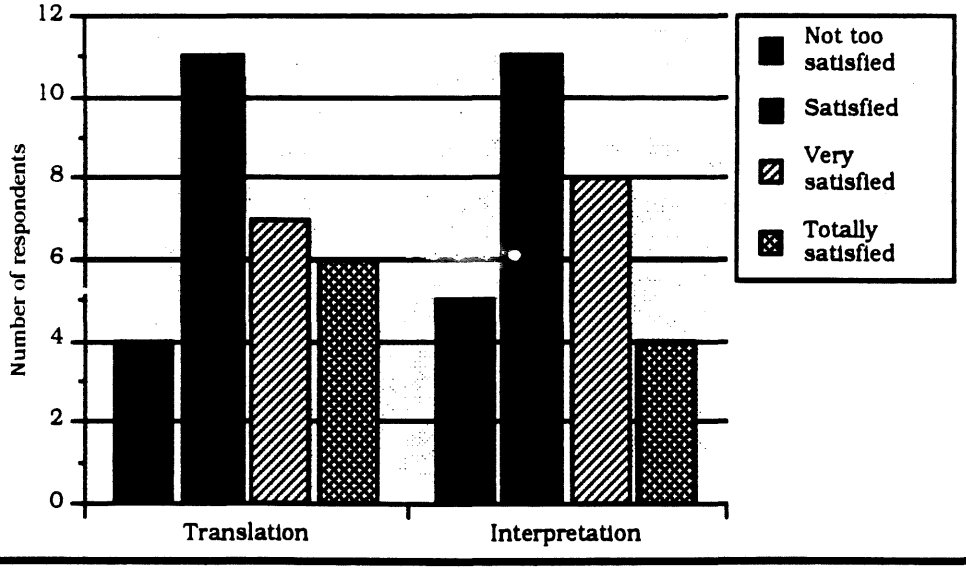
Translation and interpretation services are not widely used by the general population (Table 4.7) but they represent important services. Respondents were asked about their use and satisfaction with these services. Translation services were used by 28 respondents and interpretation services by the same number - 14.3 per cent of all respondents. The table shows that the various types of translation services are used more or less equally by the respondents. For interpretation services, a larger proportion of respondents have accessed *other types* of interpretation services.

Table 4.7
Use of Translation and Interpretation Services
French respondents

Types of services	*Number of responses*	*Percentage of all respondents*
Translation		
• from English to French	8	4.1
• from French to English	7	3.6
• other type of translation	7	3.6
Interpretation		
• from English to French	7	3.7
• from French to English	6	3.1
• other types of interpretation	10	5.2

Chart 4.9 below shows the respondents' assessment of these services, demonstrating that most respondents were either *satisfied* or *very satisfied* and fewer than 20 per cent reporting either *not too satisfied* or *dissatisfied.* This result applies more or less to both translation and

Chart 4.9
Satisfaction with Use of Translation and Interpretation Services, 1993
Number of respondents who reported using the service



interpretation services. These findings adding up to a fairly positive assessment these services.

In summary, French respondents are generally satisfied with the range of services they access in French. While the demand for those services varies quite markedly depending on service type, people are generally eager to have them and believe they are becoming easier to access. The level of awareness about these services corresponds to the rate of utilization. It would appear that on the basis of the feedback provided by the French respondents alone, the demand for services in French – many of which undoubtedly fall within the scope of the Cooperation Agreement – is such that the Agreement's activities are justified.

V. CONCLUSIONS

A. ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

The following section presents conclusions that have emerged out of the analysis of the evaluative results. Specifically, results from the program file and document review (presented in Part II, Chapter I) and from the community surveys (presented in aggregate in Chapter III and by linguistic group in Part II, Chapter II) have been incorporated with findings arising from the key stakeholder interviews. The conclusions are arranged under four main headings which correspond to the four major evaluative areas: rationale; effectiveness; impacts and effects; and alternatives.

A.1 Cooperation Agreement Rationale

Understanding and support of the Cooperation Agreement

The question of whether the Agreement is well understood and supported by the various stakeholders is important. Community members at large do not possess full knowledge about the Agreement, and the community survey did not attempt to measure their level of overall awareness. Community members are more concerned about accessing the services they need, whether or not these services are linked to a specific agreement or integrated into a department's programming. Thus the lack of knowledge of community members about the Agreement's purpose and objectives is not necessarily an indicator that it is irrelevant or ineffective. The participation of community members in various programs that relate to language revitalization and language maintenance (as discussed below under *Community participation*) is an indication of interest in, and support for, the objective of revitalization and maintenance of Aboriginal languages.

Results from key stakeholder interviews suggest that the rationale and objectives of the Cooperation Agreement are generally received positively, and are supported by those who are aware of them. However, the overall level of understanding of the Agreement is limited even amongst some of those charged with implementing its programs and activities. Additional information on the Agreement's objectives, strategies and accomplishments is seen as desirable and potentially helpful in establishing greater mutual respect and collaboration. The need to encourage dialogue and mutual understanding among the linguistic communities is a goal which some key stakeholders feel is a long way off. Increased awareness about the Agreement could also result in an increased demand for its programs and activities as a result of heightened awareness of language issues by communities.

Where lack of support of the Agreement does exist, it is more prevalent amongst government personnel than amongst community representatives. There is some indication that the implementation of language services and programs is not perceived as an important priority given its potential implications in terms of increased workload and the limited availability of government funds. In addition, concerns that the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement might duplicate or overlap existing services have been expressed. Feedback from several key stakeholders indicates that the relationship and the distinctions between the two focal points of the Agreement – the Aboriginal languages and the French language sections – are not well understood. This issue is sensitive and a clarification of this relationship is crucial to the understanding and acceptance of the Cooperation Agreement by NWT residents.

The reaction of key stakeholders to the Agreement is, nevertheless, positive overall and there is a growing recognition of the Agreement's potential to strengthen Aboriginal pride and cultural vitality.

Community participation

Results from the community survey indicate considerable interest in Aboriginal language issues, as expressed through participation in various activities. Attendance at conferences and meetings dealing with Aboriginal languages is reported in the 1993 survey by 155 respondents, while 61 community respondents have participated in Aboriginal language dictionary projects. Community interest is also expressed through participation in the activities of the Teaching and Learning Centres (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.8) and in the Aboriginal Language Contribution Program (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.9). Writing workshops and community-based literacy classes have provided other avenues for participation in language-related activities.

