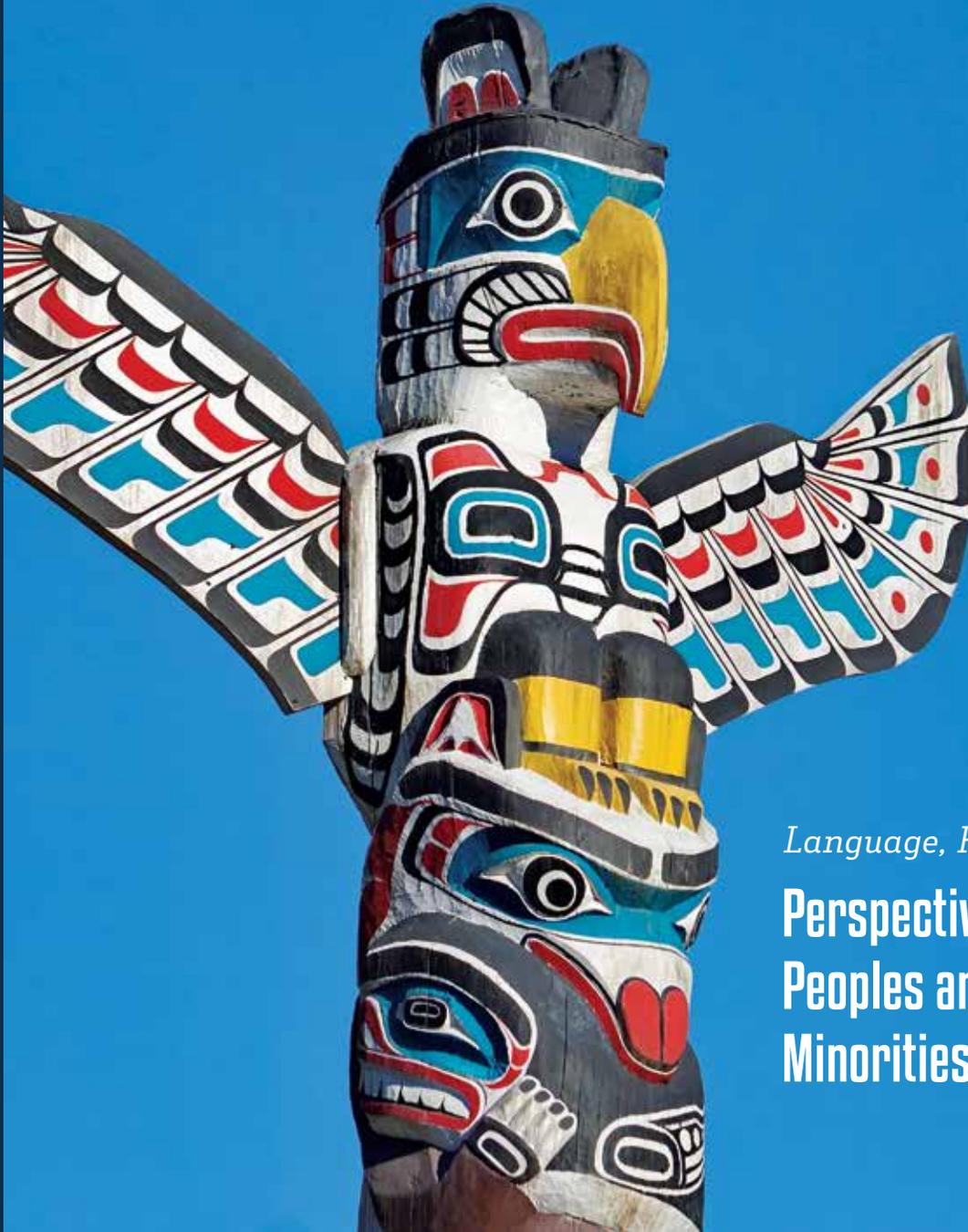


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A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES



Language, Heritage and Identities:
**Perspectives from Indigenous
Peoples and Official Language
Minorities in Canada**

MULTICULTURALISM AND RECONCILIATION

3

Indigenous Peoples, Multiculturalism, Diversity
And Inclusion

J.S. FRIDERES

8

The Importance Of Knowledge About History
In Reconciliation Efforts With Indigenous Peoples
In Canada

JACK JEDWAB

LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

12

The Key Actors In Language Revitalization

RODRIGUE LANDRY

18

Michif Language Revitalization Within
A Post-Secondary Context

RUSSELL FAYANT & ANDREA STERZUK

22

The State Of Indigenous Languages In Canada:
Trends And Prospects In Language Retention,
Revitalization And Revival

MARY JANE NORRIS

INDIGENOUS AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES

32

Looking At The Future Of Indigenous People
and Official Language Communities In Canada

HELEN QIMNIK KLENGENBERG

36

Riding The Official Minority Language Advocacy
Roller-Coaster: Challenges Faced and Met – and
Opportunities Seized

SYLVIA MARTIN-LAFORGE

INTERVIEWS

39

JEAN TEILLET

40

RÉMI FRENETTE

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LETTERS

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, MULTICULTURALISM, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION

DR. JAMES FRIDERES is a professor emeritus at the University of Calgary. He has published numerous books and articles in the areas of Aboriginal people and immigration issues in Canada.

In an attempt to integrate into Canadian society, Indigenous people have chosen to operate in a new economy that encompasses both subsistence and capitalism in which to operate. This new *moditional* economy has allowed Indigenous people to retain their identity as well as become involved in the mainstream labour force. In addition, Indigenous people are looking to have the “calls to action” by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission acted upon by non-Indigenous Canadians to bring about reconciliation, social inclusion, and recognition of the trauma forced upon Indigenous people over the past century.

Indigenous people of Canada have always reflected a diversity in culture, language and political and economic structure. Moreover, historical events have impacted Indigenous groups differently and at different times. Eastern and West Coast Indigenous peoples had contact with settlers long before Indigenous groups in the prairies and the arctic carried out interrelations. Each cultural group has a detailed history and culture² that reveals similarities as well as differences from other Indigenous groups. Moreover, each community has individuals who have made or who are contributing to their own people or to Canadian society (Waldman 2006). Indigenous people reside in all parts of Canada with nearly two thirds in the Western provinces. One quarter live in Ontario and the remainder reside in Quebec and other provinces and territories. In addition, about three quarters of Inuit reside in Nunangat. These different Indigenous groups represent over 70 different Indigenous languages although many of the languages are near extinction. Diversity among Indigenous

groups also includes legal status, language, residence and socio-economic status. For example, while over five percent of the Canadian population are identified as “Indigenous”, there are several sub-categories: Registered Indians (treaty and non-treaty), Inuit, Métis, and non-Status Indians (Frideres and Gadacz 2011). For instance, there are two distinct groups of Métis: those of Red River origins (real or authentic) and others (Andersen 2014). For Inuit, many different languages and cultural differences exist among the different groups residing in the north. In addition, each of these groups represent different regional profiles with different political and economic agendas.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

The demographic profiles of each of these groups have

1 See also Table 1: Views of Canada’s Multiculturalism Policy in Attachment A.

2 See also Table 2: Important to Learn History and Culture of Indigenous Peoples in Canada in Attachment A.

changed substantially over the past three decades. For example, during this time there has been a 43% increase in the total Indigenous population in Canada. During this same time-period, there was a 51% increase in Métis, a 19% increase in registered Indians and a 29% increase in Inuit. Many of these increases were a result of legal changes or subjective changes in the minds of individuals filling out their census. When looking at language ability, we find that nearly two thirds of Inuit can carry out a conversation in an Indigenous language as of 2016 while only 45% of Indians residing on a reserve were able to do so. For Indians living off the reserve, only nine percent were able to converse in an Indigenous language and only three percent of Métis were able to do so.

In summary, there are vast differences among the various Indigenous groups that reside in Canada. However, at the same time, Indigenous groups share some distinct similarities: poverty, low educational attainment, culturally resilience, and the maintenance of a high level of Indigenous identity. They also share the effects of colonization as settlers actively attempted to destroy their culture, imposed heavy sanctions on those who continued to express their Indigeneity, and impressed the importance of assimilation onto Indigenous peoples (Fixico 2012).

THE OLD AND THE NEW

Traditional culture for Indigenous peoples involved both internal and external governance and was based on values such as community, inter-relations and balance or well-being. These cultural traits were supported by the community structure, elders, teachers and community mentors who used both experiential as well as oral transmission as the mode of teaching – observing and listening. All this meant that the community and home was a place of security, comfort and peace.

Over time, the impact of the settler's view of the world became more and more a part of the world of Indigenous people. The creation of the *Indian Act*, the implementation of Tort law, the imposition of residential schools and the lack of support for Indigenous community governance slowly began to change the way of life of Indigenous peoples. To facilitate this transition from “traditional” to “modern”, settlers began to formally impose their ethos onto Indigenous communities in both direct and indirect ways. In some cases, legislation was passed to infringe upon the rights and responsibilities of Indigenous peoples. In other cases, the creation of formal educational structures would ensure that Indigenous languages would be lost and Western ways of knowing would supplant Indigenous ways of knowing. In addition, the introduction of new diseases brought about the demise of Elders and the traditional ways of teaching. The loss of land brought about changes in economic structure in Indigenous communities and thrust them into the new capitalist system. Discrimination against

Indigenous people also meant that they would never be able to fully participate in the new economic system. In most cases, Indigenous people never had the legal right to oppose these new settler values and Western ways of Knowing that would be integrated into every aspect of Indigenous lives. As the new Western ways of Knowing was implemented, the power imbalance between Indigenous people and settlers grew which allowed settlers to dominate and lead to the dispossession and subordination of Aboriginal people.

In the early colonial days, labour was the core of how settlers, and later Canadians valued themselves. As the Reformation spread its influence, an individual's value was linked to their willingness to participate in agricultural work; long hours, minimal leisure time, and the accumulation of wealth beyond their basic material needs. For early settlers, labour was the source of all value for people and it provided the right to ownership (Lutz 2008). Moreover, from a settler perspective, activities such as hunting and fishing were not considered appropriate labour. In short, these traditional activities did not move Indigenous people from a “primitive” to “civilized” state of nature.

As such, early settlers and later Canadians began to impose “peaceful subordination” – a strategy that allowed settlers to control Indigenous people and occupy their land while at the same time not engage in overt violence. Moreover, in the early development of Canada, Indigenous people would not be subject to the principles of a liberal philosophy – that only was applicable to settlers. However, settlers argued that in time, Indigenous people would be extended the principles of liberalism but not until they became more “civilized.” Indigenous peoples also would have to assimilate before they would benefit from the principles of liberalism. Through this process, it was argued, Indigenous people would be brought into a state of civilization through the actions of the State and its supporting institutions, e.g., church, education, economy.

INDIGENOUS RESPONSE

Indigenous people began to assess the benefits of the new economic, legal and social structure imposed by settlers. They knew that over the long run, such participation would alter their terms of engagement and ultimately their cultural frame. Indigenous people knew that accepting the capitalist economic system would bring them into a social system that demanded subordination, individualization and a belief in private property – all foreign values to their culture. In the end, Indigenous people tried to incorporate both traditional life styles with those reflected in the current mainstream society. Indigenous people found that a partial incorporation into the modern economy did not result in the destruction of their culture. As a result, what emerged, to the benefit of the private sector and to most Canadians, was the development of paral-

lel economies: a primary (highly educated, highly skilled) and secondary (low education, low skills) labour resource pool, of which Indigenous people contribute disproportionately to the secondary pool.

Indigenous people have chosen to operate in a new economy that encompasses both subsistence and capitalism. This new economy – *moditional* – allows Indigenous people to retain their identity while at the same time become involved with the capitalist system (Lutz 2008). However, Canadians today do not acknowledge this new hybrid economy and argue that the current economy of Indigenous communities is the beginning of a long linear transitional process from a subsistence to a capitalist economy. It should be noted that while capitalism overwhelms some traditional elements of Indigenous culture, other elements of their traditional society are reinforced. In the end, Indigenous people have been subordinated but not subjugated. This involvement in the *moditional* economy has produced a resiliency for Indigenous people that few other groups have shown.

Indigenous people have been subjected to many forms of historical trauma, e.g., single, episode, repetitive, intergenerational. As a result, a continuing gap of “trust” between Indigenous people and government officials remains a major impediment in developing new, modern strategies for incorporating Indigenous people into Canadian society. At the same time, government refuses to support Indigenous educational objectives, as well as an educational system based on the needs of Indigenous people. There is a lack of government support of economic development on Indigenous homelands as well in newly established urban areas. Current federal legislation impedes any forward-looking development projects on lands set aside for Indigenous people. As

a result, the Supreme Court of Canada has been thrust into the decision-making process and has produced a new vision for Indigenous people that has taken precedence over parliamentary action. However, government still refuses to accept the principle that land/place is one of the most important components of Indigenous culture (Elsy 2013), a principle endorsed by the Supreme Court.

