The Indigenous Experience and Cultural Renewal, Decolonization,

and Transformation in the Ottawa Area

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Abstract

This research is an ethnography of 30 people on Indigenous experiences, place-making and the cultural practices that are used to construct meaning and cultural renewal that leads to healing and decolonization in the Ottawa, Ontario area. The research explores the lives of those who reside in the city and have never lived in traditional territories, and those who continue to have roots there. These practices are observed through the lens of the three bodies of the individual, social, and body politic. Identity has moved beyond legacies of essentialized and bounded notions which in actuality are multiple and fluid. The study revealed themes of a continuum of experiences and practices including: *territorialists* who reside in the homeland; *returners* who have the Indigenous diasporic experience of longing for a homeland; *learners* who have been displaced from Indigenous communities for various reasons but have initiated cultural renewal; *adaptors* who have little to no connection to a homeland or Indigenous groups in the city; and *urbanites* who accept the city-as-home, often with multiple generations of residence in the city. The social body is enacted by Indigenous people who construct communities in cities through social practices such as welcoming others through physical places like Friendship Centres, universities, and social service organizations. Connections also occur in urbans hubs of activity through various practices such as cultural and arts events, ceremonies, and conferences. Cultural renewal is fundamental for the well-being of Indigenous people who have experienced decades of oppression as a result of the regulation of bodies, social actions, land and self-determination by the body politic. The cultural renewal of Indigenous people in cities creates space for healing, decolonization, reclamation, restoration, reconciliation and renewal.

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Kukwstsétsemc. All My Relations.

Cheryl Matthew

Dedication

For my father Ron Matthew

September 9, 1949 to November 11, 2009 - forever in my heart, thoughts and prayers

and Teya, Malyn and Sophia.

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1   Chapter: Introduction

1.1   The Indigenous Experience and Cultural Renewal, Decolonization, and Transformation in the Ottawa Area

This thesis is an ethnography of 30 Indigenous people in the area of Ottawa, Ontario through which I seek to understand and describe the diverse Indigenous experience today and the path to decolonization and cultural renewal in the city. [1,2] Indigenous people in North America have become increasingly urbanized, and previous bounded notions of identity have become fluid and multiple (Clifford, 2013; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Fixico, 2000; Garroute, 2003; Lawrence, 2004; Lobo & Peters, 2001; Newhouse and Peters, 2003; Proulx, 2003; Ramirez, 2007; Royal Commission on Aboriginal People [RCAP], 1996; Tomiak, 2010; Tomiak and Patrick, 2010). Just as the identity of Indigenous people in cities is varied so is the experience of Indigenous life today. Bounded notions of identity (Clifford, 2013; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, 2006) are those which hold essentialist[3] notions of an original culture (Wright, 1998) and indigeneity[4], which question the authenticity of cultures and communities in cities (Andersen & Denis, 1993). The research presented in this thesis is an exploration of

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[1] I capitalize the terms "Indigenous," "Aboriginal," "Native American," and "American Indian," to be consistent with capitalization of words such as "European," and "American" when referring to particular groups.

[2] The term Aboriginal is used as a category that includes First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, as specified in section 35.2 of the *Constitution Act, 198,* I employ the term only in reference to names, government programs or definitions. I avoid using the term Aboriginal since it is a word constructed by the Canadian government and is problematic in that it homogenizes the three distinct cultural groups. I employ the term Indigenous which is more inclusive, and culturally relevant since it refers to First Nations Status and Non-Status Indians, Métis, Inuit and mixed Indigenous people.

[3] This research is not on identity or the politics of identity. See Lawrence (2004) for an in-depth discussion on the regulation of Native identity including Indigenous, mixed-blood, and urban identity and nationhood. For more general discussion on this topic see section 2.4 on Complex Identities.

[4] The term Indigenous and indigeneity are international concepts which relate to practices in addressing Indigenous rights at the supranational level. The United Nations defines Indigenous as "Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them" (UN, 2004). Also see Niezen (2003) and de la Cadena (2007).

Indigenous experiences, practices and cultural renewal positioned to move beyond the essentialism of identity by:

> [S]tressing that place making always involves construction, rather than merely a discovery, of difference…[and by] emphasiz[ing] that identity neither "grows out" of rooted communities nor is a thing that can be possessed or owned by individual or collective social actors…[i]t is, instead, a mobile, often unstable relation of difference. (Gupta & Ferguson, 2006, p. 13).

Viewing Indigenous peoples as belonging to multiple communities and engaging in diverse experiences differs from the bounded notions of Indigenous communities attached to geographic territories or reserves. Research over the last fifteen years has acknowledged that the recognition of culture is the touchstone for Indigenous people for facilitating and building positive identities in the city that lead to healing and well-being regardless of where this culture is learned (Belanger, 2013; Lawrence, 2004; LeClair, Nicolson, & Hartley, 2003; Lucero, 2014; Proulx, 2003; Silver, 2006; Urban Aboriginal Task Force [UATF], 2007b). Cultural renewal is essential on the path to healing, transformation, decolonization, reconciliation, reclamation, retention, and reterritorializing (Alfred, 1999, 2005; Castellano, 2008, 2009; Coulthard, 2014; Ladner, 2009; LaRoque, 2009; Monture-Angus, 1999; Simpson, 2011, 2014; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada [TRC], 2015; Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009). This thought process is achieved by indigenizing modernity and foregrounding the evolving nature of tradition (Howard & Proulx, 2011; Proulx 2006; Sahlins, 1999a).

In my research I set out to understand the diversity of the Indigenous experience today and the way practices are enacted and how they create meaning for people in cities. The central argument of this thesis is that the Indigenous experience and practices in cities today are

complex and that there are many themes on the continuum of varied experiences: ranging from those who are attached to a homeland, to those who view the city as home, and the variations between. I situate the body within this study as influenced by culture. That is, I will explore the embodied experience of indigeneity in Canada through the lens of three bodies: the individual, the social, and the body politic (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). This research considers the culturally patterned uses of the body in society and explores the body as "man's first and most natural instrument" (Mauss, 1973, p. 75) and how perceptions of the body are deeply entrenched in historical factors though the theory of "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1977) (all of these theories are discussed in Chapter 2). In approaching the subject of the body and practices of indigeneity in Ottawa, I approach it from a recognition of the strong role of perception and base many of my discussions on personal narratives. Throughout the research the discussion of home and where it was, the permanence and impermanence of home, in particular to the transitory experience of many Indigenous people who arrive in Ottawa for employment, and others who are from the traditional territory are reflected in the findings of the research.

Transnationalism is helpful in gaining insight into the urbanization of the Indigenous population in Canada as it explains the crossing borders, connections to homelands, and deterritorialization common to the immigrant experience which is also applicable to Indigenous populations (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1989). The movement of Indigenous people to cities has been an economic requirement of this group in the search for employment and education, and can be seen as a forced expulsion causing a disconnection to the homeland and displacement also described as Indigenous diaspora (Clifford, 2007). However, it is important to note that the economic component can also be viewed in a positive light as cultural change over time, where the "nomadic legacies" of the past have shifted towards movement to urban centres in pursuit of

education, employment, better health care and social services (Darnell, 2011). Indigenous people in cities are now less likely to be connected to a homeland; therefore, finding community has become more about creating place through cultural practices, such as engaging in urban hubs of activity (Ramirez, 2007) and forming relationships. With the increase of movement of Indigenous peoples to cities, many Indigenous people today have less of a connection to a homeland, although, as we shall see, for others, returning to the homeland continues to be important.

Although a great portion of the research is presented in a way that emphasizes Western theory in my heart I have tried to integrate Indigenous methodologies by staying true to the stories that were shared with me by emphasizing the words of the storytellers in this research (rather than the passive role of research participant). I integrated the use of audio recording and video not because these tools are traditional in Indigenous communities but rather because these tools have been appropriated for empowering the stories, voices and narrative to tell our own stories (Smith, 1999). As an Indigenous researcher and storyteller I felt that between relying on personal narratives and video to explain themes rather than my reinterpretation was a more direct way of sharing stories and knowledge. I used Western theory integrated in this research with storytelling by using Western methods towards a common goal of Indigenization in the realm of academia that requires it. The lens that I bring to this research is an Indigenous lens and the theory was used to tell a story in another way for another audience while keeping true to Indigenous methodologies. This dichotomy between Indigenous and Western methodologies has parallels to the themes of this research and brings more relevance to the question of the continuum of the Indigenous experience today, authenticity, and how we transit through various experiences that shape the world around us, our lens, and our interpretation.

The central findings in this research validate other studies that have found that the Indigenous experience today differs for each person and I foreground examples of the themes of these experiences. Indigenous women, in particular single mothers, continue to be challenged socio-economically in cities. As a result of colonization and the subsequent loss of culture for Indigenous people, there is a need to provide adequate programs and services, with an emphasis on cultural programming. The role of upwardly mobile Indigenous women in building community in cities is essential for community development and cultural pride (Howard-Bobiwash, 2003). Loss of culture has resulted from assimilationist policies, the Indian residential school, and children being adopted or raised in foster care. The need to learn Indigenous lifeways and practices is essential for healing, cultural renewal and decolonization. While it may seem contradictory to promote Indigeneity as a continuum of fluid experiences while stating the need for cultural renewal – both exist together and I am not arguing for the cultural renewal of one traditional culture. My contention is the validity and need for a renewal of the connection to Indigenous cultures based on multiple teachings, cultures, and experiences. These modern practices include gathering in urban hubs, music, arts and political events and being with other Indigenous people as one of the main ways to connect with Indigenous culture regardless of where or when. The cultural connection is as individual as the person, Conversely many Indigenous people are Indigenous just as they are, without a specific or needed practice, performance, or attachment to a group.

The city can be a lonely place, and as a result, Indigenous organizations have become gathering places (Newhouse, 2003) that welcome people in their transition to the city. Hegemony experienced by Indigenous people from the *Indian Act* has caused many to unknowingly adopt a habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) of enacting distinctions and constitutional divisions. Habitus is how

behavior is guided by social norms that are socially constructed and enduring over time to the extent that practices are unconsciously repeated (Bourdieu, 1990; Navarro, 2006). The divisions created by the *Indian Act* through membership systems arbitrarily split Indigenous people into three main groups: First Nations (Status and Non-Status Indian), Métis and Inuit. Currently, the path to decolonization is moving from the control of the *Indian Act* towards healing and cultural renewal with a focus on the resurgence of Indigenous lifeways (Alfred, 1999, 2005; Castellano, 2008, 2009; Coulthard, 2014; Ladner, 2009; LaRoque, 2009 Monture-Angus, 1999; TRC, 2015; Simpson, 2011, 2014; Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009).

Connecting through organizations and shared practices has forged communities which have become symbolic of culture, place and identity in the city. Through these places, shared experiences and relationships, cultural knowledge is transmitted in an urban context.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The amount of data on the diversity of the Indigenous experience today and Indigenous practices in cities is a growing theme in the social sciences which was previously under researched (Newhouse, 2003; RCAP, 1996). There is a need for more research related to how Indigenous people define their cultural identities in cities (Peters, 2011). Much of the research to date has focused on the historical background of urbanization, on the mobility of Indigenous people in Canada and the United States, and on the socio-economic challenges of urban Indigenous people, often adopting a social deficit model (Fixico, 2000; Garroute, 2003; Lawrence, 2004; Lobo and Peters, 2001; Ramirez, 2007). Research on Indigenous people in cities (including First Nations, both Status and on-Status, Métis, Inuit, and mixed-blooded

Indigenous people) is still uncommon, even though over half of the Indigenous population now live in cities[5] (Fixico, 2000; Lawrence, 2004; Newhouse, 2003; RCAP, 1996).

Indigenous people, regardless of residence, have had to grapple with static notions of culture and identity enforced through government legislation and erroneous representations in mass media and society. Indigenous people in cities have had to come to terms with their own identities in their own ways, and their negotiations continue from one generation to the next. Indigenous individuals often have a mixed Indigenous heritage and have never lived on a reserve, settlement, or homeland territory. Urban communities have developed as hubs (Ramirez, 2007) of cultural connectedness, which are accessible to those who are looking for them. Not only have Indigenous people had to grapple with their own identities, but also with the notions of those around them. Thus, the negotiation for Indigenous identities happens at multiple levels, from the individual to the societal.

My research contributes to the growing number of ethnographic works on Indigenous people in cities in Canada and the varied forms of connecting, experiences, practices and the interactions with organizations. By exploring changing indigeneity, this dissertation has added to the body of knowledge on this topic that presently exists within the discipline of anthropology.

1.3   Research Objective and Research Questions

This thesis is an ethnography of the Indigenous experience today and the practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario. I interviewed 30 research participants during the course of this research. Of those participants, 25 completed a semi-structured interview, while five

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[5] According to (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2011) from the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2013), 56% of Aboriginal people live in urban areas, up from 49% in 1996. See Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada webpage on "Urban Aboriginal Peoples" https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949

completed unstructured interviews that consisted of either one long interview or several shorter interviews. It is through the practice of everyday life that culture and meaning are constructed and through social practices that culture can be explored. This thesis explores the habitus that brings culture to bear on the movements of the body (Bourdieu, 1977), as habitus (discussed in Chapter 2) is so normative that people often do not know or understand why they are doing what they are doing. According to the theory of habitus, actions are largely unconscious and in enacting habitus, bodies inhabit places that are culturally informed (Bourdieu, 1977). The research incorporates the individual, social, and political body (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987) (discussed in Chapter 2) in order to explore and acknowledge the deeply intertwined relationship between the Indigenous body and conceptions of place, personhood and the history of assimilation through the Indian residential schools and the continuing inscribing of Indigenous bodies within the *Indian Act*. I feel this is an important aspect to add to my research, as the forces of colonization have been so pervasive in the Indigenous experience that Indigenous people are for the most part not aware of their actions as unconscious habitus. In particular, I am interested in exploring the multiple experiences and practices of Indigenous people who have access to a land base and those who do not in order to determine if cultural practices are markedly different between these two groups in cities. The research is also meant to explore paths to decolonization and the role that practices play in cultural renewal, healing and transformation in communities.

Key questions for this line of inquiry are as follows:

1. What is the Indigenous experience today in Ottawa, Ontario?;

2. Are there shared cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa?;

3. Do the cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa differ between those who have a territory or homeland compared to those who do not?

Since many Indigenous people in urban areas do not have access to a land base for traditional hunting, trapping, and cultural activities, gatherings in cities have provided a venue for shared meaning-making. Organizations in cities, therefore, are key to developing support networks and accessing programs and services (Newhouse, 1993). Gatherings amongst Indigenous people in cities often involve cultural events, conferences, and arts, which allow for various forms of self-expression that contribute to cultural identity.

1.4   Summary

My overall research objective is to document and analyse the cultural and social practices relating to Indigenous experience today in the Ottawa area, and the connection of these practices to cultural renewal, healing and decolonization. This investigation is complemented by the use of video, as an ethnographic tool and a method of visual anthropology, to enhance the telling of stories of Indigenous people in the city. The goal of this research is to show how vibrant and enriching the Indigenous cultural experience is today, as opposed to being inauthentic, lonely, and isolating.

Chapter One introduces the research project as an exploration of the Indigenous experience and cultural practices in the Ottawa area which are focused around a continuum of experiences of these experiences, and the link between the theoretical perspectives of diaspora, transnationalism, habitus and practice theory that highlight the need to achieve cultural renewal for decolonization. The research focuses on two main questions relating the Indigenous experience today: (a) To what extent do the Indigenous people in Ottawa share cultural practices?; and (b) Are there any notable differences between those who have a territory or

homeland and those who do not?

Chapter Two provides an overview of today's Indigenous experience in Canadian cities. This chapter provides a profile of Indigenous people in cities which shows that over half of the population resides in cities today, and that the Indigenous population is youthful and growing (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2011). Indigenous people are more affected by lower socio-economic standards such as less education and more housing insecurity than their non-Indigenous counterparts.

This chapter also explores how Indigenous people in cities have multiple constructions of self. Indigenous identity is discussed in relation to blood quantum authenticity. It examines the need to move away from essentialist notions that box in Indigenous peoples' identities and move towards seeing the range of these experiences on a continuum that better respects the Indigenous experience today.

I also provide an overview of the politicized space of Indigenous politics in Ottawa employing Bourdieu's notions of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) in order to address the research context in the national capital— a city that is both a seat of legislative power and authority and the site of national politics. I also discuss theories of embodiment and other theories related to body, place and practice.

Lastly, this chapter examines the literature that is relevant to this ethnography concerning the practices of Indigenous people. This includes the roles of colonization and decolonization on the whole person and cultural identities of Indigenous people, and the connection between participation in economic life and taking up residence in cities. The literature explores the Indigenous diaspora, and how cultural identity has often been attached to networks, or webs of relations of Indigenous people through social services organizations and gathering places such as

Aboriginal Friendship Centres in cities. One of the greatest external influences on Indigenous identity in Canada stems from the impact of the Indian residential schools on survivors and the children of survivors through inter-generational historic displacement and trauma. The loss of culture and identity formation of Indigenous people in and out of cities stems from the Indian residential schools and continues to affect Indigenous people today.

In Chapter Three, I discuss the research methods and the field site of the research. I show how the interviews conducted contribute to an ethnography on the cultural practices and links to cultural identity of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario. As a research site, Ottawa is unique in Canada as the political epicentre and national capital. As the national capital it also has a large public service due to the presence of all the federal government departments and also to political parties and staff. What makes Ottawa an even more complex site for Indigenous research is that it also houses the national Indigenous organizations that represent the different Indigenous groups in Canada. The research approach for this project is centred on privileging Indigenous voices through a critical ethnographic approach, which utilizes video to privilege voice and storytelling. I include a great deal of direct quotes from research participants to privilege their voice and the oral tradition of Indigenous people, intentionally moving away from continual paraphrasing and second hand accounts of their personal stories and experiences. It is important to acknowledge the importance of oral traditions and storytelling, as both are components of Indigenous methodology, but also to centre on aspects of Indigenous worldview expressed within these stories.