In spite of the evidence of community interest in Aboriginal language issues, key stakeholders perceive that much of this involvement has been passive in nature, with communities present as recipients of services. Resource allocation and program delivery seem to many key stakeholders to be more government driven than user driven, while the Agreement's objectives are perceived to place considerably more emphasis on the essential role of the community in setting priorities.

Community participation is perceived to have been hindered by the limited availability of information on the Agreement, leading to a situation where many communities receive its benefits unknowingly. Indirect delivery of resources through the education, health or justice systems for instance, or through community project funds are often not identified with the Agreement by local people.

Interviews with key stakeholders indicates that a perception among community members of being left out is widespread. This perception is important regardless of the reality (which may be otherwise). Communities need to feel that they are integrally involved if Aboriginal languages are to survive. Research noted in the Literature Review, such as *Walking the Talk, an evaluation of the Canada-Yukon Funding Agreement on the Development and Enhancement of Aboriginal*

Languages (1988-93), stresses the crucial role of Aboriginal communities in Aboriginal language issues.

In the context of rationale of the Agreement, it is appropriate to paraphrase a respondent who stated that, in order to meet the Agreement's goals more effectively, it is important to see Aboriginal languages as "living languages", whose daily use needs to be encouraged at home, in the schools and across the community.

Goals and objectives not addressed in the Agreement

While the overall assessment of the rationale and relevancy of the Cooperation Agreement is positive, there are specific language-related needs which remain unfulfilled and that may benefit from public funding. The provision of social counseling and psychological services in the Aboriginal languages have been identified by some key stakeholders as needs that remain largely unfulfilled.

Over and above needs for specific services, not much is known about the range of language, gender and age-specific needs that may be addressed by programs and activities compatible with the Agreement's orientation and scope. Results from the community survey (Part II, Chapter II) point to marked differences in areas of fluency, literacy and use of services on the basis of linguistic background, age, gender and school attainment levels. In this context, an assessment of language-related needs which would take into account these various dimensions would be relevant.

A.2 Effectiveness

Extent of provision of Aboriginal language services

Programs related to the provision of services – both to community members and to departments of the GNWT – account for approximately one third of the allocation and expenditure of Agreement funds targeted for Aboriginal languages (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.17). These programs include translation and interpretation, the training of interpreters to work in health and justice areas, designing bilingual signs for GNWT buildings and related activities.

Overall, the Cooperation Agreement appears to be meeting its objective of providing services in Aboriginal languages. Results from the community survey (Chapter III and Part II, Chapter II) show that while there are marked differences in perceived availability and use of services – according to both type of services and language background of the respondent – a significant proportion of respondents feel services exist and that access to these services in their Aboriginal language is becoming easier. Others feel that access to services has not changed.

Services for which the demand is relatively high – health and social services – are perceived to be most widely available, while those in the educational and work-related areas are seen to be less available (Chapter III, Table 3.6). More interesting is the fact that a significant proportion of the respondents who use government services – especially health and social services – perceive that these services are becoming more available (Chapter III, Table 3.7). Such results amount to a positive assessment of the provision of Aboriginal language services, many of which are covered by the Cooperation Agreement's activities and programs.

The key stakeholder interviews seem to back up the community survey findings as they indicate a general level of satisfaction with the

availability of Aboriginal language services. There is also a growing awareness of the existence of these services and, as a consequence, growth in demand for language-related services in all sectors of government activity, particularly in the education, health and justice areas.

The absence of established standards of service – or service level guidelines – has been pin pointed by some key stakeholders as a factor hindering the understanding of how each of the Agreement's activities or programs contributes to the support of Aboriginal languages and communities.

The contribution to the development of communities

The Agreement contributes to community development in several ways. First, delivery of several programs, such as those undertaken through the Language Enhancement Contributions program (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.9) and the Teaching and Learning Centres (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.8), occurs through local community institutions. These institutions thus gain in visibility and in local importance as more people benefit from their activities. This strengthening of the local capacity may be expected to provide spin-off effects that extend beyond the area of language funding.

Secondly, communities are strengthened as more of their members become involved in common activities. Thus activities such as a local drumming workshop or literacy program, or a regional writing workshop, bring people together with common interests which are likely to expand to other areas of common concern. The ultimate direction that such community mobilization takes may be difficult to predict, but it is a prerequisite for community development.

Related to this point is the effect that some activities have on the strengthening of internal social linkages in the communities. Projects that bring elders and youth together to share and to teach have vital

importance to not only the linguistic future of the community but to the social well being in a much deeper and much more general sense. Further, to the extent that the Agreement is successful in promoting increased interest in Aboriginal language usage and traditional cultural activities, linkages between youth and elders may be further strengthened. The involvement of local elders in language projects such as the compilation of Aboriginal language orthography and dictionary initiatives, and the gathering and transcription of traditional stories and legends are further examples of the impact the Agreement has had.

Another long-term effect is that Aboriginal people will be better served by the justice and health systems as services in their language become available through community members who have been trained as interpreter/translators. The level of understanding of these systems will also increase as people become more informed about their operations. Along with changes in other areas, many stakeholders note that Aboriginal people may find it more compelling to become involved in shaping the society around them and in developing partnerships with others to tackle community issues and problems.

The Agreement contributes positively to the local human resource base through such things as teacher training and training of interpreter/translators in health and legal areas. As more local people obtain professional skills that lead to employment based in the community, they become a resource for community development in other areas. It is noted by several key stakeholders however that some of those who have been trained have been unable to obtain continuing employment using their acquired skills.

In addition to the above-mentioned effects, many local stakeholders note that the Agreement has had a positive impact on the government's ability to serve the communities. There is an emerging hope that an investment will be made in building local capacity for communities to serve more of their own needs directly.

Frequent mention is made of the usefulness of the educational materials being produced by the Teaching and Learning Centres, as well as the importance of avoiding duplication of this type of effort. The desirability of obtaining more support for local pre-school and immersion projects is raised by local stakeholders. It is also noted that in certain language groups there is a growing demand for the use of the local Aboriginal language in formal meetings where the use of English had been the practice in the past. Many of these views point to a growing awareness of the crucial role communities have and must play in the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement.

Contribution to the development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages

Language fluency results obtained from the community surveys indicates that some of the languages are clearly threatened. More than 70 per cent of the Gwich'in respondents, for example, have no or only poor oral fluency in this language (Chapter III, Chart 3.5). In general, the fluency of youth is dramatically lower than that of elders (Chapter III, Chart 3.6; see also Part II, Chapter II). Several Aboriginal languages are clearly endangered, and the three objectives of development, maintenance and revitalization are each critically important. It is also clear, however, that the situation is different for each language group (see the *Results by Language Group* section of Part II, Chapter II).

