

**Canada's Aboriginal Peoples and Intersecting Identity Markers:
Research and Policy Implications for Multiculturalism**

DRAFT

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Introduction

This literature review provides an overview of English and French works that encompass multiculturalism and Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The objective of this review is to provide insights to the following questions: How do characteristics of multiculturalism identity, such as race/ethnicity, language and religion intersect with issues of economics, education, health, discrimination, culture, attachment and belonging, and civic participation? The secondary question is: What are the repercussions, realities and lived experiences of these intersections?

Social Cohesion

Social cohesion has become an important concern of governments around the world (Report of the Social Cohesion Network 1998). This has prompted debates among policy strategists attempting to define the factors that either encourage or inhibit social cohesion, (and by extension, social inclusion) that will inform future social policy.¹ This literature review encapsulates several factors and processes that have contributed to the social cohesion (or the lack of it) specific to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. While this information ideally will be instructive for future policy considerations, it may also assist in illuminating the theoretical aspects of social cohesion and its application to a democratic multicultural society.

This literature review speaks to several ideas expressed in reports on social cohesion written over the past four years. Studies of social cohesion indicate the

¹ In this review, I am restricting my comments to connections between Canada's Aboriginal peoples and the discourse of social cohesion. Please refer to the cited reports for further reference.

importance of the federal government's role as an instrument of Canadian values in reinforcing identity and belonging (Report of the Social Cohesion Network 1998). For Aboriginal peoples, this has been demonstrated and reinforced throughout the history of the ongoing treaty process, the establishment and administration of reserves, Indian Act legislation, the attempted White Paper, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, and continuing negotiations over land and resources. The same report on social cohesion also acknowledges the importance of regaining trust and confidence in public institutions and in the political process to strengthen the social fabric (Report of the Social Cohesion Network 1998). This point is validated in the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal sources cited in this literature review. Indeed, especially in the case of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, regaining the trust and confidence in public institutions may be the catalyst to foster social cohesion between Aboriginal peoples and Canadian society.

Jenson's (1998) map of social cohesion breaks the concept into characterizations of achieved social cohesion "belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, and legitimacy" and those that reflect an absence social cohesion "isolation, exclusion, non-involvement, rejection, and illegitimacy" (Jenson 1998). This review demonstrates unequivocally that the prevalent experience of Aboriginal people in Canadian society has been that of isolation, exclusion, non-involvement, rejection, and illegitimacy. Conceptualizing Aboriginal experience in this way also reveals that their case is the most extreme and pervasive among minorities in Canadian society. This supports the substantive attention and energies put toward reversing the situation. In other words, in terms of promoting social cohesion, Canada's Aboriginal peoples are, in my estimation, the ultimate litmus test of policy making that promotes social cohesion.

Jenson (1998) also dichotomizes previous discussions of social cohesion that either focus on the local community (attending to individuals in terms of health, economic and social inclusion), or that focus on the society as a whole (attending to structures and institutions). This literature review presents many works that link the local to the higher societal level, revealing important patterns of cause and effect, action and reaction, as well as fractures between the local and the societal level. The appreciation of the linkages between the local and the societal levels is vital. It is at the local level that the efficacy of the policies is put to test. This is where answers are found to the questions: Did the policy do what it set out to do? Did other mitigating factors interfere, or skew the intended effects of the policy? What is it at the local level that renders the policy inherently flawed? What are the combined effects of the various local experiences, and how does this reflect the aggregation of social cohesion?² These are important questions to consider while reading this literature review.

More recently, Jenson (2001) identifies that "if the issues surrounding social inclusion are complex, it is less because the world has changed than because we have not yet agreed upon a diagnosis of the problem." This points to the importance of understanding that any diagnosis of the problem and subsequent policy remedies based on composite studies of non-Aboriginal members of Canadian society will not likely produce the intended results for Aboriginal people. In my estimation, this could actually reverse previous gains. The diagnosis and remedies for Aboriginal people are likely only relevant to Aboriginal people. This is because inequities for Aboriginal peoples in Canadian society are so deeply rooted within the social structure and institutions.

² The World Bank use social cohesion and social capital synonymously (Jenson 2001).

Multiculturalism and Aboriginal Peoples: An Overview

Canada's Aboriginal peoples are not generally enthusiastic of official multiculturalism (Saunders 1987), (Kallen 1987), (Fleras and Elliott 1992) (Li 1990). We can appreciate reasons for this by first considering the socio-political contexts in which multiculturalism and contemporary Aboriginal rights peoples began. Multiculturalism grew out of objections to the dualistic view of Canada in the 1969 Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The resultant 1971 multicultural policy acknowledged Canada's ethnic diversity by recognizing equal status of all cultures, and by protecting individual rights. In the 1980s, the focus shifted to managing diversity through institutional multiculturalism to provide employment equity and deal with systemic discrimination. Multiculturalism was incorporated into the 1985 Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Multicultural Act was passed in 1988. For the past decade, multiculturalism remains committed to managing diversity through institutions, and more recently emphasizing citizenship participation of minority members, with an eye to enhancing the society at large.

The same year that the federal government issued its report on bilingualism and biculturalism, the federal government introduced the *White Paper on Indian Policy*. The White Paper advocated the abolition of Aboriginal treaty privileges and special status as a way of leveling the social and political niche of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The Aboriginal peoples' common rejection of the 1969 White Paper prompted them to create new political organizations for the purpose of advocating social reform, validating the treaty process, and putting Aboriginal issues at the forefront for government and public

sectors. Since 1973, the federal government has acknowledged the legitimacy of treaty rights and Aboriginal rights in general. In the past two decades, many Aboriginal communities have taken local control over schools, economic development, and community health. The 1990 Oka crisis spurred several serious issues facing Aboriginal people to be brought to the forefront. In response, the federal government established the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, which published its report in 1996.

The above synopsis demonstrates how multiculturalism and Native relations and their respective policies, and connections to Canadian society have developed along different trajectories. One of the most important differences is that representative Native political organizations have been instrumental in the dialogue for transformation with the federal government. Although they would unlikely contest the merits of diversity in Canadian society, many of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples do not view official multiculturalism offering their group greater efficacy than what can be achieved through their own efforts. The formal recognition as one of Canada's founding nations affords Aboriginal people the legitimacy and rights not available to minorities and ethnic groups. In contrast, designation under the multicultural policy would lessen the fiduciary relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the state (Sanders 1987). This leveling may also be a threat to cultural survival (Kallen 1987). Thus, similar to the Quebecois, Aboriginal peoples are not particularly supportive of aligning their group within official multiculturalism.

Can Aboriginal peoples be convinced that multiculturalism has sufficient and tangible benefits that will neither diminish their social and political aspirations, nor backtrack the strides that they made after centuries of hardship and struggle? Without

gaining Aboriginal trust and participation in the dialogue of multiculturalism, multicultural policy research that, for expediency purposes, arbitrarily slots Aboriginal peoples within their scope runs the risk of alienating Aboriginal peoples. This would ultimately subvert multicultural ideal of promoting positive race and ethnic relations for society-building. Gaining trust and participation from Aboriginal peoples will require that this body of scholars and researchers listen closely to their lived realities and design policy research that relies heavily on Aboriginal participation and input. These are considerations that have influenced the approach taken in this report.

Scope of the Literature Review

The bibliography is much more extensive than this literature review requires. It encompasses a very broad range of publications relating to multiple aspects of Aboriginal identity. It incorporates non-academic works written and recognized by Aboriginal peoples, and because topic overlaps, parallel or comparative developments and affiliations that cut across political borders includes works regarding Native Americans in the United States. I employed several search strategies to identify the most current and widest range of literature on the topic of Aboriginal identity themes. Electronic data base searches through the Academic Research Primer, Sociological Abstracts, Social Science Abstracts, Humanities Index, and select Native Studies data bases provided access to major academic journals in the social sciences as well as Canadian Government Documents. The Dissertation Abstracts database provided graduate and doctoral theses on identity or related aspects since 1995. The search strategy also benefited from the extensive library catalogues and holdings on Aboriginal people from the University of

Alberta and the University of Saskatchewan. The compilation of literature represents a wide range of mostly Canadian content, is as recent as possible, and includes major works within the social sciences including Aboriginal perspectives. The bibliography provides potential researchers with sources that would be recognized and respected from within academic as well as Aboriginal communities. The more than 430 reference items included in the bibliography are thus interdisciplinary, yet include a range of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal perspectives. A more detailed report regarding the research of Canadian Aboriginal identity is forthcoming.

I have confined this literature review to references to Canadian Aboriginal experiences of ethnicity/race, language and religion. These are three central identity indicators that will shed light on major issues that can in turn be used to further the understandings of social cohesion and Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The referenced works are as recent as the topic area allowed, and an attempt was made to include those that commented on the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. I have included the perspectives of Aboriginal perspectives as much as possible, and I have indicated in the footnotes the Aboriginal identity of cited authors, when this information was available to me. I apologize in advance to those authors who either identify as Aboriginal, or who are of Aboriginal ancestry that I have missed.

Author's Concerns

Nevertheless, one should not regard this review as the final word. Considering the seriousness of the issues for Canada's Aboriginal peoples, and the volume of works to

review, the task is very onerous for one person. Given the task of focusing on *one identity marker at a time* I was asked not to focus on "gender" as one of the dimensions of Aboriginal identity. The intersections of identity markers will be discussed at the upcoming seminar at which point they will be framed in more specific thematic and policy issues. I am concerned that slotting Aboriginal issues of gender into a generic discussion of gender will not provide the necessary contextual dimensions that would bring to light how gender issues are encompassed within larger issues facing Aboriginal people. This omission risks the misrepresentation of 50 percent of the Aboriginal population. However, the accompanying bibliography includes a vast body of works written by and about Aboriginal women.

This literature review may be longer than other submissions. This was a conscious decision in response to several concerns. Additional contextual information is important to properly frame the perspectives offered by a wide range of Aboriginal people. Without this scaffold, there is an inherent danger of over-simplifying the issues, and a risk of misrepresenting Aboriginal sources. In addition, I do not assume that all readers are equally familiar with the background information. In this way, I trust that providing more, rather than less information will address all of these concerns.

Review of the Literature According to Identity Markers

The literature review has been divided into three sections: race/ethnicity, language and religion. The section on race/ethnicity has been further divided to incorporate eight important aspects that affect how Aboriginal Peoples experience race and ethnicity in Canada. I was unable to categorize language and religion in a similar fashion because of the lack of available research.

1. Race/Ethnicity: An Overview

By definition, Canada's Aboriginal peoples encompass many different ethnic groups, although they have been characterized within the generalized terms "Indian," "Native," "Aboriginal" and more recently "First Nations." However, unlike other minorities, Aboriginal peoples have been racialized by social institutions, government policy, and within the public sphere. This has affected access to their own cultures, inhibited their opportunities, and limited their rights as citizens. In short, the structural elements that have impinged on the lives of Canadian Aboriginal peoples, have greatly contributed to their marginalization in relation to the larger society (Fleras and Elliot 1992) (Asch 1993) (Li 1990).

A. Race/Ethnicity and Identity

Norris (2000) points out that defining Aboriginal populations is complicated and multifaceted. It includes such topics as ancestry, self-identity, Indian Act legislation, First Nation membership, Aboriginal community, culture, and language (Norris citing Guimond 2000: 167). The Aboriginal population is distinctive in Canada because it is much younger, and it experiences higher mortality and fertility levels—and some of the issues facing Aboriginal people are different from the rest of the population. Comparisons of the 1991 and 1996 censuses showed that people with Aboriginal origins may not identify themselves as an Aboriginal person. Those who fall in this category most resemble Canadian mainstream populations in terms of socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Self-identification as Aboriginal tends to be higher in reserve and rural locations than in urban areas. Those that are most likely to identify as Aboriginal persons are the most dissimilar to the Canadian mainstream population, and are also most likely to live on

reserves. The issue of self-identification in urban Native populations will be revisited under the sub-theme of Race, Ethnicity and Society.

Coates (1999) argues that the issue of Aboriginal identity is crucial because it speaks to expectations of social groups, reveals the prevalence of stereotypes in society, and the social pressures brought to bear on individual Aboriginal people. The idea of "Indian" is a social construct that is firmly embedded in our understanding of indigenous history and culture. The emphasis on European images of Aboriginal people has overwhelmed how indigenous populations saw themselves, each other, and newly arrived Europeans. Coates considers the debate over Aboriginal identity proceeds on two major levels. First, are the pragmatic considerations regarding legal status and membership as defined by policy. This has been determined historically through the Indian Act (1876) and the Constitution (1982). The distinctions made at this level have delineated people who have status (and hence eligible for benefits) from people who do not (and hence are ineligible for benefits). Second, is the technical debate over who is "Indian," which continues between Aboriginal peoples and the government. At stake here are two groups jockeying for power to define Aboriginal peoples. The definition has had to account for the growing population of non-status Aboriginal people, and the fuzzy boundary between status and non-status. Coates points out that as government programming and financing increases, the boundaries that mark eligibility from ineligibility become more distinct. Nevertheless, the debate about legal status and membership arose out of a paternalist colonial system. And Aboriginal peoples are increasingly rejecting the "right" of the federal government to define membership and determine who is, and who is not a status Indian. Bill C-31 (passed in 1985) demonstrates the government's response to demands to increase the level of inclusion to Aboriginal people, particularly those who became excluded for benefits because of gender/marriage. Coates acknowledges that there has been resistance within communities to fully support this initiative. **Wilson and Morrison (1995)** point out that Bill C-31, although well-intended, was nevertheless an imposition of the state on Aboriginal people. **Coates** concludes that no single definition of "Indian" is possible—national standards cannot be measured. Self-identification of Aboriginal people is highly personal, highly variable, and in Canada, highly political. Aboriginal identity continues to be contested territory between Aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people.