SOCIAL INCLUSION

An inclusive environment is one in which diversity is respected and valued with no stereotyping. It is an environment where all people are treated equally and with equity. While social inclusion is a stated objective of the current Liberal government, little attention has been given to how this might happen. However, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has identified the 94 calls to action that would bring about Indigenous inclusion. These recommendations involve a diversity of issues, e.g., health, education, language, equity, sports. The Commission also recommends that the establishment of trust can only take place through action on the part of government that supports the goals and objectives of Indigenous people and their communities. As such, the Commission recommends that government support the restorative justice movement, support reconciliation through the components of respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility.

Social inclusion reflects a continuum as depicted in Figure 1. At present we are at the level between indifference and cultural awareness, but have yet to move fully into the category of cultural responsiveness.

FIGURE 1: LEVELS OF SOCIAL INCLUSION



Government needs to develop programs that consider community needs (including self-government), cultural preservation and the development of community and regional infrastructure. This also requires that government recognize the differences among Indigenous communities when supporting programs. Only in this way will it provide a means of empowering Indigenous people, improve self-management as

well as community and economic skills (Watt-Cloutier 2015). By making ongoing changes and reforms, with necessary political commitment, leadership and determination, Indigenous people will begin to empower themselves and regain control over their lives and communities within the context of Canadian society.

ATTACHMENT A

In a November 2017 survey, the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) found that the majority of Canadian's surveyed have a positive view of Canada's multiculturalism policy (62%), but this percentage is somewhat lower amongst Aboriginal / First Nations respondents (55%) and for respondents living in Quebec (47%). English-speaking Quebecers, on the

other hand, are endorsors of Canada's multiculturalism policy with 70% having positive views. Persons living on Canada's coasts are also more likely to endorse Canada's multiculturalism policy, with 72% in BC and the Territories having positive views and 73% in the Atlantic region.

TABLE 1: VIEWS OF CANADA'S MULTICULTURALISM POLICY

	Total (2,344)	Aboriginal / First Nations (310)	FR ROC (264)	EN QC (289)	BC+Terr. (198)	Prairies (381)	ON (839)	QC (714)	ATL (212)
TOTAL POSITIVE	62%	55%	61%	70%	72%	58%	68%	47%	73%
Very positive	26%	21%	27%	28%	30%	27%	30%	13%	38%
Somewhat positive	36%	34%	34%	42%	42%	31%	38%	34%	34%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	25%	27%	27%	20%	19%	32%	21%	33%	12%
Somewhat negative	17%	19%	20%	15%	13%	20%	15%	22%	9%
Very negative	8%	8%	7%	6%	6%	12%	6%	11%	4%
I don't know	10%	16%	10%	8%	8%	7%	8%	17%	11%
I prefer not to answer	2%	3%	2%	2%	1%	3%	2%	3%	4%

In Table 2 we see that 85% of Canadians agree with the following statement: "When teaching Canada's history, it is most important that we learn the history and culture of Indigenous Peoples in Canada." Aboriginal / First Nations respondents are more likely to agree with this statement at 94% (3 in 4

'strongly agree'). Among Canadian provinces/regions, Quebec (89%) and the Atlantic region (88%) are the most likely to agree with the above statement, as are official language minority communities (88% of English-speaking Quebecers and 87% of French-speakers in the ROC).

TABLE 2: IMPORTANT TO LEARN HISTORY AND CULTURE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA

	Total (2,344)	Aboriginal / First Nations (310)	FR ROC (264)	EN QC (289)	BC+Terr. (198)	Prairies (381)	ON (839)	QC (714)	ATL (212)
NET AGREE	85%	94%	87%	88%	84%	82%	83%	89%	88%
Strongly agree	46%	75%	45%	52%	45%	43%	49%	45%	45%
Somewhat agree	39%	19%	43%	36%	39%	39%	34%	44%	44%
NET DISAGREE	10%	3%	11%	7%	11%	14%	11%	5%	8%
Somewhat disagree	7%	2%	8%	5%	5%	11%	8%	5%	5%
Strongly disagree	3%	1%	3%	2%	5%	4%	2%	1%	3%
I don't know	4%	2%	2%	4%	4%	2%	5%	4%	2%
I prefer not to answer	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%

Notes: EN QC = English-speakers from Quebec; FR ROC = French-speakers from the Rest of Canada.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HISTORY IN RECONCILIATION EFFORTS WITH INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA

JACK JEDWAB is currently President of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) and the Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration (CIIM). He has been at the head of the ACS since 1998. Prior to commencing at the ACS-CIIM, he served as executive director of the Quebec branch of the Canadian Jewish Congress (1994-1998). Jack holds a PhD in Canadian History from Concordia University. Between 1983 and 2008, he lectured at McGill University in the departments of sociology, political science and at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. He also taught in the history department at Université du Québec a Montreal. Jack is currently the Chair of the Canadian National Metropolis Conference, the country's largest conference on Immigration and Integration.

In this essay the author explores the relationship between knowledge of history and efforts at reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. He contends that such knowledge will improve efforts at reconciliation. Therefore, curriculum planners and educators need to be mindful of the importance of including diverse narratives in history teaching in support of that objective. Using national survey data, the author points to the high importance assigned by Canadians to the teaching of Indigenous history. Based on the survey results, he further contends that knowledge about the historic injustices committed against Indigenous peoples does not meaningfully modify citizen's attachment to the country. The health of a democracy can be assessed by its ability to confront difficult parts of the past. Hence the treatment of Indigenous peoples and other communities that have encountered injustices should not be omitted from history courses out of a concern that doing so might undercut national attachment. Canada only stands to benefit from a fair representation of the past, something which will surely contribute to constructive dialogue for the future.

HISTORICAL INJUSTICES AGAINST INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Canada many Canadians were served a reminder of the historic injustices committed against the country's Indigenous peoples. Though much of the 150th celebrated those things about which Canadians were proud, reconciliation with Indigenous peoples was clearly an important theme over the course of the commemorations. Most Canadians report that they are proud

of the country's history, but many Canadians affirm that the historic injustices committed against Canada's Indigenous peoples are a source of shame. A November 2017 survey conducted by Leger Marketing for the Association for Canadian Studies revealed that over one in three Canadians that say they are not proud of Canada's history identify the treatment of Aboriginal Peoples, relations with First Nations, and residential schools as the things that make them the least proud of the country's history (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: REASONS WHY CANADIANS ARE NOT PROUD OF CANADIAN HISTORY

	Total	Aboriginals / First Nations	French	English	Other
Treatment of Aboriginals / Relations with First Nations	30%	44%	20%	34%	42%
Residential schools	8%	16%	4%	11%	2%
Colonialism / Conquering history	9%	6%	4%	12%	8%
Lies on History / Biased History / Denial of acts committed	9%	9%	20%	4%	3%
Relations with Quebec / Francophones	6%	4%	18%	1%	0%
Genocide	6%	10%	5%	8%	0%
Racism / Treatment of non-whites	8%	2%	2%	10%	21%
Cultural assimilation	3%	1%	6%	2%	0%
Treatment of immigrants	3%	2%	0%	2%	15%

KNOWLEDGE OF CANADIAN HISTORY, DIALOGUE AND RECONCILIATION

The ongoing revelations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission have served as a stark reminder of the abuses of which many members of Indigenous communities were victims. Those revelations drew attention to important aspects of the history of the country about which Canadians

were generally unaware. Canadians tend to believe they are knowledgeable about the country's past. Over eight in ten Canadians think they have a good knowledge of the history of Canada according to the November 2017 survey. As revealed below in Table 2, Canada's Indigenous peoples surveyed were most likely to agree they had a good knowledge of the country's history.

TABLE 2: CANADIANS WITH A "GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY OF CANADA"

	Total	Aboriginals / First Nations	French	English
Net agree	82%	86%	76%	85%
Net disagree	16%	11%	23%	12%
I don't know	2%	2%	0%	3%
I prefer not to answer	1%	1%	1%	0%

The Government of Canada has described its objective as "working to advance reconciliation and renew the relationship with Indigenous peoples, based on recognition of rights, respect, cooperation and partnership." Most Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians express a strong interest in dialogue. Nearly two in three Aboriginal Canadians and one in two non-Aboriginal Canadians say they are aware of an initiative that promotes dialogue between Aboriginal and

non-Aboriginal Canadians, according to the November 2017 survey. Three in four Aboriginal Canadians and one in two non-Aboriginal Canadians also say they would be interested in participating in a dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. It is important that any such dialogue ensure that there are shared objectives and goals.

In a 2016 report conducted by the CBC called "What Does

Reconciliation Mean to You”, an interviewee worried that the notion of reconciliation was thrown around too loosely.¹ Dialogue is a key element of reconciliation and such interaction will benefit considerably from participants that are well informed about the country’s history and who can further determine how the lessons of the past can help identify solutions to contemporary challenges.

IMPORTANCE OF INDIGENOUS HISTORY IN CANADA

The November 2017 ACS-Leger survey found some 85% of Canadians in agreement that “when teaching Canada’s history, it is most important that we learn the history and culture of Indigenous peoples in Canada.” The degree to which the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada is included in provincial history curriculums is rather uneven. Too often, history curriculum provides insufficient information and analysis and references to key historic communities, and some tend to foster certain generalizations. Underlying this is the objective of educators and government curriculum planners when it comes to the teaching of history.

In recent decades there has been considerable debate amongst history educators and policy-makers about the orientation and purpose teaching history. History educators have placed

increasing emphasis on the need to develop critical thinking skills while some governments feel that thickening national identities needs to be a component of the history lesson(s). In a response to the question “Why study history?” eminent social historian Peter Stearns contends that “when we study it [history] reasonably well, and so acquire some usable habits of mind, as well as some basic data about the forces that affect our own lives, we emerge with relevant skills and an enhanced capacity for informed citizenship, critical thinking, and simple awareness...”²

A January 2016 survey conducted by Leger Marketing for the ACS asked Canadians to rank various considerations in the study of history by order of importance. Overall, there is rough similarity in the percentage that favor an identity-based rationale for learning history (valuing traditions and identity, recall achievements) and those who opt for elements of critical thinking (use of history to understand the contemporary world, distinguish between good and bad, etc.). As observed below in Table 3, the ACS-Leger survey reveals that Canadians under 35 are more likely to see the critical thinking skills as rationale for the study of history while the 55 plus cohorts are more likely to endorse the strengthening of identity. While the two objectives are not necessarily in competition, the results may provide important insight into what may make history resonate with Canadians across the age spectrum.

TABLE 3: WHEN LEARNING ABOUT OUR HISTORY, WHAT DO YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT?

Order each of the following items from most important (1) to least important (6):	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Value the traditions and identity of our nation	33%	18%	23%	30%	37%	43%	39%
Use History to Understand the Situation in the world today	19%	25%	21%	19%	17%	14%	20%
To prevent prejudice - study history so that you can understand other peoples	17%	13%	18%	21%	18%	18%	15%
Distinguish between good or bad, right or wrong in the past	13%	16%	19%	10%	11%	12%	12%
To encourage civic participation and citizenship	10%	16%	12%	11%	9%	6%	9%
To ensure that outstanding achievements are not forgotten	8%	13%	8%	9%	8%	8%	6%

For members of Indigenous communities, the teaching of Indigenous history can be essential towards transmitting the traditions and identity of the community to youth so as to make them aware of the key elements of their heritage(s).

Provincial educational authorities generally seek to incorporate common themes into school’s history curriculum so as to ensure that all teachers have a shared narrative from which to interpret the past. The interpretation can be made open to

1 See www.cbc.ca/news/Indigenous/what-does-reconciliation-mean-mb-1.3803617.

2 See www.historians.org/teaching-and-learning/why-study-history.

analysis on the part of students and certainly educators play an important role in this regard. But provincial curriculum developers will select how they feel it best to include diverse narratives into the curriculum. The choices often depend on the dominant social and cultural context of a particular province and sometimes on specific political considerations of the period. When looking across Canada, the degree of diversity to be included in provincial history curriculums is uneven. This can leave members of certain minority communities feeling that they can't identify with the broader history curriculum as they're not reflected in the narrative. Franco-Ontarians and Quebec Anglophones have observed that their respective province's history curriculum pay scant attention to their historic presence.

The issue of incorporating Indigenous histories and narratives in provincial history curriculums has been the object of much attention over the past two decades and several curriculum planners have indeed responded with considerably greater inclusion and made changes to ensure that the contributions of Indigenous peoples and the difficult challenges they've faced over time be an integral part of students history lessons.