A sense emerges from the key stakeholder interviews that maintenance and development have been the focus of Agreement programs to date. While Agreement programs are not organized along the lines of development, maintenance and revitalization, insights about the contribution of the Agreement to these areas can be gained from looking at the Agreement's budget and expenditure according to category of activity (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.17). The table shows that *language training* accounts for 42.2 per cent and 40.4 per cent of budget and expenditure respectively for 1991-92 and 1992-93. This

pattern would support the assessment that maintenance and development are favored, if one accepts that the activities under *training* do not primarily address the revitalization needs of Aboriginal communities.

Key stakeholders hold different opinions about the Agreement's contribution to any long-term objectives for Aboriginal languages. Some key stakeholders recognize that the provision of language services and infrastructure (such as in the legislature, in the schools, the courts and the hospitals) has been the major thrust to date. As a result of this focus, some community members and groups feel that their language-related needs are not yet satisfactorily met.

The connection between language renewal and schooling - and the important role of the community - is outlined in the Literature Review. As discussed in the previous section on the contribution of the Agreement of community development, a range of programs relate to strengthening communities and increasing community involvement in schooling (e.g. training and hiring of local teachers, involvement of elders). These activities may be expected to effectively build the framework in which language revitalization may occur.

The suggestion is made that Aboriginal language revitalization could now be effectively supported, given the considerable learning accumulated thus far. The adoption of a strategic approach to each Aboriginal language would enable programs to be tailored to the unique context of each language group. Given that youth are most at risk in terms of losing their Aboriginal language, programs that specifically target youth will clearly be the most effective means to achieve positive results.

The Agreement as a cost-effective approach

Several measures can be used to assess the effectiveness of government services and activities. The achievement of measurable

objectives, the magnitude of impacts on activity and program beneficiaries, and the unit and average cost of delivering services compared to that of other, similar organizations are three such measures. In the context of this evaluation, the focus is placed on using measures of the magnitude of impacts on the Cooperation Agreement's beneficiaries, given, on the one hand, the limited amount of information and indicators available on measurable objectives and, on the other, the methodological difficulties and data requirements inherent to comparison of average and unit cost of program delivery.

In the area of achievement of objectives, several key stakeholders indicate that the absence of established standards of service - or service level guidelines - creates some confusion as to the expected outputs or results of the Cooperation Agreement. The extent to which the Agreement is expected to provide services is still unclear to many. There is a view shared by several respondents that, over time, control and delivery of Aboriginal language services should be gradually transferred over to communities. Whether such decentralization would be a more cost-effective approach than the one currently used is unclear, and warrants future research.

A related issue is the need to strike a balance between providing services to government bodies or on behalf of community people. Services such as translation and interpretation represent important budget items - in the area of approximately 20 per cent of all Agreement spending if one includes training and other activities directly related to these services (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.17). The main beneficiaries of these services are government departments and the Legislature. Moreover, it is not uncommon for government departments and regional boards to pay for these services from their own budgets, suggesting that the demand for these services cannot be met with the Agreement's resources alone.

By comparison, the demand for these services from community people is small (Chapter III, Chart 3.17), given that, respectively, only 10 and 15 per cent of respondents to the community survey have used

translation and interpretation services during the past year. This example suggests that the language-related needs of community people are different from those of the government and, if a balance were to be struck, an assessment of community needs would be a prerequisite to the delivery of services.

Qualitative assessments of cost-effectiveness are provided by several key stakeholders who point out the relative absence of budgetary flexibility, limited delegation of authority, and over-centralization of control and funds. Concerning the perceived absence of budgetary flexibility, it is worth noting that the terms of the Agreement do allow the GNWT to transfer funds between projects as long as an individual project's budget is not increased or decreased by more than 25 per cent. Transfers greater than this amount require ministerial approval.

An appraisal of cost-effectiveness is complicated by the wide-ranging objectives of the Agreement. The combining of objectives for service delivery with those of development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages, and with support for Aboriginal communities into a single contribution agreement creates a complex structure, within which it may be difficult to balance needs. While these various objectives are, to a certain extent, inter-related, the provision of services is much more easily administered and measured than the other objectives.

In sum, it is premature to judge the full extent of the impact of the Agreement and the implications for effectiveness. The available indicators and information that can be derived from this evaluation's research suggest that, in aggregate, the Agreement's programs and activities appear to have been effective in meeting one of the overall goals of the Agreement, that is, the provision of services in the Aboriginal languages. With respect to the objectives of development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages, a longer study period is required before definite conclusions can be reached.

A.3 Impact and effects

Long-term effects and spin-offs

As discussed in the chapter on methodology (Chapter II, Section A), the assessment of impacts and effects can be inferred primarily from comparing the results of two consecutive surveys – the baseline and the comparative surveys, and from identifying and measuring changes in key variables. The rationale for repeating these surveys is to try to determine any difference in key language-related indicators within the same population that may have taken place as a consequence of the Agreement's programs and activities over the one year interval between the surveys. Three different statistical tests were applied to the key indicators (refer to Appendix F).

It would appear that, on the basis of the statistical tests, efforts to maintain and improve the provision of services in the Aboriginal languages are perceived to have marginally improved over the brief period between the two surveys, while the actual language skills have continued to marginally decline. This apparent anomaly may well be explained by a "time lag" effect, that is, it will take some time before the benefits of greater language support programs show up as improvement in language fluency.

While the results of the quantitative analysis are not conclusive, due in large part to the short period of time between the community surveys, several conclusions of a more qualitative nature can be made. The attention to building language infrastructure and capacity will result in a number of immediate and longer term pay-offs. Many of the program activities undertaken under the Agreement relate to the creation of an inventory of resources that may be expected to form the basis for future language development activities in the NWT. These include activities that relate to language modernization and training.

Considerable effort has been undertaken by the Language Bureau and by the Departments of Health and Justice to expand the capacity of Aboriginal languages to function in the modern cultural setting in which they are now situated (Part II, Chapter I). Terminology development, for example, is needed in order to facilitate the functioning of these languages in the arena of modern medical and legal services. Similarly, training of people who are fluent in an Aboriginal language as medical or legal interpreters and translators helps to extend the linguistic environment of the languages into these areas of modern life. The completion of the dictionary and orthography projects is noted by some stakeholders as being essential to the longer term development of the Aboriginal languages.