Dickson-Gilmore (1999) provides a case study of the Mohawk in Kahnawake taking control over their own group membership demonstrating the difficulties of assigning membership by Aboriginal groups. The Kahnawake took control of defining group membership in response to anticipated changes to the Indian Act in the early 1980s regarding Indian status and group membership that culminated with Bill C-31. This legislation would reinstate hundreds of women that the Indian Act had previously disqualified. The federal government promised additional funding in the reinstatement of these women—but the funding never materialized. This essentially meant that Kahnawake community would have to do more, with less—on a reservation that was already stressed in terms of shrinking land and financial resources. The Kahnawake Council declared their control over the right to articulate Mohawk identity and associated entitlements and responsibilities in 1982. This took place three years before the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs gave band communities the "legislative permission" to define their own membership codes. By asserting their rights to define band membership, they circumvented the reliance on the Indian Register as the authority of membership. The Kahnawake membership criteria is based on a blood quantum of 50 percent, plus the appearance of the name of the individual on the present band and reinstatement lists. There is much at stake here. Eligibility benefits include band membership, residence in Kahnawake, land allotment, housing

assistance, welfare, education, medicines, tax privileges within the Kahnawake community. Yet, since instituting their own criteria, there have been cases put before the Kahnawake Council which have challenged the right to disqualify those who have less than 50 percent Mohawk blood. These include cases of children adopted by Mohawk families, and raised in Mohawk traditions, and would have likely been considered registered Indians under the Indian Act.³

A. Race/Ethnicity and Identity –Gaps in the Literature

Considering the seriousness and topicality of identity, the literature on this aspect is very sparse.

B. Race/Ethnicity and Politics

The generalized theme of these works considers the nature of Aboriginal political relations in Canadian society. I begin with an overview of Aboriginal political movements in Canada. Next follows McFarlane's (2000) presentation of Aboriginal leadership in historic and contemporary contexts. Dyke (1995) critiques the state's tutelage of Aboriginal peoples and the need for the tutelage to be replaced by state leadership and public support of economic incentives and Aboriginal autonomy. Salée (1995) examines the conflictual dynamic between the French-speaking majority in Quebec and Quebec's Aboriginal peoples, both groups competing for identity recognition. Alfred (1994) discusses the political goals and strategies oriented toward the achievement of Native sovereignty by the Mohawks of Kahnawake. This section concludes with Green's (2000) questioning of the significance and authority of difference raised by Eisenberg and Fierlbeck and the ramifications to Aboriginal rights claims against the Canadian state.

Overview of Aboriginal Political Movements in Canada

According to **Waldman (2000)**, Native Americans lost the Four-Hundred-Year War, not for the lack of valor or skill. Rather, they were defeated by the overwhelming numbers of European settlers and by their own lack of unity. Had the indigenous peoples presented a unified front at various critical points in history, they might have kept control of the continent, or at least established an independent country or state. Indeed, if the Europeans had treated the Aboriginal peoples in an enlightened and democratic manner, a Native state might well exist today (2000:104). Speculation aside, Waldman's assessment says much about the importance of social cohesion. And it helps to explain the historic and current political machinations between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian state.

³ Reviewer's note: This case study demonstrates the economics of determining group membership, with the availability of financial resources influencing whether membership is interpreted broadly, or narrowly.

Aboriginal political movements are not a recent development in Canadian history. Native people resorting to resistance as an expression of their political will can be traced back to the reserve era that began in the 1830s (**Wilson and Urion 1995**). Direct appeals to the federal government began as early as 1874, when delegations of Native leaders began traveling to Ottawa to make appeals for land allocations for reserves (**Long 1992**). In the 1930s and 1940s, Aboriginal groups became more organized and began to pressure provincial and federal governments for reform, and to form networks across Canada. In 1951, Ottawa's response to these overtures was to amend the Indian Act, although paternalism and colonialism were still perpetuated in more subtle forms. In 1969, the federal government produced the White Paper on Indian Policy. It recommended that the special status of Native Indians be gradually eliminated through policy mechanisms. The White Paper served as a catalyst for large-scale organization of Native interests (Long 1992:120). Natives opposed the proposed changes to their status, and considered the White Paper proposals another imposition of white law to define Natives' lives. In 1970, Native political and spiritual leaders agreed to adopt the position paper, "Citizens Plus," which called for the continued recognition of the treaties, and the status of Aboriginal peoples (Lambertus 2000).

The response to the White Paper signified the emergence of the modern period of Native politicization, which persisted throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Long 1992:121). In this movement, arguments for self-government, and original sovereignty, and an expanded sense of Aboriginal rights were formulated. In 1968, Native leaders from across Canada launched the National Indian Brotherhood to represent Aboriginal peoples covered under the Indian Act. This later became the National Assembly of First Nations. Around the same time, non-status Aboriginal people and Metis established the Native Council of Canada (now the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples). The Inuit people formed the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada in 1971. By 1981, concerns about land rights were redefined to include the right to Aboriginal self-government. During this time, Native people utilized the courts to have their arguments heard. In 1973, the Nisga'a tribe of British Columbia lost their case against the federal government to recognize their ownership of traditional lands. Yet, this outcome held promise. Despite the Supreme Court's split decision regarding the current existence of Aboriginal title that favored the federal government, it also affirmed pre-existing Aboriginal title before the arrival of the Europeans. This encouraged Native groups to proceed with their attempts to have their inherent Aboriginal rights recognized. The treaty process in British Columbia evolved out of that 1973 ruling. In 1997, the Supreme Court decision on the Delgamuukw affirmed Indian ownership of traditional land,⁴ and acknowledged the validity of oral history in a court of law (Lambertus (2000).

Native people also became adept at political strategizing. In the 1960s, when Native leaders were honing their skills in political and legal lobbying, a "strategic militancy" emerged from the Native Indian movement. The function was to provide a second line of defense if the legal and political avenues were hindered at the federal government level.

⁴ The MacKenzie Valley Pipeline and the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreements previously acknowledged Aboriginal ownership of traditional lands.

The American Indian Movement (AIM), as well as black militant resistance in the United States influenced a Canadian Native militancy in terms of similar tactics to draw public and official attention to specific concerns. Strategic militancy motivated various staged Aboriginal protests in Canada. These include Lubicon Cree in Northern Alberta (1980s), Haida of British Columbia (1980s, 1990s), Peigus Indian Band in Manitoba (1989); Algonquins of Golden Lake (1988), and Mohawks of Kanasetake at Oka Quebec (1990) (Long 1992:127). Protests targeted logging companies, the military, and the Canadian public. However, the adversary was ultimately the Canadian state (Long 1992:127). As early as 1974, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) described the Indian movement “as the single greatest threat to national security,” through pockets of unrest were dismissed by politicians “as socially insignificant actions by a small and desperate group of Indian extremists” (Long 1992:127, quoting York 1989:251) (Lambertus 2000).

Natives came to recognize the power of media during these incidents of “strategic militancy,” and that it could be used to their advantage to gain national and international attention for their discontent, and to increase support. Long (1992) notes that Aboriginal activists have learned the importance of media and media coverage of a dispute. Media brought issues to the level of consciousness and fostered a broad support base (1992:129). According to Long (1992), the national media did strengthen the support base for Native issues. Particularly since the 1990 Oka standoff, the media have come to play an important role in mediating the relations between the state, Aboriginal peoples and the rest of Canadian society (Lambertus 2000).

Supporting Literature for Race/Ethnicity and Politics

McFarlane (2000) discusses the continuity between traditional leadership and consensus building among Aboriginal groups across Canada since before European contact to the present time. Before European contact, leaders maintained support of the group by maintaining their respect through building positive relations, and acting on issues that achieved group consensus. The achievements of successful leaders were felt at local and regional levels. McFarlane identifies the many ways in which the leadership and social cohesion of Aboriginal peoples were eroded since the colonial era. The government made treaty promises that were coerced and that carried no guarantees or means to ensure that they would be honored. The government disallowed Aboriginal peoples to participate in Canadian society with all of the rights and benefits as citizens of the state. Government-sponsored residential schools became an institution of assimilation that devalued traditional languages and cultural practices, and threatened Aboriginal identities. In spite of this, Aboriginal leaders emerged in every generation to unite Aboriginal people and strengthen their political voices, culminating with the formation of the National Indian Brotherhood in 1968. The rise of tribal councils in the contemporary era offers a special challenge to the leadership of the National Assembly of First Nations. This is because consensus of the tribal councils in addition to about 600 band chiefs will likely require more of the skills of traditional style leadership. According to McFarlane, the basis for this unity continues to revolve around the nation-to-nation negotiations between the leaders of the First Nations and the Canadian state, regarding issues of ownership and use of traditional lands and the right to self-government.

Dyck's (1991) interpretation of the "Indian 'Problem'" is that Aboriginal peoples have been victims of well-intentioned, but nevertheless, coercive tutelage from the Canadian government. He identifies this as one of the primary causes of their socio-economic marginality (1991:140). Dyck, similar to others (Morrison and Wilson 1995; McFarlane 2000; Lambertus 2001) consider the controversy over the 1969 proposed White Paper (that would have abrogated federal responsibilities to Aboriginal peoples) as the catalyst for escalating political participation at band, provincial and national levels. By bringing their concerns to the public, Native leaders were also able to arouse the sympathy for their position within the larger Canadian society (1991:141). Dyke also notes two important outcomes of Aboriginal peoples asserting their status rather than being dealt with as members of an ethnic minority or as being socio-economically disadvantaged. The first is the formulation of arguments presented to the state premised on first occupancy, and the second is the moral dimension of how Canada had historically treated Aboriginal peoples, which could bring damage to Canada's reputation internationally (1991:142). Dyke offers that what is needed to rectify the poverty and sustained tutelage experienced by Aboriginal people will come from "intelligent and unflagging leadership from federal and provincial politicians" to garner public support for economic incentives for permanent employment. Furthermore, they must accept the reality that Aboriginal people know what is in their best interests (1991: 161-162).

Salée (1995) studies the paradox of the identity politics between Aboriginal peoples living in Quebec, and the Quebec francophone majority. Both groups jockey for attention with the Canadian state in order to have their identity claims recognized. Salée points out that what separates these two minorities within the larger Canadian frame is more than the reality of difference. The emergence of Aboriginal nationalism and claims to rights, land, and resources "pose a challenge to the territorial and administrative integrity of Quebec both within Canada and Quebec itself" (1995:280). Aboriginal people in Quebec were historically exploited and the land taken from them through coercive means. This poses an ironic twist for Quebec francophones, "who have for long been cast in the role of oppressed but courageous victims of historical circumstances." In the wake of the 1990 Oka crisis, the francophones appeared as "the intolerant and unsympathetic oppressors upon whom the proponents of political correctness hastened to pour scorn." Thus the Aboriginal nationalism, with its goals of self-determination and territorial re-appropriation "deals a shattering blow to the image Quebecers have of themselves"(1995:282).

Salée examines other facets that position Quebec's Aboriginal peoples at odds with francophones. Aboriginal nationalism expressed through self-determination requires an appropriate land base. However, this would be at the cost of Quebec nationalism. Although both the Aboriginal people and the francophones claim a sense of belonging to the land, there is a wide, conceptual gap as to their relationship to the land. Aboriginal people traditionally regard themselves as stewards over the land, whereas the francophones (consistent with Western ideology) consider the land in terms of property ownership, and market value. Quebec's interests in exporting hydroelectric power to the United States, and the objections of Aboriginal groups to the impact of hydroelectric development is a case in point. "As their [Aboriginal] emancipatory struggle has intensified, the issue of land has taken eminently political overtones. It calls into question non-Aboriginal practices of government and their legitimacy within Aboriginal societal boundaries" (1995:289). Because Aboriginal experience was not included in the models of authority extended from Europe to North America, the political convergence of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples is particularly difficult (1995:292). A contradiction is that promoters of Aboriginal causes employ the laws and institutions (particularly the courts) to assist in their own struggle for self-government.

Salée considers this a natural outcome of indigenous acculturation to western values that forces their utilization of dominant discourses in the process of deculturation and separation. Although the influx of immigrants from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds have "shaken the quest for identity of Quebec francophones," immigrant and anglophone minorities in Quebec are not asking for parallel power structures to satisfy their own aspirations. It is not quite the same dynamic with Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal people are not immigrants. By positioning themselves within the sphere of identity expression, and all that this implies, "Aboriginal peoples show that they do not adhere to the non-Aboriginal conception of power and its characteristic mechanisms." Thus, it is the Aboriginal question that "overshadows and menaces its [Quebec's] claims, and reminds it in a provocative way that it is still fragile and quite vulnerable within the Canadian framework" (1995:295-296). The Aboriginal question challenges Quebec francophones' place within "the political and social space, but also the complete integrity of the physical space on which they claim to exercise their inalienable property rights"—the very "foundation of the socio-economic power power they have reclaimed over the last thirty years." (1995:295).