Are some history curriculum developers and policy-makers concerned that a focus on those parts of the country's history that are a source of shame rather than pride will undercut attachment to country or province? To omit difficult historic issues from the curriculum for that reason in a democracy would be untenable. It also would undercut efforts at reconciliation, which require a fair representation of the past. That said, the findings of the ACS-Leger November 2017 survey reveal that awareness of the problematic parts of the past do not eliminate attachment to Canada and pride in its history. The survey reveals that some three quarters of Aboriginals surveyed say they are very attached to Canada – a figure equal to that of English Canadians (some 38% of francophone Canadians say they are very attached to Canada and 41% say they are somewhat attached to the country). As regards pride in Canadian history, some two in three Aboriginal Canadians say they are very or somewhat proud of the country's history compared with 70% of Francophone Canadians and 83% of English Canadians. As revealed in Table 4 below, it is true that those individuals that are least proud of the country's history are least attached to the country. Nonetheless, nearly two-thirds of the latter group say they are very and somewhat attached to Canada.

TABLE 4: ATTACHMENT TO CANADA AND PRIDE IN CANADIAN HISTORY

Attachment to My country-Canada	"I am proud of Canadian history"			
	Strongly agree	Strongly agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Very attached	88.6%	63.9%	46.5%	39.4%
Somewhat attached	10.2%	31.0%	32.4%	25.7%
Not very attached	0.7%	4.3%	16.1%	14.7%
Not attached at all	0.4%	0.5%	4.3%	19.3%
I prefer not to answer	0.1%	0.3%	0.7%	0.9%

CONCLUSION

Successful reconciliation with Indigenous communities can only benefit from knowledge of the past and the teaching of history needs to be mindful of the importance of including

diverse narratives in support of that objective. In democracies, such narratives should not be omitted out of a concern that they might undercut attachment to the country. On the contrary and in the long run, all citizens stand to benefit from a fair representation of the past, which will surely contribute to constructive dialogue for the future.

THE KEY ACTORS IN LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

RODRIGUE LANDRY (PhD, University of Wisconsin) was from 2002 to 2012 the first director of the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities. Promoted to professor emeritus in education in 2012, he was from 1975 to 2002, professor at the *Faculté des sciences de l'éducation* at the *Université de Moncton* and Dean of that faculty from 1992 to 2002. His research has focussed on Canada's official language minorities, the linguistic vitality of linguistic minorities, minority education, ethnolinguistic identity, bilingualism and school learning. He has authored more than 200 publications and has given more than 450 conferences and scientific communications. He has acted as a consultant for numerous governmental and non-governmental organizations, and has served as expert witness in legal litigations involving the linguistic rights of francophone minorities in most provinces and territories. In 2012, he was awarded by the *Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (FCFA) du Canada* the *Prix Boréal* "in recognition of his immense contribution to a better understanding of the reality of Francophones living in a minority situation".

Even in the best of conditions the process of language revitalization is long and arduous. This article discusses the importance of a synergy of actions by essential societal actors: individuals and the family, the linguistic group's civil society and the State. The respective roles of these actors are defined within the framework of the sociolinguistic model of cultural autonomy. Cultural autonomy is part of a dynamic that is the product of the interaction between three components (social proximity, institutional completeness and ideological legitimacy) and the group's collective identity that reinforce or weaken each other.

The concept of language revitalization (e.g., Grenoble and Whaley 2006) was influenced mainly by the work of Joshua Fishman, who proposed a "reversing language shift" model (Fishman 1990, 1991, 2001). This model, rather prescriptive, stipulates various stages to follow according to the state of the language we want to revitalize, from a dead language to one with a high level of *cultural autonomy*.

Fishman makes a distinction between cultural autonomy and political autonomy. For him, cultural autonomy is reached, to varying degrees, when the minority can go "beyond diglossia", when the language is alive in the private sphere, transmitted intergenerationally, and used in the public sphere. Cultural autonomy is exercised within the State whereas the revital-

ization of a language by political autonomy requires a separation from the State. It must not be concluded, however, that the implementation of a cultural autonomy project is not a political project and that it only involves cultural enhancement. This is a real political project. The clearly political project of affirming the French fact in Quebec, for example, remains a project of cultural autonomy (Landry 2008; Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2010).

The key actors in any language revitalization project remain undefined in their respective roles. The theory of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977) has developed certain perspectives regarding the mobilization of the group and the phenomenon of resistance (Allard 2005), and Fishman

(2001) insists on the importance of the group taking charge of its language revitalization project, going as far as minimizing the role of the school, and even that of the State.

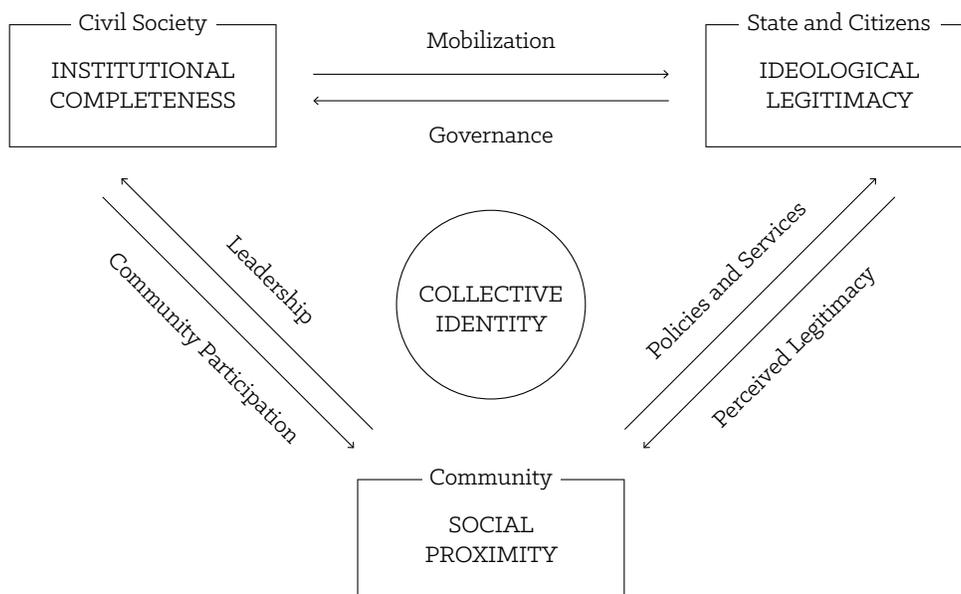
In this article, given the inherent complexity of any language revitalization project, I discuss the importance of a synergy of actions by the societal actors essential to such an endeavor. To do so, I use the sociolinguistic model of cultural autonomy (Landry, 2009; Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2007a), which draws as much from the theory of ethnolinguistic vitality as from Fishman's sociolinguistic approach (as well as from numerous sociolinguistic and sociological studies of language). This model tries to highlight the role of the key actors who, if missing only one, can cause the language revitalization project to abort. This model is a component of a more global macroscopic model linking two opposing forces (Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2007b). The power of "social determinism" dominates when the structures of society (e.g., its demography) impose themselves on the linguistic group, forcing a certain resignation both in the individual and in the community. The force that opposes social determinism is that of "self-determination" and takes effect when the group becomes aware of the injustices suffered and the group's vitality potential. These opposing forces range from society to the individual, the latter also being able to self-determine when his/her language experience has been sufficiently strong in promoting autonomy and raising awareness (Landry, Allard, Deveau, and Bourgeois 2005). The model of cultural autonomy is situated at the societal level of the macroscope and analyzes the group as a collectivity. It should be noted that the sociolinguistic vision of cultural autonomy (Garcia 2012; Garcia and Fishman 2012; Fishman 2012) is distinct, but related to its legal vision dating back to the time of the First World War and more particularly in Eastern Europe (Smith and Cordell

2008). Let us add that these two visions are especially useful for minority groups without legal territory.

THE THREE CATEGORIES OF ACTORS OF CULTURAL AUTONOMY

As can be seen in Figure 1, cultural autonomy identifies three components that interact with the group's collective identity. Each component is associated with a different category of social actors. According to this model, these actors are essential to any language revitalization project. The collective identity is at the heart of the model, which is what allows the community to give itself collective projects. Raymond Breton describes collective identity as a prerequisite to the realization of collective community projects (Breton 1983). It is a bit like the central support of a tripod, the legs of the tripod being the three components of the model. While being influenced by these three sources, the collective identity reflects the image that the group has of itself. It is more than the sum of the individual identities of the members of the minority group and it is expressed at the societal level by various actors, mainly those of civil society and by all the institutions it manages. Having a public face (Thériault 2007), collective identity projects itself onto society and onto others. It can assert itself in the face of the State through the voice of its representatives or its governance structure, and manifest different aspects of its personality in its institutions and linguistic landscape. The three components of cultural autonomy interact with the collective identity, which is shaped by the collective actions that operate on the community's vitality. These actions are managed by the three categories of actors who manage these components.

FIGURE 1: MODEL OF CULTURAL AUTONOMY (LANDRY 2008, 2009; LANDRY, ALLARD, AND DEVEAU 2007)



A) INDIVIDUALS AND THE FAMILY ("COMMUNITY OF INTIMACY")

As a basic component, social proximity is the place of what Fishman calls the "community of intimacy," that is, the community dynamic in the private sphere where the "home-family-neighborhood-community nexus" is found. This sphere nourishes the bonds of intimacy forged by the geographical proximity and the territorial concentration of the group, and allows the sharing of a "language of solidarity". The main actors in this component are individuals and families. They are the ones who manage this private sphere and their main role in the maintenance or growth of linguistic vitality is that of primary language socialization. They influence the vitality of the group through the language dynamics adopted in the family and their entourage, by transmitting the group's language to the next generation and by their contribution to the identity development of children.

The territorial concentration of the group and other demographic factors have real influence on the language behaviours of individuals and families. The proximity favored by the members of the minority group is itself a source of socialization (hence the name of the component) and makes it easier to access institutions (Gilbert and Langlois 2006). In a weak vitality situation, with a low social proximity, only people with a strong and committed identity tend to resist the social norm dictating the use of the majority language. It is within this context that the school plays a determining role. Without the support of the model's other components, the minority language group is condemned to a situation of diglossia and "low language" status (Fishman 1967).

B) THE GROUP'S CIVIL SOCIETY

As the second component of cultural autonomy, "institutional completeness" (concept borrowed from Breton 1964) is the place of civil society, whose members often exercise leadership in the public arena. A source of power and influence, civil society does not constitute a government but can implement different forms of governance allowing the minority to be represented and to express itself collectively. Sometimes civil society can also be a source of mobilization for the minority group.

Institutional completeness forms the operative foundation of cultural autonomy. Without the support of cultural and social institutions that give life to the minority group in the public sphere, its presence is invisible and it is unable to give itself collective projects for a distinct identity. Institutions allow the group to manage their "identity frontiers". It is through its institutions and symbols of durability that the linguistic minority really becomes a "distinct and active entity" (Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor 1977) and ensures its historical continuity. Indeed, the greater the "institutional completeness", the

more the "language of solidarity" is confirmed and the more it asserts itself as "language of status", mainly if its "legitimacy" is recognized by the State.

The cultural autonomy model distinguishes two types of institutions with respect to their influence on the group's linguistic vitality. Educational institutions, the media and workplaces act as an extension of social proximity. These institutions contribute to primary language socialization as well as identity building. They help forge the "language of solidarity". Other institutions act more as sources of secondary socialization in the public sphere and are essentially places of "status", which can represent a symbolic force in the social representations of people. A linguistic community whose status is weak is invisible in the public sphere. Our research shows that these two types of institutions combine to influence the desire to integrate the minority group (Landry, Deveau, and Allard 2006).

The model of cultural autonomy stipulates that the community school constitutes the basic institution, the cornerstone of institutional completeness, which is not only an extension of social proximity as a place of primary socialization, but also the parent institution of all other institutions and the foundation of all civil society in the group (Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2010). For the school to effectively play this formative role, it is important for the minority group to be able to take charge of all the relevant elements of its educational mission (Landry and Rousselle 2003).

Institutional completeness is also a source of leadership for the minority group that often has a ripple effect on members. Institutions are run by the leaders of its civil society. The people who work in these become models of social success for the members of the minority group.

C) THE STATE AND ITS CITIZENS

"Ideological legitimacy" includes factors related to the support of the State and its citizens. In a democratic society, it is the citizens who elect representatives of the State who, in the model of cultural autonomy, can support the vitality of the linguistic minority group by legitimizing its existence through policies of recognition (individual and collective rights) and the delivery of programs and services that flow from it.

The macroscopic model in which the model of cultural autonomy is inserted stipulates that this legitimacy recognized by the State is situated in an ideological framework (Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2007b). According to the continuum proposed by Richard Bourhis, the ideological orientations of states towards linguistic minorities can be situated on a continuum ranging from a pluralism to an ethnicism ideology, going through a civic and assimilationist ideology (Bourhis 2001). Only a "pluralist" ideology allows real and proactive

support for the vitality of a minority group. Without official legitimacy, the minority is condemned to fend for itself while the majority group's language is supported by the entire state apparatus.