There is substantial agreement among key stakeholders that the demand for services and resources will inevitably grow, while at the same time there is some recognition that budgetary limitations do and will continue to exist. There is also a sense that, as regional and local capacity is developed to deliver language programs and services, there will be increasing demand for decentralization of delivery, and subsequently, priority setting and decision making responsibilities. In a number of interviews, stakeholders feel that in the longer term the investment in language services and programs will be seen to be a normal cost of doing business and will be accommodated by departmental budgets as a regular expense item. There are indications that this change is already taking place in a number of departments and institutions.

Support for the activities of the Teaching and Learning Centres is a good example of how decentralization of Agreement resources has been achieved. Transfers made to these centres have been used for a wide range of activities (Part II, Chapter I, Table 1.8) which together have helped to create capacity in these regions while producing a wide range of locally relevant, language-related materials. The Language Enhancement Contributions Program is also an important example of the way in which resources have been made available for use according to local identification of priorities.

The training of Aboriginal language speakers to work as medical and legal interpreters/translators may well be expected to create positive spin-off effects within these service environments. Similarly, training and recruiting of Aboriginal language teachers through the teacher education programs of ECE and Arctic College will have an impact in the area of education-related employment. As individuals having good fluency in their Aboriginal language move into these positions they may be expected to serve as role models for others. The creation of more employment for bilingual speakers, as the demand for services and programs increases, may be expected, as noted by several of the key stakeholders. With this development, some stakeholders feel that the face of government could change considerably.

This evaluation concludes that, in aggregate, the Agreement's programs and activities appear to have been effective in meeting the goal of providing services in the Aboriginal languages. With respect to the goal of preserving, developing and enhancing Aboriginal languages, a longer study period is required before definite conclusions can be reached. Nonetheless, the decline in fluency which is apparent in some language groups suggests that more – or better focused and more strategic – efforts need to be done to reverse the trend. As one key stakeholder has noted, the ultimate test is whether the languages are being used, not whether services are available in the Aboriginal languages.

The impacts and effects for development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages

Many of the long-term effects noted in the previous section may contribute to positive developments in the development, maintenance and revitalization of Aboriginal languages. Community involvement in education and language-related activities has been identified elsewhere as being critical to creating the context in which language renewal can occur.

The importance of symbolism in promoting the Aboriginal languages is worth highlighting as it is recognized to have some immediate and longer term pay-offs. Activities such as the geographical place names project and the territorial literacy promotion campaigns of ECE, and the production and erection of Aboriginal language office signs by the Department of Government Services and Public Works are efforts that serve to increase the visibility of Aboriginal languages and efficiently symbolize these departments' willingness to provide support. Signage on buildings and the use of Aboriginal languages for airline instructional materials for instance, is seen to contribute to a greater recognition of Aboriginal languages. In this respect, the lapsing of funds that had been allocated for road signs by the Department of Transport, while perhaps understandable given time pressures and other priorities, represents a missed opportunity.

Support for the increased use of Aboriginal languages in broadcast and print media (Part II, Chapter I) is important in terms of language maintenance and revitalization and goes well beyond symbolism. The use of Agreement funds to provide grants through the Broadcast Media program of ECE to the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, the Native Communications Society and the Inuvialuit Communications Society clearly plays an important role. Efforts by the Language Bureau to increase the amount of Aboriginal language programming available through in-house translation/versioning is also important to recognize in this regard. Furthermore, providing the opportunity for students to participate in a video workshop, and airing the results on the TVNC television network, is an important capacity-building step.

Responses to community survey questions indicate a positive perception that television and radio Aboriginal language programming is useful in keeping and improving the respondents' use of these languages (Part II, Chapter II). Aboriginal language media is widely recognized by key stakeholders to have a positive impact on Aboriginal language development, usage and acceptance.

It is clear from the charts presenting language fluency by age (Part II, Chapter II) that the point of greatest vulnerability of Aboriginal languages to future decline is among youth. Therefore, activities that serve to support and promote the use of these languages by youth are critical. At least two of the Agreement's activities specifically target youth: training/education and community programs.

The first of these, education, is of primary importance. There exists a perception among many key stakeholders that in the past, the education systems have not been as supportive of Aboriginal languages – or culture – as they might be. Activities related to education account for over 40 per cent of the total Agreement expenditures for Aboriginal languages. The goal of creating an Aboriginal education system that is more fully bilingual is seen as a fundamental investment in the longer term health of the languages by some stakeholders.

Further effects of Agreement funding include the gradual creation and collection of a growing mass of Aboriginal language materials and teaching tools – much of which has been carried out by the Teaching and Learning Centres – which will clearly aid in supporting future language maintenance, development and revitalization. The need to catalogue and publish these materials is pointed out by several key stakeholders as being essential for future language progress.

The second area of funding that has the potential for positive impact on the use of Aboriginal languages by youth relates to community programs. These include activities which are directly initiated and implemented by community-based groups as well as activities – such as broadcast media and cultural heritage projects – that help to integrate the Aboriginal language into everyday use. Many of the activities that are supported through the Language Enhancement Contribution program relate to youth. These include the language camps noted in Table 1.9 (Part II, Chapter I). The collection of traditional stories also has the potential for a positive spin-off as this activity may serve to form a bridge between youth and elders in the community – a link that

is critical given the fact that for many of the Aboriginal languages the elders are the only source of good fluency.

Stakeholders are optimistic that a continued focus on children and youth will have longer term impacts, some of which are already perceived to be emerging. In some areas, increasing use of, and interest in, Aboriginal languages by young people is leading them to become interested in other cultural activities. The drumming workshop initiated in Fort Simpson by the Teaching and Learning Centre of the DehCho Divisional Board of Education is one such example.

The impacts and effects of other variables on Aboriginal languages

Shifts in language usage are to be expected when several languages are in contact – such as is the case with Aboriginal languages and English in the NWT (Chapter 3, Section C). The direction and final outcome of such changes in language usage are to a large extent dependent on specific situations and specific contexts. The programs of the Contribution Agreement take place within the complex and dynamic linguistic context of the NWT. Any expectation that the Agreement will significantly impact upon this linguistic landscape in any predictable and manageable way needs to be tempered with a realization that the Agreement is only one of many factors that make up this landscape.