Chapter Four analyzes my research findings through the lens of the individual body of the Indigenous experience in cities today. I present the continuum of experiences of Indigenous people in cities and show how there is a range of Indigenous experience in the city, which varies

by person and can encompass: (a) Territorialists: Those residing in their homelands or territories; (b) Returners: Those away from their homelands and their diasporic experience and desire for returns; (c) Learners: Learning about Indigenous culture; (d) Adaptors: Those who are adapting and may not be connected, but not necessarily by choice; (e) Urbanites : Those who see cities as home and their rooted Indigenous cosmopolitan experience. The terminology for the themes evolved organically influenced in some ways through the literature such as returns (Clifford, 2013) and the experience as it was discussed in the research.

The mixing of Indigenous cultures has led to web of relations and connections with a more accessible pan-Indigenous culture in cities, where pow-wows, smudging, and ceremonies are practiced, which may be different than the cultural practices of the First Nations or Métis group in that homeland territory.

In Chapter Five I present the findings from the research through the lens of the social body on the cultural practices of Indigenous people in the city and normative behaviors. Indigenous people continue to be attached to traditional territories and make frequent annual returns to connect to their culture and family. With the increase of Indigenous people living in cities, being a visitor in another group's traditional territory has become a cultural norm. Many Indigenous people continue to connect to each other in cities and are rooted there seeing the city as home, while others continue to be tied to traditional territories. What remains important is the welcoming of Indigenous people when they arrive in a new city in order to connect to other Indigenous people. Often Indigenous people find a connection to Indigenous culture in cities through organizations and groups that offer cultural events, ceremonies, gatherings, and language instruction. Gathering together and feasting continues to be an integral part of cultural connections, identity formation, and supporting each other in cities. The gathering places in cities

such as Aboriginal Friendship Centres are the cultural hub in cities along with informal networks where Indigenous people connect with each other.

Chapter Six explores the narrative of some of the main experiences of Indigenous people in the city and the influence of broader social forces such as Indigenous and state politics, policies, and membership structures. In moving forward in the realm of Indigenous research in cities, there exists many policy implications with the evolving case law in terms of rights of Métis and Non-Status Indians. It explores the marginalization of certain groups of Indigenous people and conversely Indigenous elites who control power and economic capital. The discussion on elites emerged in the research in discussions on *Indian Act* membership and the rights attributed to some Indigenous groups and not others. The discussion also emerged from my position as an Indigenous woman from a small First Nations community, a youth representative and later a youth advocate, who has spent decades advocating for gender and age parity and a restoration of the balance of views in decision-making in Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous communities. In order to achieve any tangible Indigenous decolonization, the role of Elders, women, young people, two-spirited (LGBTQ+), marginalized voices must be heard and respected.

As a result of the Indian residential schools and the "60's scoop" —the taking of children from their birth parents homes into foster homes and for adoption into families outside the community—there are Indigenous people who do not know their families, communities or whether they are First Nations, Métis or Inuit, or a mix of Indigenous groups. For this group it can be much more challenging to connect to their Indigenous identity when they discover much later in life they are Indigenous or do not know to which cultural group they belong. Different First Nations, Métis and Inuit groups are all present in Ottawa but also various organizations

such as Friendship Centres, health organizations, youth organizations, and many others. Regardless of their background it is apparent through this research that single Indigenous mothers continue to experience economic hardship and this is visible within Ottawa. There continues to be a wide gap between those on social assistance, the working poor (most often single mothers), and the middle classes of federal employees and those that work with national and Indigenous organizations.

Chapter Seven presents conclusions related to the findings, future research, and limitations of the research. One of the central findings of my research is that the continuum of the Indigenous experience today is diverse and evolves over the lifetime of the person. As a research finding I also explore the economic challenges that Indigenous women experience: sites of resistance and safe spaces need to be a central policy concern for both the protection of Indigenous women and to provide support for a group that experiences extreme forms of alienation, oppression and violence. I have contributed to this body of work through working in this area for over a decade and bringing in my own experiences, my stories and the stories of others to this topic in order to document and understand the diversity of our experiences.

2   Chapter: Understanding the Indigenous Experience Today

2.1   Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the Indigenous experience today in cities in Canada. It examines the *Indian Act* and how case law over the years has tried to decrease sexism, define more inclusive membership rules, and improve unequal access to services for Indigenous people off-reserve. A profile of the Indigenous population in Canada is discussed including the rising numbers of city residents and continual trend of a mobile and young demographic. Socio-economic conditions continue to be challenging for Indigenous people, lagging behind non-Indigenous counterparts. Despite the challenges, many Indigenous people have been able to complete their education and find stable employment in cities. Although the cultural identity of Indigenous people continues to be complex, they view the city as home and a place of cultural vitality (Environics, 2010).

Organizations continue to be a centre for activities and the sharing of culture in cities for Indigenous individuals that serve as a gathering place and a place to share cultural teachings and connect to identity. One of the conclusions that can be drawn from this thesis is the socio-cultural infrastructure needs to be supported for Indigenous people in cities, as these essential organizations provide safe spaces and a link to cultural identity in a complex environment.

2.2   Indigenous People Living in Cities in Canada

In 1966, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada Economic, Political, Education Needs and Policies* (Hawthorn, 1966) recommended a focus on economic development through education, vocational training, and techniques of mobility to enable Indigenous people to take employment in salaried jobs. The report recognized that it was

particularly important to support the off-reserve population in order to encourage economic participation.

In 1996, the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* [RCAP] endorsed the importance of cultural programming for Indigenous people in cities. The report also discussed the significance of Indigenous organizations in urban centres. Critics pointed out that it nevertheless presented cities as places of cultural loss, and assumed the territories of First Nations, Métis and the Inuit were the centres of Indigenous culture (Andersen & Denis, 1993; Cairns, 2000; Newhouse & Peters, 2003). RCAP also recommended a review of jurisdictional responsibility and called for the federal government to make a commitment to address the socio-economic needs of the Indigenous population. It proposed potential avenues for self-government in the city. Furthermore, the report recognized the diversity of Indigenous groups in urban centres, and called upon policy makers to address the many voices in Indigenous issues. The RCAP research acknowledged that the recognition of culture is key to assisting Indigenous people build positive identities in the city (Belanger, 2003, 2013; Lawrence, 2004; LeClair et al, 2003; Proulx, 2003; Silver, 2006; Urban Aboriginal Task Force, 2007b;).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey found over half (56%) of Aboriginal people reside in population centres (urban areas) (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2011); at a population of 1,400,685 they are 4.3% of the total Canadian population (Turner et al, 2011). In 2006, 54% lived in an urban centre, an increase from 50% in 1996 (Statistics Canada, 2006). Conversely, nearly half (49.3%) of First Nations people who are registered as Status Indians live on reserves (Turner et al, 2011). This is a dramatic demographic change from the previous century in 1901, only 5.1% of Aboriginal people lived in urban areas. That percentage had increased to only 6.7% by 1951 (Norris, Clatworthy & Peters 2013; Peters, 2010).

Well over the majority 79% of Aboriginal people in Canada live in Ontario and the west (INAC, 2013). Ontario had the highest Aboriginal identity population of 21% (301,425), while 57.6% of the total Aboriginal identity population lived in one of the four western provinces (Turner et al, 2011).

The Aboriginal population in Canada is young, with 46% being under the age of 25. The median age of this population is 28 (INAC, 2013). Between 2001 and 2026 more than 600,000 Indigenous youth will come of age to enter the labour market, and the key is to increase educational attainment to secure positions in more skilled occupations (Hull, 2008).

The Indigenous population is also very mobile, with one in four individuals living in a different residence one year prior to the 2006 Census, either in the same city or in a different community, such as a First Nation reserve or another urban or rural area. In urban contexts, over one third of Indigenous men (36%) and women (35%) has moved in the past five years (Statistics Canada, 2006). The Census asks two questions related to mobility and migration and given that the long form census was not part of the 2011 Census currently there are not any updated statistics on this topic until the 2016 Census data is released on October 25, 2017 for data on Aboriginal peoples (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Indigenous people move to urban environments most commonly for family reasons and increased opportunities, such as employment, education, and training (Statistics Canada, 2006). While the population of Indigenous people on-reserve has remained quite steady, there has been an increase in Indigenous people moving within and between cities; this experience is referred to as "churn" (Clatworthy & Norris, 2011).

In terms of net migration, Indigenous people are moving predominantly to cities and reserves, as rural areas ($N = -13,530$) and urban non-CMAs ($N = -135$) have decreasing

populations, while urban CMAs (N = +3.570) and reserves (N = +10,095) have increasing

populations (Clatworthy, 2009). As Richards (2001) notes, migration is more common among

Indigenous people than their non-Indigenous counterparts, and among individuals living in

higher-income than poorer neighbourhoods.

Increases in Indigenous populations in cities have been attributed to several factors: high

fertility rates compared to the non-Indigenous population; changes in legal status resulting from

Bill C-31, which increased band membership numbers; migration from rural areas and reserves;

and "ethnic drifting," which refers to changing patterns of ethnic identification in the census

(Norris, Cook, & Clatworthy, 2003).

Although efforts have been made federally to close the socio-economic gap between

Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, there is still a long way to go. Off-reserve Indigenous

high school completion has lagged behind that of the rest of Canadians. The rate of off-reserve

Indigenous high school completion is little more than half that of the non-Indigenous population.

Approximately one in three urban Indigenous people (35% of Indigenous women, 38% of

Indigenous men) do not have a high school diploma, compared to one in five (20%) for the non-

Indigenous urban population (ibid). Canadian research with the C.D. Howe Institute indicates

between 40-50% of students' school performance can be attributed to factors beyond the

school's control, such as socio-economic status, parental education levels, etc. Given that 40% of

First Nations students on-reserve attend off-reserve schools, it is imperative that provincial and

federal governments work together to increase graduation rates (ibid).

The differences are even more striking in terms of post-secondary education: "A mere 4

percent of the Indigenous identity population had a university degree, as opposed to 15.4 percent

of all Canadians" (Mendelson, 2004, p. 15). There was a twenty-five percentage point gap

between Indigenous and non-Indigenous post-secondary attainment among young adults aged 25-34 (Sharpe & Arsenault, 2009). Indigenous women in cities hold university degrees at less than one half the non-Indigenous rate, and among men the Indigenous rate is one-third the non-Indigenous rate (ibid). This low rate of educational attainment is troubling; while a high school diploma has historically been considered an important prerequisite for competing in the labour market, that minimum is shifting to a post-secondary degree. The education of Indigenous people (First Nations Status and non-status, Métis, and Inuit) is the key to ensuring their full economic participation.

While statistics have shown a steady increase in the number of Indigenous people with degrees over the twentieth century, and while this has been accompanied by increased levels of income (Brunnen, 2003; Drost & Richards, 2003), many individuals continue to have poor labour market outcomes. As the growth of the Indigenous population in cities has increased in the last ten years, so has this group's participation in highly skilled occupations. Although there are more opportunities for employment in cities, it is evident that not all Indigenous people participate in the economy, given that almost half (42.8%) of Indigenous people in Canada's largest cities live in poverty (Sharpe & Arsenault, 2009). If the education gap were closed over the entire 2001 to 2026 period, the cumulative effect of increased Indigenous education and labour market outcomes on the GDP would be an estimated $401 billion (Sharpe & Arsenault, 2009).

There is a growing and successful middle-class among Canada's Indigenous population in cities, composed of professionals, entrepreneurs and knowledge sector workers (Wotherspoon, 2003). Amongst Indigenous people in cities in Canada, between five and fifteen percent have incomes of at least $40,000 annually (Wotherspoon, 2003). Recent research found that one-

quarter of Indigenous people in Ontario made more than $40,000 per year and 12% are earning over $60,000 annually (UATF, 2007b). In Ottawa specifically, one-third of the local population earn over $40,000 annually with 12% earning over $60,000 annually (UATF, 2007a). The *Urban Aboriginal Task Force Report* (2007b) highlights the importance of recognizing the socio-economic diversity of the Indigenous population, since programs and services are targeted mainly to economically challenged individuals. A focus on cultural and language programming for all economic groups is needed.

According to the *Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study* (Environics, 2010) Indigenous people aspire to the "good life" with family and a balanced lifestyle, as well as a good job, successful career, and financial independence. The city is home for most, and pursuing higher education is the leading aspiration of Indigenous people. In cities Indigenous people feel connected to other Indigenous groups, yet most report that they have personally experienced negative behavior or unfair treatment as a result of racism. Although First Nations, Inuit and Métis people living in cities are culturally varied they share many values and aspirations.

In the C.D. Howe Institute Report *Neighbours Matter*, Richards (2001) found that neighbourhoods are an important determinant of future success and ongoing life influence, and that economically poor urban neighbourhoods generate destructive social dynamics. Richards tied positive outcomes to growing up in good neighbourhoods and poor outcomes to growing up in poor neighbourhoods and found that Indigenous people in Canada are overrepresented in poor neighbourhoods, which often have higher-than-average crime rates. For example, Indigenous peoples live in housing that is inadequate and in need of major repairs at twice the rate of non-Indigenous urban residents (ibid). Affordable and adequate housing continues to be a central issue for Indigenous people in cities. In addition to this, many Indigenous peoples live in

crowded housing yet spend a larger proportion of their overall income on housing as compared

to their non-Indigenous counterparts (i.e. 30% or more of their gross household income is spent

on housing, which is one and a half times more than the non-Indigenous rate). Further research

on the relevance of neighbourhoods to positive and negative outcomes of the Indigenous

population is needed.

When moving from a rural area to the city, Indigenous people have to adjust to a new

cultural context compared to reserves and rural areas. Many individuals are compelled to make

this difficult transition out of economic necessity. Indigenous people in cities struggle with

socio-economic factors despite the relative increase in available jobs. However, over time

Indigenous people can adapt to city life and see it as their home. Cities can be places of cultural

vitality for Indigenous people (Environics, 2010), such that building community may offset a

myriad challenges.

2.3   Complexities of Culture and Identities

There are two fundamental aspects of identity – individual (the self) and social (the

group) (Rummens, 2003). Self-identity allows people to situate themselves within their

surroundings, through their concept of self in the present to make sense of their world. Social

identity is how the identity of people is constructed through "markers" such as ethnicity, age, and

gender. A person's self-identity can be negotiated over time due to societal pressures impacting

their self-identity, such as not discovering one is Indigenous until much later in life, or "passing,"

as non-Indigenous due to racism or not connecting to their Indigenous identity which is a

complete denial of Indigenous identity and ethnicity. Also the experience of Indigenous

hybridity that requires switching behaviors to participate in both Canadian and Indigenous

communities due to different socials norms and values (Lawrence, 2004). Overarching traits such

as gender, race, and indigeneity can also be considered "master traits" (Lambertus, 2002). Some master traits can challenge the self-identity of the person, and lead to social stigma and marginalization, withdrawal from the subgroup, or a bi-culturalism that produces group solidarity and reduced feelings of marginalization. The "duality dilemma" (Jones, 1997) is where a person tries to participate in both cultures some individuals are able to do this naturally while others struggle.

As a result of these complexities identity has become increasingly problematic for Indigenous people, whether they are First Nations (Status or Non-Status Indians), Métis, Inuit, or of mixed heritage. The number of mixed-blood Indigenous people has risen, a situation which provides new complexities in determining who is Indigenous. Although many Indigenous people see the city as their home (Environics, 2010), many also return to traditional homelands and exist between the two as bicultural, hybrid beings.

As a result of the hegemony of forced classification and membership through the Canadian *Indian Act*, indigeneity – as a non-Western perspective and state of being enacted through an individual's everyday relationships and activities – has been reduced to discrete, definable, and delimited categories of citizenship: Status Indian (Status First Nations), Non-Status Indian (Non-Status First Nations), Métis, Inuit, and even Aboriginal. These politicized subject-positions are often based on reified and highly malleable factors such as blood quantum and skin colour, which are a holdover of the false "objectivity" of nineteenth-century scientific racism. This view stemmed from the 'old idea of culture' where it is bounded, a minor entity with defined characteristics that is unchanging, self-reproducing with a set of system of shared meanings, a so-called 'authentic culture'; and with identical, homogenous individuals (Wright, 1998). In many respects, indigeneity has been essentialized and bounded as a means of excluding

some by focusing on certain aspects of physical appearance and social practices as an arbiter of

an individual's authenticity. The identity politics of essentialization focus on the tension between

the multiple and fluid constructions of identity (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, 2006; Malkki 1992);

and the "primordial" that links Indigenous identity to soil "that culture carries with it an

expectation of roots, of a stable, territorialized existence" (Clifford, 1994 p. 338). Through

decades of other people defining who is Indigenous, Indigenous people have continued modes of

survival, struggle, and renewal, adapting to a modern world. Clifford (2013) argues for an

"ethnographic and historical realism" that avoids both Western triumphalism and savage

romanticism for a better understanding of the realities of the Indigenous experience embedded

within shifting global conditions (p. 7).

The awareness of Indigenous culture as distinct from Western culture has demanded

space within modern times for differentiation "what the self-consciousness of 'culture' does

signify is the demand of the peoples for their own space within the world cultural order…The

project is the indigenization of modernity" (Sahlins, 1999a). However, as Sahlins points out

"traditional" Indigenous cultural studies were "in fact neotraditional, already changed by

Western expansion (p. xi). Sahlins proposes that culture is becoming myth or fabrication to the

ends of the "invention of tradition" where many "traditions" which "appear or claim to be old are

often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012, p. 1). Sahlins

argues that culture has always been adapting and that it is not disappearing, rather it is an

ongoing project.

The word *identity* poses a number of practical and theoretical challenges (Brubaker &

Cooper, 2000). It means too much in the hard constructivist sense akin to essentialism, yet it

allows for an endless proliferation of identities and therefore loses all meaning in the soft

constructivist sense. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) explain the challenge of identity applicable to

Indigenous people in cities: "Preserving cultural distinctiveness depends at least in part on

maintaining bounded groupness and hence on policing the 'exit option,' and accusations of

'passing' and of betraying one's roots serve as modes of discipline" (p. 33). The authors

differentiate between "identity" as a reified thing from "identification" which is an ongoing

process and practice. They argue that one need not choose between history flattened into a

bounded cultural group identity or a single national story, and instead adopt different

terminology and conceptualize particularity in a more differentiated manner.