State-recognized language rights not only provide access to programs and services in the minority language but provide status and legitimacy to the group. This positive action by the State influences, along with the other minority social institutions, the perceptions members have of their vitality and legitimacy, which is designated by the concept of "perceived legitimacy" presented in the model. This influence can be complex in a federal state such as Canada where linguistic rights and services can come from a variety of sources: federal, provincial and municipal. A minority group can hardly have a sense of legitimacy in society when its language is not part of the "linguistic landscape" and the conditions of legitimation are absent (Landry 2015).

CONCLUSION

In short, the cultural autonomy of a group and any language revitalization project are part of a dynamic that is the product of the interaction between three components (social proximity, institutional completeness and ideological legitimacy) and the group's collective identity that reinforce or weaken each other. Dynamics can establish a virtuous circle when conditions are generally positive or a vicious circle when conditions supporting the group's vitality is eroding. Negative conditions to the group's vitality generally lead to powerlessness and collective resignation; in other words, linguistic assimilation and acculturation. A language management plan for the revitalization of a minority language will always be more effective and productive if it succeeds in creating a synergy between the three categories of actors.

Authors like Fishman insist on the group taking charge of its language revitalization project. We are fully in agreement, because a language that its speakers or heirs no longer want can hardly be revitalized even with proactive support from the State. A group whose position is very weak in the hierarchy or the "language market" may even come to denigrate its language and culture (Bourdieu 1982, 2001). But we disagree completely with Fishman's position that state and school influences are minimal. Fishman's position can be understood a little when one considers that his studies were mainly conducted in the United States, a state whose ideological orientations towards linguistic minorities are above all "assimilationist" (Bourhis 2001), and where the idea of taking charge of their own schooling by Hispanic-American minorities, whose origins are diverse, is ideologically inconceivable by the minorities themselves.

In a pluralistic state open to the recognition of certain his-

torical minorities such as Canada, particularly Aboriginal and official-language minorities, it seems to us of paramount importance that any language planning action plan seeking to maintain or revitalize language, should foster an optimal synergy between the three categories of actors identified by the model of cultural autonomy. It is important not only that civil society be engaged and that the State provide proactive support, but also that members of the minority group be informed and sensitized. For example, the federal government's action plans or "road maps", in their support for official-language minorities, have tended to provide resources for them and to support civil society by subsidizing certain social associations or organizations but without informing the members of these minority groups of their ideological orientation and without raising awareness among minority groups. Concretely, the plans created two-legged tripods, neglecting to educate individuals and families about the goals and issues of these plans (Landry 2010). In addition, these plans (with the exception of the 2003 plan, the first to be formulated by the federal government) do not appear to be based on research and established principles of language planning, setting neither objectives nor priorities.

Favoring a synergy of action between the three categories of actors is certainly not a panacea. Revitalizing a language when conditions of vitality are far from favourable may seem like an impossible mission but the chances of success will always be stronger than when one or two of the essential actors are missing. As the language planning experience shows, it is important to engage the main stakeholders, that is, the families and future speakers of the language (Spolsky 2009). In a democratic society, these individuals and families are autonomous beings capable of committed intentions and behaviours. Many may no longer want to speak a language that may seem to them to be of no relevance or identity value in their adoptive culture. These are often the consequences of strong enculturation in the dominant group. But when a minority still has the desire to take charge of the revitalization of its language and culture, it is the implementation of a tripartite strategy, combining synergy with concerted actions that seems to be the most hopeful.

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MICHIF LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION WITHIN A POST-SECONDARY CONTEXT

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The language of the Métis, Michif, is on the verge of extinction largely due to colonial injustices which forced many Western Métis to hide their identities and language. This paper will discuss one ongoing effort to revitalize the language in a Métis teacher education program and the implications the initiative has for other post-secondary educational programs and institutions who seek to contribute positively to Indigenous language reclamation in Canada.

CONTEXT

Gabriel Dumont Institute (GDI) of Native Studies and Applied Research is the educational arm of the Métis Nation of Saskatchewan. Its mission is to “promote the renewal and development of Métis culture through research; materials development, collection, and distribution; and the design, development, and delivery of Métis-specific educational programs and services” (GDI 2018). The flagship program of GDI is the Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program (SUNTEP) whose mandate is to work with Saskatchewan universities to ensure adequate representation of Métis teachers and culture in elementary schools across the province. The SUNTEP program is administered in three large urban centers and is operated as a semi-autonomous program in which students take classes that enhance, promote and share Métis epistemology while fulfilling all credit requirements necessary to obtain a bachelor of education degree in the province of Saskatchewan. Over the course of its 38 year history, the

SUNTEP program has graduated over 1,200 graduates (Howe 2017) who have contributed greatly to the preservation and understanding of Métis/Michif culture in schools across Western Canada.

A LANGUAGE DILEMMA

In order to graduate, SUNTEP students must enrol in an Indigenous language class at some point during their four year program. Until recently, students opted to take Cree, Sauteaux or Nakoda as these were the languages that were most often offered and/or had accredited and available instructors to teach. While it can be argued that learning any language is beneficial, the choices did not allow for students to learn their own language, Michif. Michif, the language of the Western Métis has been spoken amongst Métis peoples for over 200 years (Bakker 1997). It is unusual amongst languages in that

it defies classification. It belongs to two language families simultaneously (Indo-European and Algonquian). It draws lexical and grammatical features from both Cree and French in equal parts yet in its complexity it defies language contact phenomena. Michif's equal representation of two very different source languages "may very well make it unique among languages of the world" (Bakker 1997, 25).

Until recently, Michif as a language course was unavailable at the post-secondary level. The increasing level of language loss amongst Michif speakers (Statistics Canada 2016) and the corresponding lack of availability of Michif courses prompted the SUNTEP program to develop a language class that would allow Métis learners to fulfill a language requirement by learning their own traditional language through a university credited course.

CREATING A MODEL

Very few models of institutionalized learning of Michif exist. As an oral language, it was largely passed from generation to generation through the use of storytelling, visiting and land-based teaching models. As a result, the development of a teaching model for a Michif class was influenced heavily by Métis knowledge keepers and the language revitalization work of Dr. Joshua Fishman. Dr. Fishman (1991) proposed a process for language revitalization based on his work with threatened languages (Holm 2015; Lee 2015). The process involves reconstructing the language, mobilizing fluent older speakers, restoring intergenerational transmission through meaningful interactions and teaching the language in school. Fishman also emphasized the need for language revitalization to be conducted within a localized context. He states, "specific languages are related to specific cultures and to their attendant cultural identities at the level of doing, at the level of knowing and at the level of being" (2001, 3).

Much of the reconstructive work regarding Michif had been conducted in the 90's by Dutch linguist Peter Bakker (1997). The act of mobilizing older speakers presented challenges to the course developers. The course was to be taught within the confines of an academic institution; however older speakers sometimes had difficulty navigating and accessing a university campus. It was also essential to the development team that if possible, requests for assistance were made in the speaker's native tongue and demonstrated a sense of reciprocity (Kovach 2009). The team was fortunate enough to have a colleague on staff who is not only a Michif speaker, but who had kinship ties to a group of speakers in a traditional Métis community within the appropriate dialectic region. The team worked with this colleague who helped to develop trust and a working relationship with a small group of Michif speakers. In this way she acted as a cultural broker who could communicate the goals of the initiative to the Michif speakers in

their own language and assure them of intent, which ultimately is to prevent further language loss.

The transmission and interactive aspects of Fishman's model were enacted simultaneously. The course was developed into thematic and interactive modules which allow students to gain practical knowledge of the Michif language and then to put that knowledge into practice through both classroom and community based interactions with Métis/Michif elders. The course has five modules which each run three weeks in length. The first week of each module is used to learn the vocabulary and pronunciation of words and phrases applicable to the respective module. The following two weeks are used for practice and interacting with Michif speakers. For example, in the module titled "Pa-keewekaytahk" (Let's Visit), students were given instruction by a Michif speaker in how to express common Michif greetings and phrases which one might use during an initial introduction. Once the Michif speaker was confident in student's pronunciation and memorization of the phrases, the students and instructors travelled to a senior citizens' home for Métis Elders where they were able to practice their introductions in a comfortable and intimate setting during an activity dubbed "Speedating with Elders." In the module entitled "Li Teyr" (The Land) students are provided vocabulary that describes weather, animals, plants and water features. They are given a week to practice this vocabulary and to construct questions and short conversations in the language. They then are taken onto the land by a Michif speaker who describes traditional Métis interactions with medicines, animals and geographic features. Students are encouraged to respond to the speaker or to ask questions in Michif.

INITIAL RESULTS

Although the course has been offered only twice thus far, the SUNTEP program is seeing some promising results. Students have increased knowledge of the Michif language and the cultural protocols inherent in working with Métis knowledge keepers and speakers of the language. They demonstrate a confidence in speaking the language which can be observed as they practice the language amongst themselves and in the community. The act of learning their traditional language has created opportunities for conversations in their own families regarding the traumatic history of language loss. Students express that their efforts have often spread to members of their own family who now also demonstrate a willingness to reclaim Michif for themselves. Additionally, the program now has a small but important group of Michif speakers who trust the intent of the course and who are willing to regularly visit the classroom or to engage with students in Michif outside of the classroom. Although the program is far from being able to produce fluent speakers of Michif, the past two years have allowed for a building of cultural and language capacity which

will provide a solid foundation for advancing the process of Michif reclamation.

NEXT STEPS

The development of a Michif course has allowed the SUNTEP program to build a small community of Michif speakers, to reconcile modern language acquisition practices with traditional Métis pedagogies of land and language, and to engage in the production of Michif language curricular resources for post-secondary students. What the course does not allow for currently is the ability to learn the language in an immersive context. It is with this in mind that plans are now in place to evolve the course into a three week intensive and immersive experience outside of the academic institution. In the spring of 2019, the course will be taught entirely on a small piece of land that is significant to Métis people in Southern Saskatchewan. Métis knowledge keepers and Michif speakers will be housed in trailers and students will set up a camp in close proximity. The course will retain its module-based format, however all activities will be done on the land and with the assistance of the cultural carriers. Métis Elders and youth participants will engage in the preparation of the campsite and communal meals, the maintenance of the land and buildings of the site, the learning of traditional Michif songs and stories and the practicing of basic conversations all in the Michif language.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING AND PARTNERSHIPS IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS

The University of Regina's Faculty of Education is closely associated with various educational partners in the province of Saskatchewan and beyond, including SUNTEP Regina.

The intent of these partnerships is the enhancement of the formal, non-formal and informal educational experiences for diverse learners and citizens. Given the effects of ongoing colonial structures for Métis, Inuit and First Nations peoples in Canada, and in light of our ongoing partnerships, the Faculty of Education is committed to indigenization efforts that include careful consideration of spaces, practices, and curricula, like the Michif language initiative highlighted in this article.

The planning of this program reveals possibilities for greater institutional inclusion of Indigenous languages in higher education. Conducting this work in ethical and thoughtful ways that honour the epistemologies, pedagogies and semi-autonomous/autonomous nature of Indigenous teacher education programs is key. Institutions of higher learning can help to support, sus-

tain and learn from Indigenous language reclamation efforts. In working towards this goal, universities will need to collaborate and partner in meaningful ways with Indigenous communities to ensure adequate resourcing.

CONCLUSION

According to Statistics Canada (2016), less than 1,200 people remain in Canada who can conduct a conversation in Michif. There is a strong sense of urgency in Métis communities to revive and reclaim this language, which from a linguistic standpoint represents a tangible example of the reconciling of two vastly differing worldviews. Grass-roots Métis organizations, Métis education programs, and Michif Elders who have taken the lead can be supported by post-secondary institutions through advocacy, resourcing and through the acknowledgement that Métis systems of being, knowing and speaking have inherent value which they can learn from as they pursue goals of indigenization and reconciliation.

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THE STATE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES IN CANADA: TRENDS AND PROSPECTS IN LANGUAGE RETENTION, REVITALIZATION AND REVIVAL

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This article begins with an overview of the diversity and state of Indigenous languages in Canada. Census-based analyses assess both long-term demographic trends underlying the state of Aboriginal languages today and more recent trends in language revitalization, including second language acquisition and regular usage of an Aboriginal language at home. Findings suggest not only are first – and second – language speakers regular users of an Aboriginal home language, but also those unable to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language – likely “learners” – for whom regular home use is part of learning an Aboriginal language. Implications are explored for future prospects in language retention, revitalization and revival. Selected aspects and examples of the numerous ongoing efforts and best practices currently in place to support Indigenous languages across Canada are highlighted in an Appendix.

DIVERSITY AND STATE OF INDIGENOUS¹ LANGUAGES

A rich diversity of First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages are spoken in Canada today, representing a variety of distinctive histories, cultures and identities.

Estimates of the current numbers of different Indigenous languages vary according to the linguistic classification, in particular the distinction between “language” and “dialect”.

The 2016 Census categorized Indigenous languages into 68 distinct categories (Statistics Canada 2017). The most recent update to the classification used in the UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) identifies 88 distinct categories (Norris, in preparation).