While many factors may be expected to impact on language usage, it is interesting to note the importance of schooling as a factor leading to changing language preference. Nearly 80 per cent of those who have changed their language preference refer to *studies* as the reason for the change (Chapter III, Chart 3.16). Clearly the context in which education occurs is influential in determining language usage.

Many stakeholders speak of the fundamental changes which are expected to occur with the establishment of a Nunavut government in

the eastern Arctic. The impact on language usage and development is expected to be significant, and positive, given the predominance of the Inuit languages in that territory. The impact on language matters of this major change in government structure is not clear, but some stakeholders believe that there might be some impact on funding for Aboriginal languages – and thus language development – in the future.

A.4 Alternatives

Improvement of Cooperation Agreement

There is a need to adopt a more strategic and balanced approach to the planning and implementation of Aboriginal language programs. Several facets need to be considered. First, it is evident from the fluency results of the community research that the linguistic situation is unique for each language group (Part II, Chapter II). Therefore, priorities and objectives need to be tailored to the specific context of each language group. Decentralization and contributions to community initiatives already achieve a degree of this tailoring but a more strategic approach, involving community members, would increase effectiveness. An assessment of language-related needs that takes age, gender and other relevant factors into consideration, within the context of specific linguistic groups, may further contribute to effective planning.

Within the context of language-specific planning, the balance between service delivery and activities related to language development, maintenance and revitalization should be considered. This balance may be expected to vary depending among the specific language groups. A strategic decision making process will be required, and this process should include community involvement. In addition to allocation of resources based on strategic, language-specific objectives, a balance should be reached in terms of regional allocations. The challenge throughout will be to encourage community involvement and

maintain flexibility while focusing on the effective achievement of specific objectives.

Service and Program implementation

In the area of managerial and administrative improvements, an important advance would be a more flexible and administratively simplified framework agreement modeled on other federal-territorial accords such as the agreement covering legal aid. Given the development of an important cooperative and collegial spirit over the life of the Cooperation Agreement, a more trusting and transparent arrangement seems timely. Precedents exist in other federal-territorial agreements which include much more flexible and responsive administrative, and accountability policies and procedures. The pre-conditions now exist for the application of these experiences to any future official languages agreements.

At the operational level, a new agreement could include a number of improvements which were put forward by a number of the key stakeholders whose common themes are simplification and greater flexibility. Some of the adjustments proposed include :

- a simplification of the reporting and accounting requirements within overall, agreed upon areas of jurisdiction and categories;
- greater transparency in the decision-making and allocation process (within the GNWT) to encourage the direct participation of all major delivery departments in the process;
- an improved forecasting capacity to better anticipate for and respond to funding lapses;
- the identification of standards or levels of service which can be used for evaluative and reporting purposes;

- greater operational flexibility to reallocate resources and commit to new projects during the year within an overall annual plan;
- increased delegation to senior officials to make operational and project decisions and changes throughout the year in place of continual reference to the Minister on matters more properly dealt with on the basis of an annually agreed upon plan;
- the establishment of a decision timetable and planning arrangement to ensure timely approval of annual plans and allocation of funding;
- a periodic exchange of views (possibly annually or semi-annually) involving visits by the appropriate federal officials to the NWT to meet with their counterpart GNWT officials of the implementing departments, as well as to travel to some innovative Agreement-funded projects or programs.

A major issue relates to the locus of decision-making, control and resources of the Agreement. The implementation and delivery of the existing Agreement is perceived to have been mainly through government channels and reference is made to the desirability of an expanded community role in both shaping and delivering Agreement's activities and programs. Underlying this perception is an interest in increased public consultations to determine future directions for Aboriginal language policies and programs.

In light of the above comments, an alternative to the current delivery model of the Cooperation Agreement is one which makes use of existing regional or community institutions as delivery mechanisms, on a contractual basis. An often referred to example of this model is the Fédération Franco-TéNOise, which is utilized by the GNWT to support the delivery of the Agreement's Community/Cultural Development Program to the Francophone community of the NWT. However, the extent to which a large scale utilization of such a model would generate cost savings or increase the effectiveness of existing activities and programs is unknown and needs to be investigated. It is

worth noting that there is no direct equivalent to the Fédération in the Aboriginal language groups in the NWT.

Support and development of communities

A consensus seems to emerge concerning the role of communities in shaping and implementing future cooperation agreements' programs and activities. Amongst Aboriginal people and organizations in particular, it is repeatedly emphasized that the communities need to have a greater role in the maintenance, development and revitalization of Aboriginal languages. Lacking a sense of local ownership of language support and development policies, many key stakeholders feel that the health of the languages will deteriorate. This point is reinforced by the negative trends in fluency and literacy that are observed through the community survey data, and is well documented in the research covered in the literature review. The solution, it is felt, lies in the communities' commitment to take action and in the government's resolve to support such action.

Language development, maintenance and revitalization

The situation of some Aboriginal languages is such that there is no doubt that programs and activities aimed at preserving, maintaining and revitalizing them are relevant. The question, instead, is one of focus, scope and level of effort. The targeting of specific activities and programs along the lines of these three areas of language support – preservation, maintenance and revitalization – would undoubtedly facilitate the assessment of its impacts and, possibly, increase its overall effectiveness.

A.5 Conclusion

Concrete steps have been taken through the programs implemented under the Cooperation Agreement to provide services in Aboriginal languages and to work toward the development, maintenance and revitalization of these languages. Some of these programs have helped to create the context for increasing the vitality of the communities.

By and large, this evaluation concludes that the rationale and objectives of the Cooperation Agreement are received positively and are supported by those who are aware of it – efforts at promoting the Agreement and at communicating its achievements would be beneficial to broaden this support base. There is a growing awareness of the existence of services in the Aboriginal languages and it is expected that this will lead to a growth in demand for such services. There is also a growing recognition that the Cooperation Agreement can strengthen Aboriginal pride and cultural vitality as well as support the growth of Aboriginal languages.

The rationale behind the objectives of providing services and those of developing, maintaining and revitalizing Aboriginal languages need to be clarified on a language-specific scale. In particular, attention needs to be paid to needs which are specific to each language group, age group, gender, and social background. In this context, an assessment of language-related needs which would take into account these various strategic dimensions is needed. Community involvement in all aspects of language planning and programming is emphasized.

B. FRENCH

B.1 Overview

The following sections provide the main conclusions derived from the analysis of the evaluation results relating to French, in particular the access to services in French. The sections draw from the file and document review, the community research, the key stakeholder interviews and, to a lesser extent, the literature review. The conclusions are grouped along the lines of the main evaluation questions which provided the underlying framework for this evaluation.