Lawrence (2004) discusses how looking "Indian" or "Native" is at some unconscious

level important in defining indigeneity:

> At a gut level, looking Indian is seen as far more important to an individual's entitlement to
>
> participate in the Native community than individuals are willing to admit. . . . [T]he
>
> strategic denials of the importance of appearance to Indianness do not remove
>
> commonsense assumptions that those who choose to identify as Native should look Native.
>
> (p. 156)

Identity for Indigenous people has caused extreme confusion. Viewing urban residents as

inauthentically Indigenous has done more harm than good. A further layer of complexity is the

potential conflict between individual success and collective interests (Groenfeldt, 2003). This

conflict is described by Indigenous scholar Donald Fixico: "The need for advancement in

education, economy, and all phases of life must be carefully weighed against the potential loss of

native traditions and culture. . . . [C]arrying out both missions has torn Indian people apart—

individually and communally" (Fixico, 2000, p. 171). The dual concepts of authenticity and

inauthenticity are linked to economic success, which is in opposition to the values of community thinking and the belief that the two cannot exist together.

The root of this complex issue is authenticity. There is a general belief among both Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations that Indigenous communities in cities and identities are diluted, making them inauthentic while land-based First Nations identities are more stable (Andersen & Denis, 1993; RCAP, 1996; UATF, 2007b). In the earliest research on Indigenous people in Canadian cities, RCAP (1996) acknowledged that having a strong connection to cultural and community identity was essential for Indigenous people in cities, and that as a group they did not change into non-Indigenous people after crossing the city limits. In the wake of cultural imperialism, Indigenous people have often grasped at traditional practices, the land, and bounded conceptions of self in defining their individual and community indigeneity. Yet questions remain. As Indigenous people increasingly become urban they are reimagining identity. Identity for urban North American Indians is fluid and consists of a multiplicity of factors such as ancestry, appearance, cultural knowledge, and Indian community participation (Howard & Proulx, 2011; Lobo & Peters, 2001; Proulx, 2003). However, they found the most important factor for North American Indians in cities is self-identification.

Indigeneity should be conceived of on a continuum that ranges from those residing outside their homelands and their diasporic experiences, to those who see cities as their homes and communities. All positions on this continuum are authentic as the range of experience is individual to the person themselves as there is no one Indigenous experience today.

The phenomenon of pan-Indianism, where circumstances such as kinship, ceremony, and war brought people together from different tribes, has occurred throughout the history of Indigenous people in North America (Fixico, 2000). Pan-Indianism is illustrated in practices

such as the pow-wow, which evolved during the mid to late 1800s. The specific origins of the modern day pow-wow are unknown, but it involves Indigenous people dancing to inter-tribal songs (Fixico, 2000). The pow-wow creates a place for Indigenous people across North America to partake in a blending of Indigenous culture and ceremony. This is particularly appealing to urban Indigenous people today, who lack a traditional land base to ground individual and community identity.

In recent times in the twentieth century pan-Indianism has emerged as a means to bring Indigenous people together in the overlapping contexts of urbanization and the civil rights and post-colonial movements. For those who grew up on First Nations reserves or in remote areas on a land base, it is easier to consider indigeneity as connected to a rural place or territory through hunting, trapping, fishing, and ceremonies on the land. For Indigenous people who do not have access to a land base, it makes less sense to connect indigeneity to the land. So they have instead connected it to spirituality and rituals that can be practiced anywhere:

> Reserve-based or northern participants were more focused on the role that land-based collective living-hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering berries and medicines played in the maintenance of their traditions, as opposed to the more abstract or ritualized aspects of traditionalism that a number of urban participants were involved in. (Lawrence, 2004, p. 166)

Urbanization of Indigenous people has led to the need to maintain a bounded urban group with shared meaning and practices while still acknowledging diversity in traditional First Nations, Métis and Inuit cultures. What remains most important is to acknowledge that living in an urban centre does not make an Indigenous person "less" authentic. Instead, the confluence of diverse Indigenous cultures provides a strong foundation for belonging, resilience, and

innovation (Peters & Andersen, 2013). Indigenous people in cities focus on self-identifying with indigeneity and claiming an Indigenous identity that differs from those living on a reserve, where the attachment to that particular place defines one's identity through the constructed and bounded space of land allotted to First Nations people.

2.4   Place-Making Through Cultural Practices and the Body

Although many aspects of transnationalism and Indigenous diaspora can theoretically explain the experience of Indigenous people, through both displacement and reterritorialization, these concepts pose challenges in exploring the personal experience of the individual. In the most broad sense place is distinct from space which is focused on the relation to location and the material setting for social relations (locale). Place is differentiated in its relation to the human capacity to produce meaning through sense and although societal and cultural knowledge are important in place, it is primarily concerned with social relations (Agnew, 1987; Malpas, 1999).

In the seminal work the *Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology* Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) examined three perspectives that they termed the "three bodies," which are ways that the body can be viewed: (a) as a phenomenally experienced individual body-self; (b) as a social body, a natural symbol for thinking about relationships among nature, society, and culture; and (c) as a body politic, an artifact of social and political control. This thesis incorporates the three aspects of the individual, social, and political in order to explore and acknowledge the deeply intertwined relationship the Indigenous body in Canada has with conceptions of personhood and the history of assimilation through the Indian residential school and the continuing inscribing of Indigenous bodies within the *Indian Act*.

Within this research I am most concerned with the construction of place through spatiality, social relations and meaning. Social relations are reflected upon in the production of space through competing modes of production. Lefebvre views space as a social product masked by an illusion of transparency where the known and the transparent are the same. He describes the three dimension of space as the "trialectic of spaciality" (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1999) which are: 1) conceived space, (or imagined by Anderson, 2006) or representation of space, is the dominant mode of understanding space which orders abstract knowledge and values into signs and codes which are both implicit and explicit; 2) perceived space, or spatial practice, which is the mediated experiences of space that are coherent and empirically measurable and involves interpretations of signs and codes; and 3) lived space, or spaces of representation which is directly produced and experienced as images and symbols formed by the everyday life of users. Lived spaces emerge as a result of people using space to live out their everyday lives. While de Certeau (1984) focuses on how space is appropriated through ways of operating and how remembering, naming and narrating the city, residents create lived space beyond the confines of urban planning. He also finds that power is wielded by the strong through strategies of classification, delineation and division, while the weak resort to tactics of furtive movement, short cuts and routes.

Place and the production of its meaning is based on the social production of space by social dynamics situated in postmodernism within the logic of advanced capitalism that produced a more flexible mode of accumulation after the advent of Fordism that historically compressed and changed the forms of space – time experience with an emphasis on money, space, time as interlocking sources of social power (Harvey, 1990).

In terms of observing cultural practices it requires a "getting back into place" (Casey, 1993) in the way we are already there, emplaced in space and time "by our own lived body" (Casey, 1997, p. 21). The term *body* is utilized here as an "indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world" (Csordas, 1994, p. 12). Mauss (1973) resituated the body by considering the culturally patterned uses of the body in society and exploring the body as "man's first and most natural instrument" (p. 75). Csordas elaborated on Mauss's work in describing how "the body is simultaneously both the original object upon which the work of culture is carried out, and the original tool with which that work is achieved" (1990, p. 11). My interest here is in the realm of the practices of the body, focusing on "perception, practice, parts, processes, or products" (Csordas, 1990, p. 4). Merleau-Ponty (1945/ 2004) contended that the starting point for our being-in-the-world is our experience of perception:

> In the same way we shall need to reawaken our experience of the world as it appears to us in so far as we are in the world through our body, and in so far as we perceive the world with our body. But by thus remaking contact with the body and with the world, we shall also rediscover ourself, since, perceiving as we do with our body, the body is a natural self and, as it were, the subject of perception. (p. 239)

The body is central to emplacement, as our bodies are how we experience the world, particularly through movement within and between places. Culture exists in places as "places are also primary in the order of culture" (Casey, 1993, p. 31), and culture is "carried into places by bodies" (Casey, 1997, p. 34) and the lived body is habitually ruled by social processes. More importantly, places gather things, experiences and histories and the power belongs to place itself, and it is a power of gathering (Casey, 1993) through holding together, holding things in and out,

holding a layout or respected configuration, keeping things kept in place, and keep thoughts and memories. Places gather things in their midst– where 'things' connote various animate and animate entities, places also gather experiences and histories, even languages and thoughts and are places where space and time come together. Places also gather memories as they are containers.

Culture can be explored in places through the body and social practices, in particular; I am interested in exploring the habitus that brings culture to bear on the movements of the body or "history turned into nature" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 78). Habitus is how behavior is guided by social norms that are socially constructed and enduring over time to the extent that practices are unconsciously repeated, although they are not fixed or permanent and can shift over long periods of time. Therefore, as a result of habitus structures and power are re-legitimized time and again as they culturally and symbolically created (Bourdieu, 1990; Navarro, 2006).

Bourdieu's practice theory is therefore meant to describe a group's actions as dispositions; habitus are "systems of durable, transposable dispositions . . . principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72). According to the theory, actions are largely unconscious and "the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82). In enacting habitus, bodies inhabit places that are culturally informed. Individual actions are steered by what the individual believes are their own thoughts, intuitions and motivations and yet unknowingly to them they are largely a product of social and cultural norms.

The use of practice theory will provide a greater depth to my research as I employ an ethnographic approach of participant observation of cultural practices. Employing practice theory will also bring the broader, more global, theoretical perspective of transnationalism and diaspora back to the individual in specific places. It will provide a context for the differences in experiences and cultural practices among the multiple groups and identities of Indigenous people in the field site. As a method, it will also assist me in moving past narratives of place-making in semi-structured interviews and conversations to careful observation of the practices of Indigenous people in cities.

2.5   Connecting Through Transnationalism and Indigenous Diaspora

Numerous anthropologists and other scholars working in Indigenous communities have questioned the power relations inherent in research and representations of the "other" in ethnographic writing (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). A related concern is how the textual representation of the "other" as bounded or rooted to territory "spatially incarcerat[es] the native" (Appadurai, 1988; Malkki, 1992). Scholars continue to debate issues of identity and place, partly because representation, voice, and power are enduring sites of contestation (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, 2006).

When discussing the Indigenous experience today, it is useful to explore how other groups have experienced this cultural phenomenon. In the international sense transnationalism has provided useful comparison through the immigrant experience of crossing borders, connections to homelands and deterritorialization (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1989). Transnationalism also provides a way to move away from traditional bounded notions of Indigenous identity, which privilege those with a homeland as being more "authentic" than urban

communities (Andersen & Denis, 1993; Tomiak, 2010; Tomiak and Patrick, 2010; UATFb, 2007).

The concept of transnationalism emerged in anthropology to describe how immigrants crossed borders while still maintaining ties to a distant homeland (Schiller, Basch, and Blac-Szanton, 1992). Transnationalism is a result of the increased mobility of people around the world, which can involve diasporas, border crossings, and nomadism. These experiences are characteristic of global capitalism and the flows of people, media, and culture as groups have become increasingly deterritorialized (Appadurai, 1996, 1991; Hannerz, 1989). Transnational identities provide ample footing to theoretically explore the changing nature of group identities, and, in particular, the move from notions of bounded identities to those of fluid and multiple identities. Darnell (2011) in her article *Nomadic Legacies and Contemporary Decision-Making Strategies* also highlights this experience as a reiteration of Indigenous "nomadic legacies" as "agricultural traditions [that] sustain relationships to land that transcend permanent settlement" (p. 39). So the experience is not only perceived as a disruption but a continued practice that empowers connection to historical movement "Nomadic legacies evoke habitual culturally inherited forms of thought that privilege movement of people among resources in a seasonal cycle with local variations depending on changes in the available resources" (p. 43).

Transnationalism as a theoretical concept can provide a useful entry point to exploring similarities among Indigenous peoples around the world today, and specifically the Indigenous reality in Canada. Indigenous people in Canada are constructing identities in cities that provide access to culture, and a sense of belonging through cultural hybridization and participating in both society at large and Indigenous communities (Escobar, 2001). Numerous Indigenous people have moved to cities by choice and have adapted to and created vibrant communities. The

concept of transnationalism can also be used to acknowledge the collective Indigenous experience and the international rights agenda, stemming from the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2004). The forum has spearheaded international work such as the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

While there are many Indigenous people who have been displaced, there are also other Indigenous people who are reimagining and reterritorializing place to develop community and solidarity in a multiplicity of forms. In the Indigenous population, there is also an increasing proportion of Non-Status Indians and those with mixed ancestry without a land base who have always been urban (Lawrence, 2004).

A segment of the Indigenous population has access to homelands that play an integral role in identity formation. However, caution should be employed in asserting any homogeneous experience for Indigenous peoples (de la Cadena & Starn, 2007; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010). Furthermore, urbanization and globalization are characterized by negative aspects such as forced migration, landlessness, and nomadism, which result in displacement and severe economic hardship, as well as a disconnection from homeland. It is also important to acknowledge that for Indigenous people in Canada, whether or not one has access to a traditional homeland is a direct result of the *Indian Act* and discriminatory policies.

Exploring the Indigenous experience through a multilocal and multivocal narrative of place restores agency to the people under study (Rodman, 1992). This entails exploring places from multiple, non-Western points of view; employing a comparative analysis of place; maintaining reflexivity in viewing places that have been transformed or changed; exploring multiple viewpoints of place; and acknowledging the overlapping narratives of place and differences in power and experience among men, women, and young people (Rodman, 1992).

The concept of Indigenous diaspora is also important because it moves beyond essentialist notions of identity that constrain present realities of Indigenous life while continuing to acknowledge an Indigenous relationship with ancestral lands and ability to construct communities and identities in cities.

2.6   Physical Places – Institution Building and Connecting to Culture

The movement of Indigenous people into cities poses jurisdictional challenges because of the *Indian Act* distinctions. Indigenous people can access programs and services separately from specific First Nations, Métis and Inuit programming for each group. Although at the outset this sounds problematic, Indigenous people have come to view the locations of these programs as both places to access services such as at Friendship Centres, which also serve as gathering places to build and maintain relationships with other Indigenous people. Indigenous organizations meet the needs of community members and strengthen cultural identity (RCAP, 1996). They are gathering places and sites of shared cultural identity, where values, symbols, and history serve to bring many heterogeneous Indigenous communities together. One area of contestation is the ability of these centres to provide cultural teaching through a pan-Indigenous approach with practices such as pow-wows, which some see as overtaking the importance of local, traditional First Nations teachings (Lawrence, 2004). Yet having access to many cultural teachings has clearly provided many urban Indigenous residents with a firm connection to culture, teachings, and traditional knowledge.

At the time of writing, RCAP characterized Indigenous organizations as unorganized, but still contributing to community development by meeting needs and strengthening cultural identity. Specifically, RCAP saw friendship centres as central to the development of community: "For many urban Indigenous people, a friendship centre is the heart of their urban Aboriginal

community" (Section 1.4, para. 6). Indigenous programming was developed to provide culturally appropriate and relevant social services to Indigenous people, who often experienced socioeconomic hardship and racism and would not otherwise access mainstream services. Friendship centres are particularly important to Indigenous people because they play two fundamental roles: as a referral service for social services and as a gathering place.

Indigenous scholar David Newhouse (2003) describes Indigenous organizations as starting in the 1950s as Indian clubs and friendship centres, which grew from three organizations in 1960 to 117 organizations by 2002. There has been a massive expansion of small not-for-profit Indigenous organizations in Canada, which numbered over 6,000 in 1993, when there were also over 20,000 small Indigenous businesses in urban areas. The organizations provide culturally relevant social services, but also have taken on a role in cultural, spiritual, and community development. Newhouse argues that policy makers do not recognize this "invisible infrastructure," and only see Indigenous organizations delivering services through a social deficit model. In reality, Indigenous communities are thriving within many organizations: "The experience of Indigenous life is mediated through community institutions. Participation in them gives a sense of community, a sense of history and a sense of shared values" (Newhouse, 2003, p. 252). Institution-building should be seen as providing much more than infrastructure; it also fosters an ongoing legacy of empowerment and pride. Indigenous organizations were created by the Indigenous community – not the Indian Act – to address critical needs and provide a voice for the Indigenous community.

The availability of Indigenous places are vitally important to facilitating connections and belonging in the city for Indigenous people. Whether it is a physical place within one of the Indigenous institutions in Ottawa, an event, a meeting or an informal monthly meeting of a group

such as the Indigenous Professionals Network in a non-Indigenous place. Place matters and both

the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health and the Odawa Friendship Centre have Elder's rooms

that provide important cultural place, symbolism and sacred space for healing and spiritual

connection. They symbolize both a respect for the Elders for our cultural and spiritual traditions

and for storytelling using the oral tradition.

Institution building has become an essential ingredient to cultural identity and

construction in the city. Over the last several decades, Indigenous institution building has taken

root as a definitive way of establishing place in the city, through gathering, with a shared history,

symbols, and meanings (Fixico, 2000; Garroute, 2003; Lawrence, 2004; Lobo & Peters, 2001;

Newhouse & Peters, 2003; RCAP, 1996). Indigenous people in the city have a practice of

constructing multiple locales, producing new structures, and a changing and evolving culture that

includes the move to pan-Indian approaches. These Indigenous institutions also act as

depoliticized spaces where accessing services and engaging in them is geared towards an

inclusive approach of "Indigenous self-identification" where access is not distinctions based.

Indigenous organizations in the city have been built up since the 1960s and provide

places for cultural connection in the absence of a land base (Newhouse, 2003). Although

Indigenous organizations have governing boards and membership lists they do not establish

membership criteria and people can choose to be involved with them or not. Friendship centres

are particularly important to Indigenous peoples as they play two fundamental roles, first as a

referral for social services and second, as a gathering place. Both are largely invisible to

mainstream society (Newhouse, 2003).