Indigenous languages are spoken in hundreds of communities across Canada. Most Aboriginal speakers reside in Indigenous communities on reserves and in settlements

1 The terms “Indigenous” and “Aboriginal” are both used in this article: “Aboriginal” generally when referencing the Census, given data are collected for “Aboriginal” population and languages; otherwise “Indigenous” is used; and sometimes terms are used interchangeably in discussion.

spread across Canada (61% in 2011); in rural areas (21%), and in urban areas, cities small (11.5%) and large (6.5%), like Winnipeg and Vancouver (Norris 2017a, b).

LANGUAGE VITALITY & ENDANGERMENT

Indigenous languages and their communities differ widely across Canada in their size and geographical distributions. They also differ significantly in their vitality and endangerment; with mother tongue populations ranging in size from a handful to thousands of speakers. Some languages are relatively thriving with children still learning the language; though most are endangered, many critically, with small and aging populations. For example, Inuit languages in Nunavut and Northern Quebec (Nunavik) tend to be more viable, whereas many smaller First Nation languages in B.C. are critically endangered.

UNESCO's "Levels of Endangerment" (UNESCO 2003) reflect the outcomes of declining major home language use and intergenerational transmission. About three quarters of Indigenous languages/dialects spoken in Canada today are endangered in varying degrees (definitely, severely or critically); while a quarter are "vulnerable", meaning children still speak their parental language as a first language, though not in all domains. None of the Indigenous languages currently spoken in Canada can be viewed as "safe" – where a language is used by all ages, from children up, in all domains (e.g. school, work, services); and where transmission is uninterrupted. Even the largest and most viable languages (e.g. Inuit, Cree) are considered 'unsafe' or vulnerable to declining use (Norris 2016b).

Overall, most Aboriginal children are no longer acquiring the traditional languages of their parents or grandparents as a mother tongue (Norris 2017c).

2016 CENSUS SELECTED ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE INDICATORS

According to the 2016 Census, 208,720 or 12.5% of the 1.67 million (1,673,785) people reporting an Aboriginal Identity in Canada indicated an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue. In 2016, more Aboriginal people (260,550 or 15.6%) were able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language than reported an Aboriginal mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2017b). This pattern, similar to that found in previous censuses from 1996 to 2011, implies that some speakers have learned their Aboriginal language as a second language, suggesting possible signs of language revitalization.

The 2016 Census also reports that "there are more people who speak an Aboriginal language at home than people with

an Aboriginal mother tongue" (Statistics Canada 2017a). For the first time among the Aboriginal Identity population in 2016, there were more people (223,380 or 13.3%) who reported speaking an Aboriginal language at home than people with a mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2018).

However for Aboriginal home language usage, the distinction between "most often" and "regular" use is important. The extent to which Aboriginal languages are spoken at home is an important consideration in the state and prospects of Indigenous languages in Canada. Among Aboriginal people in 2016, 135,430 or 8.1%, spoke an Aboriginal language "most often" at home, than reported an Aboriginal mother tongue; while another 87,950 or 5.3%, spoke an Aboriginal language regularly at home, in addition to the main home language.

TRENDS IN DECLINING INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION AND AGING MOTHER TONGUE POPULATIONS

Demographic trends over the past six censuses (1986 to 2011) indicate an aging Aboriginal mother tongue population. Over this 25-year period, the shares of children and youth (aged 0-19 years) declined from 41% in 1986 to 30% by 2011. In contrast, older adults (aged 55+) made up a growing share of the mother tongue population, from 12% to 21%. Over this period, the average age of the Aboriginal mother tongue population rose from about 28 to 35 years of age (see Figure 1) (Norris 2016a). By contrast, the average ages of the Identity population overall are younger than those of the Identity population reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue. For example, between 2001 and 2011, the average age of the total Identity population overall rose from 27.0 to 30.2 years of age, compared to 32.9 to 35.0 years of age for the Aboriginal mother tongue population (Norris 2017a).

Between 2001 and 2016, the share of older adults (aged 55+) among the Aboriginal mother tongue population, increased from 17% to 25%, surpassing the declining share of children (aged 0-14), from 25% to 21%.

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A COUNTERBALANCE TO DECLINES IN MOTHER TONGUE TRANSMISSION

The demographic outcomes of long-term declining trends in major home use and intergenerational transmission have reduced the chances of children learning their traditional Aboriginal language as a mother tongue; and eroded conditions conducive to transmission, especially for (a) endangered languages, (b) urban areas, and increasingly for (c) today's youth.

Second language acquisition can serve to some extent as a counterbalance to the long-term decline in mother tongue transmission, and a contributor to language revitalization and revival. Though not a substitute for mother tongue transmission, second language learning may demographically be the only option when major home language use and parent-child transmission are no longer viable. Increasing the number of second language speakers can be part of revitalization, and a contributor to language maintenance and partial retention.

SIGNS OF LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: INCREASING SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Among the Identity population between 2011 and 2016, the total number reporting the ability to speak (converse in) an Aboriginal language increased to a greater extent than the number reporting an Aboriginal language as a mother tongue; with estimated (unadjusted)² intercensal percentage increases of about eight percent and three percent respectively. This greater increase in the growth of speakers, compared to that of the mother tongue population, suggests the growing acquisition of an Aboriginal language as a second language.

Further evidence of an increasing trend in second language acquisition between 2001 and 2016 can be observed from the estimated numbers of second language speakers (those speakers who have acquired an Aboriginal language as a second language). Estimates suggest a steady increase in the numbers of second-language speakers and in their share of Aboriginal language speakers; increasing from 2001 with 47,115 second-language speakers, or 19.7% of all Aboriginal language speakers³ (Norris 2007); to 52,275 (21.7%) in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2013); and by 2016 reaching 65,350 (25.1%) (Statistics Canada 2018).

Over the decade between 2006 and 2016, Aboriginal people saw their total speakers (first- and second- language) increase: “*The number of Aboriginal people who could speak an Aboriginal language in 2016 has grown by 3.1% since 2006.*” (Statistics Canada 2017b). In contrast, the number reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue declined by an estimated five percent (unadjusted).

REGULAR USE OF AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE IN THE HOME: PARTIAL RETENTION AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

The extent to which an Aboriginal language is used at home, whether spoken “most often” or “regularly”, can affect language transmission, full or partial retention of an Aboriginal mother tongue, language learning, and acquisition. The “major” use of an Aboriginal language most often at home has important implications for the prospects of intergenerational transmission. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP 1996) stressed that the viability of a language is dependent on it being used on a daily basis, ideally as the primary home language, since it is otherwise not likely to be transmitted as a mother tongue to the next generation.

The distinction between “most often” and “regular” use of an Aboriginal home language is especially significant for: (a) those whose traditional language is one of the endangered Aboriginal languages; (b) Aboriginal people in urban areas; and (c) today’s Aboriginal youth in general. Among these groups, Aboriginal languages tend to be spoken at home more on a “regular” than on a “most often” basis (Norris and Jantzen 2003; Norris 2011). Speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home may help slow down Aboriginal language loss, through increased partial retention and second language learning.

SIGNS OF LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION: EMERGING TRENDS IN INCREASING REGULAR USE OF ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGES

Signs of an emerging trend among Aboriginal people in increasing numbers speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home, including a major shift from previous Censuses in patterns of “most often” or “regular” home use, were first observed with the 2011 NHS (Norris 2017a).

In both 2001 and 2006, 28% of users of an Aboriginal home language, spoke their traditional language regularly, while the vast majority, 72%, spoke it most often, at home. By 2011, the proportion of home users speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home had risen sharply to 39.7% (unadjusted); with a similar share, 39.4%, in 2016.

Among Aboriginal people between 2001 and 2006, the numbers speaking an Aboriginal language “most often” and “regularly” at home increased similarly by about seven percent and

2 “Unadjusted”: With the exception of Statistics Canada’s reported percentage or proportion changes between censuses, the data in this report showing such percentages or proportions have not been adjusted to account for differences. Where applicable, percentage or proportion changes not based on adjusted intercensal data are indicated as “unadjusted”. These unadjusted census estimates need to be interpreted with caution as they are biased due to the effects of incomplete enumeration, as well as undercoverage, and their variations between censuses, which can confound estimates.

3 Estimates (unadjusted) for 2001 refer to the total (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) population able to speak an Aboriginal language (~98% of speakers Aboriginal); 2011 and 2016 unadjusted estimates refer to Aboriginal Identity population only; 2006 estimates not available.

six percent (unadjusted) respectively. However, between 2006 and 2011, the number speaking an Aboriginal home language most often declined by about 14% (unadjusted), whereas the number speaking regularly at home rose sharply from 54,150 to 77,890, an (unadjusted) increase of about 44%. Between 2011 and 2016, the numbers of Aboriginal people reporting an Aboriginal home language “most often” and “regularly” increased similarly by about 14% and 13% (unadjusted) respectively.

Over each of the past three intercensal periods, the numbers of Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home have steadily increased. The same does not appear to be the case for the other language indicators of mother tongue, major home language use, and the ability to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language. The most notable increase over the decade between 2006 and 2016, occurred with the number speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home with an (unadjusted) increase of some 62%, from 54,150 to 87,950 (Norris 2017a).

Possible factors underlying these trends and patterns in regular home language use could be associated with: issues of the viability or sustainability of speaking an Aboriginal language most often at home; and, the impacts of growing efforts and activities across generations of Aboriginal people, their families and communities in the revitalization and learning of their traditional languages.

FIRST- AND SECOND- LANGUAGE SPEAKERS, AND LEARNERS: USE AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE REGULARLY AT HOME

Patterns of Aboriginal home language use differ between first-language (mother tongue) and second-language speakers. Among users of an Aboriginal home language in 2011, the majority, 70% (113,755) of first-language speakers, spoke it most often at home; the other 30% (49,740) regularly. Conversely, the vast majority, 82% (21,270) of second-language speakers spoke it regularly at home; the other 18% (4,735) most often (Norris 2017a).

Four categories of speakers (first- and second- language) and learners (new and re-learning) are derived from the “mother tongue” and “speaker (ability to converse)” characteristics of home users. Variations between “most often” and “regular” users in these categories reflect different purposes of home usage.

“MAJOR” USERS OF AN ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGE: PRACTICALLY ALL FIRST-LANGUAGE SPEAKERS

Major usage of an Aboriginal language, “most often” at home, is associated with the transmission, or full retention, of an Aboriginal mother tongue. Among the 118,515 Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language most often at home in 2011, almost all, 96%, were “first-language” speakers, reporting both an Aboriginal mother tongue and the ability to converse in an Aboriginal language⁴; while the remaining four percent were second-language speakers (see Figure 2).

“REGULAR” USERS OF AN ABORIGINAL HOME LANGUAGE: SPEAKERS AND LEARNERS

Regular home usage supports the “partial” retention of an Aboriginal mother tongue. It can also be a choice, when major home use is simply not a viable or sustainable option, or as part of learning an Aboriginal language, especially for (a) endangered languages; (b) those living in large urban areas/cities (c) youth, and (d) older adults.

Among Aboriginal people in 2011, findings suggest that not only first- and second- language speakers, but also learners and re-learners of Aboriginal languages, regularly use an Aboriginal home language (Figure 2).

In 2011, first-language (Aboriginal mother tongue) speakers accounted for the majority, 64%, of the 77,890 regular users of an Aboriginal home language – much lower than their share (96%) of major home language users.

Among the 34% of regular users with a non-Aboriginal mother tongue, the majority were second-language speakers⁵ able to converse in an Aboriginal language, accounting for 27% of the Identity population regularly using an Aboriginal home language.

The other seven percent, with a non-Aboriginal mother tongue, were not able to conduct a conversation in an Aboriginal language; suggesting they were most likely “learners”, for whom regular home use is part of learning an Aboriginal language.

The remaining two percent of regular home language users appear to have lost the ability to speak an Aboriginal language despite still understanding it – reporting an Aboriginal mother tongue, but not the ability to converse in an Aboriginal language. This could imply they are possibly “Re-learners” for whom regular home use is part of relearning to speak their Aboriginal language.

4 This Aboriginal first-language category can include some speakers with an Aboriginal mother tongue who are also second-language speakers of other different Aboriginal languages.

5 This Aboriginal second-language category does not include speakers with an Aboriginal mother tongue who are also second language speakers of other different Aboriginal languages.

These speaker-learner categories derived for 2011, mirror to some extent, though not completely, those identified in the First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) *Report on The Status of B.C. First Nation Languages 2014* (see Appendix B), comprising: Fluent speakers; Semi-speakers; Latent speakers and Learners.

For these reasons, signs of both learners and speakers, and trends in the growing numbers of Aboriginal people speaking an Aboriginal language on a regular basis at home, and of increasing second language acquisition, signal positive developments for the future prospects of many of the Indigenous languages in Canada today.