B.2 Cooperation Agreement Rationale

Awareness, understanding and support

In spite of a considerable investment of Agreement funds in the promotion of French language services and programs, the level of awareness still appears to remain limited. In fact, the community survey shows that except for health-related services, a large majority of respondents do not perceive the main government services to be available in French (or they do not know) in their community (Chapter IV, Table 4.4).

By way of contrast, support to the Agreement's mandate and objectives by Francophone organizations appears to be growing and their relationships with the GNWT seem to be improving greatly. The best example of that is the involvement of the Fédération Franco-TéNOise in the delivery of the community/cultural development program. Such involvement provides the added benefit of increasing both the level of awareness and the legitimacy of the Agreement.

Feedback from key stakeholders indicates broad support for and a good overall understanding of the principles and objectives of the Cooperation Agreement, while harboring some reservations concerning the level of funding available. The general enthusiasm for the Agreement was tempered somewhat by a knowledge of the limited take-up by Francophones of all the services offered under the Agreement.

The only specific reservation expressed by key stakeholders in the area of awareness and understanding relates to the role of the Languages Commissioner. There seems to be a lack of clarity – or at least of general understanding – about the Commissioner's responsibilities with respect to monitoring and playing an ombudsman's role vis-à-vis the Cooperation Agreement. By and large, however, the objectives of the Agreement as they relate to French are well known, supported and understood.

Community participation

The extent to which policy and program implementation under the Cooperation Agreement involved community participation can be assessed from several perspectives. First, the community research shows that participation in social and cultural events such as theater and newsletter is relatively high (Chapter IV, Chart 4.2) and the Agreement has provided funding through the Community/Cultural development Program to some of these activities (Part II, Chapter III, Table 3.8). It can be argued that because community participation to these activities is high and because they are locally-based and by nature decentralized, community input into the design, development and implementation of the activities is significant.

More generally, the connection between the implementation of the French component of the Cooperation Agreement and the support of a strong and viable Francophone community is recognized. Expenditures in excess of $379,000 in 1992-93 for community

programs made under the Agreement (Part II, Chapter, III, Table 3.18b) play an important symbolic and functional role.

Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between the GNWT and the NWT Francophone organizations has been evolving. Regular meetings and ongoing communication have allowed a growing cooperative spirit which has encouraged the GNWT to contract with Francophone organizations to provide services to their community. The direct involvement of the Fédération Franco-TéNOise in the administration of the Community/Cultural Development Program holds considerable promise for the future as a means of assisting the GNWT in serving the Francophone community effectively. It also represents a testimony to the actual involvement of the French community in the implementation, if not the design, of the Agreement's programs and activities.

Goals and objectives not addressed in the Cooperation Agreement

Given its focus on providing services in French and contributing to the development of the Francophone community, the Cooperation Agreement does not specifically address the goal of preserving and maintaining the French language. The community survey has shown that English is making some inroads at the expense of French in terms of the language used at home and the most fluent language. Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents learned French as their first language as a child but only 63 per cent speak it most frequently at home at present (Chapter IV, Chart 4.3). In addition, oral fluency and literacy in French seem to be declining over time, as the results of the static comparative analysis indicate (Appendix F). These findings suggest that specific actions aimed at reversing this trend may be warranted and could possibly be addressed by the Cooperation Agreement.

In the area of access to services in French, a number of key stakeholders commented on the need to devote more attention to the

areas of correctional services, as well as mental and community health clinics and services. Access to these services in French appears to lag behind that of other services.

Finally, the issues of long-term financing, continuity of support for French language services and the implementation of French as one of the official languages of the NWT are related to language matters but they are not dealt with in the Agreement. It is felt by several key stakeholders both within and outside government that they are very important issues.

B.3 Effectiveness

Overall, the evaluation concludes that significant progress has been made in the provision of French language services and the implementation of French as an official language in the NWT. While further work remains to extend and promote these objectives, there is widespread recognition of the changes that have taken place and that the Cooperation Agreement has been fairly effective in fulfilling its mandate.

Provision of services

The Cooperation Agreement provided for 100 per cent federal funding of French language services in agreement with guidelines established by both parties. These funds, amounting to more than $12 million over the duration of the Agreement, are used for both providing and promoting services in French. This evaluation concludes that service provision in French has improved significantly over the last three years but much remains to be done in the area of service promotion, judging from the relatively low level of awareness about availability of services in French.

The community survey shows that the perceived availability of services in French varies according to the type of services. Health and justice-related services are perceived to be the most widely available. By comparison, several services are perceived not to be widely available. Furthermore, a March 1993 report of the Fédération Franco-TéNOise entitled *Les Services en Français selon L'Accord de Coopération* stated on the basis of limited community consultation that "All the communities emphasized that the services offered in French were not visible enough." (page 2, our translation).

The review of files and documents makes ample references to the nature and the level of the services that were provided (Part II, Chapter III) and this discussion is not repeated here. The important question, thus, is whether these services are in tune with both the nature and the level of language-related needs of the Francophone community. With respect to the former, a good indicator of needs is the level of demand for specific services. The review of files and documents indicates that a measurable demand exists for services in French in the area of health and interpretation and translation (a significant portion of this demand originates from government departments). It is worth noting that some departments – namely at least one regional Health Board – used their own departmental funds to pay for translation services, indicating that the demand for this service is high within government.

In addition, the community research shows that use of services in French varies according to the type of services. It is important to note that a majority of the respondents perceive that either services in French are now easier to access or there is no change to the situation. Interpretation and translation services are not widely used by the general public but satisfaction with these services is generally high (Chapter IV, Table 4.7 and Chart 4.9). Much of the same can be said about language training. Another indicator is the number of respondents – 44 out of 196 – who received in 1993 government information in French without having requested it.

These different results indicate that access to services in French is a reality in the NWT for a significant number of Francophones. There are, however, marked differences in the demand for services according to the type of services and this brings into focus the relevance of putting Agreement's resources into areas for which the demand is low. Overall, it is difficult to judge effectiveness, and particularly cost effectiveness, without a better knowledge of, on the one hand, language-related needs of both government departments and Francophone community members and, on the other, standard or average costs of delivering similar services.

Finally, key stakeholders have mentioned that, in general, service use is limited and the demand for services in French is growing slowly. Together, these results indicate that the Cooperative Agreement has been fairly effective at providing services in French but it is difficult to say whether there is a good match between supply and demand, and whether some services are available for which there is little demand.