Provincial and federal jurisdiction remains unclear for Indigenous people in the city. Case

law such as the *Misquadis* and the *Daniels* decision make it clear that access of programs and

services must be distributed between First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people, and should be accessible to all beyond reserve boundaries. With a long history of jurisdictional wrangling and policies meant to divide and assimilate Indigenous people (such as Indian residential schools), governments have an imperative to uphold policies that support Indigenous cultures, particularly where there were previously policies in place intended for their annihilation. The desire and need for Indigenous people to connect to their culture is essential in building or maintaining their Indigenous identity. It is easier for Indigenous people to connect to their culture, and to build and maintain community and traditions, in First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities tied to traditional territories. In urban centres, there are the traditions of the territory's associated First Nations or Métis group, and also the presence of multiple Indigenous cultures and pan-indigeneity. For an Indigenous person moving to the city, in order to connect to their Indigenous identity they need either to connect to the local Indigenous territorial group or find it through other Indigenous people, organizations, and networks. In Ottawa, groups such as Wabano and the local Aboriginal Friendship Centre provide cultural programming such as pow-wows, language training, talking circles, Elder guidance programs, and related support to Indigenous people in the city.

The need for Indigenous people to connect to their culture goes far beyond just accessing programs and services, or bringing people together. It is essential in identity formation and self-esteem building, which are necessary elements to provide the foundation for Indigenous people to lead happy, healthy, and meaningful lives. Culture is one of the single most important elements in self-esteem and resiliency. Previous research on the connection between Indigenous youth and suicide in 198 British Columbia First Nations found that those with increased infrastructure, and who were farther along in the self-determination agenda, showed increased

levels of cultural continuity and significantly lower levels of suicide. The six factors were: 1) self-government, 2) engagement in land claims, 3) existence of education services, 4) tribal-controlled police and fire services, 5) on-reserve health services, and 6) existence of cultural facilities (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). There is some discussion on the circularity of the argument. Later research exclusively considered language, and found that communities that had higher levels of Indigenous language preservation and use were correlated to significantly lower levels of suicide (Hallett, Chandler, & Lalonde, 2007). The Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC, 2017) has included culture as one of its 12 social determinants of health, as dominant cultural values lead to marginalization and devaluation of languages and culture and contribute to a lack of access to culturally appropriate health and services. Providing culturally appropriate programs and services to Indigenous populations will increase self-esteem, resilience, mental health, and overall health.

In my previous research on Indigenous youth engagement in decision-making in Vancouver (Matthew, 2009), I found that programs and service delivery organizations had a central role in the development of community. Specifically, my research uncovered a strong link between programs such as the Urban Multipurpose Aboriginal Youth Centres (UMAYC) initiative launched in 1999 (now called the Cultural Connections for Aboriginal Youth program) and Indigenous youth engagement and capacity development. The initiative is funded by Canadian Heritage and began by forming Indigenous youth councils in cities across the country. These Indigenous youth councils reviewed and approved funding applications for youth projects in their cities. It was the first time that young Indigenous people in Vancouver were actively engaged in programming decisions that affected them. Many of the youth that I interviewed identified this program as fundamental in building leadership skills and a lasting capacity and

legacy for urban Indigenous communities. Youth who were on the UMAYC youth councils often went on to start their own organizations, or work in middle or senior management positions in Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations. Institution-building should be seen as providing much more than infrastructure but also an ongoing legacy of empowerment, pride and skill building.

The American Indian experience is similar to that in the Canadian context. As in Canada, the urban Indian community in the United States can be defined as a widely scattered and frequently shifting network of relationships. Urban Indian organizations are locational nodes for these relationships and sites for activities of special significance (Lobo, 2001). American Indian people stress that community is not limited to a place, but is rather characterized by relationships that bind people together. This is how identity is established. Anthropologist Susan Lobo (2001) characterizes one American Indian community in San Francisco as a social group, in which: (a) Community members recognize a shared identity; (b) There are shared values, symbols, and history; (c) Basic institutions have been created and sustained; and (d) There are consistent features of social organization such as those related to social control and the definition of distinctive and specialized gender and age related roles (p.75)

The urban Indian community in the United States also uses urban organizations as gathering places for dance clubs, outings, sports, social services, and pow-wows (Fixico, 2000; Ramirez, 2007). The result is a growing pan-Indian cultural movement that provides security and acceptance to all tribes.

Many of the individual and collective practices of Indigenous people today are dependent on the background of the person. First Nations and Métis populations who have access to homelands encourages returns that maintain cultural connections and familial ties. Yet for those

who do not have access to homelands, Indigenous organizations in cities have an important role in cultivating and maintaining cultural connections. Organizations in cities act as "containers" (Rodman, 1992) where Indigenous identities are constructed, maintained, and developed over time. Although we can see various cultural practices over time depending on the place, traditions attached to First Nations territories are often concentrated on the land such as hunting, fishing, trapping (and notably, these practices are often entangled with claims for Aboriginal rights and title). Homelands provide a consistent container for the transmission of cultural traditions that are passed on from one generation to the next with an increased focus on keeping practices the same as they are passed on. In practical terms it is not possible to keep cultural practices the same, given the variations of teachings and style from one generation to the next, so in essence even the desire to keep a practice static is not possible. Several research participants discussed the role that organizations in the city have in cultural renewal for Indigenous people who are learning about their heritage, in addition to maintaining or adopting new practices for those who are living away from their homelands. The focus in cities is less on keeping the knowledge the same, or of the local First Nations territory, and more on sharing culture from Elders who represent various Indigenous communities from across Canada. The Elders may be First Nations (Status and Non-Status), Métis, or Inuit, or they may even be from another region, such as Mexico, Central America, or South America. There is a blending of cultures in urban centres, and as one participant said, an individual chooses teachings from Elders that resonate with the person.

The phenomenon of urbanization – or moving to cities and urban areas with large, concentrated, and different populations – has impacted Indigenous peoples throughout North America. Indigenous people have found the need to create authentic spaces of community for cultural renewal and safety in urban areas. For many, an essential component of community in

cities has focused on institution building – which is creating more Indigenous organizations in cities—as a replacement for a land-based identity. For other Indigenous people who have never had a land base, the development of community through institutions has provided a place to find their cultural identity. In this light, Indigenous organizations are much more than a space to access social services for the socially disadvantaged. They are a central source of identity construction, and cultural survival, resilience, celebration, and renewal

2.7   Colonization, Cultural Loss, the Indian Residential School System and the 60's Scoop

A variety of systemic issues that have impacted the experiences of Indigenous people today. I provide an overview of the Indian Residential School system as a pervasive force that eradicated Indigenous culture. The colonization of Indigenous people in Canada was carried out by British and French imperial governments in the 1700 and 1800's (See Appendix H for the historical timeline). At this time, European colonizers considered all of North America to be "terra nullius": the land was empty, neither owned by nor belonging to particular Indigenous groups (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010). From the colonial perspective, a settler society was required to occupy the territory and lay claim to its resources. This dispossessed Indigenous people of their lands and pushed them to the margins of inhabited areas, eventually confining them to "reserves." These land allotments served as a means of control to produce oppressive and hierarchical spatial categories (Berg, 2011; Blomley, 2004; Razack, 2002). It is this political, place-based oppression and the struggle against this dispossession that distinguishes the Indigenous experience from non-Indigenous life (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005).

Meanwhile, as Indigenous populations declined due to European diseases, colonizers saw Indigenous people as disappearing and assimilating into settler society (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010). The ethnocide of First Nations cultures relied on racial, ethnic, and gender hierarchies

"expressed through laws, political institutions, immigration and settlement policies" (Stasiulis and Jhappan, 1995, p. 97). From the perspective of Indigenous people, European subjugation was a "pervasive structural and psychological relationship between the colonizer and the colonized" that "reflected in the dominant institutions, policies, histories, and literatures of occupying powers" (LaRocque, 1996, p. 11).

The advent of the Indian residential schools was one of the greatest forces to have affected Indigenous culture and experience in Canada. The church-run schools forcibly assimilated Indigenous children into the body politic. The impacts of the physical, emotional, sexual, and mental abuse of Indigenous children in the residential schools has impacted all the subsequent generations in what has been described as historic trauma. Most of the participants in my research have directly experienced inter-generational abuses as a result of family members attending the schools. This is an experience shared by most Indigenous people and crosses all boundaries within the Indigenous community, whether in urban centres or on-reserves.

The movement to heal from these traumas has evolved at a collective level. The first step to move forward is the reconciliation of past deeds between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The decolonial resurgence of Indigenous lifeways is a direct response to many of the losses experienced as a consequence of the Indian residential schools.

Colonization refers to the forced assimilation of Indigenous people in North America into non-indigenous lifeways following first contact, and the dismantling of their cultures through many methods including disease, treaties, and the *Indian Act* (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010). From 1884 to 1951, the *Indian Act* prohibited Indigenous people in Canada from participating in traditional ceremonies such as the potlatch; from gathering in groups of more than three individuals; and from obtaining legal representation. Indigenous people were prohibited from

voting in provincial elections until 1948, and federal elections until 1960 (Joseph & Joseph, 2007).

The relationship between Indigenous people and the federal government is defined in the constitution under the *Indian Act* of 1876 (R.S. 1985, c.1-5, Department of Justice Canada, 2010) as a legal duty. The sole purpose of the *Indian Act* was to assimilate Indigenous people. It is notable that Indigenous men and women were disenfranchised until 1960 and were not enfranchised in Quebec until1969. In addition, Indigenous women were deprived of their Indian Status if they married non-Indian men, until 1985 (discussed in depth in the previous section) (Dickason, 1992; Lawrence, 2004). Colonization has been defined as a multifaceted ongoing disconnection from culture experienced by Indigenous people, "...colonialism is best conceptualized as an irresistible outcome of a multigenerational and multifaceted process of forced dispossession and attempted acculturation – a disconnection from land, culture, and community – that has resulted in political chaos and social discord within First nations communities and the collective dependency of First Nations upon the state" (Alfred, 1999, p. 52).

The Indian Residential School system was started after the Davin Report was released in 1879 (Rice & Snyder, 2008). Nicholas Davin reported on the industrial schools in the United States, which separated American Indian children from their parents and was a tool for aggressive "civilization." Davin proposed a similar school for Indigenous children in Canada, except with the additional involvement of the church. The federal government partnered with the church, using their existing infrastructure of clergy as teachers and support staff for the residential schools. Primary financial responsibility rested with the federal government, as First Nations people and their education were a fiduciary responsibility (Dickason, 1992). The

explicit purpose of the residential school system was the total assimilation of Indigenous people into white Canadian culture. Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, famously outlined the predominant position of the government in 1920: I want to get rid of the Indian problem. [...] Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian Question and no Indian Department. (INAC, 1978)

The Indian Residential School system sought to aggressively assimilate Indigenous children by removing them from their families. This resulted in the profoundly damaging loss of "culture, language, traditional values, family bonding, life skills, parenting skills, self-respect, and… respect for others" (Jacobs & Williams, 2008). Indigenous students were cruelly punished for speaking their traditional First Nations languages in the residential schools, and were subjected to severe mental, physical, and sexual abuse at the hands of clergy and teachers (Kelly, 2008; Mussell, 2008). Children who lost their Indigenous languages were unable to speak to their parents and grandparents, and were no longer able to access their cultural and spiritual teachings (Jacobs & Williams, 2008). The greatest destruction of the residential school system, however, was the hate it instilled in Indigenous people – hate for themselves and their people – to the point that they began to believe the stereotypes and justify their domination. Scholars and commentators call this condition cognitive imperialism (Rice & Snyder, 2008).

The last residential school did not close its doors until 1986. Many of the leaders, teachers, parents, and grandparents of today's Indigenous communities are residential school survivors. Yet the suffering does not end with these individuals, for there is an intergenerational effect. Many descendants of residential school survivors share the same burdens as their predecessors, even if they did not attend the schools themselves. These hardships include

transmitted personal trauma and compromised family systems, as well as gaps in the inheritance of Indigenous languages, cultures, and traditional teachings from one generation to another. Many Indigenous children have grown up feeling that they do not belong in "either world," neither truly Indigenous nor part of the dominant society. They struggle to fit in but face discrimination from both societies. The result for many Indigenous people is economic and social poverty. In addition, the residential schools and other negative experiences with state-sponsored education have fostered mistrust of education in general, making it difficult for Indigenous communities and individuals to acquire the education and skills necessary to break the cycle of poverty (UBC Indigenous Foundations, 2017).

The residential school system tore Indigenous communities apart. Parents were no longer able to communicate with their children, who now spoke a foreign language and did not know how to live off the land. Indigenous children who attended residential schools were left in a cultural limbo: they were not accepted in mainstream Canadian society and could not secure employment, yet they could not live in their own communities, and often looked down upon their own people and culture. Worse, upon later having their own families, they did not know how to be parents as they had been savagely wrenched from their own families when children. Their pain and trauma manifested in self-hate and in the mental, physical and sexual abuse of others around them. The residential school system's legacy of inter-generational abuse and suffering continues today.

While there has been a move towards reconciliation of the events that happened during the hundred or so years of the Indian residential school system, including an official apology issued by the Canadian government, the process of moving forward is a slow one. Reconciliation is an important endeavour among Indigenous people working towards the renewal, restoration

and reintegration of traditional practices, governance, language, and culture back into their

communities. One of the most critical tasks of reconciliation is the healing of both Indian

residential school survivors and their families since their return to their Indigenous communities.

At the time the residential schools were winding down in the 50's and 60's, large numbers

of Indigenous children began to be apprehended through the child welfare system in Canada

known as the 60's scoop. The 60's scoop began in the 1950's and lasted until the 1970's when

the Indian residential school's fell into disfavour. During this time Indigenous children who were

disadvantaged or purported to be neglected were adopted or put into foster care with non-

Indigenous families (Dickason& Newbigging, 2010). The familial and cultural disconnection of

Indigenous people through the apprehension of children has become the status quo of the

relationship between Indigenous people and governments. In the guise of child protection, child

apprehension does nothing to find solutions to the decades of alienation, disassociation, and

disconnection that Indigenous children and adults have endured as a result of policies related to

the Indian Residential School system and the 60's scoop.

2.8   The *Indian Act*, Indigenous Organizations in Ottawa, and Relevant Case Law

As a field site to undertake research on indigeneity, Ottawa provides a unique set of

circumstances. The city highlights the history of the colonial experience in Canada. In addition,

Ottawa has well-developed webs of relations due to a plethora of social services, arts, and

national Indigenous political organizations. This research is also timely given that the Urban

Aboriginal Task Force report stated, "There is no existing research on culture and identity for

urban Aboriginal peoples in Ottawa specifically" (UATF, 2007a, p. 48). Although there is a

strong Indigenous political organizational presence in the city, many Indigenous residents of

Ottawa do not feel their local interests are represented by any of the national Indigenous

organizations (UATF, 2007a). The experience of Indigenous individuals differs depending on their involvement with local national Indigenous organizations.

Ottawa houses a number of national Indigenous organizations that represent the political interests of First Nations, Métis, Inuit, Non-Status Indigenous people, as well as Indigenous women. The term "Aboriginal" stems from Section 35 of the *Constitution Act 1982*, which recognizes three groups of Indigenous people who have three distinct cultures, languages, and traditions: Status Indians, Métis people, and the Inuit (INAC, 2003). "Aboriginal" is commonly used to collectively refer to all three groups. However, as noted in Chapter one, for the purposes of this research, I use the term "Indigenous" to refer to participants, whether they are Status Indian, Métis, Inuit, or Non-Status Indian. The term "Aboriginal" originates in the government policy and is viewed negatively among Indigenous peoples. When I am discussing a specific group, I use the terms Status Indian (or Status First Nations), Non-Status Indian (or Non-Status First Nations), Métis, or Inuit.

The *Indian Act*, a foundational policy of the Canadian government, was first implemented in 1876 and is still in effect today with many amendments. The Act has resulted in egregious distinctions between and representation of Indigenous people and communities. The federal government uses different funding schemes for each of the groups it defines, further producing and reinforcing division among Indigenous people. There is also a distinction between Status Indians living on and off-reserve and the resulting government jurisdiction and responsibility. Under Section 92 of the *Constitution Act* (1867), the federal government was given responsibility for Status Indians and the lands reserved for this group, while provinces were responsible for public lands, health, welfare, education, the administration of justice and municipal institutions (Graham & Peters, 2002). The Government of Canada maintains that its primary responsibility

for serving Indigenous peoples ends at the reserve boundary, while the responsibility for serving off-reserve Indigenous groups rests with the provinces. This position, however, has long been disputed by both provincial/territorial governments and Indigenous organizations, and is currently being challenged in the courts (see *Daniels*). The provinces have assumed some responsibility in the areas of health and social services. On-reserve Status Indians are funded by the federal government through their Status Indian Band, while off-reserve Status Indians, Métis, and Inuit are considered a provincial responsibility (RCAP, 1996).

In addition, there are many Non-Status Indigenous-identified and mixed-heritage Indigenous people in Canada. Their ancestors either did not sign a treaty, or they lost their government-defined Indian status due to differential treatment of women under the *Indian Act* (up until the 1985 amendments and reinstatements).

Due to constitutional discussion with Indigenous groups and pressure to uphold the rights of these groups, Section 35 of the 1982 *Constitution Act* affirmed the existing Indigenous and treaty rights of people defined as Status Indians, Inuit, and Métis. Since that time, a series of Supreme Court rulings has served to clarify these rights. These case law decisions have established legal tests to determine the scope and content of Indigenous rights, and which groups hold them.

Several other cases have relevance to the off-reserve Indigenous populations. *Corbiere v. Canada* (Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs) (1999) established that residence had been grounds for discrimination of off-reserve Status Indians. John Corbiere and other members of the Batchewana band near Sault St. Marie, Ont., took their band and the federal Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs to court challenging the *Indian Act* provision that denied band members

who lived off reserve the right to vote in band elections. They argued that Sec. 77(1) of the Act violated the equality provision of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.

Misquadis v. Canada (2002) recognized the discrimination of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) in excluding off-reserve and non-Status Indian groups from participation in the Aboriginal Human Resources Strategy. Bill C-31 was introduced in 1985 to rectify overt gender discrimination of the *Indian Act* to Status Indian women who lost status upon marriage to a non-Indigenous person. The Supreme Court of Canada agreed, declaring the part of the Act that required electors to be band members "ordinarily resident on the reserve" unconstitutional. The decision led to the changing of the Act, which now defines an elector as someone who is at least 18 and a registered member of the band, and impacted the way some bands formulated their own rules governing membership.