Salée raises the issue that the manifestation of Aboriginal identity goes far beyond claims made by most cultural communities, for example by Quebec society. Their common needs for identity recognition makes compromise between the two difficult. The Aboriginal question in Quebec tests the content and boundaries of Quebec identity. It also tests the democratic intentions of Quebec francophones in their willingness to include "Other" in their definition of themselves, their 'country-to-be.' Lastly, the Aboriginal question forces the issue of francophone willingness to accommodate difference (1995:304).

Alfred (1994) examines the Mohawk's (Kahnawake) goals to promote Native sovereignty, instead of increasing their community's integration with Canada or the United States. In order to assess their situation, he employs a theoretical model that characterizes a continuum of nationalistic goals and strategies that range from localized to state-power assertions. A central finding is that the Kahnawake community's goals are linked to the Mohawk's alternative set of cultural symbols. These are symbols that have preserved a distinct identity, which includes a traditional political culture leading to the creation of alternative institutions. Consequently the Kahnawake community has primarily rejected opportunities to increase the level of integration with the state.⁵

Green (2000) touches on some of ideas expressed by **Salée (1995)**, in her critique of Eisenberg's (1994) assertion that group rights should be eschewed in favor of "protection of group identity" principles, with the accompanying legal analysis of cultural difference. Next, Green examines Fierlbeck's (1996) argument that group-based rights founded on culture and identity is not an appropriate source of rights claims. Green takes both theorists to task, identifying that neither of them recognize that the rights claims of individuals are not reducible to "difference" and that neither of these positions are appropriate for Aboriginal rights claims against the state (2000:3). Instead, Green proposes that the language of rights, not difference, be employed as a theoretical model to understand Aboriginal rights claims. The focus on rights considers the historical oppression of indigenous peoples, providing the context to understand rights relative to others because of indigeneity and oppression. These rights may (but need not) be characterized by difference, but the validity of their rights does not rely on the principle of difference.

⁵ Reviewer's note: Alfred's analysis may provide insights into social cohesion at the communal level while at the same time be poorly developed at the state level.

B. Race/Ethnicity and Politics –Gaps in the Literature

In the past three decades, there has been an upsurge in published works regarding politics and Aboriginal people and their relationship with the Canadian state. There is a gap, (perhaps suggesting something about the social reality) in the literature that looks at political integration outside of the reserve, to neighboring communities, municipalities, provincial governments. Other than connections with Aboriginal political organizations, there is nothing in the literature that indicates involvement in political organizations that have a diverse (non-Aboriginal) membership. There was nothing in the literature that examines the degree to which Aboriginal people as a whole are participating in Canadian society as citizens, and if so, the various forms that this participation takes. Does this paucity imply a lack of political integration with non-Aboriginal segments in society? This may be an important topic to explore.

C. Race/Ethnicity and Economics

There are an increasing number of publications regarding economics in Aboriginal life. Topics include community development and research (CDRR 1996) and indigenous partnerships in First Nations Development economic development in general terms (Anderson 1997) Within economic development, specific economic ventures and potentials are identified: development in the arctic (Canada 2000); and business partnerships in forestry (Richardson 1997). Dyke provides a critique of the social and economic disparities created within Aboriginal communities due to the focus of government funding and the civil service salaries of a few community members. Dyck also points to the lack of local and regional economic integration by Aboriginal communities who are no longer engaged in traditional economies. Wilson and Morrison (1995) identify several economic success stories and the factors that contributed to these successes.

The Community Development and Research Report (1996) is the product of a two-day meeting of people representing Aboriginal communities, academic researchers, and private consultants with Unit staff where community development, research and government roles and funding were discussed. The report identifies consensus being reached on two major points: that governments can best help through flexible, responsive partnership, and that research, whether by government, academic institutions or private consultants, should be participatory and fully involve Aboriginal people at all stages. This report will be referenced again in the discussion of Multicultural Research and Policy Development.

Supporting Literature for Race/Ethnicity and Economics

Anderson (1997) examines the economic development emerging among First Nations in Canada that emphasizes the creation of profitable businesses competing in the global economy. These are usually collectively owned, and often in partnership with non-First Nations corporations. Anderson reviews the development approach taken by Aboriginal communities and identifies three purposes: (a) the attainment of economic self-sufficiency as a necessary condition for the realization of self-government at the First Nation level, (b) the improvement of socioeconomic circumstances, and (c) the preservation and strengthening of traditional culture, values and languages. Anderson next examines four factors that motivate corporations to form these partnerships: (a) society's changing expectations about what constitutes social responsible corporate behavior, (b) legal and regulatory requirements and restrictions, (c) the growing Aboriginal population, and its increasing affluence and level of education and (d) the rapidly growing pool of natural and financial resources under the control of Aboriginal people. Anderson compares these factors with the economic development in 70 First Nations communities in Saskatchewan in 1995 and 1996. The findings conclude that the financial performance of Aboriginal-owned businesses in Saskatchewan compares favorably with that of non-Aboriginal business, and socioeconomic benefits of increased number of incomes above \$40,000, and a decrease in unemployment. Corporate alliances with Aboriginal people offer encouragement, and more and more corporations are seeing Aboriginal people as an attractive market and/or source of critical resources (1997:1499). Anderson concludes that if Aboriginal people want to successfully build their economies through trade and commerce, they should consider alliances with transnational and national corporations. However, Anderson also considers that Aboriginal people must have control over their traditional lands and resources in order for this strategy to be successful. Without control over traditional lands and resources, "mutually beneficial alliances between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous owned corporations are unlikely" (1997:1499).

Richardson (1997) in his report of the meeting of the Aboriginal Business Partnerships in Forestry in 1997, demonstrates the value of collaboration with Canadian Forest Service and the First Nations Forestry Program. The meeting featured presentations from business leaders from primarily Aboriginal communities who shared their strategies and experiences of development for their particular communities. The First Nations Forestry Program is "designed to implement forest-based programs to improve economic conditions for status Indian communities" (1997: 1). The four objectives of the program are to enhance the business capacity of First Nations; to increase the cooperation and partnerships with First Nations; to provide mechanisms for administering resources; and to assist First Nations to manage reserve forests (1997: 2). Priorities and strategies are determined by individual communities, with a goal of First Nations communities fully managing their forests at the end of the program (2001). The program offers an organizational structure based on a committee struck for each member province or territory, with representation from First Nations, Canadian Forest Service and INAC. Each committee is to establish priorities, communicate proposals, and use simple application procedures. Criteria for eligible program is the requirement to address one of more of the program objectives, and 10 percent leverage of the band's own resources (in cash, or in kind). Funding for multi-year projects will be based on previous year's success, and written documentation of band council support of the proposal is required. At the time this report was published, the First Nation Forestry Program experienced success in its first year, and was hopeful that this would continue.

The report *Indigenous Peoples and Sustainable Development in the Canadian Arctic* **Canada (2000)**, offers several emerging issues that the Government of Canada and Indigenous communities in the arctic. About 50 percent of the population is under the age of 15 years, which is much lower than the Canadian average. This population statistic foresees tremendous pressures of job creation, in a region that has a high unemployment rate. One of the challenges facing this young population is the lack of formal education, which will restrict employment opportunities, even where there are available jobs. Furthermore, the report regards continued dependence on subsidies from the federal government, and creating a tax base "problematic." The remoteness of the region that limits market access, and high costs for transportation, energy and communication are also complicating factors. Another issue is the continued dependence on subsidies from the federal government, and creating a tax base is considered in the report "problematic." Furthermore, the remoteness of the region limits market access, and costs for transportation, energy and communication are very high. The report also identifies the social problems and "frighteningly high rates of youth suicide" that will have to be addressed. Lastly, in order to maintain traditional activities as a viable lifestyle, skills and knowledge need to be strengthened. The report concludes with its statement of support from the Government of Canada to work with Indigenous peoples "as they create their own institutions and craft their own development models." (2000: 19-20).

Dyck (1991) asserts that federal authorities are more willing to support welfare programs than economic initiatives that would create permanent jobs (1991: 144). He is critical of the civil service salaries awarded to a few members in each reserve community that, although justified, has caused social cleavages, placing serious strains on community solidarity (1991: 148). Another issue is that in many parts of Canada, bands are no longer engaged in traditional subsistence economies, but they have not become full or equal participants within local and regional economies (1991: 149).

Wilson and Morrison (1995) paint an optimistic picture of growing economic self-sufficiency with some Native communities. They quote a banker, who commented that "The thing that held [N]ative people back has been lack of capital and no structure for capital formation...They're starting to hire the kind of talent that's necessary to do it. When you put together the people, resources, land and dollars, you get an explosive situation" (1995: 618-619). Wilson and Morrison use the positive examples of communities who made substantive economic gains through their ingenuity. The Sawridge Band in Alberta used its modest oil revenues to branch into hotel and shopping market real-estate. The Meadowlake District chiefs pooled their resources to engage in a broad range of development: a school system (which promoted their long-range plans for developing local leadership) and they contracted a consulting firm to train Aboriginal entrepreneurs. The latter initiative has spawned the marketing of their own training program for other reserves, and to non-Aboriginal people, as well as plans to manage a forest reserve. On the Huron reserve near Quebec City, Chief Max Gros Louis helped to organize 14 band-owned businesses, making the band the largest employer to the area, selling its products to Canadian Tire, and foreign markets. This allowed many Aboriginal residents, who were formerly receiving social assistance, to have gainful employment, and it also provided employment for 125 Euro-Canadians as well. Wilson and Morrison note that good management, recognizing the links between economics and other social impacts, and combining economic strategies with traditional values of seeking responsible means to utilize the productivity of the land, as some underlying factors of success (1995: 618-619). They also acknowledge educational innovation as a component of economic change, which will be discussed in the subtopic, Ethnicity, Race, and Education.

C. Race/Ethnicity and Economics –Gaps in the Literature

There are few studies that examine specific factors that encourage or inhibit economic prosperity in either rural or urban contexts. Other gaps are in gaming operations, and other commercial enterprises, and the degree to which these support or detract from community goals. Few studies examine how Aboriginal people actually fair in heterogeneous workplaces, and how they negotiate their Aboriginal identity in a variety of urban economic contexts. Another gap in the literature is regarding the homeless Aboriginal people in urban areas connecting with issues of poverty, and health.

D. Race/Ethnicity, Law and Justice

The most prevalent issue in the law and justice sub-themes centres on over-representation of Native people in the criminal justice system and possible causes/remedies (Monture-Angus 2000) (La Prairie 1992) (McDonnell 1992) (Ross 1996) (Samuelson 1995) and (Tichler 1999). A subsidiary issue is community policing (Auger, Doob and Auger 1992) (Cryderman and Fleras 1992) (Royal Canadian Mounted Police 2000) (Lambertus 2001 b). In addition, many of the works suggest traditional justice models as solutions to over-representation, and recidivism (Monture-Angus 2000) (Andersen 1999) (Harding 1991) (Ross 1996).

Monture-Angus (2000)⁶ assesses that previous research of over-representation blamed the lawlessness of Native people—"an Aboriginal problem." Considering that Aboriginal people account for over half of prison populations in some jurisdictions, this either suggests that the problem is endemic, or that the blame on Aboriginal people is masking systemic considerations that may be beyond their control. Monture-Angus critiques the 1996 Royal Commission Report on Aboriginal Peoples for largely re-working previous justice reports and bringing little that is new to the discussion. Indeed, the exclusion of matters of criminal justice in the report is "particularly disturbing." Monture-Angus counters that justice overlaps with most if not all issues that Aboriginal communities face—including self-government (2000:364). Discussion about Aboriginal people and the Canadian criminal justice system focuses on two issues, over-and under-representation; neither of these approaches examines the system itself. Remedies for over-representation examine individualized ways that will decrease the number of people in the system, including diversion programs, fine options, and sentencing circles. Under-representation in the authority criminal justice system is addressed through equity hiring. Both over and under-representation strategies rely on cross-cultural education. Monture-Angus considers these "quick fixes" that "actually divert attention from the larger structural problems within the system (2000: 367). One of the aspects that tends to be ignored by criminal justice experts (who tend to be non-Aboriginal people) are the historic relations between Aboriginal people and the state as the source of the problem. Instead of focusing on the numerical documentation, what is needed is a closer oversight of the criminal justice system. The 1991 Aboriginal Justice Inquiry of Manitoba, in its review of provincial court records reveals some startling patterns. These include that Aboriginal

⁶ Patricia Monture-Angus is an Aboriginal woman holding a Masters of Law degree and is a full professor at the University of Saskatchewan.

people are more likely to be charged by police for multiple offenses. Once arrested, they are 1.34 times more likely to be held in jail prior to court appearances. They spend 1.5 times longer in custody before trials. Aboriginal people see their lawyers less frequently and for less time than non-Aboriginal people. (2000: 373-373). In Manitoba courts, 60 percent of Aboriginal people enter a plea of guilty, compared to 50 percent of non-Aboriginal people. Aboriginal people received jail terms 25 percent of the time, compared to 10 percent for non-Native people. Aboriginal people also receive longer sentences, and receive absolute or conditional discharges less frequently (citing Manitoba, 1991, 103 in 2000:373). The Aboriginal Justice Inquiry concludes:

These statistics are dramatic. There is something inherently wrong with a system that takes such harsh measures against an identifiable minority. It is also improbable that systemic discrimination has not played a major role in bringing this state of affairs into being. (Manitoba, 1991. p. 103, cited in Monture-Angus 2000: 373).