Contribution to community development

The provision of services in French may directly contribute to the development of the Francophone community in the NWT by supporting the access to and use of the French language. Another measure is the degree to which French is used when accessing government services. The community research indicates that all respondents use French less than 25 per cent of the time when they access government services (this includes services which do not fall under the Cooperation Agreement's jurisdiction). This result suggests that much work remains to be done in this area.

There are also indirect ways by which the Cooperation Agreement might contribute to the goal of developing the Francophone community. For one, community participation in the Agreement's implementation through the involvement of organizations such as the FFT contributes to build local capacity and managerial expertise.

From the perspective of key stakeholders, the effectiveness of the Cooperation Agreement is perceived to go beyond the benefit of a direct access to services in French. The Francophone community is perceived to become "more at home" in the NWT and Francophone organizations are generally well supported by the financial and other types of support extended by the Agreement. The perception that most departments have some capacity to respond to demands in French language is unequally shared. The assessment is generally positive amongst key stakeholders but the survey done by the FFT suggests otherwise (see comments above).

Symbolic initiatives – such as road and office signage – and a growing bilingual departmental service capacity are additional indications to Francophones and the wider public that a permanent change is underway. Francophone community members are nevertheless aware that attitudinal change (from government personnel and the society at large) does not always keep up with this evolution. The need to explain the rationale of the support for these initiatives and their linkages to other GNWT language objectives appears to many to remain an on-going challenge.

A related impact of the improved relationship with the GNWT which was noted by stakeholders within the federal and territorial governments, as well as from the community itself is the government-community partnership which has grown up. This collaborative relationship, the evaluation concludes, has led to a promising method of delivering services and programs by a Francophone organization on behalf of the GNWT.

Cost-effectiveness

The central issues relating to cost-effectiveness revolve primarily around managerial practices relating to the implementation of the Agreement. For example, a considerable consensus exists amongst key stakeholders that the paper burden resulting from the

Agreement's management and implementation is too great and that future agreements need to be simplified if they are to become more cost-effective than the existing one.

While considerable concern was expressed about the delays in approval and receipt of annual fund appropriations - especially in the first year (1991), it is difficult to assign responsibility to any particular group or agency. The problem appears to relate more to the overall nature of an overly complex Agreement than to any one other cause.

At the level of individual services, a number of suggestions were made to improve the cost effectiveness of the Agreement. For instance, at the Stanton Yellowknife Hospital where 21 bilingual bonuses were paid (for Francophone services), the model being used in the aboriginal area has been suggested. A roster of on-call interpreters is maintained and is utilized on a demand basis, as well as on a pay-per-call basis. In the opinion of many key stakeholders, other cost improvements can be implemented without impairing the quality of the programs or services delivered.

Reservations are held by some key stakeholders concerning the advisability of paying bilingual bonuses to staff where the use of the language skills is not called upon as a regular part of their work. The payment of bilingual bonuses is used in cases where services are provided in two or more official languages and where the use of another language is not part of the job description (the obligation to pay bilingual bonuses is a requirement of the collective agreement between the GNWT and the Union of Northern Workers, and is based on criteria administered by the Bilingual Bonus Committee chaired by the deputy minister of Personnel).

On a more positive side, it is pointed out by several stakeholders that the Agreement does establish that the GNWT is the "one window" through which all the language programs and services are to be delivered. In addition, it represents a mixed model of direct and

indirect services, from access to the justice system, to the provision of a 1-800 number, to the payment of bilingual bonuses.

As a general comment, an assessment of the cost-effectiveness of the Agreement is seen by some stakeholders to be a difficult undertaking given the absence of widely understood and available standards of service against which to measure performance and cost. In addition, the lack of knowledge of the needs relating to language matters also makes it difficult to judge effectiveness in general and cost-effectiveness in particular. To some extent, the requirements of the Official Languages Act have subsumed any attempt to provide services in French on the basis of needs or demand from individual community members. These requirements have also brought a certain level of inflexibility – and therefore of ineffectiveness – in how the Agreement can best allocate its resources.

Above all, cost-effectiveness cannot be judged in isolation from the need to strike a balance between, on the one hand, providing services to community members and government personnel and, on the other, contributing to the development of the Francophone community.

B.4 Impacts and Effects

Long-term effects

It would appear that, on the basis of the statistical tests undertaken for this evaluation, efforts to maintain and improve the provision of services in French are perceived to have improved over the brief period between the two surveys, while the actual language skills have marginally declined. This apparent anomaly is difficult to explain but may well be related to the fact that the relationship between access to services in French and fluency is not direct.

Another important area where long-term effects may be felt is the capacity of the GNWT to design, develop and deliver services in French. The file and document review pointed out that because of the Agreement, interpreters, translators, health workers and others have been hired to work and provide services in French in the different regions of the Northwest Territories (Part II, Chapter III). In addition, other employees undertook French language training and, as a result, some of them may now be able to serve clients in French. Together, these efforts translate into an increased capacity to deliver services in French and this increased capacity bodes well for meeting current and future language-related needs of the Francophone community.

In addition, there is a perception by key stakeholders that the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement has created a more positive relationship between the Francophone community and the GNWT. Evolving from a confrontational and critical stance to a constructive dialogue, a foundation has been built for the future and with it has come identifiable progress. Increased client satisfaction with services is being registered in areas such as health, justice and education – a beginning has been made, although more remains to be done.

Effect of funding on implementation as an official language

Between 78 and 83 per cent of the Agreement's funds targeted for French language programs have been budgeted, in different years, for the provision of language services (Part II, Chapter III). By comparison, community development programs accounted for 12 per cent of the Agreement's budget in 1992-93. The Agreement thus makes considerable funds available for the development of services in French, and for the promotion of French as an official language. This is reflected in part by the growing demand within GNWT departments for French translation services (Part II, Chapter III). In addition, a large body of law has been translated – mainly by the Department of

Justice and been rendered more accessible to GNWT staff and Francophone citizens. These results suggest that the funding of the Agreement is meeting some of the needs of the GNWT with regard to services in French.

The Agreement has also had a long-term effect upon the nature of the delivery of services by the regional agencies of the GNWT such as Health Boards and Arctic College. Initially, it seems from the key stakeholder interviews that these organizations only gradually became aware of the implications of the official languages legislation and there were delays in implementation. The recognition of the need to serve clients in their official languages is perceived to be growing and institutions such as the Stanton Yellowknife Hospital are responding. In the longer term, as the staff of these regional agencies come to better understand their roles and assume their responsibilities, Francophones living in the regions will become better served and more aware of the opportunities for receiving services in their own language.