McIvor v. The Registrar, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (2009), recognized that Bill C-31 did not eliminate discrimination in the *Indian Act*, but instead re-created differential treatment on the basis of gender that was in the pre-1985 regime. This B.C. Court of Appeal decision forced the federal government to amend the *Indian Act* to eliminate discrimination against the wives and children of non-status Indians. The case was launched by Sharon McIvor, who had married a non-status Indian, and her son, who was married to a non-Indian and could not legally pass on Indian status to his children. Prior to 1985, Indigenous women who married a non-status Indian lost their status while men who married a non-status woman remained status Indians and could confer this status onto their wives and children. The court found that the *Indian Act* still discriminated against some children of non-status Indians by conferring status to those whose Indian grandparent was a man but not to those whose Indian grandparent was a woman.

In the *Daniels* (2016) decision the Supreme Court has declared that Métis and non-Status Indians are "Indians" for the purpose of federal Parliament's law-making jurisdiction under subsection 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the Métis are recognized as "Indians" under Section 91(24) of the *Constitution Act* of 1867, as a result of the *Daniels vs. Canada* case. The Métis are now included as one of the three Indigenous groups recognized as "Indians" under the *Constitution Act* of 1867, along with First Nations and Inuit. As result of the ruling, the federal government is now responsible for negotiating with the Métis as a nation.

This decision establishes that the Métis Nation can approach the federal government about issues relating to their citizens, and the government has a positive responsibility to acknowledge, discuss, and negotiate issues brought forward by the Métis Nation

The definition and identification of Indigenous people in Canada is complicated by the existence of five national organizations that represent these different Indigenous groups. Most of the organizations also have provincial level affiliates. The Congress of Aboriginal People (CAP) represents off-reserve Non-Status and Status Indians and Métis people living in rural and urban areas. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) is the national representative organization of the 630 First Nations in Canada. The Métis National Council (MNC) represents the Métis Nation nationally and internationally. The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) represents Indigenous women, particularly First Nations and Métis women. Finally, the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) is the national voice of 55,000 Inuit living in 53 communities across the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Northwest Territories), Nunavut, Nunavik (Northern Quebec), and Nunatsiavut (Northern Labrador). Historically, each of these organizations has had an Indigenous lobby group in Ottawa that represents their interests. Indigeneity is not homogenous

in Canada, as seen by the fact that various organizations have been built to represent different group interests.

There continues to be overlap concerning who represents off-reserve Indigenous people. This representation depends on whether individuals are Status Indian, Non-Status Indian, Métis, or Inuit, and whether they are male or female. Unclear jurisdiction with vague lines of accountability and responsibility can result in inadequate program delivery for Indigenous people, particularly in urban settings (Hanselmann, 2003; Morse, 2010; Peach, 2004). While constitutional amendments establish Indigenous and treaty rights, there is no comprehensive approach to service delivery for Indigenous people living in Canadian cities. Off-reserve policy and programs and services lack coherence, although a partnerships approach has been established, with a degree of shared decision making between various levels of governments (Abele & Graham, 2011). The court decisions as discussed earlier in the section from over the last decade have clarified the rights of off-reserve Indigenous people and the membership for Métis people; increased these group's access to programs and services; and rectified gender discrimination of membership as defined by the *Indian Act*.

What is most significant about the identity of Indigenous people in Ottawa is that individuals can draw on the idea of indigeneity from their self-understanding without connection to any of the national Indigenous organizations that represent First Nations Status, First Nations Non-Status, Métis, and Inuit people. The existence of these different levels of self-identification within the cultural milieu in Canada, and specifically Ottawa, speaks to multivalent identities and the contested space of the city.

The metropolitan environment is multifaceted and cities lack the defined elected governance structures of Status Indian reserves, or Métis settlements making representation

difficult to determine. The Indigenous population living in cities is also diverse, making it difficult to define communities and who speaks for them (Chalifoux & Johnson, 2003; Graham & Peters, 2002; Proulx, 2003; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010). Ottawa provides an entry point into investigating the individualized and heterogeneous identities of Indigenous people, externally-defined membership under the Indian Act, connections between political movements and community identification, and access to programs and services on and off reserves in Canada.

2.9   Moving Towards Healing, Cultural Renewal and Reconciliation for Decolonization

In moving forward in discussing decolonization and the need to provide space for Indigenous people to connect to their culture in cities another aspect is to facilitate healing and reconciliation as a means of increasing self-esteem and resiliency. Many of the research participants discussed how they continued to connect to their culture and identity through spirituality and ceremony. The long-term effects of inter-generational Indian residential school trauma include a loss of culture and language; loss of parenting skills; physical, emotional, and sexual abuse within communities; low self-esteem; and addiction and continued abuse within communities. The *Report of the Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples* (RCAP, 1996) summed up the tragic loss as a result of the Indian residential schools "the incredible damage – loss of life, denigration of culture, destruction of self-respect and self-esteem, rupture of families, impact of these traumas on succeeding generations" (pp. 601-602).

Many of the inter-generational residential school issues have led to Indigenous children being adopted outside of their communities and growing up in foster care. "[T]he number of First Nations children in care outside their own homes today is three times the number of children in residential schools at the height of their operation…overall, best estimates are that over twenty-seven thousand First Nations children on and off-reserves in Canada are in care" (Blackstock,

2008, p. 165). Even Indigenous people who have grown up attached to a community and raised within a First Nation do not necessarily have access to cultural teachings and have healed from many of these same traumas. Modern life has led to a need for many Indigenous people to live in cities, where a continued connection to their culture is needed. Efforts to decolonize Indigenous people and communities centres on healing, moving forward, and finding meaningful connections with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. In the report *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) sets out the purpose for a renewed relationship based on reconciliation:

> To some people, *reconciliation* is the re-establishment of a conciliatory state. However, this is a state that many Aboriginal people assert never has existed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. To others, reconciliation, in the context of Indian residential schools, is similar to dealing with a situation of family violence. It's about coming to terms with events of the past in a manner that overcomes conflict and establishes a respectful and healthy relationship among people, going forward (p. 6).

To transition from healing to reconciliation, holistic components proposed for a residential School resolution include naming and admitting the wrongs of the past, compensation for harms, also redress and healing (Castellano, 2008, p. 385). The process that Indian residential school survivors has taken decades and has affected successive generations of Indigenous people across Canada.

Some research participants connect to their Indigenous identity through land-based hunting, fishing, and trapping, while others connect through participating in feasts, community

events, and ceremony. Individuals frequently mention the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health as a central venue for Indigenous people in Ottawa to access health services, but also to increase their overall wellness through Elders teachings, support groups for families, feasting, drum groups, sweats, and other ceremonies. As one research participant said, "I spend a lot of time around Wabano the health centre here…they worked hard making it a visual and emotional and spiritual, totally cultural environment…so that when people walk in they can feel that" (Elder Jim Albert).

There is a forced disconnect of Indigenous spirituality and ceremony that occurred because of the Indian residential schools, the *Indian Act*, and government policy:

> When the Canadian government declared illegal the practice of native ceremonies…It was a genocidal attack on our spirit that would impact up to five generations (or 100 years) of our peoples who attended residential schools. Taking away these and other ceremonies meant taking away the ideas, values, and principles basic to community mental health. With the ceremonies went security, identity, ideology, rituals, belonging, reciprocity, and beliefs along with responsibility for actions, access to resources, time together, healing, and justice. (Hodgson, 2008, pp. 363-364)

Many non-profit Indigenous organizations, including healing and health centres, provide cultural programs for connecting with others and healing for Indigenous people. Many Indigenous people who have access to a territory and traditional teachings connect to their culture there. However, many Indigenous people in cities do not have a connection to a territory or live close to their traditional territory, and as a result many people have sought out community and cultural connections through Indigenous organizations in metropolises.

For many individuals, connecting to a pan-Indigenous culture has produced an inter-tribal healing and empowerment movement. Pan-Indigenous culture, the drum and pow-wows have the power to heal (Flynn, 2011). Flynn found that in Vancouver centre Plains cultural teachings were important to healing and could be shared in any location and are easily adopted by large numbers of Indigenous people in cities.

Decolonization is an undertaking that each nation and group must work towards in ways that are culturally relevant to them. In cities Indigenous people are able to access many social services that connect them to language, healing, culture, and spirituality that are essential in overcoming historic traumas and for decolonization. Access to culture is not only available within organizations, but having it connected to health centres and Friendship centres allows it to be more accessible to larger numbers of people. If decolonization is a priority then it must be integrated into the community, into a teaching and learning environment for people who do not have access to it within their families.

Connections in cities for Indigenous people go much farther than the need for community and acceptance. They also provide the space for healing through connection to cultural practices, ceremony, drumming, talking circles, and guidance from Elders. This type of cultural restoration and healing work is the way forward, moving past the historical trauma inflicted by the Indian Residential School system and towards reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

2.10 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of the Indigenous experience today in cities across Canada. It introduced Ottawa as a concentrated site of symbolic capital as the seat of the Canadian government. Ottawa also houses five national Aboriginal organizations that represent

various political and social interests of Indigenous people, including First Nations Status and Non-Status, Métis, Inuit, and women. These categories of persons and the funding structures that they can access all resulted from the *Indian Act*. Since its inception 140 years ago, case law has worked to diminish the sexism and unequal access to programs and services to off-reserve Indigenous people in Canada. Nevertheless, the Act is ever-present in the lives of Indigenous people today.

This chapter also explored the population profile of Indigenous people in cities today. Over half of the Indigenous population resides in cities, and is a youthful and highly mobile group. Indigenous people experience lower socio-economic standards than their non-Indigenous counterparts, including lower numbers of high school graduation and inadequate housing. However, Indigenous people come to the city for family and better employment and training opportunities. In that positive light, many Indigenous people see the city as home, where they can achieve a good life of secure jobs and financial independence.

Cultural identity is complex for Indigenous people, who have multiple constructions of self. Nevertheless, a general belief that Indigenous identity is tied to blood quantum or blood ties and biological inheritance passed on through one's Indigenous parents persists (TallBear, 2013), along with the simplistic idea that Indigenous people in cities are less authentically tied to their culture than those who live in their homelands. We should move away from essentialist notions that box in Indigenous peoples, and move to a continuum of identities and experiences that better reflect and respect the Indigenous experience today.

As cities are places of cultural vitality, one of the main sources of connecting to other Indigenous people is through organizations in the city. Indigenous organizations are gathering places that strengthen individual and communal identities, and are central to community

development. Yet these organizations go unnoticed by society at large, and remain the "invisible infrastructure" for Indigenous people in cities. Indigenous organizations have a fundamental role in the Indigenous experience today, acting as urban hubs for cultural reproduction, transmission and sharing.

The Indian Residential School System in Canada has had profound effects on many aspects of Indigenous life across multiple generations. The forced assimilation and trauma that Indigenous people experienced continues to impact them today through inter-generational residential school trauma which include family breakdown, cultural and language loss, physical, sexual and emotional abuse, and alcohol and drug addictions. The experience of cognitive imperialism by Indigenous people as a result of the Indian residential school will continue to affect future generations so long as reconciliation and decolonization remain unrealized. Decolonization requires individuals and communities to depart from the mode of mainstream lifeways, where the world of tradition is normalized, and which allows hegemonic traditions to prevail. The habitus of contemporary Indigenous life has adopted and normalized the systemic control of the *Indian Act* and both internalized its definitions of identity. It can be described as a habitus because the myriad actions and interactions of individuals are largely unconscious and a product of history, reproducing collective orientations that precede and transcend any one individual, yet influencing their practices and self-representation.

While there are many different ways to move towards decolonization, a resurgence of Indigenous lifeways is essential. This can include undoing the government funding mentality, control under the *Indian Act* and membership systems, reconnecting to Indigenous traditions and language, and a reintegration of ancient treaty relationships. The project of decolonization requires that Indigenous people wield symbolic power, the power needed to make things with

words by beginning a critical discourse on the taken-for-granted truths of one's unarticulated habitus.

Hegemony has been a pervasive force in the assimilation of Indigenous cultures, as well as in the inequality that these groups experience with diminished access to economic, social, and symbolic capital. Within Indigenous communities, some members possess more symbolic capital than others, such that many of the Indigenous elite have become complicit and benefitted from the hegemony of the state system.

The Indigenous experience today has been greatly influenced by the structural forces of the government and control of Indigenous lives under the *Indian Act*. It will take generations to move away from the habitus of colonial hegemony, decolonize socio-political institutions as well as everyday practices, and see an Indigenous resurgence of lifeways. The decolonization project can be entered into and expressed in many different ways. As self-governing and self-determining nations, each Indigenous group must grapple with how and if they will undertake decolonization, reclamation, restoration and reconciliation in their communities.

3   Chapter: Research Methods

3.1   Introduction

The research is an ethnography on the Indigenous experience today and the practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario. I interviewed 30 research participants. Of these research participants, 25 completed a semi-structured interview, while five completed unstructured interviews; either one long interview or several interviews. My first line of inquiry involves an exploration of Indigenous people and their wide-ranging experiences in Ottawa in connecting with their culture and cultural practices in the city. It is through the practice of everyday life that culture and meaning are constructed. Culture can be explored through social practices. In particular, I was interested in exploring the habitus that brings culture to bear on the movements of the body, and that actions are largely unconscious and in enacting habitus bodies inhabit places that are culturally informed (Bourdieu, 1977).

The forces of colonization have been so pervasive in the Indigenous experience that Indigenous people are for the most part not aware of their actions as unconscious habitus. In particular, I am interested in exploring the multiple experiences and practices of Indigenous people who have access to a land base and those who do not to determine if cultural practices are markedly different between the two in the urban landscape.

Key questions for this line of inquiry are as follows:

1.   What is the Indigenous experience today in Ottawa, Ontario?

2.   Are there shared cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa?

3.   Do the cultural practices of Indigenous people differ between those who have a territory or homeland compared to those who do not?

While this is primarily an ethnography meant to add to the literature on this topic I have

employed mixed methods in order to disseminate the data including the written dissertation and also a short video. I chose to additionally employ video as a method in order to truly give voice to Indigenous people in keeping with the oral tradition inherent in Indigenous culture and customs.

3.2   Fieldsite – Ottawa, Ontario

According to the 2011, National Household Survey 2.1% (N = 18,180) of the population of Ottawa had an Aboriginal identity: 56.7% (N = 10,310) reported a First Nations identity only, 35.2% (N = 6,400) reported a Métis identity only, and 3.9% (N = 710) reported an Inuit identity only. While 585, or 3.2%, reported other Aboriginal identities and 175, or 1.0%, reported more than one Aboriginal identity (Turner et al, 2011) this is an increase from the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada, 2006), which stated there were 12,250 Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario.[6] The Indigenous community in Ottawa formed the Ottawa Indigenous Coalition in 2001 to represent Indigenous service providers in the city. The Ottawa Indigenous Coalition includes Gignul Non-Profit Housing Corporation, Minwaashin Lodge Indigenous Women's Support Centre, Odawa Native Friendship Centre, Tewegan Transition House, Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health, and the Ottawa Inuit Children's Centre (Tomiak, 2010).

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[6] The Urban Aboriginal Task Force (2007a) *Ottawa Final Report* noted as a concern the under coverage of the Aboriginal population in population counts in Ottawa by Statistics Canada.

Table 1. Aboriginal Population in Ottawa

	Ottawa	
Aboriginal identity population, 2006 Census and 2011 National Household Survey (NHS)	**2006 Census**	**2011 NHS**
Total population	801,270	867,090
Total Aboriginal identity population	12,250	18,180
First Nations/North American Indian - single response	6,575	10,310
First Nations – Single identity (Registered or Treaty Indian)	-	4,200
First Nations – Single identity (Not Registered or Treaty Indian)	-	6,105
Métis - single response	4,495	6,400
Inuit - single response	605	710
Multiple Aboriginal identity responses	165	175
Aboriginal responses not included elsewhere	415	585
Non-Aboriginal identity population	789,025	848,905

Note: Comparison between data attained from the 2006 Census (Statistics Canada, 2006) and (Turner, Crompton, & Langlois, 2011) the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2013).

In Ottawa a disparate economic reality exists for Indigenous peoples between a growing middle class which is in sharp contrast to those who are barely living above the poverty line. As a result of the proportion of Indigenous people living in poverty, Ottawa has established a network of social service organizations to provide services to this group. In the city, 31% of the local Indigenous population earn over $40,000 annually, with 12% earning over $60,000 annually (UATF, 2007a). This economic success is largely attributed to the availability of high-income government positions in the city. Although there is a growing segment of successful Indigenous people, the Urban Aboriginal Task Force research found there was a misconception about the extent of Indigenous economic success. It was found that 38% of urban Indigenous people in Ottawa are earning less than $20,000 annually. Poverty, lack of affordable housing,

health care issues, unemployment, problems with mental health and addictions, racism, internal divisions, lack of adequate political representation, and barriers to economic development are all major challenges facing Indigenous people in Ottawa. Despite the substantial number of Indigenous and mainstream agencies in Ottawa that exist to address these needs, and significant federal and provincial government funding, there exist significant gaps and a lack of coordination in services, especially for youth and Indigenous women (UATF, 2007a).

As a national centre Ottawa has a thriving Indigenous arts and cultural scene that includes art galleries, museums, and festivals and Indigenous arts and media. Specifically, the city has provided a venue for Indigenous artists to engage with the city through an Indigenous Working Committee established in 2007 and the Ottawa 20/20 Arts & Heritage Committee launched in 2010. There is also an informal network of Indigenous artists who attend formal events and gather informally as well. Given the general paucity of data on urban Indigenous people, ethnographic research in Ottawa that explores the connecting approaches of this group is timely.