Other patterns of discrimination in the report found that 81 percent of the Aboriginal inmates felt that their spirituality was not respected, and that prison programming that addresses their needs is not available. These inmates are caught in a bind, forced to participate in the programs offered if they want to be seriously considered for parole. Furthermore, Aboriginal inmates are less likely to be granted parole.

The exclusion or under-representation of Aboriginal people in the criminal justice system is confirmed with the lack of criminal lawyers, police officers, court personnel, corrections workers, and parole officers. Consequently Aboriginal people view the justice system as a system that belongs to Canada and not to Aboriginal people" (2000:375). Monture-Angus also asserts that "the system is built on the backs of many Aboriginal offenders and their families. We do not earn our livelihood by involvement in that system—instead, we pay fines and we see dollars and people going out of our communities and know that the benefit goes to the government and Canadians in general. It is little wonder that Aboriginal people have little respect for the Canadian criminal justice system (2000:375, also in Manitoba 1991: 420).

Monture-Angus argues that the systemic problems of over-and under-representations in the criminal justice system are not the fault of Aboriginal people. It is the responsibility of the Canadian justice system and those who support it. Racism is an incomplete explanation of what is happening in the Canadian criminal justice system; the continued reinforcement of colonial relations with Aboriginal people more accurately represents the current situation. Monture-Angus points out that "branches of the criminal justice system in Canada continue to this day to operate in a way that oppresses the mechanisms and practices of social control in Aboriginal communities. This creates the environment in which Aboriginal over-representation will continue to increase. Monture-Angus identifies that this factor is barely noted in the literature and has not been the topic of any extensive research program (2000: 379).

Similar to Andersen (1999), Harding (1991) and Ross (1996), Montour-Angus also advocates traditional justice whenever this is possible. Traditional justice offers the means for the community to make individuals who break the law more accountable to the community and their victims. The use of traditional means also removes the adversarial position that occurs between law enforcement and Native persons.

Community policing is one of the few topics where there are perspectives from academics as well as from the national law enforcement institution. According to **Cryderman and Fleras (1992)**

community policing has become an important alternative approach for providing police services to diverse populations, including Aboriginal communities. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have advocated community policing for more than a decade, and they have recently published the final report of their policing that summarizes community policing goals for Aboriginal communities (**RCMP 2000**). The report suggests the RCMP need to enhance the “quality of communication at the interpersonal and organizational level.” One means of accomplishing this is with the RCMP working more collaboratively with Aboriginal communities, becoming informed about Aboriginal cultures, customs, and traditions. At the same time, **Lambertus’ (2001 b)** review of this report finds shortcomings and systemic components that do not ensure the functioning and integrity of the police force when dealing with Aboriginal peoples. Another gap in this report is the lack of discussion regarding policing Native people in urban contexts.

D. Race/Ethnicity, Law and Justice –Gaps in the Literature

Considering the increased reportage of racial profiling of Aboriginal peoples by law enforcement in the news, there is very little in the literature. Monture-Angus also calls for detailed studies of the structural aspects of the criminal justice system that may be contributing to the over-representation of Aboriginal peoples in correctional institutions, and the under-representation of Aboriginal employees in this field.

E. Race/Ethnicity and Aboriginal Cultures

The sub-theme of Aboriginal culture spans various themes and topics. Some of the works cross over with legal protection of Aboriginal heritage and culture: Battiste and Henderson 2000; Battiste 2000; Daes 1997; Coombe 1993), research ethics (Hoy 1996; Campbell, Jensen et al. 1992). Culture also encompasses Aboriginal traditions (Trigger 1990) (Davis 1997). It may be more specific to: the importance of elders (Couture 2000) (Kulchyski, McCaskill, and Newhouse 1999) (Garnier 1990) (Cruikshank 1990); and is often represented as being transitory (Loring and Ashini 2000) (Mackey 1998) (Morrison and Wilson 1995) (Hyatt 1989) (Palmer 1994) (Vastokas, Paper, and Taçon 1990). There are several recent works regarding Aboriginal art, including: Ace & Papatsie, 1997; Brown & Averill, 2000; Deadman and Seesequasis, 1999; Reid, 2000; Ryan 1999; Shearar, 2000 and the Walter Phillips Gallery, 1992. Publications that discuss Aboriginal identity and popular culture include Carr, 1996; Clifford, 1990; Deloria, 1998; Fleras, 1994; Francis, 1992; Grenier, 1994; Harris, 1991; Kilpatrick, 1999; Lambertus, 2000; Sawchuck, 1999; Soop, 1990; and White Eye, 1996. In addition, Aboriginal cultures intersect with all of the themes and sub-themes covered in this report. Because of the diversity and volume of publications on culture, this review will discuss two central issues in the literature: Aboriginal cultural property and cultural identity.

Cultural Property

Aboriginal cultures are living cultures and not frozen in time. These cultures have responded to Native and non-Native influences. Aboriginal peoples have become increasingly active in repatriating artifacts from museums and collections that were

amassed over one hundred years ago, when it was commonly believed that they would not survive as viable communities past the mid-20th Century. Still, most artifacts are found in museums (worse yet, museum warehouses) just as practices of Native artistry are categorized in ethnographic terms.⁷ Indeed, "more than any other agent of popular culture, museums are the most likely to characterize Native people in terms of their past."⁸ Ames and Haagen (1999) identify the following emergent perspectives of Canada's Native people concerning museums and Native history:

1. Museums have thankfully preserved artifacts and records that otherwise may have been lost—but Native people want to have greater access to these materials, and have collections moved closer to their communities.

2. Aboriginal people disagree with museum characterizations that their cultures are frozen in the past—but museums rarely document that Native cultures continued to evolve after first European contact, or, they are presented as becoming assimilated into European culture. The current remedy is that museums recruit Native people as museum consultants and instructors in order to avoid such distortions.

3. Museums typically focus on decorative plastic arts (such as the North West Coast tribes) and technology—minimizing the cultural value of languages, oral traditions, moral values and Aboriginal contemporary life. Because museums staff mostly non-Natives and attempt to appeal to non-Native audiences there is little sensitivity to misrepresentations and omissions are often unnoticed. Furthermore, the lack of attention to characterizing the complexity of Aboriginal cultures contributes to stereotyping.

4. Aboriginal peoples do not accept museum and anthropological interpretations as the only evidence or source of truth about the past. In addition, they value the traditional knowledge of elders, who combine moral teachings with recollections and stories past down of the past.

5. Museums cater to non-Native audiences, and are of little relevance to Native communities. Native people prefer community-based cultural centres that offer cultural, social, and political programmes and performances, incorporating knowledge of elders and becoming educational resources for Native youth.

⁷ Walter Phillips Gallery, "Revisions," 1992:3.

⁸ Sawchuck, "Images of the Indians: Portrayals of Native Peoples," 1999:180.

6. Native people are interested in developing their own cultural centres, by making extensive use of collections of existing museums, through the repatriation of artifacts. (1999: 182-188).

Aboriginal peoples are reclaiming their cultural property, by actively negotiating that museums represent their cultures fairly, and that privacy is respected. There is a current trend for the formation of working partnerships between museums and Native peoples that returns artifacts to Aboriginal communities, improves access to collections, and involves Aboriginal peoples in museum representations and public education.

Cultural Identity

Traditionally, Aboriginal peoples did not produce art for art's sake—artistic expression permeated every aspect of daily life. Dances, songs, myths, and material art are an integral part of religious and other cultural activities. Art continues to offer opportunities for conveying layered meanings. For example, contemporary Native artists in Canada—whether they be painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, actors, or playwrights—respond to historical and political events: the "discovery" of the Americas by Columbus; Elijah Harper's response to the Meech Lake Accord; the 1990 standoff at Oka, Quebec; ongoing issues of historic and current colonization of indigenous peoples; and an assortment of social injustices. Frequently, artistic expression has political overtones—many artists cast themselves as social activists and commentators.

American scholars interpret the mid-twentieth Century phenomena of the reclamation of Aboriginal identity the result of an Aboriginal renaissance (Lincoln 1983; Nagel 1996). This renaissance is evidenced in the revival of traditions, the search for connections with forebears, the outpouring of creative expression, and the persistence of symbolic identifications in the face of outward appearances of assimilation (Nagel 1996:19).

Since the 1960s, Aboriginal peoples in Canada have demonstrated similar evidence of identity renewal and cultural renaissance. There is increased interest in traditions, heritage, and creative expression. More people are self-identifying as Aboriginal than ever before. A renaissance is also evident in the growing number of Aboriginal artists that celebrate various facets of Aboriginal experience. These works challenge notions that Aboriginal culture is fixed, and homogeneous. Instead, they portray vibrant and living cultures that combine traditions with individual creativity, and renegotiate Aboriginal identity within the Canadian mosaic. An expanding number of small-scale Canadian publishers have been instrumental in validating Aboriginal experiences by making these accounts available to the Canadian public.

E. Race/Ethnicity & Aboriginal Cultures –Gaps in the Literature

The majority Canadian literature deals with topic of cultural identity as a component of other social issues, but few works consider cultural identity at a more philosophical level. Other topics not particularly developed in Canadian literature include the effects of World War II on identity, popular media and identity, factors that promote cultural renewal, and the experience of political activism in the construction of Aboriginal identity. There is little acknowledgement of an Aboriginal renaissance in Canada, although there are obvious parallels with the United States.

F. Race/Ethnicity and Education

The majority of the literature deals with the issue of residential schools. Most often this is from the perspective of Native people (Fontaine 1995) (Assembly of First Nations 1994) (Knockwood 1992) (Bull 1991). These accounts demonstrate the depth of the emotional scarring, the long-term effects for individuals, families and communities, and the need for redress and healing. It is also important to note that the non-Native account authored by Furniss (1992) (not covered in this report) is based on archival research, and was conducted with the permission of the local Native community. There are also other topics covered in this review. A proposed vision for indigenous education is offered by Battiste (2000). Current educational issues and a response to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples discussion on Aboriginal education are provided by Hare and Barman (2000). Less substantive education topics (and not covered in this report) include teacher education (Hesch 1996); a personal account of school dropout (Makokis 2000); and promoting Aboriginal cultural identity in schools (Tuharsky 2000).

Former chief of the Assembly of First Nations Phil Fontaine discusses his first-hand residential school experience in **Fontaine (1995)**. One of his recollections about the school curriculum was the lack of information about Aboriginal people's cultures, history, and contributions to Canadian society. "Everything had to do with the French or English, the discovery and the contact between the Europeans and the 'savages' (1995: 49). Between the isolation from family, community, and the lack of warmth and validation from teachers left indelible scars. "My experiences at residential school taught me to be insecure, to be unsure of myself, to be uncertain of me" (1995: 54). In addition, the residential school experience led to generations of social and family dysfunction, which included substance abuse and violence. Whole communities have been affected in this way.⁹ "Our communities are suffering from this cycle of violence" (Fontaine 1995:57). Chief Fontaine identifies that the healing process requires the support of society's leaders. Disclosures to the public about the abuses and the effects of residential schooling "must become part of the public record." the responsible parties being held accountable, and opportunities for the "victim and victimizer to come face to face with each other" (1995:59). Healing also means support programs at community levels. "Healing their people will mean healing their communities. Healing their communities will mean empowering their people and empowering their communities" (1995:60).

⁹ This is supported in Monture-Angus (1999).

Fournier and Crey (2000)¹⁰ point to future prospects for Canada's Aboriginal children who are emerging from the colonial past, into "the bright hope of autonomy and self-determination" (2000: 303). They quote Randy Nepoose, from Hobbema, Alberta:

I believe now is our time. Now is our time. We are starting to be looked at now and I believe we can really make a difference now because we are finally standing up (2000: 303)

These are children whose parents, grandparents have dealt with discrimination and lack of opportunity. Angela Chalmers of Manitoba's Birdtail First Sioux Nation, who won the 1500-meter and 3000-metre races at the 1990 Commonwealth Games credits her perseverance and patients to her Aboriginal roots.

Look at my grandmothers, how tough they had to be, and my mother, the discrimination I saw her deal with...I've faced racism too, and I tell the Aboriginal kids I speak to as part of the Native role model program [sponsored by the federal Indian Affairs department] that you can put that anger to good use: in physical exertion, in confidence and passion. Find out what you care about and prove you can excel as well or better than anyone: for the community, your family, but above all for yourself. Don't forget, I say when I talk to young Aboriginal kids, because we've been through a lot, we're strong people and we have a deep, deep well of strength to draw on" (2000:303-304).

As the fastest growing segment of the population (anticipated at 200,000 between the ages of 15 to 24 by 2011), Aboriginal young people are the mainstay of the renaissance currently underway (2000:304). An increasing number are attending universities and colleges, seeking careers, making international connections, and speaking out. Aboriginal youth are connecting with their traditions, and they attend youth conferences by the thousands. Ovide Mercredi, former chief of the Assembly of First Nations declared in 1994, that "this is a nation of young people that is 'moving beyond the psychology of grievance.'" The authors assert that "this is a nation of young people with high expectations, seeking not handouts but empowerment."(2000:305).