Key stakeholders also raised the issue of a lack of understanding about the nature and origins of the federal official languages funding, and the responsibilities assumed under official languages legislation to those outside the Francophone community – both within the GNWT and in the general NWT population. Given the Cooperation Agreement's stated objective "to encourage dialogue and mutual understanding among the linguistic communities of the Northwest Territories" (Chapter I, section C), future promotional efforts should be extended to respond to deal with the confusion which exists. In the longer term, a better understanding of the linkages and the uniqueness of both components of the Agreement – French and Aboriginal – would be beneficial.

B.5 Alternatives

Improvement of Cooperation Agreement

A number of ways to improve the Cooperation Agreement are identified. They can be grouped in two categories : consideration of needs not currently addressed by the Cooperation Agreement, and implementation of a more strategic and balanced approach.

It is clear that the Cooperation Agreement could first be improved by paying more attention to language-related needs which are not currently addressed by the Agreement. Mention was made earlier of the need to devote more resources in the areas of correctional services, and mental and community health clinics and services. In addition, the fact that knowledge about the specific language needs of the Francophone community is incomplete was brought forth to the discussion.

The potential of the private sector to join forces with the GNWT and Francophone organizations to participate in the implementation of certain official language programs is an uncharted territory which, in the eyes of several stakeholders, offers some potential. Here as well, alternative approaches to supporting the development of the Francophone community of the NWT is worth exploring within the context of a future GNWT – Canada Cooperation Agreement.

Over and above the specific suggestions made here, there is a need to adopt a more strategic and balanced approach to the delivery of services in French in the NWT. On the one hand, consideration should be given to the respective language needs of the GNWT personnel, of the Francophone community members at large, and of other groups. The review of files and documents shows that a large proportion of the Agreement's funds go to the provision of language services to government departments, primarily in the area of translation. There is little understanding of the proportion of these

funds that ultimately trickles down to the "ordinary" community member. Thus, there is a need to better understand who ultimately benefits from the Agreement's services and, once known, to define and apply allocation criteria in order to guide how the funds and services be allocated amongst the various groups.

On the other hand, a balance should be reached in terms of regional allocation of funds and services. As part of this evaluation, an attempt has been made to assess the regional distribution of the Agreement's funds and services but it has been largely unsuccessful given the lack of data (Part II, Chapter III, section B.3). The suggestion is made, therefore, that more attention be paid to the collection and analysis of data on the regional distribution of the Agreement's funds and outputs, with a view to design a regionally-balanced approach to the Agreement.

The encouragement of dialogue and mutual understanding among the linguistic communities – including French – is another objective of the Agreement and it is perhaps the most difficult to achieve. A beginning has been made in this regard and the evaluation concludes that further work in this area will be needed in the future. It must be recognized as a long-term goal and, as such, it is not surprising that it has not been fully achieved within the short time span of this Agreement.

Service and program implementation

A consensus exists amongst several key stakeholders on the need to simplify and change the Agreement with respect to managerial and administrative requirements. The conclusion of this evaluation is that serious and immediate consideration of substantial changes in this area should be initiated. Specific suggestions as to the nature of these changes can be found in the first part of this chapter and they apply to the French component of the Agreement as well.

The evaluation determines that the complexity of the Agreement itself is out of character with other similar intergovernmental agreements and that this complexity undermines the potential of both governments to focus on the overall objectives, rather than the administrative minutiae. In spite of the provisions of the Agreement, the Agreement Management Committee appears to have worked out a constructive, and open relationship which argues for a more flexible Agreement in the future.

Support and development of Francophone community

The delivery of some of the Cooperation Agreement's activities and programs to the Francophone community has benefited from a productive arrangement to share program delivery responsibilities with a Francophone organization. The model of using a community-based organization to assist in the delivery of the Agreement's programs represents a very innovative approach and it possesses the added benefit of providing local and community inputs into the Agreement. This evaluation concludes that this model should become a standard feature of the Agreement.

The evaluation identifies considerable support for the development of a more significant role for the Francophone community in the overall design and implementation of the Agreement. At a minimum, regular information meetings with francophone organizations should be encouraged even more and systematically pursued. On a periodic basis, a "state of the official language" consultation could be considered, which would contribute to the planning, priority setting and policy development process in general. Such consultation would undoubtedly create a sense of ownership and commitment on the part of the Francophone community, as well as increase the transparency of the Agreement's delivery of services.

As a way of paying more attention to the language needs of the Francophone community and of contributing further to its develop-

ment, mention has been made by many stakeholders to increase the role and responsibility of the French community in addressing language development issues and initiatives. The identification with the community of desirable program outputs and mutually agreed upon priorities (and accountability criteria and indicators) is seen as an important priority.

B.6 Conclusion

The provision of French language services and the implementation of French as an official language in the NWT are now, this evaluation concludes, a firm reality in the NWT. In symbolic and practical ways, significant progress has been made to the point where the Francophone community and the GNWT now share a relatively positive and cooperative relationship, in contrast to earlier, more difficult times. The growth of this mutual respect and communication has evolved to the degree that the GNWT has involved a francophone organization in a partnership to deliver services and programs to its membership.

The awareness of the availability of services delivered in French remains lower than should be the case given the attention directed at the promotion of the Agreement's services. Continued effort in this regard is suggested. As well, given the difference in the nature and origins of the official languages policy and resources for French, as compared to those pertaining to the official Aboriginal languages, it continues to be important to clarify the issues, the legislative basis of each and their resource allocation. Confusion in this area continues and affects the potential of meeting the Agreement's objective of encouraging dialogue and mutual understanding among linguistic communities.

It is important to reiterate as a conclusion that most key stakeholders and respondents from the community survey are satisfied with the

existing efforts to provide services in French. There are still areas where services in French are perceived to be less available but this may be linked to low demand for these services.

By and large, the consultations and results of the community survey amount to a positive assessment of the French component of the Cooperation Agreement and the various suggestions which have been made in this chapter provide useful and specific suggestions to improve it. It is hoped that efforts continue to be applied to make French a language of daily use to the many Francophones living throughout the NWT. Such efforts, if they were sustained, would undoubtedly contribute to reinforce the cultural and linguistic fabric of the Francophone community.