3.3   Research Approach

My research involved fieldwork for 15 months from February 3, 2011 to May 31, 2012 in which time I employed participant observation, unstructured and semi-structured informant interviews, with participants in Ottawa, Ontario. I felt well positioned to undertake this project, having resided in Ottawa for three years before the start of my research, undertaken master's research in the urban milieu, and developed a network in Ottawa. To document the emergent Indigenous reality, I utilized film as a medium to record interviews, community events, and conferences and to document the field site. As an Indigenous researcher, I utilized film in an attempt to privilege narrative, the oral tradition, and storytelling.

Utilizing ethnography as it has been historically conceived, is an endeavour to "grasp the

native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world" (Malinowski, 1922, p. 25). Ethnographic description is interpretive of social discourse, and cultural analysis involves guessing at meanings and drawing conclusions from best guesses, knowing they are not predictive. Through thick description ethnographers can render cultures more accessible.

When conducting research within Indigenous communities it is important to consider the power relations that exist between Indigenous people and society at large. As an Indigenous researcher, my research approach was qualitatively derived from an insider, post-colonial, critical methodology. In the past, Indigenous voices have been silenced in the Western academy (Smith, 1999). To decolonize our minds, Indigenous people must "tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes" (Smith, 1999, p. 28) through an Indigenous research agenda of community research that is focused on self-determination and Indigenous voices. It is of the utmost importance to me as an Indigenous academic, and to the Indigenous community at large that research undertaken in the community is culturally relevant and ethical and employs Indigenous research methods (Battiste, 2000; Kenny, 2004; Schnarch, 2004; Smith, 1999). In seeking to keep with critical and decolonial research methods, in this project I worked to privilege the oral tradition of storytelling and narrative, listening to the voices of Indigenous people through the use of media and film, qualitative semi-structured interviews, and unstructured life story accounts (oral history). I had also intended to undertake talking circles to present the themes of my research to a selection of my research participants. Unfortunately, I was not able to host any talking circles as my ethics clearance came to a close. My transcribing took far longer than I anticipated which was necessary in order to establish the themes for my research.

To document the fieldsite I used film and camera, recorded interviews, field notes, and

attended community events, and conferences. As previously discussed, film has become an important medium to more accurately represent the "other" and to privilege narrative rather than written text that is subject to misinterpretation (Barbash & Taylor, 1997). My use of film as an Indigenous researcher is also an attempt to privilege the oral tradition and storytelling, which I felt is further in line with Indigenous methods.

I formally began my fieldwork in February 2011 and completed it in May 2012. I felt well positioned to undertake this project as an Indigenous person who had resided in Ottawa for three years and a local network, as well as an existing national network established through previous employment with an Indigenous policy research think tank and work with Indigenous organizations. I had been building networks informally by becoming more active in the Indigenous community through participation in cultural events and participation in several programs for Indigenous women with children. Also, I was already a member of the Indigenous community in Ottawa through my employment in a policy research area specifically about Indigenous, Non-Status Indian, and Métis people. This posed some limitations, as it focused a lot of opportunities for participant observation on a predominantly Indigenous middle-class group. Although many of my research participants are actively involved in the Indigenous community in Ottawa through being employed in organizations, attending events, and utilizing programs and services. It also provided opportunities to discuss the research and gain advice and support from the local research network of Indigenous people and organizations. The language spoken in Ottawa is primarily English and I am fluent in this language, so no additional language training was needed.

Through my coursework, I felt that I had gained significant knowledge of theory and methods. My master's research was also conducted in the Indigenous milieu in cities, which

provided a foundation to build upon in terms of both theory and methods. I had also been working in the area of Indigenous research, which had provided a network composed of the leading Indigenous academics in Canada. My supervisor and committee, as well as my coursework, also provided expertise in the area of my research.

In order to acquire the methodological knowledge and training required for my project in visual anthropology, I attended a course in visual anthropology. In order to gain practical hands-on experience in video production, I attended several workshops at SAW Video in Ottawa. Through practice in the field I became much more comfortable with using a video camera throughout my research. I had to make changes to my ethics clearance after a couple months in the field as there were several participants who did not want to be video recorded but were agreeable to being audio recorded and having a picture taken of them. In order to increase the number of participants for my research I was able to make this change in my methods.

3.4   Research Participants

I recruited 30 interview participants with some providing multiple interviews both semi-structured and unstructured[7]. In total 25 research participants undertook semi-structured interviews with a set of 26 research questions. There were five research participants who took additional time with me to participate in unstructured interviews and share a great deal about their life history and how they came to live in Ottawa.

3.4.1   Indigenous self-identification of research participants.

For the research I actively recruited all self-identifying Indigenous people in the Indigenous community in Ottawa (see Table. 2). The majority of the research participants three

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[7] I had planned on recruiting 45 semi-structured interview participants and five unstructured interview participants, but pared down my sample size given the large amount of data gathered from 30 interviews.

out of four (76.60%) self-identified as First Nation either Status or Non-Status Indians (including

Bill C-31). Almost two thirds of the research participants identified as First Nations Status

(63.00%), while almost one quarter identified as Métis (23.3%). While I did have a few inquiries

from possible Inuit participants I was not able to secure interviews with any Inuit people.

Table 2. Aboriginal Self-Identification of Research Participants

Aboriginal Self-Identification	# of Participants	Total Percentage
First Nations (NAI) Bill C-31	1	3.33%
First Nations (NAI) Non-Status	3	10.00%
First Nations (NAI) Status	19	63.33%
Métis	7	23.33%
Grand Total	**30**	**100.00%**

Note: NAI is North American Indian

3.4.2   Gender and age of research participants.

There were more female participants within the sample, slightly over half with 56.67%

and 43.33% male participants (see Table 3). The greatest proportion of research participants both

male (16.67%) and female (20.00%) were in the 22 to 34 age range, although the majority of

participants both male (33.34%) one in three, and female (46.66%) almost half were within the

22 to 54 age range.

Table 3. Gender and Age Range of Research Participants

Gender & Age Range of Participants	# of Participants	Total Percentage
Female	**17**	**56.67%**
22 to 34	6	20.00%
35 to 44	4	13.33%
45 to 54	4	13.33%
55 to 64	1	3.33%
65 and Over	2	6.67%
Male	**13**	**43.33%**
22 to 34	5	16.67%
35 to 44	3	10.00%
45 to 54	2	6.67%
55 to 64	1	3.33%
65 and Over	2	6.67%
Grand Total	**30**	**100.00%**

3.4.3   Family composition of research participants.

For marital status the majority of research participants 1 out of 3 were either living common law (33.33%) or single (33.33%) (see Table 4). One in ten were divorced (10.00%) or separated (3.33%). It is interesting within the demographic data that exactly half (50.00%) of research participants were involved in a domestic partnership either common law (33.33%) or married (16.67%). Common law relationships appear to be the more standard domestic partnership of research participants.

Table 4. Marital Status of Research Participants

Marital Status	# of Participants	Total Percentage
Common Law	10	33.33%
Divorced	3	10.00%
Married	5	16.67%
Separated	1	3.33%
Single	10	33.33%
Widowed	1	3.33%
Grand Total	**30**	**100.00%**

Of the research participants well over half (63.33%) almost 2 out of 3 did not have children (see Table 5). One out of three research participants (36.67%) had children.

Table 5. Total Number of Research Participants with Dependants

Have Dependants	# of Participants	Total Percentage
No	19	63.33%
Yes	11	36.67%
Grand Total	**30**	**100.00%**

3.4.4   Income level range of research participants.

One of the demographic questions asked in the survey portion of the research interviews was on income level. I received feedback early on during the development of my research questions that given the sensitive nature of the income question it might be better to remove it. I felt that it was important to get a sense of the general income bracket of my research participants given the literature on the rising Indigenous middle class in Canada (McKaskill, FitzMaurice, & Cidro, 2011; Parriag & Chaulk, 2013; Ponting, 2005; Wotherspoon, 2003). An income bracket was used so a specific salary amount was not required, and generally falls within the federal tax bracket guidelines for Canada. In order to provide the option to not answer this question if the research participant was uncomfortable providing this information there was an option for

"Prefer Not to Answer." Of the 30 research participants who filled out the demographic survey portion of the interview, seven chose not to answer this question. The table presented on income does not include this line as it was skewing the results for the income bracket percentages (see Table 6).

In general there is a fairly broad representation amongst several income groups for the research participants, however my preference would have been to have additional participants in the low income cut-off group. Almost half (47.83%) of research participants were in the 20,000 to 59,999 income brackets. While well over the majority 65.22% of research participants were in the 20,000 to 81,941 income brackets.

Table 6. Income Level Range of Research Participants

Income Level	# of Participants	Total Percentage
<20,000	2	8.70%
20,000-40,969	5	21.74%
40,970-59,999	6	26.09%
60,000-81,941	4	17.39%
81,941-99,999	2	8.70%
100,000-127,021	4	17.39%
Grand Total	**23**	**100.00%**

Note: 7 of the research participants choose "Prefer Not to Answer" and are excluded from this table.

3.4.5 Education level of research participants

In terms of education level, almost half (43.33%) of the research participants had either a Bachelors or Master's degree (see Table 7). One third of research participants had some university, several of the research participants were currently students at one of the local universities or colleges.

Table 7. Highest Education Attained by Research Participants

Highest Education Attained	# of Participants	Total Percentage
Bachelor's Degree	7	23.33%
College/Technical Institute Certificate (1 year or less)	1	3.33%
College/Technical Institute Diploma (2 years or less)	2	6.67%
Completion of High School	3	10.00%
Doctor of Philosophy	1	3.33%
Master's Degree	6	20.00%
Some University	10	33.33%
Grand Total	**30**	**100.00%**

The recruitment process went well although initially there were challenges recruiting participants and several cancellations of scheduled interviews. Given the nature of my networks many of the research participants were working in Indigenous organizations in Ottawa, and also in the federal government. It would have been beneficial to have had more participants from lower income brackets that could have been cross-referenced with experiences from higher income brackets however it was more difficult to recruit lower income bracket participants likely as a result of my networks. Lastly, I had originally intended to include Inuit people within my research and I did have two Inuit people contact me for interviews, but in the end one did not schedule an interview and the other cancelled. Recruiting and securing interviews with the Inuit population as they have their own specific Inuit community of service organizations in Ottawa (Tomiak & Patrick, 2010) that was not part of my network.

3.5   Participant Recruitment Process

To recruit research participants from different Indigenous groups, I worked with organizations, colleagues, friends and acquaintances who were gatekeepers to identify an initial list of prospective participants for interviews. I ended up using a snowball sampling method to find additional participants. Snowball sampling is a "nonprobability sampling strategy… [and]

is sometimes the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study" (Berg, 2004, p. 36). Snowballing involves identifying an initial set of participants who ideally have experience or knowledge of the topic area and then asking these participants to provide names of other prospective participants who have similar experience or knowledge (Berg, 2004). Snowballing is an effective sampling technique for this research, as there are a core number of people and organizations that are active and represent the Indigenous community in Ottawa. As there exists a network of those active in the Indigenous community in Ottawa, the initial participant list relied heavily on their contacts.

In order to engage participants outside of the Indigenous network, I also sent out posters recruiting Indigenous people for research interviews. I posted the flyer at local Native organizations and universities, and also through Native Facebook groups and email listservs of local Indigenous organizations.

I was able to recruit quite a few of my research participants through the Indigenous Professional's Network (APN) which is an informal group of Indigenous people in Ottawa that meets on a monthly basis. The Indigenous Professional's Network (APN) is organized on a volunteer basis by member of the Indigenous community in Ottawa. The network hosts events at a local pub and also hosts potluck events at the Odawa Friendship Centre. The APN sends out a biweekly newsletter to an email LISTSERV and advertises various Indigenous events occurring in the city. My participant recruitment poster was sent out through the APN LISTSERV a few times over the course of my fieldwork and I had betweenfive and 10 participants recruited through this group.

It is important to point out that my research involved formal and informal urban Indigenous networks. Many informal networks are formed through the internet, social

networking sites, email, LISTSERV's, and blogs, which provided a secondary venue for the

recruitment of participants outside of the in-person and organizational recruitment in cities.

After living in Ottawa for three years, and Vancouver for the seven years prior, I had

worked with many national Indigenous organizations and had the basis of an established network

in Ottawa. I engaged this network to assist in distributing the flyer and identifying prospective

participants through snowball sampling. I also asked many of the people in this network to be

research participants.

Participants were required to self-identify as Indigenous, as the research is specific to the

experiences and knowledge of this group in Canada. All Indigenous people who self-identified as

Indigenous, which includes First Nations (Status Indians and Non-Status Indians), Métis, Inuit,

and those with mixed Indigenous identity were eligible to be research participants.

3.6   Conduct of the Research

When working with video and visual data, it is common for the researcher not to attempt

to provide anonymity for individuals, with consent from the participants (Holliday, 2004). In this

mode of working, pseudonyms are not generally used.

Since the purpose of this research is to share the vibrancy of Indigenous community

through video, I worked with consent and anonymity as was clearly outlined in my ethics

approval. I maintained several levels of anonymity varying from no anonymity for participants

who were video recorded and complete anonymity for some of the participants who were audio

recorded based on their preference. The interviews were video recorded and/or audio recorded

and a photograph was taken of some of the research participants who were comfortable with it.

The first part of the interview involving demographic questions was not video or audio recorded

and is stored separately and confidentially with a unique study identifier number to maintain confidentiality of this information.

Participants were given the opportunity to review their transcripts of the audio and video interviews after the interviews. After reviewing their transcripts participants could choose to allow the use of all or part of the materials and have sections removed from the interview that they were not comfortable with, or to withdraw from participation in the research within three months of receiving the transcript. I drew on literature from Pink (2003) and Banks (2001) who argue for collaboration in research as a means to empower participants to represent themselves. Such practice involves showing participants images or in this case transcripts and allowing them to comment prior to wider publication or presentation (Pink, 2006) and considering the political, social, and cultural contexts in which the data will be viewed and interpreted (Pink, 2007a). I found this collaborative approach important in how I undertook my research and helped to ground me with what was important in my research procedure.

It took a great deal of time a year and a half to transcribe all of the transcripts, send each transcript back to the participant, have them review and remove any sections they wanted removed. The participants who wanted changes sent the transcripts back to me with their revisions and I ensured all of the revisions were completed on the final transcripts. The participant reviewed transcripts were used for coding. The majority of participants found the transcripts as presented to be acceptable but many were still able to provide clarifications to place names, Indigenous language and words, and other details that were not clear. I found this process to be empowering on both sides as participants were pleased to be provided with the opportunity to review their transcripts and I felt more confident in the research and the process established an increased level of trust between us. As an Indigenous researcher I wanted to place

my participants and their needs ahead of mine – I wanted them to be comfortable with their words. It was important that I was able undertake my research and know that I conducted myself with respect and integrity as these are keystone's in the Indigenous community. Reputation is important in the Indigenous community both locally and nationally and it reflects on you as an Indigenous person so undertaking research in a respectful way respected my participants, me, and our communities.

Participation in the research required either written or oral consent depending on the participant's preference. Pseudonyms were only used for participants who requested complete anonymity. For this thesis research, of the 30 participants, four wanted complete anonymity and the rest wanted to be identified and did not want to use a pseudonym. This is similar to my experience in my master's research, in which only one participant wanted to remain anonymous, whereas the rest of the research participants wanted to be identified by their real names.

3.7   Research Methods

Participant observation fieldwork is the foundation of cultural anthropology. It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence so that you can observe and record information about their lives. When done right, it turns fieldworkers into instruments of data collection and data analysis (Bernard, 2006). It involves going out and meeting people, learning new languages, and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying, establishing rapport and learning to act naturally so that people can go about their lives. The researcher must immerse themselves in the culture, then remove themselves so they can intellectualize about what has been seen and heard, put it in perspective, and then write about it. Taking breaks from the field is also an important part of the fieldwork process (Bernard, 2006).

A participant observer is either an insider who observes participants and records some aspects of life around them, or an outsider who participates in some aspects of life around them and records what they can (Bernard, 2006). The research was undertaken as participant observation in the "naturalistic" environment that Indigenous people in Ottawa frequent, such as at meetings, organizations, events, and conferences.

Specifically, I attended events at Odawa Friendship Centre, Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health, and the Minwaashin Lodge Women's Support Centre. I also participated in Indigenous programs and services, and fitness activities for women and children provided by organizations. In order to participate in the social and cultural life of the city, I attended select networking, social, arts, and media events, including those of the Aboriginal Professionals Network. During fieldwork I received many Indigenous event notices and invitations through friends, colleagues, Facebook and through email listservs.

After living in Ottawa for three years before the start of my fieldwork I had developed a network and a general understanding of the Indigenous communities in the city. Many of my contacts were with executive directors, boards of directors, and staff of these organizations. My network was comprised of predominantly Indigenous professionals. Through this network I knew when and where Indigenous events were occurring in the city, which was the first step of the fieldwork. I was still relatively new to the Indigenous community in Ottawa when I started my research and for this reason, I was likely still considered an outsider. One of the themes that emerged from the research is that in Ottawa it is difficult to meet new people; people can be reserved. Even after five years of living in Ottawa I still would not consider myself an insider per se given the high mobility of people moving in and out of the city. During my fieldwork and even after, I attended many cultural events such as Culture Night at Wabano Centre for

Aboriginal Health and the Odawa Pow-Wow in Ottawa with my daughter. What made the process of fieldwork and establishing ties within the city was having children, which eased the transition. Attending events with the family made blending into the community easier than it likely would be for a single person without a family. It also provided an opportunity to engage in the cultural life in Ottawa, which is in many respects geared to families. Throughout my research I also enrolled my daughter in the Makonsag Aboriginal Headstart program – not for my research – because I wanted to provide her with the opportunity for cultural learning as we are so far away from our own First Nations traditional territory. Although I had tried to keep my research and Makonsag separate throughout the years the program has become a central part of our lives and within my writing.

As mentioned previously, I conducted semi-structured interviews as the basis for my research to begin to understand Indigenous identity, connecting, and relationships in Ottawa. In some of the research interviews if the participant felt comfortable with the idea we video recorded the session. In advance of conducting interviews I investigated the metacommunicative repertoire of Indigenous people to explore communicative norms, pedagogical techniques to better understand the communicative and interactional styles of this group (Briggs, 1986). I observed these communicative styles during the early stages of participant observation while in the field, as I attended conferences and social and cultural events within the Indigenous community in Ottawa.