Nevertheless, Fournier and Crey (2000) identify that there are still many obstacles that young people "must somehow dodge in order to succeed" (2000:305). These obstacles include systemic racism and higher rates of illness, disease, suicide, substance abuse, school drop-out levels, and unemployment. Aboriginal children are "among the poorest of the poor" (2000:306) The Musqueam Nation's former chief and treaty negotiator Wendy Grant-John is hopeful that there will be a priority to implement the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples key recommendations, because these will have an important impact for the 56 percent of the Aboriginal population under the age of 25.

We need to empower our youth by providing strong education and employment options, to overcome with concrete action and goals the growing feeling of hopelessness, the unacceptable levels of suicide, poverty and other signs of despair...Never before in our history can it be more strongly said that our youth is our future. We have got to empower them to succeed. (2000: 314).

Other issues cited by Fournier and Crey (2000) are that only about half of the federally-funded schools on reserves were band-owned and operated. More than half of the Aboriginal children

¹⁰ Suzanne Fournier has Aboriginal ancestry, Crey is a member of the Sto:lo First Nation.

living on the reserve have to travel off the reserve to attend schools. Ninety-five percent of Aboriginal youth living off-reserve (about 60 percent of the Aboriginal population live off-reserve) attend schools that do not offer Aboriginal culture or language programs (2000: 314). Aboriginal youth will not be as competitive for jobs, as non-Aboriginal youth "the overall education of Aboriginal children lags far behind that of other Canadian children" (2000:314). Of Aboriginal youth between 15 to 24, 68.5 percent have not completed Grade 12, and few than 1 percent of Aboriginal Canadians have a university degree (2000:15). Through greater autonomy in operating schools and school systems, and developing curriculums that support Aboriginal cultural and linguistic education, it is hopeful that the underlying issues of school-leaving and quality of education can be redressed.

Wilson and Morrison (1995) concur with this assessment, pointing out to the economic growth in Aboriginal communities being the result of educational innovation. The development of band-controlled schools and school systems have provided greater autonomy for setting curriculum, and restored a sense of community and personal identity for students. Community-controlled schools also offer opportunities to support traditional languages (1995).

Battiste (2000)¹¹ presents the case for reclaiming an indigenous vision of Aboriginal education in Canada. Her perspective has benefited from the exchange of ideas and experiences during an international meeting with indigenous teachers, scholars and non-Aboriginals at the University of Saskatchewan in 1996. There are several components to this indigenous vision. There is a goal to restore indigenous knowledge and heritage, and at the same time harmonize Indigenous knowledge with Eurocentric knowledge. These, in turn will attempt to heal indigenous people, apply fundamental human rights to their communities, and promote a postcolonial society (2000: xvi). Battiste raises important questions about colonization that has resulted in colonization and cognitive imperialism. She asks, "What is it in the nature of European cultures that has resulted in the oppression of so many peoples worldwide? What is it in the nature of Indigenous people's culture that has allowed colonization to happen? What can we do now, and what principles can we bring forward to achieve these visions...?" (2000: xviii) Battiste relates how this international group recognized that post-colonial societies do not exist, and that the colonial mentality and structures still exist in all societies. These can only be "resisted and healed by reliance on Indigenous knowledge and its imaginative processes" (2000:xix). A first premise in her discussion is that "Indigenous knowledge exists and is a legitimate research issue," a concept that is not fully accepted (2000:xix). The recognition of oral transmissions of knowledge by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1997 "offers a powerful analogy for [understanding] the interpretive monopoly of existing standards of research scholarship" (2000:xx).

Battiste points out that previously, indigenous scholarship focused on liberal solutions that attempted to adjust existing institutions and modes of delivery. More recently, there is a growing awareness of a need for a more systemic analysis of the complex ideologies that shape indigenous policy and pedagogy. The collection of works in the book promotes self-determination of political status, cultural destiny within supportive social and economic development (2000: xxi). The vision of postcolonial education begins with Aboriginal peoples exploring their own symbols, expressions, and philosophy of education, to make sense of their identities. Battiste states, "Given the persistent travesty of trust of Indigenous children in federal and public schools in Canada, the challenge for postcolonial educators is to transform education from its cognitive imperialistic roots to an enlightened and decolonized process that embraces and accepts diversity as normative" (2000: xxix).

¹¹ Marie Battiste is a First Nations scholar and professor at the University of Saskatchewan.

Hare and Barman (2000)¹² examine the current state of Aboriginal education in Canada and offer comments on the 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. In their estimation, the turning point in Aboriginal education was the Aboriginal response to the White Paper (2000:345). One of tasks of the newly formed National Indian Brotherhood was to develop an educational policy (issued in 1972) that addressed concerns over parental involvement in their children's education, and Aboriginal control of education in First Nations and provincial schools. Today, "Indian control of Indian education remains at the centre of the education of Aboriginal children" (2000:346). Nevertheless, there are still many challenges. The 1988 study *Tradition and Education, Towards a Vision of Our Future* found that many of the shortcomings identified in 1972 were still in existence. Educational programs continued to be assimilationist, as were the curriculum, learning materials, pedagogy, learning objectives and teacher training. The authors cite the 1996 RCAP report also recognizing that current education policies fail to realize the goals of Aboriginal education:

The majority of Aboriginal youth do not complete high school. They leave the school system without requisite skills for employment, and without the language and cultural knowledge of their people. Rather than nurturing the individual, the schooling experience typically erodes identity and self-worth. Those who continue in Canada's formal school systems told [the commission] of regular encounters with racism, racism of Aboriginal values, perspectives and cultures in the curriculum and the life of the institution (RCAP, 1996b, Vol.3, p.434, cited in 2000:347).

Hare and Barman acknowledge that some change and gains have been made. The number of community-controlled schools has increased which in turn provided greater autonomy for curriculum, language, and resourcing issues. Some schools in urban contexts are designated for specializing in Aboriginal education, providing cultural, spiritual, and community support within the goal of academic achievement for students. Still, many Aboriginal students lag behind their non-Aboriginal cohort and there is a tension between educational systems to homogenize Aboriginal education, when local communities have diverse needs. When the federal government gave Aboriginal communities the authority to determine their own expenditures, it was done without training and support for economic management. Consequently, some communities experience the repercussions of mismanagement of funds in the form of cutbacks in educational programming and implications for reduced quality of education for Aboriginal children in elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools (2000:352). A further complication is the increased demands brought about through status reinstatements since the passage of Bill C-31. Although additional federal funding was provided in the short-term, after a few years, communities were expected to operate with the same amount of funding as they did before Bill C-31. This has created tighter restrictions and cutbacks for Aboriginal students seeking post-secondary education and vocational training. The limited funding also makes parity of programming with provincial and private schooling (which have separate funds for administrators, office personnel and various support branches) prohibitive. Hare and Barman consider external control and the serious lack of commitment to long-term funding having severe consequences for Aboriginal education. This also contributes to the disparity between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal children. They recommend substantial changes in funding relations if the specific needs of the communities are to be met (2000:354).

¹² Jan Hare is an Anishinaabe First Nations, and a Ph D. candidate at the University of British Columbia, Jean Barman is a professor at the University of British Columbia

F. Race/Ethnicity and Education –Gaps in the Literature

There is a paucity of works on Aboriginal pedagogical practices and few, if any recent case studies that compare various educational models for primary, secondary, or post-secondary facilities that serve Aboriginal rural and urban communities.

G. Race/Ethnicity and Health

Aboriginal peoples in Canada face a number of serious health issues. Topics include: the mortality and illness statistics (Norris 2000); the inherent interpretation flaws in the statistics of Aboriginal health (Wilson and Morrison 1995); contributing factors related to family violence and suicide on an Alberta reserve (Fox and Long 2000); health issues of Aboriginal youth (Fournier and Crey 2000). Other topics not explored in this report are: tobacco use and Aboriginal peoples (Health Canada 1996) (Coleman and Greyeyes 1999); health impacts of acculturation, discrimination and multiculturalism among Ojibwa youth (Restoule 1994); the racialized politics of health care in a British Columbia community (Speck 1987); the social breakdown of an Ojibwa community (Shklinyuk 1985); perspectives of a Cree traditional healer (Young, Ingram, and Swartz 1989).

Norris (2000)¹³ provides statistical demographic analysis of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples which includes Mortality and Life Expectancy. This provides a platform for the concerns raised by Wilson and Morrison on the limitations of statistical reports. According to Norris (2000) the rate of mortality has declined for both Indian and Inuit populations over the past century. Major causes of death among registered Indians includes accidents, poisoning, and violence—this has been consistent for many decades. Since the 1960s there have been decreases in deaths due to respiratory conditions, digestive disorders, infection, parasitic diseases and causes related to birth. This is likely due to improved health care. For almost 300 years, tuberculosis (TB) was the cause of 30 percent of deaths in Hudson's Bay and James Bay as early as 1885—Indian populations had 12 times the rate of TB in the 1950s, it is still 7 times the national rate. Health Canada (1992) still lists injury and poisoning as leading causes of Aboriginal death. Deaths due to injury are three times the Canadian average and the suicide rate is three times the Canadian average. Deaths due to injuries and poisoning also reflect a pattern of frequency among young adults in Aboriginal populations. Norris suggests that as the Aboriginal population ages, the leading cause of death will also shift. Life expectancies are higher for non-status Indians, and the most urbanized identity group—followed by Metis, registered Indians and Inuit.

Wilson and Morrison (1995) raise several concerns about the interpretation and limitations of statistics that inform policy development and implementation regarding health and welfare issues. Contrasts between Native and non-Native in terms of death rates, rates of violent deaths, suicides, deaths due to diseases demonstrate the disadvantages of Aboriginal populations. However, the statistics do not distinguish the proportion of the Native population in the statistics that reside in isolated areas. If the goal is to provide all Canadians the same level of social services, this potentially becomes the rationale for relocating them, or providing health and other amenities to people living in remote and rural areas. The anthropologists consider neither of these solutions

¹³ Mary Jane Norris is of Aboriginal ancestry and at the time of this writing was a senior analyst with Statistics Canada

necessarily beneficial. Thus by using non-comparable data, there is a confusion between general equality with specific identity which results in socially undesirable consequences (1995:612-613). Similarly, interpretive problems regarding the statistically higher rates of hospitalization for tuberculosis among Native and Inuit populations fail to probe further into the causes, and mitigating factors. These include the lack of health care facilities in a community, influence of geographic isolation, antipathy toward treatment that isolates the victim from family, and treatments that are culturally irrelevant (1995: 614).

Wilson and Morrison also point out important considerations regarding the treatment of substance abuse among Aboriginal peoples. Although alcoholism and its treatment may be discussed as isolated matters, these are nevertheless interconnected in the lives of the individual and the community. Many Native organizations and treatment centres work in conjunction with non-Native organizations, such as Alcoholics Anonymous. However, the active leadership for local Native people is imperative for improved chances of success. Similarly, treatment plans that are locally devised and implemented may be a greater deciding factor in success than the availability of professional expertise. Lastly, for chronic cases, technical answers are less important than social ones, and the recovery will probably include traditional values of respect, dignity and control (1995: 618).

Fox and Long (2000)¹⁴ take a case study of the widely reported scandal on the Stoney Reserve in Morley, Alberta to demonstrate the internal social contexts that contribute to the high rates of substance abuse, suicide and family violence in Aboriginal communities. Their discussion crosses over to the sub-themes of politics and economics. Fox and Long's findings from the Stoney Reserve case study were that many of the community's health issues, and economic disparities came as the result of corrupt band leadership and cronyism; nepotism in the appointment of key administrative positions; mismanagement of government funds and resource revenues; inconsistencies in the disbursement of student allowances and tuition (which discouraged young people from pursuing their education), welfare cheques, as well as housing allotments. Fox and Long point out that "the problems of this reserve are nothing new, nor are they isolated to the Stoney people. In fact [we] say that the majority of First Nations communities are in many ways dysfunctional, unhealthy places to live" (2000:379). Furthermore, they state that "the extreme and relentless character of social problems on the Stoney reserve are duplicated on First Nations reserves all across Canada."¹⁵ Fox and Long also identify that during the media coverage, Aboriginal people on reserves experiencing similar circumstances came forward. The sheer weight of these circumstances on the Stoney Reserve offset the goals and efficacy of existing social programs to the point where many of the people in the community felt powerless to change the status quo. The people who had the least power in the community were led to believe that the existing band structure and operations were consistent with traditional values. Alcoholism, addictions to prescription drugs, and suicides were prevalent in the community. According to Fox and Long, when the situation became public, both the department of Indian Affairs and the chief of the Assembly of First Nations at the time denied that there was a significant problem in the community. The flurry of controversy at the Stoney Reserve that came as a result of wide media coverage was also accompanied by a series of suicides by several young people. Fox and Long address how this community needs to heal, but also question whether self-government would have been the answer for the Stoney Reserve, especially considering the level of dysfunction. The

¹⁴ Terry Fox is a Nakoda-Sioux of the Stoney Nation, working on a Masters at the University of Victoria and David Long is an Associate Professor at King's University College at Edmonton, Alberta.