CONSIDERATIONS AND PROSPECTS

The regular use of an Aboriginal language at home by both second-language speakers and learners is significant for language prospects:

“...the most important locus of language revitalization is not in the schools, rather the home ...it is that step – of actually using the language in daily life at home – that is essential for true language revitalization” (Hinton 2013).

Steady growth over the past 15 years (2001-2016) in the number of Indigenous people speaking an Aboriginal language regularly at home could reflect partial retention, second-language learning and the growth of second-language speakers, especially among youth.

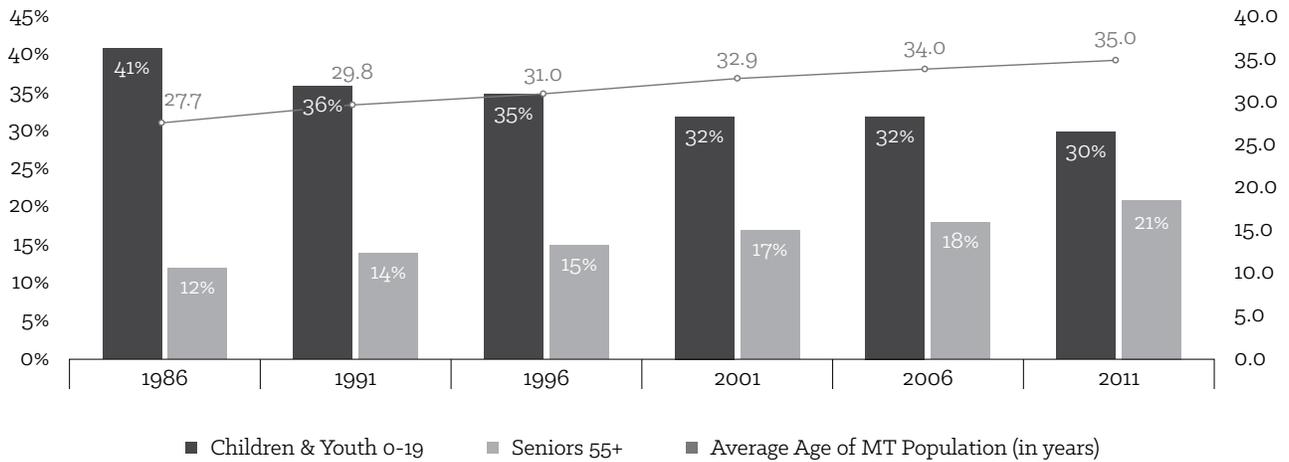
Learners, as well as speakers, can be an important indicator of language revitalization. As the First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) observed:

“The number of learners is important because it represents hope for the revitalization of the language. The number of learners demonstrates the level of interest, desire to learn and presence of language in the community. In many cases the learners of a language are children, which is the most encouraging sign for language revitalization” (FPCC 2014).

Trends in increasing second language acquisition point to the growth of younger second-language speakers able to converse in an Aboriginal language. Within the context of language survival, second language learning represents an increasingly important aspect for many Indigenous languages in Canada today, especially those that are critically endangered.

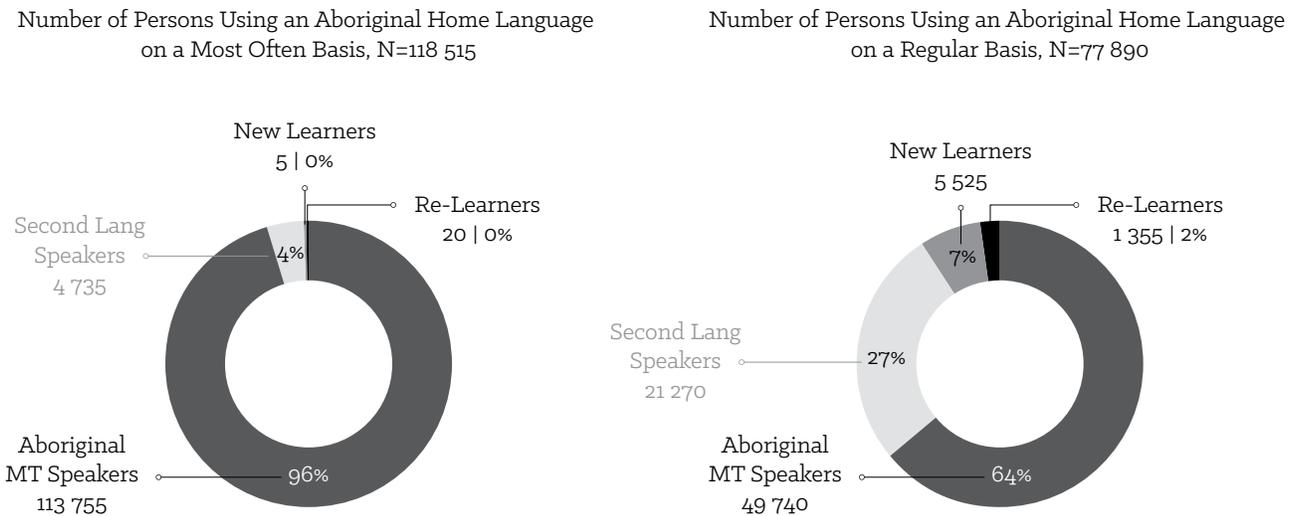
The prospect of becoming a “secondarily surviving” language, meaning “a language that has no first-language speakers, but that is being actively taught as a second language...” (Golla 2007) is becoming an increasingly important consideration, especially for critically endangered languages, in countering their slide towards “extinction”. “Since many of the North American languages that are on the verge of extinction as first languages are associated with heritage communities, it can be anticipated that the number of secondarily surviving languages will grow considerably in the next few decades” (Golla 2007).

FIGURE 1: CHILDREN/YOUTH AND SENIORS AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION REPORTING AN ABORIGINAL MOTHER TONGUE POPULATION; AVERAGE AGE IN YEARS, CANADA, 1986 TO 2011



Source: 1986 to 2006 Census of Canada; 2011 NHS (unadjusted data). Adapted from Norris, Mary Jane 2016: *Aboriginal Languages in Canada: Generational and Community Perspectives on Language Maintenance, Loss, and Revitalization*, In David Long, ed, *Visions of the Heart: Canadian Aboriginal Issues*, 4th edition, 209-240. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

FIGURE 2: NUMBERS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WHO REPORTED USING AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE AT HOME MOST OFTEN OR ON A REGULAR BASIS; ESTIMATED DISTRIBUTION BY “ABORIGINAL MOTHER TONGUE AND ABILITY TO CONDUCT A CONVERSATION IN AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE” CATEGORIES, 2011 NHS



Source: 2011 National Household Survey (NHS) (unadjusted data). Author's calculations. Categories: a. "Aboriginal MT Speakers": Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Ability to Converse in Aboriginal language; b. "Second Lang. Speakers": Non-Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Ability to Converse in Aboriginal language; c. "New Learners": Non-Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Not Able to Converse in Aboriginal language; d. "Re-Learners": Aboriginal Mother Tongue, and Not Able to Converse in Aboriginal language.

APPENDIX B – LANGUAGE RETENTION, REVITALIZATION AND REVIVAL: EFFORTS, ATTITUDES, PRIORITIES AND ACTIVITIES

FACTORS AND BEST PRACTICES IN SAFEGUARDING AND SUPPORTING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES:

Efforts in safeguarding Indigenous languages by supporting their retention, revitalization or revival can be characterized as Indigenous-led, community-driven and collaborative, encompassing various aspects in association with: education, schools and universities; language activists, researchers and planners; Aboriginal and other language organizations; National Indigenous Organizations; and governments at all levels.

In terms of best practices, a key aspect is matching interventions to the language situation – “matching strategies to language goals” (Jacobs and McIvor 2017). Intergenerational transmission is a major consideration, and in its absence, intervention strategies such as pre-school language nests can be important.

Various evaluative frameworks or scales, such as the UNESCO factors of language vitality and endangerment (UNESCO 2003) and Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman 1991) can be used to both assess language vitality and endangerment, and to help determine needs and develop measures for language maintenance or revitalization. For example, UNESCO’s approach, that no single factor can assess language vitality/endangerment or determine interventions, utilizes nine factors. In addition to the obvious factor of intergenerational transmission, other aspects are considered, such as the attitudes of government, institutions and community towards revitalizing/supporting the language (Norris 2017c).

SUPPORTING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES ACROSS CANADA: SOME SELECTED ASPECTS AND EXAMPLES

Revitalization: The First Peoples’ Cultural Council (FPCC), a First Nations-run Crown Corporation, supports the revitalization of Aboriginal languages in British Columbia, in funding and resources to communities. Strategies comprise various language immersion and planning programs, including: Mentor-Apprentice; Language and Culture Camp; Language Nest; and Language Revitalization Planning (www.fpcc.ca). The website includes a comprehensive “Language Toolkit”; and references, such as a series of fact sheets on various topics in Indigenous language revitalization (e.g. diversity, language immersion, second language proficiency assessment and language in the home).

FPCC monitors the status of First Nations languages in its *Report on The Status of B.C. First Nation Languages 2014* (FPCC 2014), in which interventions are geared to the state of the language. Based on their evaluative framework of

language speakers, usage and resources, FPCC concludes:

“It is safe to say that all First Nations languages in B.C. are critically endangered” (FPCC 2014, 15).

The FPCC report identifies three categories of speakers, plus learners, including: a) Fluent speakers (usually but not always, mother tongue speakers); b) Semi-speakers (can speak and understand, but with generally less ability than fluent speaker); c) Latent speakers (can understand their language but may have barriers to speaking); and d) Learners (anyone (including semi-, fluent- and non-speakers) in the process of learning their language, whether in a formal or informal setting) (FPCC 2014, 11-12).

An example of one of the BC interventions to reverse the trend of language shift is that of Preschool within communities and the Pre-school Language Nests Programs:

Here the “...revitalization strategy is for creating more fluent speakers from younger generations”: “In most communities... these programs are currently the only way for young children to be immersed in their language;... we rely on them to raise a new generation of first-language or mother tongue speakers.” (FPCC, 2014, 22)

FPCC raises awareness about the diversity of First Nations languages throughout BC and what communities are accomplishing in their revitalization. A recent example is the interactive exhibit *Our Living Languages: First Peoples’ Voices in BC* at the Royal BC Museum in Victoria: <https://royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/visit/exhibitions/our-living-languages-first-peoples-voices-bc>.

Revival: Today most languages are sufficiently well documented that it is possible for them to be revived even if there are no fluent or first-language speakers living. In some cases even languages that were considered extinct more than a hundred years ago, can be revived given sufficient documentation and community efforts, such as Huron-Wendake, currently being revived near Quebec City (Dorais 2016).

Families and Communities: Many signs of Indigenous language revitalization and learning are evident in the efforts, attitudes, and priorities of First Nations, Métis and Inuit families and communities across the country. The 2015 First Nations Regional Early Childhood, Education and Employment Survey (FNREES 2016) indicated that for 88% of First Nations parents, it is important that their children learn a First Nations language and, that home and community are the primary sources of language learning and use. Statistics Canada’s Aboriginal Peoples Surveys (APS) have consistently

shown that speaking or understanding an Aboriginal language is important to Aboriginal people of all ages – youth, parents, and adults: within and outside Aboriginal communities (2001 APS) and in cities (2012 APS). Language initiatives and efforts increasingly involve the participation of family and community across the generations: parents and children, youth and Elders; students and teachers, and other community members (Norris 2016a).

Education and Resources: Education and development of teaching resources are recognized as major priorities in language maintenance and revitalization. For example, FNREES highlighted findings that improving opportunities for children and youth for language learning in the classroom are important to First Nations parents, in order to build on the revitalization contributions of family and community for future generations. FPCC also emphasized the need for language immersion:

“The long term goal should be to work towards an immersion model of education...that the ability to provide immersion instruction in First Nations languages... be the central focus...” (22).

Resources are also being developed to support the revitalization of Indigenous languages through education: an example is the recent manual: *Reviving your Language through Education: BC First Nations Language Education Planning Workbook* (McIvor 2015).

CILLDI, the Canadian Indigenous Languages and Literacy Development Institute, University of Alberta: supports the revitalization of Canada’s Indigenous languages through documentation, teaching, and literacy. Students can: *Learn an Indigenous language or gain expertise in the areas of linguistics, endangered language documentation and revitalization, language and literacy learning, second language teaching and curriculum development, and language policy and planning*. Programs offer university credits in the areas of Indigenous languages and culture; and specialized training for leading community-based language projects through the Community Linguist Certificate. (www.ualberta.ca/canadian-indigenous-languages-and-literacy-development-institute).

The University’s *Young Indigenous Women’s Circle of Leadership* (<https://ile.ualberta.ca/YIWCL>) “...is a direct response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada calls to action”. The video “Strong Girls, Strong Women” (youtu.be/W7mukkac2q0) illustrates how it supports Indigenous youth in the knowledge of their traditional languages.