While attending events and building my network I began to be more comfortable in asking Indigenous community members if they were interested in a research interview. Simply put, an interview is "a conversation with a purpose" (Berg, 2004, p. 75). Initially, to begin my snow-ball sampling I called and sent email invitations for interviews to a cross-section of Indigenous

people whom I already knew. I was familiar with this initial group from my network who attended one of the local universities, worked in an Indigenous organization, government or elsewhere. From the initial interviews, I also used snowball sampling to identify additional participants by asking each research participant at the end of the interview if they could recommend people they thought might be interested in participating in the research. I conducted the interviews in a face-to-face semi-standardized format that involved "the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics" (Berg, 2004, p. 80). Although I asked the questions in a fairly consistent order, I was allowed some freedom to inquire beyond the prepared questions (Berg, 2004). This allowed for more in-depth interviews that encouraged participants to elaborate further on the research questions and prompted them to speak more about certain topics that they brought up themselves. My preference was to be relaxed and have the conversation flow in the research interviews which was most often achieved although the video recording occasionally made this more challenging. Achieving the relaxed flow in the research interviews was much easier with the small audio recorder that was much less intrusive in the space than a video camera which also had to have a clipped microphone attached to their clothing to ensure better sound recording.

The interviews with Indigenous community members from Ottawa varied in length from 30 minutes to 2 hours. When deemed necessary, I also completed some follow-up interviews to clarify questions that I had from the first interview.

The location of interviews was often at the local Odawa Friendship Centre in a small private room on the first floor. Interviews were held here for people that did not require anonymity as the Friendship Centre is a communal and public meeting space frequented by many Indigenous people. It was easier to have the interviews in the space as it also facilitated a more

structured, and safe meeting space for me and the research participant, many of whom I did not know. The Friendship Centre also worked well for interviews as many of my participants had been there previously so they knew where it was and already felt comfortable in the room where the interviews were conducted as they attended meetings in there. For people that I already knew, I also offered to do the interview at their residence or mine, their office or work space so several of the interviews were not conducted at Odawa. Also, if participants required anonymity and they were not available in person, I conducted two of these interviews by telephone.

I either video recorded and/or audio recorded the semi-structured interviews with all participants after receiving consent. Before starting to record the interview I read each research participant the consent form which they verbally agreed to then signed. One research participant preferred oral consent, so I read them the Oral Consent Script then began the interview. At the end of the interview I provided an honourarium of $15 dollars to semi-structured interview participants. Several of the research participant preferred that the honourarium be donated after the interviews were complete, so I made a donation to the expansion project at the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health in Vanier.

For the Elders who participated in the interview I provided a more standard honourarium of $100 and I also provided them with loose tobacco as an offering of respect for their time. This is the cultural tradition within Indigenous communities so I was pleased to follow local cultural protocol.

I also undertook five lengthy unstructured interviews to explore narratives and experiences of Indigeneity in Ottawa. Originally my plan was to engage in an ongoing conversation with a group who permanently resides in Ottawa, brought together through a network, or a cultural group such as a drum group or pow-wow dancers. In reality the

unstructured interviews were mostly undertaken with people that I was already acquainted with in Ottawa, where there was already some level of trust developed and it was a natural flow of the conversation. In some cases we had started with a semi-structured interview but ended up with an unstructured interview as we openly dialogued about our experiences in the Indigenous community in Ottawa. A couple of the unstructured interviews were undertaken with people that I did not know previously who volunteered to talk about their life history and how they ended up living in Ottawa.

Unstructured interviews "do not utilize schedules of questions . . . [and are] the opposite extreme from standardized interviews. . . [I]nterviewers begin with the assumption that they do not know in advance what all the necessary questions are" (Berg, 2004, p. 80). The interviewer must adapt to the participant and probe in relevant areas. This method is useful to augment field observations. I supported the use of narrative throughout the unstructured interviews and encouraged subjects to tell stories, assist them in developing and clarifying their stories, and during the analysis work out the narrative structures of the interview (Kvale, 1996, p. 274).

To ensure verification of initial themes, I had anticipated incorporating the use of lines of action, which "characterizes the use of multiple data-collection technologies, multiple theories, multiple researchers, multiple methodologies, or combination of these four categories of research activities" (Berg, 2004, p. 5). To do this, I had anticipated utilizing talking circles in the research but due to the extended amount of time taken in the research for transcribing interviews, return them to all participants for review, make the requested revisions, then code the interviews there was not sufficient time to theme my data to undertake talking circles. I anticipate being able to incorporate talking circles into future research. In contemplating this experience with these research methods, I believe it is challenging to undertake research with multiple methods;

perhaps in the future I could undertake talking circles not to discuss themes but to discuss in a group setting two or three of the main research questions.

During my fieldwork I took field notes that came directly from observing and interviewing (Spradley, 1979). Field notes are an essential part of the fieldwork process and I found that taking the time to write field notes was very helpful to the research process. I did not make jot notes or take field notes while I was attending events in the Indigenous community as it would have looked very conspicuous. My research practice was to make short notes when I returned from an event and write more detailed notes a day or two after as I recalled the event.

Current anthropological methods encourage the researcher to take plenty of field notes and systematically document them while their reflections are still vivid in the memory (Emerson, 1995). The researcher should make initial notes of first impressions, observe key events, and move beyond personal reactions to a more open approach (Emerson, 1995). A daily log of research activities acts as a day-to-day agenda. Also, jottings of initial notes should be written down to be expanded upon in the journal (Bernard, 2006).

During my coursework I kept most of my field notes and jot notes in electronic version completed on my laptop. During coding and theming I also made occasional memo notes for themes I wanted to recall that reflected upon my learning and questions I had regarding theory and methods. I found the notes useful in engaging in written notes on personal experiences and reflections. The purpose of the field notes was to begin the practice of writing down my reflections, in order to gain more experience before starting my fieldwork. I also wrote ethnographic field notes about my observations of specific events. Now that my fieldwork is complete I have found them useful in developing my description of events described in my thesis. As Emerson (1995) outlined, it is important to move past personal reactions and beliefs in

order to observe and later write down observations in the research journal. Also, I think that having video recordings of public events and conferences has assisted me in working towards open and unbiased observation of events.

3.8   Visual Anthropology and Video Production

Media has become increasingly popular within the Indigenous decolonization movement. As media provides space for exploring and communicating issues, subversive opinions, and cultural transmission it has become an essential part of connecting Indigenous people through film, print, art, and music. Anthropologists have recognized that the work of Indigenous media makers has been essential in equalizing the power differential for those who were previously anthropology's objects (Ginsburg, 1995). Video embraces a narrative style of communication that is not overly reliant on theoretical interpretations and allows the viewer to interpret the experiences of Indigeneity without intervention. The fieldwork was approached in this way, to allow for the narrative and the story to be central to the research. In order to document the Indigenous reality and cultural events, activities, and urban space, select public events were video recorded at conferences, and cultural activities where filming is permitted. I also documented with video some of the semi-structured and unstructured interviews, where permission was granted.

Video production can be useful for Indigenous groups, both as an audience for the films, to circulate nationally, and also as a source of cultural revival and sharing. The advent of Indigenous filmmakers has brought up the important issue of the politics of representation and their desire to be in control of their own imagery. The politics of representation have led to the essentialization of Indigenous peoples' identities and a questioning of who is an "authentic insider" in controlling images of Indigenous people and who is an "outsider" (Ginsburg, 1995).

As previously discussed, Indigenization has created multiple and fluid identities beyond the "insider" and "outsider" dichotomy. Ginsburg argued for the parallax effect as a step towards shifting to a dialogical mode of interaction and away from the privileged Western gaze that has existed in the field. Ginsburg (1995) MacDougall (1998), and Turner (1995) all argued for an equal role in the production of film between Indigenous and Western cultures, in what MacDougall referred to as "intertextual cinema"—multiple authorship and a mix of perspectives. Turner (1995) advocated for a "mediation-in-praxis" approach based on collaboration, where Indigenous groups fully participate in the production of media and their rights to their images are respected, allowing them to mediate their own representations. He said anthropologists, video producers, and subjects "now find themselves speaking about, for and with one another, not in separate genres but all in the same productions . . . a joint project of objectifying, representing, and transforming their shared realities" (p. 106). He concluded that visual ethnographers have not lost a subject but have rather gained a more complex and interesting one. He also stressed that filmmaking and the use of video has an important role in empowering Indigenous communities to form community representations of themselves and consciousness-raise for their own political, social, and cultural goals (Turner, 1991). Video recording can also act as a storehouse of cultural information for future generations.

Video production and filming as a method in anthropology has strengths for those seeking to balance the power of the Western gaze with that of the Indigenous one. MacDougall and MacDougall (as cited in Barbash & Taylor, 1996) situated ethnographic video in opposition to conventional written anthropology, because domains of knowledge are suppressed in written text and film offers new kinds of knowledge. They cautioned against using video production as a means of illustrating pre-existing anthropological knowledge, as this implies that the

ethnographers know what they are going to say before the film is made (Barbash & Taylor, 1996). Viewers are able to make their own interpretations of video, to extents that are not possible in written text, but the videomaker must be careful not to be overly explanatory in order to let the viewers decide on their own interpretation. MacDougall and MacDougall argued that video is in opposition to conventional written anthropology because film can privilege narrative in a way that written text cannot as it can be more susceptible to misinterpretation. I see video production as a tool with which to embrace a narrative style of research as complementary to written work to allow others to interpret the research without intervention.

The issue of the politics of representation has emerged as a result of the awareness of the "gaze of power" (Knopf, 2008, p. xv) and the colonial discourse that has held sway over representations of Indigenous people in media. What originally emerged, as previously discussed, was the "burden of representation," also termed the "cinema of duty," which highlighted the social crisis of Indigenous peoples and the necessity of commenting on all social and political problems and correcting all misrepresentations (Knopf, 2008). Indigenous film has since moved to a broader spectrum of expression, signified by such films as Kunuk's (2001) *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, Alexie's (2002) *The Business of Fancy Dancing*, and recently Belcourt's (2007) *Tkaronto*. Indigenous people have come to embrace media as a way to share real stories that contribute to shared meaning making, make sense of their lives, and also celebrate Indigenous culture and humour.

With the metamorphosis of Indigenous film and establishment of its own set of characteristics and style a "new media Nation" has emerged that uses multiple forms of electronic mediation such as video, music, arts, television, and the internet that transcend boundaries and borders (Alia, 2010).

Electronic mediation has created new spaces for Indigeneity to flourish through the development of community through websites, email, listservs, and text messaging, which brings together this population for community gatherings, events, and resistance (such as rallies, social justice events, and sit-ins). Media has become an essential part of meaning making in Indigeneity through film, print, art, and music (rap and spoken word) as sites of resistance. Native hip-hop and rap has emerged as a vehicle for promoting revolution and change in Vancouver's downtown eastside and has gained considerable attention (Proulx, 2010). The youth use Tribal Wizdom, a Native hip-hop collective, to spread the message of revolution through concerts, conferences, internet and particularly through music videos posted on YouTube (ibid) also a Tribe Called Red. These music videos serve as a means of self-expression and education on identity and bring together both the oral culture and tradition in new ways.

Indigenous people have come to embrace media as a venue to share real stories that contribute to shared meaning-making, assist in making sense of their lives, and also celebrate Indigenous culture and humour. The National Film Board of Canada began over half a century ago in engaging in film collaborations with Indigenous filmmakers and pioneered Studio One in 1991 to train Indigenous filmmakers in video production (Ryan, 2005). Indigenous film in Canada can now be seen to present its own unique style and characteristics of a genre that speaks to Indigenous reality. Key characteristics include: storytelling though the filmic journey; the presence of strong women; connection to the oral tradition; connection to the natural world; based on Indigenous conceptions of time; a resistance to traditional documentary conventions; a sense of intimacy focusing on the personal voice; cultural resilience; and educating on cultural and cross-cultural issues (ibid). The genre of Indigenous film in Canada is a thriving and vibrant exposition and celebration of culture, identity, resilience and humour. Indigenous filmmakers

have developed a style that is true to the voice and representation of Indigeneity in Canada, and that most importantly, one that empowers and decolonizes. What is even more intriguing is how Indigenous people of all ages have engaged different forms of media towards decolonization and meaning-making.

Community radio and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) radio had been an essential part of northern Indigenous communities the mid-1950s (Mediasmarts, 2017). With programming in Inuktitut and, government funding radio began to be used for broad communications. In the early 70's Indigenous owned and operated broadcasting came when the CBC began showing Canadian and American television to the north (ibid). In the early 80's there was more expansion of Indigenous owned media nationally. In the late 90's, the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) was launched highlighting the Indigenous experience through their programming (ibid). Next Isuma.tv which is a website for Indigenous video production has also been very successful along with more radio (ibid).

The authors Goulet and Swanson (2014) sum up Indigenous filmmaking in the report *Indigenous Feature Film Production in Canada: A National and International Perspective*. The authors outline how the imagineNATIVE Film + Media Arts Festival is the world's largest exhibitor of Canadian and international Indigenous film and media and is recognized globally as the leading presenter of Indigenous film and media content. The authors also explain that Canada is one of the four pillars of Indigenous cinema, with significant contributions award-winning documentary filmmaker Alanis Obomsawin and Zacharias Kunuk, whose film *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* represents a landmark in Canadian cinema and a new generation of Canadian Indigenous filmmakers is finding success with their short films. The authors highlight the Canadian context as the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) 2013 festival showcased

three Indigenous films: *Rhymes for Young Ghouls* by Barnaby (2013); *Empire of Dirt* directed by Stebbings (2013); and Alanis Obomsawin's documentary *Hi-Ho Mistahey*! As Indigenous filmmaking and media surge in popularity there will continue to be an evolution of the genre.

Since the advent of video in visual anthropology there has been a drastic change over time in the relationship between the filmmaker and the subject. Although many Indigenous communities prefer to control the imagery of their communities, it is apparent from the number of film collaborations and projects that have been beneficial to communities, that working in collaboration is effective. There must be a balance that is struck between these two poles of control between the filmmaker and subject, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous filmmakers. I believe this is dependent upon the type of film, story being told, and the audience.

Key characteristics of recent Canadian Indigenous films include storytelling by means of a filmic journey, the presence of strong women, connection to the oral tradition, connection to the natural world, Indigenous conceptions of time, a resistance to traditional documentary conventions, a sense of intimacy focusing on the personal voice, cultural resilience, and education on cultural and cross-cultural issues (Ryan, 2005). The genre of Indigenous film in Canada is a thriving and vibrant exposition and celebration of culture, identity, resilience, and humour. Indigenous filmmakers and video production have developed a style that is true to the voice and representation of Indigeneity in Canada, and that most importantly empowers and decolonizes. What is even more intriguing is how Indigenous people of all ages have engaged different forms of media towards decolonization and meaning-making.

Video production as a method and tool of Indigenous empowerment can be utilized as moving towards embracing a narrative style of ethnography that is not overly reliant on theoretical interpretations and that allows the viewer to interpret the experiences of Indigeneity

without intervention. The fieldwork has been approached in this way, to allow the narrative and

the story to be central to the research. Through the research I was able to produce a short

research video from the stories that were shared by participants.

3.9   Ethical Issues

As ethics has become a central point of concern and area of contestation in Indigenous

communities it was of the utmost importance to incorporate culturally relevant and ethical

Indigenous research methods. Research with Indigenous populations in the city is significantly

different from research conducted on First Nations reserves, as in the city there is not one

specific governing body subject to Ownership, Control, Access, and Possession (OCAP)

guidelines (Schnarch, 2004). However, I was still committed to observing general culturally

appropriate guidelines and practices in undertaking this research (Battiste, 2000; Kenny, 2004;

Schnarch, 2004; Smith, 1999). In seeking to adhere to critical and decolonial research methods,

for this research I sought to privilege the oral tradition of storytelling, narrative, and the voices of

Indigenous people through the use of film, qualitative semi-structured interviews, unstructured

life story accounts (oral history), and talking circles, incorporating direct quotes from

participants whenever possible.

In undertaking a research project that involves research with human participants, various

ethical issues arise that must be addressed. All research and scholarship shall be carried out in

accordance with the *Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples of Canada of

the Tri-Council Policy Statement* (TCPS, 2014). The research followed the guiding ethical

principles of:

> Acknowledg[ing] the unique status of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. It interprets how
>
> the value of respect for human dignity and the core principles of Respect for Persons,

Concern for Welfare, and Justice apply to research involving Aboriginal peoples. It accords respect to Aboriginal peoples' knowledge systems by ensuring that the various and distinct world views of Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples are represented in planning and decision making, from the earliest stages of conception and design of projects through to the analysis and dissemination of results. It affirms respect for community customs and codes of research practice to better ensure balance in the relationship between researchers and participants, and mutual benefit in researcher-community relations" (TCPS, 2014, Chapter 9).

I also observed the section of the concerning Indigenous groups, which outlines how many Indigenous communities are small and characterized by dense networks of relationships so confidentiality can be compromised. Some Indigenous research participants are reluctant to speak to interviewers from their own community because of privacy concerns. Other participants, in qualitative studies or life histories, may wish to be acknowledged individually for their contributions. In this research I found that many people wanted to use their real names and be acknowledged for their words and contributions which was the same as in my earlier Masters research.

Many Indigenous communities have distinguishing characteristics, which in some cases have compromised efforts to disguise the site of research and have led to the stigmatization of the communities. When filming or photographing groups of people in public spaces in their naturalistic environment at events or conferences, it is not practical, or indeed necessary, to obtain consent from those present. At most public events, conferences, and meetings, conversations and filming will occur in "naturalistic" conditions: "Public meetings . . . [and] similar activities *[do] not* require ethics review, since it can be expected that the participants are

seeking public visibility, and therefore observation and possible recording" (Tri-Council Ethical

Conduct of Research Policy, 2014). Visual researchers identify the importance of developing

relationships of mutual trust with study participants, so that the images that are taken emerge

from collaborations between researcher and study participant and are jointly owned (Banks,

2001; Gold, 1989; Harper, 1998; Pink, 2003, 2006, 2007a; Renold, Holland, Ross, & Hillman,

2008).