¹⁵ Reviewer's note: similar circumstances are identified in Sillman (1987) prevailed at the Tobique Reserve in New Brunswick prior to 1983.

healing must begin with a recognition of the truth of the internal circumstances in the community that lead to the suffering in the community. The authors point out that concerns relating to the planned devolution of health and other services and community-based health programs run by and for Aboriginal peoples have centred on three questions: (1) who will control the policies, funds, and other resources? (2) what is the underlying agenda of those who control the health, justice, community development, and other budgets for Aboriginal peoples in Canada? and perhaps most importantly, (3) will those who are most in need have their needs met? Fox and Long state that in light of the Stoney Reserve, such questions take on new meaning. Responses to the first two questions provide a sense of the possible directions that policy and program initiatives, and possibly even legislative developments, could take in the future (2000:291-292).

Fournier and Crey (2000) identify several serious health issues regarding Aboriginal youth. The poverty on reserves is directly related to many of these issues. The substandard housing, unsafe drinking water, unsafe sewage treatment take their toll in respiratory and gastrointestinal illnesses, ear infections, flu, and rheumatic fever. Dental decay is prevalent and may not be improving (citing James Leakes' 1992 Oral Health Survey of Canada's Aboriginal Children). The authors also cite the findings of the 1996 review by Dr. Harriet MacMillan of McMaster University that deaths from injuries are four times greater for Aboriginal infants than in the general population, five times greater for preschoolers, three times greater for teenagers up to the age of 19. The average life expectancy is eight years less than the national average (2000: 306).

One of the most serious health issues of Aboriginal youth is **inhalent abuse** of a range of substances including gasoline, nail polish remover, and felt pens. These are chemicals that are readily available and that cause serious cognitive, visual, kidney and liver damage. The B.C. First Nations Solvent Abuse Study (1995) findings were that the average age of solvent sniffers was 13, and that one-fifth of these were under 11. The majority of these children were male. The report estimates that there could be as many as 2000 chronic solvent abusers in British Columbia (quoted in Fournier and Crey 2000: 307). The situation is more chronic and serious in isolated and northern regions. A complicating factor is the denial within communities that there is a problem. But reserves across the province concurred that the roots of the problem stemmed from young people not having enough to do, the presence of drug dealers in the community, intense rivalry in the community, lack of spiritual/cultural traditions and geographic isolation. Solvent abuse is also related to other serious health issues: alcohol and drug abuse, diabetes, domestic violence, suicide and fetal alcohol syndrome (2000:307).

Young Aboriginal people also have an alarming rate of **suicides**: six times that of their non-Aboriginal cohort. Suicides, and suicide attempts, tend to occur in clusters within communities. This has been the case at Davis Inlet, Newfoundland and Laborador; Pacheneenacht on Vancouver Island, British Columbia; Pitangikum in northern Ontario, and Whitedog, near Kenora Ontario to name only a few. Fournier and Crey state "To a young Aboriginal person in Canada, it's like growing up in a war zone with an enemy that attacks from within" (2000:307). The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples includes a special report on suicide, concluding that "'a significant number of Aboriginal people in this country believe that they have more reasons to die than to live" (cited by Fournier and Crey 2000:307). The authors suggest that "a spate of suicides can strike an Aboriginal community anywhere in a country, leaving the best and brightest dead" (2000:307). Suicide is an expression of self-hatred that is a product of "intergenerational assault, in many guises, on the very core of Aboriginal identity" (2000:308). Such factors as early separation from family, family experiences of physical and sexual abuse, and addictive behaviors contribute to the likelihood of suicide ten times more than average. Fournier and Crey cite an unnamed study in British Columbia that found that 74 percent of Aboriginal suicides were

committed when the victim was intoxicated, comparable to 36 percent of non-Native suicides (2000:308). The British Columbia Chief Coroner Vincent Cain issued his own report, citing several underlying causes of the high rates of suicide. These include: lack of role models, poor education and employment prospects, low self-esteem, unresolved grief, welfare dependency, alcohol and drug abuse, poor parenting skills, and loss of cultural identity (2000: 308).

AIDS among Aboriginal young people is also a serious health concern (Fournier and Crey 2000). Many Aboriginal people are vulnerable to AIDS because they are frequently in and out of jail, where intravenous drug use and anal sex is common (2000:309). The Vancouver Native Health Society documented that in 1995 Aboriginal people tended to die of AIDS twice as fast as non-Natives. They were also admitted into hospitals less frequently, although the report also finds that this may have been due to lack of compliance with medical advice. This report identified the median age for Aboriginal people with AIDS in the study population was 29 years, compared to 41 years for the non-Native AIDS patients (Fournier and Crey 2000:309).

Fournier and Crey (2000) also report on the gains made in the establishment of **Aboriginal child protection agencies**, and family support systems across Canada. Often these employ professionally trained Aboriginal social workers who strengthen cultural traditions by seeking extended family support (2000:322). At the same time, these workers face several challenges. Judge Brian Giesbrecht, who headed a 1993 inquiry into a child suicide after prolonged sexual victimization was

highly critical of the federal and Manitoba provincial governments, which he said had offloaded an enormous responsibility for Aboriginal social services onto Manitoba First Nations but provided meagre financial resources and virtually no professional support. Also in Manitoba were cases where there was political interference from elected chiefs and councillors who attempted to intervene on behalf of immediate family and friends (2000:323).

In British Columbia the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council on the west coast of Vancouver Island was among the first tribal groups in the province to set up their own social services agency in the mid 1980s. However, the authority of Aboriginal social workers to apprehend children, the agency's proactive sexual abuse prevention program and aggressive child protection goals provoked both resentment and appreciation among its communities. Social workers in particular experienced difficulties at the beginning phase:

It's been very hard for me as a Nuu-chah-nulth woman to work in my own community—there were times when I was threatened to my face at events that were supposed to be traditional feasts or peaceful potlatches (Usma director Debra Foxcroft, quoted in Fournier and Crey 2000:324).

Once the community realized that the staff "weren't there to be brown government social workers" relations relaxed, and the agency emphasized family support, and established committees with each of the member bands. Parenting workshops, counselling resources, and sexual abuse programs have improved the overall well-being of the Nuu-chah-nulth communities (Fournier and Crey 2000:324)

The Xolhmi:lh Child and Family Services for the Sto:lo people in British Columbia was initiated in the mid 1990s, and after three years of operation is providing a strong and healthy model of

administration, receiving accolades from British Columbia social services minister Joy MacPhail, and federal health administrators. In this program, there is a constant of about 140 children in the program, a ratio of about one in ten. "If that seems high, it's because Sto:lo people are still in recovery and a lot are still living in poverty," (Dan Ludeman, a non-Native and Xolhmi:lh's first executive director, quoted in Fournier and Crey 2000:325). The agency finds the public trust of the agency is the result of social workers knowing and being known in the community. Ludeman is also quoted that most of the children in the program are there because of neglect, which he asserts is a "function of poverty, and the fact that parenting skills skipped a generation or two with residential schools and foster care" (2000: 325). An important development for this agency was the successful negotiations between the federal and provincial governments that would allow Aboriginal families of any nation to be served by this agency, rather than the B.C. Ministry for Children and Families. Ludeman states:

In the vast majority of cases, Aboriginal families prefer an Aboriginal agency, even if it's a different First Nation, because there is a commonality of values and an understanding of the obstacles which parents have to overcome to raise healthy families... This recognizes the right of Aboriginal families to live where they choose, and should they get into difficulties while living away from home and be in need of family support, addiction counselling or temporary care for their children, they have the option of working within an Aboriginal value system. (2000:325).

Fournier and Crey anticipate that in the years to come, First Nations in British Columbia and across Canada will be negotiating full jurisdiction over their own children and those of other Aboriginal families living on traditional territories. This is to not only ensure cultural integrity, but to provide a more efficient and humane means of serving diverse Aboriginal families. Aboriginal communities know that "healthy intact families are the cornerstone of self-determination, and Aboriginal children are their hope for a better future (Fournier and Crey 2000:326-327).

G. Race/Ethnicity and Health –*Gaps in the Literature*

This review did not locate literature that provided the status of health care for a cross-section of reserves. Nor were there any studies of health care and Aboriginal people living in urban areas. There were also few works on traditional healing practices and its relationship with contemporary medical practices. Serious health issues such as diabetes and AIDS were not well-represented in the literature

H. Race/Ethnicity and Aboriginal Peoples in Society

This is the largest sub-theme, and thus it covers the widest range of topics. Issues of Native identity within Canadian society covering a variety of perspectives are found in Behiels (1999). Similarly, a comprehensive examination of Native social issues is provided in Long and Dickason (2000). There are several works that cast Aboriginal identity in relation to non-Aboriginal society: Paul (2000) Furniss (1999) Denis (1997); Legare (1995) Duck (1995) Hall (1996) Satzewich and Wotherspoon (1993) Langford and Ponting (1992) Shorten (1991) Ponting (1987). Urban issues including urban geography as a factor in marginalizing Aboriginal people is discussed in Peters (2000).

Urban poverty leading to gang membership is discussed in Fournier and Crey (2000). Native identity is also characterized in historic works, authored by non-Native scholars: Coates and Fischer (1996) Dyck (1991) Furniss (1995); and a Native scholar: Dickason (1997, 2000). Metis identity is discussed by Peters, Rosenberg, and Halseth (1991). Critiques of stereotyped Aboriginal identities constructed in the media are found in: Lambertus (2000) Sawchuk (1999) Grenier (1994) Fleras (1994); and also include the Aboriginal perspective of White Eye (1996). The literature also acknowledges that Native people are taking greater control over their public images: Ponting (1990) Jhappan (1990), and they are also developing their own media: Satzewich, V. and T. Wotherspoon (1993). Considerations of Aboriginal identity in Native Studies and Anthropology are found in Dyck and Waldram (1993), and in comparison with indigenous peoples in other nations is discussed by Fleras and Elliot (1992). Contemporary revitalization of Aboriginal social identity is examined by Monture-Angus (1999) Lawrence (1999) and Levin (1993). Identity and policy issues are topics in Lambertus (2001 a) and Wilkins (1999).

I have selected only representative works from a few of the above themes to examine pertinent issues. These include: Aboriginal peoples in urban contexts (Peters 2000) (Dyck 1995); Aboriginal gangs in urban contexts (Fournier and Crey 2000); stereotyping in mainstream media (White Eye 1996); and public opinion and Native issues (Langford and Ponting 1992).

Peters (2000)¹⁶ details several issues concerning Aboriginal people who live in urban centres. First, is the appreciation that there have always been Aboriginal people in urban areas in Canada, as the first European settlements were established within proximity to Aboriginal settlements for trade purposes. It was only when Europeans (including British) came into Canada in greater numbers, that they began dominating and dictating the economic modes. Class and economic gulfs between Native and non-Native people became a rationale that Native people should stay on reserves, and that they were a threat to the status quo in urban centres. Aboriginal culture and modern civilization were considered mutually exclusive to each other. There was a notion that “true” Aboriginal culture belongs either in history. There was a commonly held belief that Aboriginal peoples and their cultures would become extinct sometime in the early 20th century, or that Aboriginal culture (s) belong in rural, isolated settings. Many influential non-Natives had the notion that the “urban Indian” is a “social problem.”

To deal with the “problem” the federal government inadvertently defined eligibility for programs that restricted the free movement of people from reserves to urban centers. particularly after WWII, the movement of Aboriginal people to the cities increased and the framework of the urban Indian as a “social problem” has been challenged. One of Peter's findings that extends those of **Norris (2000)** is the appreciation that many Aboriginal people living in urban centers did not declare themselves as "Indian" for census purposes because of the stigma attached. Consequently, accurate statistics of population movements until the 1980s are not available. Another factor that figured into few people declaring themselves as "Indian" is that prior to the passing of Bill C-31 in 1985, band membership and the designation of “status Indian” were co-joined. Native urban dwellers if eligible at all, were entitled to very reduced benefits—this also would have an effect on “self-declaration” by people in cities. It should not be surprising that in the 1950s, many

¹⁶ Evelyn Peters is an Associate Professor at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

employers, municipal governments and members of the general public viewed Native migration to the cities with apprehension. This was, after all a period of enforced racial segregation in the US—Canada did not stand out as being particularly racist. An example of this attitude is the report submitted by the Saskatchewan provincial government in 1960 submitted to the Joint Committee in the Senate and the House of Commons. The report warned that “the day is not far distant when the burgeoning Indian population, now largely confined to reservations will explode into white communities and present a serious problem indeed” (2000: 249). Public opinion polls of attitudes toward Aboriginal employment in resource towns taken in the prairies in the 1950s and 1960s indicate the prevalence of opinion that there was no place for Aboriginal people in these communities. There were concerns by urban officials as to how to respond to the likelihood of an influx of Native people to cities—how to maintain property values, keep down the welfare rolls, and prevent inner-city decay. In 1977, a report for the city of Winnipeg anticipated the migration of Native people as consisting of “low skilled, minimally educated, relatively impoverished...[Aboriginal people] that will pose specific and unique problems and situations for the city and the Native people themselves”

Thus, urban Indians being considered the source of a “social problem” has evolved over a long period of time. Before 1980, a common theme was that Aboriginal culture presented a barrier to successful adjustment for people moving to the cities. These cultural differences were articulated in a clear-cut comparison between “reserve” vs. “city” culture—creating a void for Native people that, because of the supposed nature of the “city,” could not be filled. After 1980, the “problem” was re-defined to poverty, which stemmed from the lack of education and employment. References to Aboriginal culture were notably missing from this evaluation. Peters identifies that the main factor that distinguished the urban Aboriginal population from other urban poor were the services required to adapt to urban life, degree of the poverty, and the extent of housing needs that were required. Many programs established to support Native people adjust to urban life had distinct assimilationist agendas—with little or no cultural or linguistic support and validation. There was a notion that Aboriginal culture has no role in urban life—that it is irrelevant. Aboriginal people became just another socio-economically marginalized group in Canadian inner cities.