Government Programs and Legislation: A number of federal government efforts are in place to support Indigenous languages across Canada, most recently in 2016, the Government of Canada’s commitment to “enact an Indigenous Languages Act, to be co-developed with Indigenous Peoples, with the

goal of ensuring the preservation, protection, and revitalization of First Nations, Métis and Inuit languages” (Canadian Heritage 2017). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada’s “Calls to Action” (2015) on language and culture addressed language-related: Rights (13); Legislation (14); and a Commissioner (15); and the role of post-secondary institutions.

The Canadian Heritage Aboriginal Peoples’ Program, with the Aboriginal Languages Initiative (ALI) for community-based language projects (Canadian Heritage, 2018) is a major Federal initiative to support Indigenous languages in Canada. Other Federal examples include: INAC’s First Nations and Inuit Cultural Education Centres Program (www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100033700/1100100033701); and the two Aboriginal Head Start Programs focussing on early childhood development (Urban and Northern Communities (AHSUNC) and on Reserve (AHSOR)), which include a component on Indigenous culture and language.

Legislation by Territorial Governments, Aboriginal languages have “Official language” status in both Nunavut and the Northwest Territories. In Nunavut, in addition to the Official Languages Act, another measure related to both language retention and revitalization is the Inuit Language Protection Act designed specifically *...to ensure respect for unilingual Inuit, particularly Elders; to reverse language shift among youth; and to strengthen the use of Inuktitut [the Inuit language] among all Nunavummiut*. (Cloutier 2013).

The Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) Canada: Strengthening First Nation, Inuit and Métis Languages of Canada: Provides an extensive source of information on “Programs and initiatives across Canada devoted to promoting language use” available at the FEL Canada website (www.felcanada.org/initiatives-in-canada). FEL Canada newsletters provide news on language initiatives, programs, activities, research, and conferences across Canada, available at www.felcanada.org/news-and-updates.

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LOOKING AT THE FUTURE OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN CANADA

HELEN QIMNIK KLENGENBERG has an extensive work background in Territorial and Municipal Governments, as well as numerous territorial boards and agencies. She is currently the Languages Commissioner of Nunavut, a past member of the Aboriginal Language and Culture Task Force of Heritage Canada, past board member for the Canada North West FASD Research Network. Helen is fluently bilingual in Inuinnaqtun and English, with an understanding of various Inuktitut dialects and speaks understandable Inuktitut.

This article was adapted from the author's speaking notes at a November 30-December 1, 2017 forum in Gatineau, Quebec called "Measuring Identity, Diversity and Inclusion in Canada @ 150 and Beyond." It discusses a contemporary shift in the Canadian public's attitudes toward the contributions of Indigenous peoples and official language communities in Canada and highlights key milestones in the history of Nunavut (e.g., Nunavut Land Claim Agreement and Inuit Languages Protection Act).

Are we undergoing a shift in the way we collectively envision the contribution of Indigenous people and official language communities in Canada? YES, but it has been slow in coming.

There have been significant changes to the attitudes of Canadians towards the contribution of Indigenous people as a country. Over the last 20 years, these attitudes have changed for the better, especially in the past decade. The contributions made by leaders of Nunavut have been significant in our Territory. The negotiation and ratification of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement in May 1993 was a milestone in the history of Canada. In this historic land claim, Inuit negotiated to manage a territory that represents one-fifth the land mass of Canada. On July 1, 1993, the Inuit of Nunavut also negotiated to create a government from within the agreement, choosing to create a public government instead of a self-government. In exchange for a public government, the federal govern-

ment agreed to include in the Nunavut Accord the following clauses: By 2020, 85% of government employees in Nunavut would be Inuit; and the working language of the government would be Inuktitut (Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun).

Looking back at the intentions of the Government of Canada in 1993 and again in 1999 when Nunavut was created, it looked promising for the people of Nunavut.

As of September 30, 2017, 51% of hires in the Government of Nunavut's Departments, Agencies, Boards and Corporations were Inuit.¹ However only 36% of executive positions and 17% of senior management were filled by Inuit. Lack of education and in particular lack of post secondary education was the main reason for this discrepancy. More should have been done since the creation of Nunavut in 1999. There has been a lack of pro-active initiatives made by both governments, Ter-

¹ Government of Nunavut, Department of Finance, "Towards a Representative Public Service" (30 September 2017).

ritorial and Federal. The Nunavut Land Claim Organization, the parent of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, monitors the progress of the Government and there have been many, many meetings to enforce Article 23 of the Land Claim, which obligates the Government of Nunavut to have Inuit employment at 85% by year 2020.

The Inuit of Nunavut believe that good faith had been broken by both governments in this very important agreement made between the Government of Canada and the Government of Nunavut in its acceptance of its contents and obligations. As a nation, Canadian views and attitudes are shifting with renewed recognition of the contributions of Indigenous people; efforts are being made to improve relations; reconciliation by the Government of Canada with all Indigenous people has begun and will continue for the better.² I am optimistic that things will only move forward. The future looks brighter. More training programs are being developed by the Government of Nunavut and its public government institutions. Arctic College, in partnership with southern universities, is carrying out postsecondary education in Iqaluit, the capital city of Nunavut. Other communities continue with satellite college programs. My hope and ambition is to have an Arctic University. If we are to truly become a bilingual territory with the emphasis on Official Languages and to protect Inuit Languages we need to continue Inuktitut education after grade 12. To accomplish this, the university in Nunavut would have to create programs in Inuktitut that are equivalent to those in English.

This brings me to the Official Languages of Nunavut, Inuktitut (Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun) along side English and French and the Inuit Languages Protection Act. When the Nunavut Accord was agreed upon they instilled that the Government of Nunavut's working language to be in the Inuktitut languages.

For many reasons, one being the lack of Inuit speaking management personnel, the workplace language continues to be primarily in English. But as mentioned earlier, efforts to learn and hire Inuit who speak their mother tongue is slowly becoming more visible.

Yes, we are undergoing a shift aggressively in Nunavut to make Inuktitut the working languages of our public institutions, including in the private sector. In 2008, the Official Languages Act was amended to include Inuktitut and Inuinnaqtun as official languages, in addition to English and French. At the same time, an Act to protect the Inuit languages was introduced and passed in 2008, however some sections of the Act were put on hold. On July 9, 2017 (Nunavut Day), the Minister of Languages announced that Part 1, Sections 3 to 5 of the Inuit Languages Protection Act would now be enacted. These sections are outlined below:

- Section 3: Inuit Language Rights and Duties – where every organization would now have to translate and display all signs, marketing and promotional materials produced in the workplace into Inuktitut and reception services would be in the Inuktitut languages.

- Section 4: Government Contracts are to be changed so that all bidders are required to show how Inuit languages will be delivered if the contractor is delivering its services.

- Section 5: Service of civil claim – anyone in the Nunavut Court to be given language preference.

The enactment of these sections now makes the Act whole in its entirety.

So how can we best respect our commitments? Keep your word! Set timelines. Set consequences if they are not followed. Reconciliation is seen by action – showing respect to the human race, giving a helping hand, and through kindness, from the crib till Resting in Peace.

The rise of multiple identities implies that we are a welcoming country, however, we seem to forget those left behind: we need better training for jobs, less overcrowding of homes in the North, and the right to work in the languages of our people.

2 See Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 1 in Attachment C.

ATTACHMENT C

In a recent survey of the Canadian public in November 2017, the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) found that 3 in 4 Canadians (74%) hold positive views towards Aboriginals (see Table 1 below) – similar to the rate found in March 2017 (73%). This is compared to 61% in March 2016, 62% in February 2014, and 58% in March 2013 (see Figure 1). In March of 2012, nearly

two-thirds of Canadians surveyed (65%) held positive views toward Aboriginals. According to the November 2017 survey, 85% of Aboriginals surveyed held positive views toward Aboriginals in Canada as did 77% of English-speaking Quebecers and 83% of persons living in the Atlantic provinces.

TABLE 1: VIEWS TOWARD ABORIGINALS IN CANADA

	Total (2,344)	Aboriginal / First Nations (310)	FR ROC (264)	EN QC (289)	BC+Terr. (198)	Prairies (381)	ON (839)	QC (714)	ATL (212)
TOTAL POSITIVE	74%	85%	73%	77%	73%	64%	76%	75%	83%
Very positive	30%	58%	25%	34%	28%	23%	35%	25%	40%
Somewhat positive	44%	28%	47%	43%	45%	41%	41%	49%	43%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	17%	7%	20%	15%	18%	29%	13%	16%	10%
Somewhat negative	14%	5%	17%	13%	16%	24%	11%	14%	6%
Very negative	3%	2%	3%	2%	2%	5%	2%	2%	4%
I don't know	7%	5%	7%	6%	8%	4%	8%	7%	5%
I prefer not to answer	3%	3%	0%	2%	1%	3%	3%	3%	1%

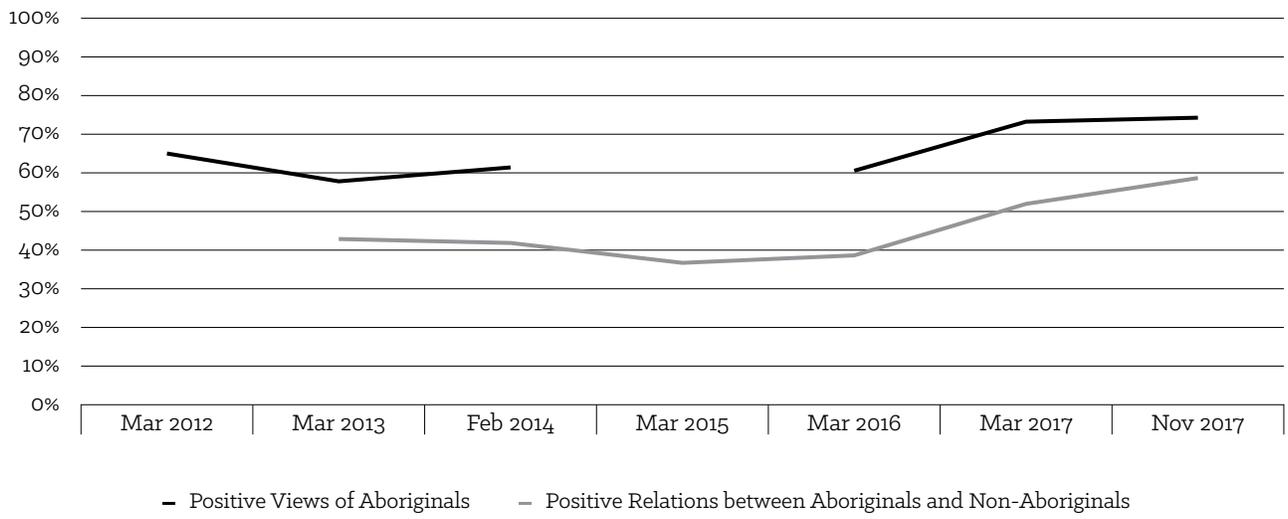
The November 2017 survey also revealed that a majority of Canadians (59%) view relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada positively, and this finding is consistent with the views held by Aboriginal / First Nations respondents to the survey (60%). Atlantic Canadians viewed

these relations the most positively at 69% (see Table 2). Earlier in 2017, 53% of Canadians viewed these relations as positive compared to only 39% in March 2016, 37% in March 2015, 42% in February 2014 and 43% in March 2013 (see Figure 1).

TABLE 2: VIEWS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINALS AND NON-ABORIGINALS IN CANADA

	Total (2,344)	Aboriginal / First Nations (310)	FR ROC (264)	EN QC (289)	BC+Terr. (198)	Prairies (381)	ON (839)	QC (714)	ATL (212)
TOTAL POSITIVE	59%	60%	59%	57%	61%	52%	61%	58%	69%
Very positive	18%	30%	17%	15%	18%	15%	20%	15%	23%
Somewhat positive	42%	30%	43%	42%	42%	38%	41%	43%	46%
TOTAL NEGATIVE	29%	31%	32%	31%	28%	41%	27%	28%	23%
Somewhat negative	24%	20%	26%	28%	26%	31%	21%	23%	19%
Very negative	6%	11%	5%	3%	2%	11%	5%	5%	4%
I don't know	9%	5%	8%	10%	11%	6%	9%	12%	7%
I prefer not to answer	2%	3%	1%	3%	1%	1%	3%	2%	1%

FIGURE 1: VIEWS TOWARD ABORIGINALS AND OF RELATIONS BETWEEN ABORIGINALS AND NON-ABORIGINALS IN CANADA



RIDING THE OFFICIAL MINORITY LANGUAGE ADVOCACY ROLLER-COASTER: CHALLENGES FACED AND MET – AND OPPORTUNITIES SEIZED

SYLVIA MARTIN-LAForge has been Director General of the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) for more than a decade. Prior to her work at the QCGN she spent the majority of her career working on issues dealing with the rights of minorities, including employment equity, race relations, and native affairs. In the last 20 her focus has been on both minority language groups, those in the French-language sector in the rest of Canada and those of English-speaking Quebec, working in senior positions in French-language education in the Ontario Government, the Privy Council Office in Ottawa, and in the Department of Canadian Heritage.