For the past 30 years, Aboriginal peoples moving to the cities have found that their chances for survival and for thriving in the city was enhanced with programs and support networks that helped people maintain their cultural identities, and validating them passing on traditions to their children. During the time of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Aboriginal people who gave presentations and offered comments emphasized the importance cultural and linguistic support systems, and urban self-government as ways to enhance adaptation to urban life. These supporting environments assisted in the healing from the effects of colonialist agendas—both historically and from previous programs offered to Native people in urban centers. Rather than a hindrance, or a deficit, Aboriginal identity was affirmed as an advantage for Aboriginal people living in cities.

Peters acknowledges that Native friendship centers have existed in Canadian cities for 30 years and have been the central focus for cultural and social events living in cities. Often, Native friendship centers are the major voluntary association available to meet the needs of Aboriginal people. However, the work carried out by the centers is chronically under-funded, and relies on volunteers who are often over-committed. Considering the assault on traditional cultures and grinding poverty experienced by many Aboriginal people, greater institutional support is being called for urban dwelling Native people. Targeted areas include heritage language education, and venues to hold activities, ceremonies and cultural education for people of all ages. A study of

Aboriginal organizations in Edmonton, Toronto and Winnipeg found that only a small portion of people utilize the benefits and services provided by existing organizations. The study also showed that there were relatively few formal and effective structures that focused on community building and consolidation.¹⁷

Another primary challenge for programs and organizations is the cultural diversity of urban Aboriginal people. For example, in the Vancouver inner city, there is a large Native population from North West Coast groups but there are also many Cree—these groups have both common drop-in centers and also separate organizations to accommodate their cultural needs. A further consideration is that many urban Native people maintain connections with their rural communities through family which also assists in maintaining cultural identity. It should also be kept in mind that some people are still allowed to continue band membership regardless of their place of residence.

Peters also identifies that urban landscapes offer little validation for Aboriginal cultures. Although sports teams, car manufacturers in the United States have long appropriated tribal names or references to Aboriginal culture (which has been censured by many Native groups), there are few streets, buildings, or parks named after Aboriginal people—historic or contemporary. This contradicts the fact that most cities are located on traditional territories, and city development has destroyed significant heritage sites. Perhaps when urban landscapes reflect Aboriginal heritage, it will signal the ultimate validation of Aboriginal people living in urban areas.

Fournier and Crey (2000) consider the comments made in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples "restrained" in its discussion of the very real potential for violence if the needs of Aboriginal youth (already affected by the experiences and consequences to their parents and grandparents) are "shunted aside by government (2000:309). Fournier and Crey identify that "In almost every large city or town in Canada, young urban natives face a crisis of rootlessness" (2000:309). Using Manitoba's example, they find that whole families may leave the reserve to start a new life with greater opportunities, teenagers and young adults are attracted by the allure of the big city. Once there, however, they face "grinding poverty and an environment even more scary and isolating than the one back home." Prospects for jobs for Aboriginal people, especially for youth are "scarcely better than on-reserve." The current economy and the visibility of material wealth and affluent life styles in the cities, leaves many young people frustrated at not finding the kind of employment that can provide a better standard of living—"even if they get an education, as so other forms of activity become their only choice" (2000:310). In Manitoba, initiatives such as increasing job opportunities through the cooperation of all levels of government, community groups, and the private sector have been stymied with funding cuts. This, in turn resulted in other approaches, such as youth conferences and Aboriginal community workers in conjunction with an order of Catholic nuns to deter crime and violence among Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg.

Another large segment of Aboriginal people in urban centres are those that are disenfranchised from treaty settlements and status benefits from generations before. These people may not identify with a particular First Nation or reserve, and they likely have a blended Aboriginal heritage. According to Viola Thomas, president of the United Native Nations, an organization representing off-reserve Aboriginal people in British Columbia, these are people who are told that

¹⁷ Reviewer's note: this can also be interpreted as an oversight, or typical of a dominant hegemony.

they have no other rights than afforded non-Natives. But they "live with the legacy of generations of grief and pain, parents damaged by residential school and foster care, but they don't qualify for education or housing assistance, or even counselling. No wonder they're angry" (cited by Fournier and Crey 2000:311). A response has come from the youth wing of the United Nations Native Nations, who participate in a variety of activities and are invited to important United Native Nations meetings. In Manitoba, the Native Youth Movement

offers the same things to Aboriginal kids that the gangs do—belonging, a sense of family and empowerment. But we try to make sure we don't fit the profile of the young Aboriginal man who's more likely to go to jail than university in this country... We're channelling anger into seeking change, and that's really positive. The only thing we can't compete with the gangs is on money, and that's hard, because almost all of us have grown up in poverty (Tim Fontaine, organizer for the Native Youth Movement, quoted in Fournier and Crey 2000:311).

Dyck (1991) cites another economic issue is the shortage of employment and educational opportunities in most rural Aboriginal communities is pushing Aboriginal people toward urban centres (1991: 157). Once in the cities, Aboriginal people are in competition with many other people for the most menial of jobs, except that they carry the added burden of being a visible minority at the bottom of the social hierarchy. They are vulnerable to a range of racist and discriminatory treatment "extended directly or indirectly, intentionally or unintentionally." One response is to minimize overt signs of Aboriginal identity, although there are no guarantees that employers will hire Aboriginal people under any circumstances. Such a strategy risks criticism and distancing from family and community members. Another related issue is that in the city, Aboriginal people have fewer prospects for employment and economic success. They are already stigmatized by their social identity, poverty, and low educational attainment. This does not bid well for Aboriginal children growing up in this environment, and the potential for "serious problems in urban neighborhoods" (1991: 158).

White Eye (1996)¹⁸ discusses various ways that the mainstream news media discriminates against Aboriginal people. Native communities are aware of the disparities of news media representations—and this reinforces their perceptions that they are not valued members of Canadian society. White Eye provides an example of unequal coverage in the news that rings familiar with many Aboriginal people. A murder of a white female appeared on the front page of a major newspaper. This newspaper carried the story for many days, and then sporadically over the next several months. The news coverage generated public outcries against violence, and gained the involvement of women's groups to establish a hotline for the murder investigation. In the same region, there was an abduction and murder of a Native male, which the same newspaper reported as a minor story. The newspaper ran a follow-up story and more than a year later published another story reporting that the police were unable to solve the murder case. "Even if the police handled the two murders in the same way, this was not reflected in the media" (1996:92). Another case demonstrates discrimination by inference in a news story about a stolen car that was located at a reservation, and that the police found the thief on the reserve. The news story failed to mention that the thief was non-Native, and not a reserve resident. Only the final line in the story corrected the impression that the thief was Aboriginal—by providing the name and town of residence of the person charged—"Wojtkowski" (1996:97).

¹⁸ Bud White Eye is a First Nations journalist.

White Eye also examines systemic discrimination exists for Aboriginal journalists attempting to join the mainstream media. At journalism school students are expected to conform to modes of writing stories and news values "some of the least innovative people are the ones who stay in school" (1996:96). White Eye points out that even with a Native journalist on staff, there is no guarantee that the outlet will accurately report events or issues involving Aboriginal people or their communities. Media management and news routines and norms interfere with this. Outlets that hire Aboriginal journalists may subvert the representation of Native people, with their unofficial policies about the number of Native stories covered, and the discouragement of story ideas by Aboriginal journalists. The process of journalist socialization normally involves supervision and correction. But when the supervision is accompanied by unreasonable scrutiny of work, this may suggest a pattern of discrimination based on perceptions of inferior abilities of Aboriginal people. **The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996)** identifies that there are very few Aboriginal journalists in mainstream media, and that mainstream media has a proclivity to misrepresent Aboriginal people. White Eye's account suggests that there are systemic issues within the media that may be contributing to these issues.¹⁹

Langford and Ponting (1992) examine the effects of prejudice, ethnocentrism, economic conservatism, perceived conflict of group interests and perceived personal threat in shaping Canadians' views on three different measures of preferences for government policy in the Aboriginal affairs field. Their findings indicate that prejudice and perception of group conflict interact strongly to influence non-Aboriginal Canadians' responses to Aboriginal issues. Economic conservatism (and a net of other factors) are also important determinants of policy responses. However, ethnocentrism has a negligible to minor influence in the analyses. The variation of responses concerning non-Aboriginal issues can be explained by three variables: Group Conflict Perception, Prejudice, and Economic Conservatism (1992:1). Langford and Ponting find the overall importance of economic conservatism demonstrates the degree to which Aboriginal issues have been integrated into the ideological thinking in Canadian society. Their findings also support the idea that non-Aboriginal Canadians' responses on Aboriginal issues are tied to their underlying views on equality in a capitalist society, independent of prejudice and group comparison processes (1992:15). The researchers also offer cautionary advice for the Aboriginal rights advocates. The results from the survey indicate that there will be a possibility of "non-Aboriginal attitudinal backlash whenever militant tactics are employed, or even whenever victories are won, since victories can be interpreted as evidence of government neglect of non-Aboriginal Canadian's interests" (1992:15). Although the backlash in attitude may not translate into political behavior (beyond public opinion polls) policy makers take such information into consideration in policy decision-making. Langford and Ponting recommend reducing prejudice, which is a long-term project with schools, commissions of inquiry and the media. They also advise that reducing the perceptions of group conflict limits the negative impact of prejudice. The importance of partnerships between Aboriginal people and the state in which Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal stakeholders benefit, and the communication of these benefits to the public is one way that impressions of conflict, and hence prejudice might be reduced. Langford and Ponting conclude that although not all Canadians are prejudiced towards Aboriginal people, a significant proportion are. And when this is combined with a perception of group conflict, extreme attitudinal hostility is the result. Whether or not this is transformed into other behavior is beyond the scope of their study. (1992:15).

¹⁹ This is also central in the research findings of Lambertus (2000, 2001). I have not explicated my findings in this draft.

H. Race/Ethnicity and Society –Gaps in the Literature

There are few social histories written by Aboriginal peoples, and few case studies of the dynamics of Native and non-Native interactions in a variety of social situations. More recent quantitative studies on public opinions would be helpful in gauging attitudes particularly after the implementation of policies, and legal decisions. This review also finds that public opinion polls should also account for Native perspectives of non-Native society.

2. Language

A status report on Aboriginal languages is provided by Norris (2000); and a guide for language renewal and language maintenance is discussed by Ayounghman, and Brandt. (1989). A profile on Metis is found in Douaud (1985); and a sociolinguistic survey for Saskatchewan Aboriginal people is provided by the Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Committee (1991), with a previous report on Saskatchewan is found in Ahenekeew and Fredeen (1987). Because I could not locate much that was current, I am only going to provide a summary of issues and points made by Norris (2000).

Norris (2000) provides a close statistical analysis of Aboriginal languages in Canada, and also identifies factors that contribute to linguistic vitality and recommendations from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Language is a critical component for maintaining and transmitting culture and identity, and it is a fundamental aspect of group identity. Loss of language does not necessarily lead to the ‘death of a culture’ but it can handicap the transmission of that culture. There are currently 50 Aboriginal languages belonging to 11 language families. However, there is a wide range in the size of the speech communities—and this is an important factor on the viability of this language for transmission. Geography is an important factor in the diversity, size and distribution of Aboriginal languages across Canada. The languages with the largest speaking populations tend to be more widespread—such as the Algonquian family of languages—which extends from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. Factors that contribute to language loss include: population declines due to disease, warfare; and assimilation policies in residential schools (mother tongues were forbidden). In addition, most Aboriginal languages are oral—without a written component, they do not serve as many contemporary functions—and they are more restrictive in use. Factors that contribute to language survival include: population size and intergenerational transmission—only three out of fifty languages have adequate populations for long term survival—the threshold is about 1000 speakers. There is also a high continuity between the number of people in a cultural community and the number of speakers of the mother tongue. The use of the mother tongue in the home, and in as many everyday contexts as possible—at the workplace, in social gatherings outside the home also fosters language retention. The distinctness of the speech community from the mainstream population is another factor. This is the case for isolated or well-organized communities with strong self-awareness that have improved chances for language transmission. Speech communities with young populations also have a better chance of transmitting the language. If the language is not transmitted to children, then the language will diminish as the speakers become old and die. The use of an Aboriginal language, relative to the use of the dominant language is associated with stages in the life cycle.

The decline of language use is significant as young people leave home and enter the labor force, marry and start families, or move to a larger urban environment. Language loss is most pronounced during labour force years, especially for women. This is because women are most likely to leave reserves and move to locations where they will more likely marry non-Aboriginal men, and thus be more exposed to the dominant language.