This paper offers a rare, under-the-hood look at the governance and other challenges faced by a uniquely Canadian and increasingly high-profile not-for-profit organization. The Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) is an advocacy group that represents the interests of the English-speaking official language minority of Quebec, the never tranquil political entity with the largest concentration across the Americas of French-speakers. Sylvia Martin-Laforge, QCGN's Director General, opens up about the DNA and other aspects of her organization. The QCGN is governed through a board of directors that speaks for an increasingly diverse base, now 53 organizational members. From the group's launch in 1995, its advocacy vocation has been legislatively defined. The QCGN is largely bankrolled by the Department of Canadian Heritage. Its level of funding has been kept essentially flat even as the scope of its work, activities and impact has steadily broadened.

For almost a quarter-century, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) has thrived while being both burdened and blessed with an unimaginative name. Our thoroughly boring and so very Canadian acronym has provided useful cover, as our organization has morphed with the times. We navigate the perpetually murky waters of linguistic politics. The waves we encounter, and on occasion must make, sometimes run wild. Even small, they feature potentially treacherous whitecaps.

As with any community-based organization, the QCGN faces many challenges, including governance. Three challenges I would underline:

- Lack of sufficient funding to fully address the scope of our mandate and the needs and priorities of our community;

- Inadequate organizational capacity to implement and fulfill our mission; and

- The increasingly competitive funding environment in which we work.

The federal funding framework for Official Language minority groups has, over the years, provided a successful formula for fostering both the vitality of the French-speaking community outside Quebec, and of our English-speaking community within Quebec. That helps, but it's never enough. As the needs of our Network and communities have increased exponentially, funding has flatlined. Our counterparts, the official language minority communities that mirror us outside Quebec, are endowed with additional support from their provincial governments. We have never been that fortunate – at least not

until recently. Over the past few months, the government of Quebec has established a Secretariat and named a Minister for Relations with English-speaking Quebecers. That's a big, big deal for us. We've been advocating for just this sort of undertaking by the provincial government for many years. We are optimistic. But the proof of the poutine is in the eating.

WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE DO

As QCGN's Director General for more than a decade, I've shepherded our staff through sometimes turbulent change. We have transformed from a locus of community dialogue and networking into a centre for evidence-based action and advocacy. We nail down and proffer statistics, facts and insights, all on behalf of Quebec's English-speaking official language minority. That's not always simple. Vital information that immediately jumps off a page for policy analysts often proves to be elusive when they must be grasped and acted upon by government. A lot of our work is, by its nature, rather dry.

Life at the QCGN, from time to time, can also be a roller coaster ride.

The QCGN was formed from a group of more than a dozen regional and sectoral organizations funded under the Official Languages Minority Communities program. All were brought together in 1995 by Canadian Heritage (PCH) to create a framework to better manage program and funding priorities. From that core, our Network branched out to become an umbrella organization now covering more than 50 broadly diverse member groups (see list at <http://qcgnc.ca/members>). We accomplish together what none of us can do on our own.

We describe ourselves as a centre for evidence-based expertise and collective action. We identify, explore and express ourselves on strategic issues affecting the development and vitality of the English-speaking community of Quebec. In a single word, we do advocacy. We encourage dialogue and collaboration among our member organizations, individuals, community groups, institutions and leaders.

Yes, when you think about it, that really is a big, big mandate.

OUR GOVERNANCE CHALLENGES

QCGN channels voice for more than 800,000 English-speaking Quebecers in and around Montreal, as well as approximately 200,000 across the regions of Quebec. From the coast of Labrador and the Magdalen Islands to the Outaouais and from the Eastern Townships to Rouyn-Noranda, and multiple points between, our English-speaking

communities have different needs, different ways of seeing themselves, and different levels of access to services in their own language.

Our English institutions in the Montreal region have become bilingual, serving both the French-speaking majority and the English-speaking minority. But in the regions, few English institutions have survived. Even though we were brought together and are nourished largely with funding from the federal government, we work for our members as proponents for our community.

QCGN has a proven track record and a challenging future. As we deal with an evolving range of internal governance challenges, we are blessed with steady infusions of amazing DNA.

Like at all vibrant not-for-profits, our staff works over and above the call of duty. We expend inordinate energy chasing after the funding required to support current and emerging needs in our community. Seniors, youth, access to justice – all these issues are generously funded for other minority language communities outside our province. Within Quebec, not so much. So fledgling groups, once birthed, must strive on a shoestring to meet the needs of the most vulnerable members of our communities. The absence of recurring funding to nourish these needs imposes a never-ending bleed on our time and focus across our Network. It distracts both leadership and staff.

Our many volunteers are essential to our success. They bring in so much talent, insight and energy. They also contribute their profound understanding that two cultures which complement each other so elegantly make for a whole that is so much greater than the sum of our parts. This complementarity, we believe, continues to foster a steady enrichment of the fabric of our Canadian life, both as a province and as a nation. The synergies are apparent in many dimensions, in ways both palpable and immeasurable.

With 13 organizational members at our start in 1995, each group was assigned two seats on our governing board. The first was reserved for the member group's elected president. The second was allocated to its executive director or senior staff person. By 2005, we had almost doubled our organizational membership to 22, and thus our governing board to 44 members. The impact of such an unwieldy structure on governance, much less on operational coherence, is obvious. Happily, by 2007 this behemoth had been stripped down and rebuilt into a representative board of 14 elected directors. This was part of an organizational sea change across the QCGN just before I came aboard.

As any savvy organization must, we provided ourselves rules of good governance including modernized bylaws; a Code of Ethics for the Board of Directors; a Statement of Principles for the membership; and twin strategic development plans,

respectively for the organization and the community. By and large, we are accomplishing what we have identified and believe is needed.

Through the federal department of Canadian Heritage, the government of Canada considers us the main interlocutor for Quebec's English-speaking communities. From the beginning, the knowledge and advice they sought and we provided has motivated other federal departments to seek us out. As we have grown and become more successful, an understanding has emerged that we should give more – lean in, so to speak – and strive more directly to foster stronger and more intermeshed connections throughout the various communities of English-speaking Quebec. We have taken to describing our base as our Community of Communities. Through our now 53 organizational members, we represent tens of thousands of English-speaking Quebecers.

The variety of groups is both mind-boggling and heartening. Some are tiny, or very small. Some are quite large. Some have staff. Some are entirely run by dedicated volunteers. The contrasts in their capacity and resources are stunning. And humbling. One hard-pressed dedicated volunteer has spent years, and much of her own money, working from her basement to help ensure her community has access to badly needed services. The needs, expectations and circumstances of our member groups vary widely. We are managing a very loose coalition of like-minded groups, trying to ensure the continued vitality of our Community of Communities. So, yes. It's complex.

WHERE WE ARE GOING

There's great wisdom embedded in the timeworn cliché that even the longest journey begins with a single step. We have been taking small, successive steps since 1995. This incremental approach has taken us far.

You can't get too far ahead of your members, mind you.

But you have to be far enough ahead for the government to listen to you. So the advocacy and voice piece of our mandate is certainly a challenge.

In retrospect, it was so much simpler when I started at QCGN. Each of our members received core funding from Canadian Heritage. Each worked exclusively in support of official language minority communities. By way of contrast, each of the three dozen groups that have since come aboard receive most, if not all, of their funding from other sources. All provide support for English-speaking Quebecers. Likewise, their mandates are of mixed and often remarkably varied nature. This multiplies the challenges embodied in our quest for common cause.

In the same way, growth and diversification have brought

additional recognition to the QCGN. Our rewards include another layer of governance complexity.

Groups often have differing opinions about the focus and priorities of the QCGN. With our success, we have also learned to manage growth and diversity. There is, of course, always tension between old and new; rural and urban; regional and sectoral. This tension is both positive and negative. It forces us to stretch our imagination, to think creatively outside the box.

A variety of consultation mechanisms from email blasts to town halls help us nail down the issues and potential solutions. When there is wide consensus – unanimity is not a reasonable goal – we get things done.

We operate amid complexity, many levels and types of moving parts. Of course our parts are also evolving independently. We try to reflect and refract through lenses beyond the purely political. We take into full account our increasingly diverse array of communities, as their needs and perspectives continue simultaneously to evolve.

Notwithstanding, to resort to a loaded Constitutional term, the QCGN always has been, is and shall remain a remarkably distinct organization. That's quite appropriate and even somehow symmetric as we continue to evolve and grow within our distinct and somewhat asymmetric society.

In boxing jargon, our vocation is to punch consistently and far above our weight class on behalf of our community – the 12.5% of Quebecers who are most comfortable speaking English. This necessary pugnacity serves well, whether measured by effectiveness, efficiency, credibility or value added. With our board, our staff team and our track record, here's hoping we never lose our punch.

INTERVIEW

JEAN TEILLET

WHO YOU ARE?

My name is Jean Teillet. I am probably best known as the great grandniece of Louis Riel. I'm Métis from the Métis Nation of the Northwest of Canada. I am a lawyer, but I used to be a dancer. I'm also a writer and a law professor and an advocate for Aboriginal people. I'm a treaty negotiator and I write, speak, and talk a lot about charter rights, Aboriginal rights, human rights, access to justice, with a big focus on the Métis.

WHAT IS IT ABOUT CANADA THAT MAKES YOU MOST PROUD?

I think that Canada is one of the better countries in the world for embracing a wide diversity of people. We're not perfect, but having travelled fairly widely around the world I think we're a lot better. I don't mean that we're better than they are, I mean that we've walked farther down a path of inclusivity and what I would call a horizontal society than maybe the majority of other countries have.

HOW CAN WE MAKE SURE THERE'S DIALOGUE BETWEEN INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS CANADIANS?

Well, first of all, we have to let them talk. We don't have actual dialogue for the most part right now. We talk at Aboriginal people, but we don't really listen to what they say. We don't understand what they say and we certainly don't implement what they say, so we have a long way to go in that regard. Right

now we consult with them which means we go and we talk at them. They say things, we tick off boxes saying oh, we talked to them and then we walk away and think we've done our job and it's completely inadequate, so we have to incorporate Aboriginal people talking Aboriginal people ideas, Aboriginal people much more into our dialogue. Right now we're still talking at them and down to them. It's got to change.

WHAT SHOULD WE AS A SOCIETY LEARN FROM THE CULTURE AND HISTORY OF THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN CANADA?

Aboriginal people have a lot to teach us that we could learn very – we could be a better place, so Aboriginal people have what I call a horizontal society, most of them do. That's not to say some Aboriginal peoples didn't have slaves and things like that, but most Aboriginal people had a much more horizontal concept of society. That means that people were not perceived to be superior to one another. We could benefit from that kind of discussion. We still work very much in a hierarchical way...

...The other thing that we need to start doing in this country and that we could learn from them is about sharing. We're bad at that, we're really bad at sharing. We're very, very, very possessive. You can tell it in our language, we've got a lot of possessive pronouns. Aboriginal languages don't have possessive pronouns in them. We're so interested in dividing things up. We divide things up by gender. Most Aboriginal languages don't do that.

INTERVIEW

RÉMI FRENETTE

HOW DO YOU DESCRIBE YOUR OWN IDENTITY?

My own identity, I am one of those people who find that identities cohabit well together, but I still tend to have some that I love more than others. So I would say I am Acadian first, then New Brunswicker, then Canadian. Then I combine all of this together. But in my daily life, I live my Acaniannité more than anything else.

WHAT ASPECT OF CANADA MAKES YOU MOST PROUD?

What I appreciate about Canada, and there is still a lot of work to be done on that side, but it is a country which values inclusion, tolerance, with a good multiculturalist model. I see it as the opposite of the so-called "American melting pot" and I see Canada as a country where, even if everything is not perfect, every culture, every identity can still claim a certain space and even a legitimacy. I believe this is where the effervescence of the Acadian culture comes from, so this is an aspect which I appreciate of the country.

WHAT IS NEEDED TO MAKE DIALOGUE BETWEEN ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL PEOPLE WORK IN CANADA?

Well, the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada is just starting to develop in a healthy way. We are now inheriting a colonial past that is very dark, very heavy, very violent and, to my knowledge, only since the 90s

with the closure of the last residential schools has there really been a public discourse about this past. So it's just starting, maybe three decades or so. We had the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for example, which is a step in the right direction. I believe that we must project a future focused on hope and take concrete actions to bring about healing and reconciliation. We have to listen a lot, Canadians have to listen a lot and I think it just starts like this.

WHAT IS IT ABOUT CANADA THAT MAKES YOU PROUD?

What makes me proud about Canada is it's a multicultural country, but it accepts and it recognizes different peoples and cultures and communities. It really gives them the chance to assert themselves and fully be a part of Canada.