Norris reports a correlation between language use and self-reporting Aboriginal people. In 1996, 99 percent of Aboriginal people who spoke a mother tongue self-reported Aboriginal identity. Three-quarters of mother tongue speakers are registered Indians, despite the fact that only 55 percent of those reporting Aboriginal identity. The reserve environment of registered Indians and the northern communities of the Inuit tend to support language maintenance and transmission

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples makes several recommendations for language maintenance and revival. The report finds that to revitalize a language means to sufficiently gain more speakers and create conditions for language transmission to future generations. Ideally, the chances of language transmission improve with the increasing number of first language speakers. The report recommends the use of Aboriginal languages in everyday life, used in a variety of contexts: schools, workplaces, government institutions.

Language –Gaps in the Literature

Language was a very disappointing sub-theme in terms of recent literature. There is very little in terms of recent publications regarding the status of Aboriginal languages, language support programs, language teaching for all levels of education.

3. Religion

There is a gap in current literature regarding Aboriginal people and religion. This may be the result of the sensitivities involved in the topic, and/or the reluctance of either Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers to conduct investigations. The issue of church accountability for abuses suffered while attending residential schools is referenced under the sub-theme of Race, Ethnicity and Education. Included in the review are Hirschfelder and Molin (2000) who offer important insights to Aboriginal traditional religions in their recently published encyclopedia. Treat (1996) edits a work that includes experiences of Canadian and American Aboriginal people practicing a variety of Christian traditions. The publication concerning religious practices that melds traditional beliefs and practices with Christian (Lac St. Anne Pilgrimage) is found in Simon (1995). Other works not covered in this review the traditional Longhouse Religion, discussed in Thomas and Boyle (1994); and Northwest Coast Shamanism in Wardwell (1996). Native spirituality as a therapeutic in the prison is found in Waldram (1994) spiritual abuse is discussed by Smith (1993).

Hirschfelder and Molin (2000) provide an encyclopedia regarding Native American religions in Canada and the United States. Their work is important because it responds to the lack of reliable

information for the general public, and the lack of knowledge the North American public has of this topic. Consequently, when there is some aspect of Native religions in the news, people probably do not understand the relevance or the cultural meanings, and the issue at hand. This was also a finding of **Lambertus (2000)** in the cultural misconceptions of the Sun Dance in the national news media during the 1995 Gustafsen Lake standoff. Hirschfelder and Molin discussion includes privacy issues regarding sacred sites, sacred practices, and the choice of anonymity by some of the contributors. Aboriginal people's concerns about privacy have been shaped by intrusive and opportunistic researchers, photographers, and curiosity seekers. Another instructive aspect of this work is that it demonstrates how Aboriginal cultural property can become public knowledge, but only within the boundaries set by the Aboriginal practitioners.

Treat (1996) offers an important discussion and examples of Aboriginal people who combine the unlikely identities of "Native" and "Christian." In the introduction to the collection of essays written by Aboriginal people from Canada and the United States, Treat examines the issues of identity and belonging on theological, political, communal and personal terms. All of the contributors all share certain common assumptions: "(1) they take seriously both the Native cultural/religious heritage and the Christian cultural/religious heritage, as well as their own relationship to each; (2) they value their own spiritual perceptions and experiences and those of their extended communities; (3) they acknowledge that the idea of a Native Christian identity is problematic, both culturally and historically; and (4) they realize the need to work through this problem in order to arrive at a reasonable accommodation that will facilitate personal and communal survival" (1996:2). Treat acknowledges that Native Christians in Canada and the United States are struggling for religious self-determination (1996:8). Those who choose to identify as Native as well as Christian, run the risk of censure by Native people who cannot reconcile the historic impositions of Western religious denominations at the expense of their own traditional belief systems. Their choice is a demonstration of human agency and versatility. Treat notes that "many Native Christians accomplish this identification without abandoning or rejecting Native religious traditions" 1996:10. That the two traditions are compatible for some Aboriginal people is not surprising. Christian liturgical forms, similar to Native traditions facilitate reconciliation, fulfill ceremonial obligations, articulate beliefs and values to direct daily life, provide meaning for personal struggles, and provide a supportive community. Each of the contributors faces the following questions: "What does it mean to be Native? What does it mean to be Christian? Should Christian identity be subordinated to Native identity, or vice versa? Is it possible to be both Native and Christian in any meaningful way?" (1996:2).

Simon (1995) illustrates the above discussion in his study of the annual week-long pilgrimage to Lac Ste. Anne, Alberta. This is a century-old Roman Catholic pilgrimage held at a lake location attended by 25,000 to 30,000 people, mostly Aboriginal. The Native people quoted in the work make many connections between their traditional spirituality and the Catholic rituals conducted during pilgrimage. Archeological evidence points to the lake being a meeting place for Aboriginal people for as long as 6,000 years. Before the missionaries came, stories passed down to the Aboriginal people attest to the lake being long regarded as a place of spiritual renewal. After the Catholic mission was established, missionaries re-named the lake after St. Anne, the grandmother of Jesus. The missionaries' acknowledgement of the grandmother links to the value that grandmothers hold in Aboriginal culture, and family life. The healing and reconciliation rituals that take place in the lake are also harmonious with Aboriginal traditions. The water has similar symbolic meanings for traditional and Catholic belief systems. Some Aboriginal people have sacred dreams and visions during the pilgrimage and they take meaning from Native as well as Catholic spirituality. Throughout the work, a variety of Aboriginal people are quoted directly,

offering memories and perceptions of what the pilgrimage means to them. I will re-visit this work in my concluding remarks.

Religion –Gaps in the Literature

There was little information about church membership by Aboriginal people who were affected by residential schools. Similarly, the role of religious identification and Aboriginality, and traditional spirituality and its role in a variety of contemporary healing contexts are also not well-represented in the literature. The Sun Dance is a traditional practice that has spread to many parts of Canada in recent years—yet there are no studies of this in the literature.

Concluding Remarks

The Lac St. Anne pilgrimage ends this portion of the review on a reflective note. The account of the pilgrimage does not present any burning issues, but it may offer the reader some "hidden pearls." The pilgrimage is a validation of the importance of people converging to a space in which they can find healing, reconciliation, respect, and community renewal. Similar to Jenson's (1998) definition of social cohesion, the pilgrimage at Lac St. Anne evokes "a sense of commitment, and desire or capacity to live together in some harmony" (1998:v). Indeed, the pilgrimage of Lac St. Anne may offer an important metaphoric goal for social cohesion between Aboriginal people within Canadian society.

Multicultural Policy Research and Aboriginal Peoples

An underlying element in this literature review has been a concerted effort to include a wide range of Aboriginal perspectives on the various topics. Many of the works presented attest to the history of Aboriginal people not being included in previous policy

research development that affected their lives and that had other far-reaching consequences. The gravity of the decisions made on their behalf and the obstructions at the structural level that prevented their input may be an important aspect to redress in order to realize the goal of increased Aboriginal citizenship participation. Considering the above, and the previously discussed hesitance of Aboriginal people to be formally affiliated with multiculturalism, multicultural policy research regarding Aboriginal people will necessarily have to proceed with caution. One avenue that might be explored is partnering with Aboriginal people to conduct such research and implementation.

In this next section of the literature review, I will present themes based on Aboriginal people's concerns over policy research and policy development. These are taken from the Aboriginal responses in *Community Development and Research* (1996) and from Ron Ignace, George Speck and Renee Taylor, members of First Nations bands in British Columbia who co-authored "Some Native Perspectives on Anthropology and Public Policy" (1993). These recommendations have application for multicultural policy research and policy development in the context of Aboriginal peoples.

Recommendations: Policy Research Based on Aboriginal Input

- research guidelines should be established in advance by the government and the Aboriginal community
- research proposals should undergo an evaluation process at the community level
- Aboriginal communities have a right to know what form the research report will take, who is the intended audience, and be provided with an advance copy of the findings
- government should not proceed with research that Aboriginal communities have formally disapproved

- research should be community oriented in terms of research goals, decisions, and outcomes
- before research commences, the potential of harm to community members must be fully explored and addressed
- research, especially long-term research, should have tangible benefits for the community
- government should commit monies for programs that research recommends to demonstrate good faith
- all Aboriginal persons (including parents on behalf of their children) have the right to decide whether or not to participate in a study
- research and subsequent reports should respect and hold what Aboriginal people say as credible: community members are the experts on the community
- research should require that a wide network of community members provide active feedback and participation
- research reports should respect Aboriginal identity—who the people are, and what they proclaim to be
- research reports that merely replicate the findings of previous reports risk replicating their shortcomings and even compound these
- research reports should not impose an "us against them" theme that pits Aboriginal people against non-Aboriginal people when the issue involves Aboriginal people negotiating with the government
- researchers should take care that their characterizations of Aboriginal cultures do not imply that the cultures are static, contaminated (no longer pristine), or dead
- researchers should either withdraw from the project or formally acknowledge difficulties in conducting the research that may have compromised the results of the study
- researchers must respect the copyright of Aboriginal cultural property

Summary of the Recommendations

The above recommendations cover the topics of research control and approval, ethics, research conduct, issues of representation, accountability for reporting, benefits to the community, and protecting and respecting the rights of the community, and its property. The Aboriginal people who contributed to these recommendations all referenced general or specific incidents where they experienced a breach of trust either with the government or the researcher. Although these are not formalized recommendations, they point to some serious concerns for future policy research and development to bear in mind.

Conclusions of this Literature Review

This literature review has attempted to answer the following questions: How do characteristics of multiculturalism identity, such as race/ethnicity, language and religion intersect with issues of economics, education, health, discrimination, culture, attachment and belonging, and civic participation? In addition, this review also provides multiple sources including Aboriginal perspectives to answer the question: What are the repercussions, realities and lived experiences of these intersections? Neither time nor space allows me to recap the information provided that answers these questions. I would suggest however, that there are no single answers. But there are emergent themes to consider.

There is strong evidence that Aboriginal people in Canada have become more cohesive as a group, particularly in response to the attempted 1969 White Paper. Ironically, this federal proposal that was interpreted by many Aboriginal people as an

attempt to diffuse Aboriginal identity and rights inadvertently acted as a catalyst for Aboriginal people to consolidate at a national level. At the same time, lack of unity continues to be a challenge among various Aboriginal groups. One of the main obstacles is not of their own making: the distinction between status and non-status and the associated economic and social ramifications. However, I am in no way suggesting that the distinction between status and non-status be eliminated.

The literature also points to greater alignment of Aboriginal people with Canadian society in general. For example, Aboriginal groups know that it is in their best interest to gain wide public support to address the serious issues that confront their communities. Langford and Ponting (1992) and Ponting (1990) indicate that these efforts had paid off. It is also clear that Aboriginal people are experiencing a renaissance, a sense of well-being that is associated with social cohesion. This is exemplified in the increased political involvement, the desire to improve the economic and social conditions of Aboriginal communities, the determination and tenacity to endure difficult transition periods, and the active involvement in cultural revitalization. These are indicators that cohesion is intensifying at group level, and that connections and a sense of belonging to the larger society are also increasing.

Another reoccurring theme is partnership, particularly in economics, education, cultural property, social programs, and in policy research. However, if the only partnering with Aboriginal communities involves large corporations and the state, and these partnerships are restricted to economic, political, and institutional concerns, is this enough to foster a sense of commitment and attachment to the rest of society? If partnerships do not go further, will Aboriginal people ever be motivated to make stronger

connections with non-Aboriginal people in relationships that are not necessarily based on economics and politics? Developing a diversity of networked partnerships for various purposes may be a means to link Aboriginal people in rural and urban settings, link them with non-Aboriginal people, and strengthen the social cohesion in Canadian society in general.

This literature review provides extensive coverage of some of the most serious social disparities facing Aboriginal people. These include: the lowest poverty levels in the country; over-representation in the criminal justice system; tragic health issues and mortality rates; high unemployment in rural and urban centres; educational programs that struggle to find parity with non-Aboriginal programs; and evidence of systemic discrimination in the justice system, law enforcement, and in the media. These inequities no doubt reinforce social isolation and impede citizenship participation. But probably the most important conclusion that might be drawn from this literature review is that any policy research and development to address these inequities must involve Aboriginal people—at every stage.

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Critique of the Government's Multiculturalism Policy and Program. 33. iv. 1.1 Research Objectives and Central Themes of the Thesis

The central objective of this thesis is threefold. The first objective is to provide a critical analysis of the UCC's position on multiculturalism as articulated in its position paper of November 2003 in light of an evolving Ukrainian-Canadian community. The architects of Canada's multiculturalism policy were cognizant of the challenges that would be faced in reconciling the identities and rights of groups on one. The idea of multiculturalism in contemporary political discourse and in political philosophy is about how to understand and respond to the challenges associated with cultural and religious diversity. The term "multicultural" is often used as a descriptive term to characterize the fact of diversity in a society, but in what follows, the focus is on its prescriptive use in the context of Western liberal democratic societies. It is also a matter of economic interests and political power: it includes demands for remedying economic and political disadvantages that people suffer as a result of their marginalized group identities. Multiculturalists take for granted that it is "culture" and "cultural groups" that are to be recognized and accommodated.