I used consent forms signed by participants in the interviews as well as oral consent, as a

means of safeguarding the research and my employing institution, making issues of consent clear

to research participants and ensuring attention to issues of copyright (Pink, 2007a). I used oral

consent in some contexts for semi-structured interviews, and unstructured interviews, where

filmed or audio-recorded consent was requested. In particular, with some Indigenous people

where the oral tradition supersedes written text in importance, literacy is a concern, and many

Indigenous people are uncomfortable with providing written consent and more at ease with oral

consent. This is generally the case where people have low levels of literacy or are wary of

legalistic or authoritarian procedures (Banks, 2001).

3.10   Summary

The research is an ethnography of the multiple Indigenous experiences today and the

practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario. Of the 30 research participants interviewed,

25 completed a semi-structured interview, while 5 completed unstructured interviews; either one

long interview or several interviews.

The field site for this research was Ottawa, Ontario, which is a unique locale given that it

is home to the federal government and also five Indigenous national organizations so it was an

exploration of the political and individual realm of Indigenous peoples' experience in the capital

of Canada. I undertook the research with an ethnographic approach that would be critical of

hegemony and work to not place more importance on subjective truth and privilege across

cultures and disciplines. I employed field-notes and narrative by privileging the words of the

Indigenous research participants themselves and working to understate my own voice and those

of other theorists whenever possible. I also employed video ethnography of events and some of

the research interviews as a way to use mixed methods within the research and to privilege the

oral tradition which is important to many Indigenous cultures.

In the end I found the research experience to be rewarding and was comforted by the

research interviews and the time taken to listen to the stories of the Indigenous experience today.

4 Chapter: The Individual Indigenous Body Experience

4.1 Introduction

In situating the body as influenced by culture, I explore Indigenous experiences and practices through the theoretical lens of the "three bodies": individual, social, and body politic (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). I approach it with a recognition that perception has a strong role in Indigenous identity and base my discussion on personal narratives.

The move in recent years towards theories of embodiment in the social sciences has had challenges resolving the assumed subject/object divide -- a Cartesian dualism in which body is separated from mind. In the research the body is defined as an "indeterminate methodological field defined by perceptual experience and mode of presence and engagement in the world" (Csordas, 1994, p. 12). Csordas (1990) elaborated on Mauss's (1973) work to describe how the body is "both the original object upon which the work of culture is carried out, and the original tool with which that work is achieved" (1990, p. 11). My interest here is in the realm of the analytic body, focusing on "perception, practice, parts, processes, or products" (Csordas, 1990, p. 4). Viewing practices of the body and the connection to culture in the research provides space to view the actions of the individual, social, and the body politic, which I use to frame my findings and conclusions.

Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) examined three perspectives that they termed the "three bodies," which are ways that the body can be viewed: the individual body-self, the social body, and the body politic. I utilize these three bodies to frame my findings from this research. In this and the following two sections, I explore and acknowledge the deeply intertwined relationship that Indigenous bodies have at these three levels.

This research was an ethnography of the varied Indigenous experiences today in Ottawa, Ontario. I focused on practices of the body as they relate to experience because meaning is constructed through the practice of everyday life. In particular, I was interested in contrasting the multiple experiences and practices of Indigenous people who have access to a land base and those who do not, in order to determine if their experiences and practices are markedly different in the urban landscape. As stated in Chapter one, key questions of the research were:

1. What is the Indigenous experience today in Ottawa, Ontario?

2. Are there shared cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa?

3. Do the cultural practices of Indigenous people differ between those who have a territory or homeland compared to those who do not?

To answer my first research question, I used the research findings to explore the broader level of experiences and issues found in the results of the research. An overarching finding validates comparable research that stresses that Indigenous cultures are varied (de la Cadena & Starn, 2007; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010). I had expected to find that with the gathering of Indigenous people at various locales, organizations, and events, there would be a sense of one greater community of Indigenous people in Ottawa, similar to the one that I had observed in Vancouver. However, as my research progressed, it became clear to me through the interviews and my involvement in various activities that there are many communities of interest and experiences of Indigenous people in Ottawa.

4.2   The Individual Body

In present-day, Western theories of self, the individual is divided into the body and the mind. This separation causes the body to recede into the background. For example, in clinical practice pain is seen as "either physical or mental, biological or psycho-social—never both nor

something not-quite-either" (Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987, p. 10). This has resulted in

illness/human distress being medicalized and individuated rather than looking at the collective,

political, and social aspects. Sheper-Hughes and Lock argue that the Western conception of the

body is based on absolute dichotomies and differences that are cut off from nature. They outline

how the Western conception of the bounded, unique individual self has only existed since a 1690

publication by John Locke. However, non-Western epistemologies, such as Indigenous and

Chinese medicine, are based on holism, "harmonious wholes in which everything from the

cosmos down to the individual organs of the human body are understood as a single unit"

(Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987, p. 12).

In "Introduction: The body as representation and being-in-the-world," Csordas (1994)

discusses the different worldview of indigenous Canaques in New Caledonia, based on research

that was undertaken by Maurice Leenhardt:

Leenhardt suggested that the Europeans had introduced the notion of "spirit" to the

indigenous way of thinking. His interlocutor contradicted him, pointed out that they had

"always enacted in accord with spirit. What you've brought us is the body". . . . [I]n the

indigenous world view the person was not individuated, but was diffused with other

persons and things in a unitary sociomythic domain. (pp. 6–7)

In the above passage we see how the fundamental rupture of personhood among

Indigenous people—as the epistemology of the collectivity—could be precipitated by the

introduction and hegemony of Western individualism. Colonization adversely affected every

aspect of Indigenous life: "Colonization brought disorder to Indigenous peoples lives, to their

languages, to their social relations, and to their ways of thinking about, feeling, and interacting

with the world" (Battiste & Youngblood Henderson, 2000). This important shift in the belief

systems of Indigenous people meant individual needs became foregrounded, which was a confusing and alienating experience. How does one move from a collective personhood to an individual personhood? The history of individuated Indigeneity began with colonization.

In order to explore embodied Indigeneity, I will bring in my personal story of cultural identity as a view into a lifeworld and experiential reality. My own Indigeneity is deeply embedded in my strong desire to learn my language as a way to connect with my heritage and to acquire an Indigenous ontology. In my field notes from 2010, I reflected on language and identity:

> I find it difficult to express why our languages are so important because I do not speak my language. When I talk with others who do speak their Indigenous language, I am in awe at how they describe their inability to translate into English the meaning of words and concepts.

> The reason I feel so deeply about my language is because I did not have a choice to learn it, as it was taken away from me. Although I grew up predominantly on-reserve, I rarely heard the Secwepemc language when I was growing up. I grew up on my father's reserve, the Simpcw First Nation, also known as Chu Chua. Early on, my grandfather decided that he wanted our family to assimilate into Canadian culture. Grandpa had attended the Indian residential school in Kamloops, where he was beaten when he spoke the Secwepemc language and taught that it was a bad and savage language. For this reason, I only heard my Grandpa speak Secwepemc a few times in my entire life. To this day, my father and my aunts and uncles do not speak our language. My mother also attended the residential school and Secwepemc was beaten out of her as well. Although

she could understand some of our language, she could not and did not speak it until many years later.

Because of my family's history and experiences, I grew up learning and speaking English and rarely heard Secwepemc until late in my teenage years, when our community began to acknowledge our language as important and encouraged the elders and community members to speak it. It was at this time that Secwepemc was introduced in our on-reserve school to be taught to the children. Although Secwepemc is being spoken again in our community by the elders and young children, there remains a large group of adults in between who do not speak the language and have few means to learn it. I think of myself as belonging to this unfortunate group.

To me an embodied Indigeneity is highly specific to understanding and speaking my Indigenous language and learning Secwepemc stories and songs. It is not enough that I have Indigenous blood as I desire a deeper connection to my culture. My conception of Indigeneity includes having knowledge of my people's language and oral tradition and practicing our spiritual beliefs. This contrasts with the external definition of Indigeneity as laid out in the *Indian Act*. I do not feel Indigenous because I have an Indian status card. Indigeneity is embodied within persons by having knowledge of our Indigenous culture that sets us apart from other cultures. I have a middle-class Canadian life: I drive a typical car, live in a comfortable house, and work a job close to the national median income. In these respects it is difficult for me to identify with being Indigenous because my lifeworld is not one that I consider Indigenous.

What is an Indigenous lifeworld in this day and age? It is extremely difficult to define. Is it "doing" Indigenous things? An example of Indigenous "things" may consist of being involved in a ceremony, drumming, or pow-wow dancing. What distinguishes Indigenous life from

Canadian life? It is in this thinking where we Indigenous people often think of "the land" and our reserves. Is an Indigenous person who lives on a reserve "more" Indigenous than one who does not? If so, this means that you can live on the reserve but not "do" Indigenous things, yet still be Indigenous because you hold an Indian status card and live in a certain place. Too many Indigenous people perceive Indigeneity to be tied to an amount of blood (i.e. "pure" ancestry), an Indian status card, or a location. I contend, however, that Indigeneity is embodied differently in each person. If Indigeneity is about our perception of our world, how we live in the world, and our intention, then Indigeneity is wherever and whatever you (or I) perceive it to be as an Indigenous person. Indigeneity in this way is connected to how individuals perceive themselves in the world and their intentionality.

The paradigm of Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) offers a way to understand Indigenous selfhood through the "collective and idiosyncratic representations an individual entertains about the body in its relationship to the environment, including internal and external perceptions, memories, affects, cognitions, and actions" (p. 16). In Canada, the hegemony of Western individualism and forced membership and classification through the *Indian Act* has led to a focus on Indigeneity as blood quantum and the colour of one's skin. In many respects, Indigeneity has been essentialized and bounded as a means of excluding some by focusing on such external markers as an arbiter of authenticity. The individual embodiment of Indigeneity is subjective and is dependent on the lived experience of the body and self.

4.3   Cultural Connectedness in the City: The Importance of Intention

An important aspect of the Indigenous experience today is the desire and will a person has to connect to Indigenous communities, cultures, and practices. I found there are four general groupings with varying levels of cultural connectedness:

- Individuals who did not have a desire to connect and are disconnected;

- Individuals who were alienated from Indigenous communities, cultures, and places, and either remained disconnected by choice or circumstance;

- Individuals who were in the process of connecting and trying to establish contacts or networks; and

- Individuals who were already connected by choice or circumstance.

Some Indigenous people have no desire to connect to an Indigenous community. They may identify as Indigenous, or they may not acknowledge their ancestry and instead prefer to pass as non-Indigenous. Within this sub-group, those who self-identify as Indigenous feel they do not need to participate in an Indigenous community or practice cultural traditions. Those who do not self-identify as Indigenous or acknowledge their Indigenous ancestry have no interest in connecting with an Indigenous community. For some individuals, this is because the Indian residential school taught many Indigenous people to assimilate into Canadian culture, which many families did. For others, it is because their mixed raced family has chosen to identify with the non-Indigenous part of the family tree, and they in turn have no interest in Indigenous communities, cultures, or practices. I think it is important not to attach any judgement to Indigenous people who do not self-identify. There are many factors that may have led to this. Many Canadians foreground their nationalism as Canadians as a result of acculturation, and their ethnic affiliation becomes less important to their self-identity. It is not unusual for people within the Indigenous community who have a similar Canadian perspective.

Another group of Indigenous people is those who are connected to Indigenous communities. I use the plural "communities" because individuals may connect with more than one community at the same time: for example, a First Nation or Métis community in the

homeland, and an Indigenous community in the city. Alternatively, they may be of mixed or combined heritage of First Nations, and/or Métis, and/or Inuit (or another Indigenous or non-Indigenous ethnicity) and also have ties to the city. Such individuals may have bicultural or hybrid identities: they live in cities and participate in Canada at large, but also have the intention to stay connected to their Indigenous communities, cultures, and places.

The last group are those who have a desire to connect to an Indigenous community but are alienated from the community for a variety of reasons. Most often this occurs when people learn later in life that they are Indigenous. They have grown up in foster care, or were adopted and did not know their birth parents. In other cases, individuals knew they were Indigenous but their family did not engage with an Indigenous community. They did not grow up learning the culture, practices, or traditions of their predecessors and relatives, which they are now seeking to learn. Regardless of their previous experience, this group is actively seeking to be engaged with an Indigenous community. It is imperative for these individuals to have places where they can connect with their indigeneity, whether they return to their First Nations community and spend time there, or participate in an Indigenous organization within the city, such as the local Aboriginal Friendship Centre.

An Indigenous individual's level of engagement with others and affiliations may be relatively static and unwavering, or may continually change over the course of their lifetime. This research confirmed the need for Indigenous organizations, and the programs and services they provide, as such resources are paramount in providing access to cultural renewal and connectedness in cities. The acceptance, learning, and assistance provided by these organizations often make the difference as to whether people are connected or alienated (see section on Connecting Through Formal Indigenous Institution Building). Furthermore, in order to increase

self-esteem, feelings of cultural connectedness, and reconnection to traditional practices, the

programs and services provided in cities are critical for healing and decolonization of Indigenous

populations in cities.

      While the experiences of Indigenous people in Ottawa today are wide-ranging, through

the process of talking with research participants, coding, and theming the interviews, I also found

that there are similarities in many of their stories and experiences of living in the city. Level of

disconnection is outlined in the following chart see Figure 1.

Figure 1. Cultural Connectedness of the Indigenous Person

	Disconnected	Desire to Connect	Connecting	Connected
Level of Connection	Not connected	Not Sure How	Trying or Starting to Connect	Well connected by birth, friends, family, work or community.
Factors involved in Connection	- May have connected family or community - Privilege/luxury of middle class; or - Marginalized	- Marginalized, Displaced, Disrupture (Adopted/Fostered); or - Privilege/luxury of middle class	- Making connections, networks - Privilege/luxury of middle class; or - Marginalized	- Privilege/luxury of middle class - Marginalized but strong network of support
Intention and level of choice	Not Connected by Choice - Has Choice	Not Connected by Circumstance - No choice	Starting to Connect by Choice - Has Choice	Connected by Choice or Circumstance - Has Choice
Interventions	None	A community navigator would be helpful here.	A community navigator would be helpful here.	Could be or become a community navigator

4.4   Continuum of Themes of Indigenous Experiences in the City

Many of the research participants all residents of the Ottawa area, whether First Nations, Status, or Métis, experienced transnationalism and diaspora, which is deterritorialization-and forced expulsion from traditional territories for economic need. The research participants shared the experience of frequent returns to the homeland to visit-family and friends and also to reaffirm cultural connections.

Another experience is rooted cosmopolitan Indigenous urbanites (Appiah, 1992; Forte, 2010; Tomiak & Patrick, 2010), who may not have a homeland and may come from second- or third-generation urban families, consider the city their home, and have an entirely different experience (Howard & Proulx, 2011; Newhouse, 2011).

Throughout the research, one of my central findings based on the interviews was the number of themes that emerged and my observations about the range of Indigenous experiences in the city and how these vary from person to person. Based on these findings, I found inter-related themes on the fluidity of Indigenous experiences as represented by a continuum: (a)Territorialists - people residing in their homelands or territories; (b)Returners – people living away from their homelands, with a diasporic experience and desire for return; (c)Learners – people learning about Indigenous culture; (e)Adaptors - people who are adapting and may not be connected, not necessarily by choice; and (f)Urbanites - people who see cities as home, rooted in an Indigenous cosmopolitan experience.

These themes reflect aspects of the politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, localized, and multiple constructions of the Indigenous experience today (Rodman, 1992). Indigenous experiences vary for people who have access to a land base, such as Status First

Nations, many Métis people (as they also have access to a territory through settlements and homelands), and Inuit people (Tomiak & Patrick, 2010) (although the Inuit population is not included in this particular research). Their identity is reified by their connection and belonging to that territory. So many Indigenous people with a territory most often have the diasporic experience of longing for their homeland and making frequent returns home. Homelands provide a more static culture with a structuring principle of collective strategies and social practices, which are used to reproduce existing structures whether the individual is in their territory or an urban centre.

In addition, This continuum reflects only a generalization of Indigenous experiences today, as there are many nuances, diversities and fluidity. Particular Indigenous individuals can fall under one or more of these groupings at the same time, or travel through them at different stages of their life. No one experience is the norm for Indigenous people today. My intention with exploring the experience of Indigenous people in Ottawa is not to box in individuals, or to judge them, but rather to better understand their contemporary conditions and multiple experiences in order to enhance the understanding of their thoughts, experiences, and needs.

In addition, I seek to understand and share with other communities how complicated it is being an Indigenous person today. Whether or not one grew up with an attachment to a territory, finding and being secure in one's Indigenous identity is no simple task. The challenge is not simply that Indigenous people have been colonized by others; it is also that Indigenous people can be the hardest on each other through the identity politics that exist between Indigenous groups (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit), and even within their own groups, by defining who is Indian "enough" or "the most" according to blood quantum and policing of identity (Lawrence, 2004). The tendency to essentialize Indigenous cultures and traditions is common among

researchers, historians, and policy makers. Such essentialization is even reinforced and validated by the Canadian government and courts, which have defined Indigenous identity through artificial boundaries that include some individuals and exclude others.

In response to the historical trauma from the Indian Residential School system and from colonization as a whole, Indigenous people have been engaging in various forms of decolonization. Decolonization is as different for individuals and communities as the experiences of Indigenous life today. I propose that the contemporary Western habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) has perpetuated the distinctions and separation created by the *Indian Act* membership system, and that it is necessary to exit this reductive sort of self-identity to move forward towards Indigenous resurgence and decolonization.

Through my research interviews, spending time with my research participants, and analyzing the research data, it became clear to me early on that Indigenous people have a range of experiences today. While a continuum could not cover the complete range of experiences, I was able to generalize several themes of the present experience as represented in the figure 2 (below).

Figure 2. Continuum of Themes of the Indigenous Experience from Homelands to Cities
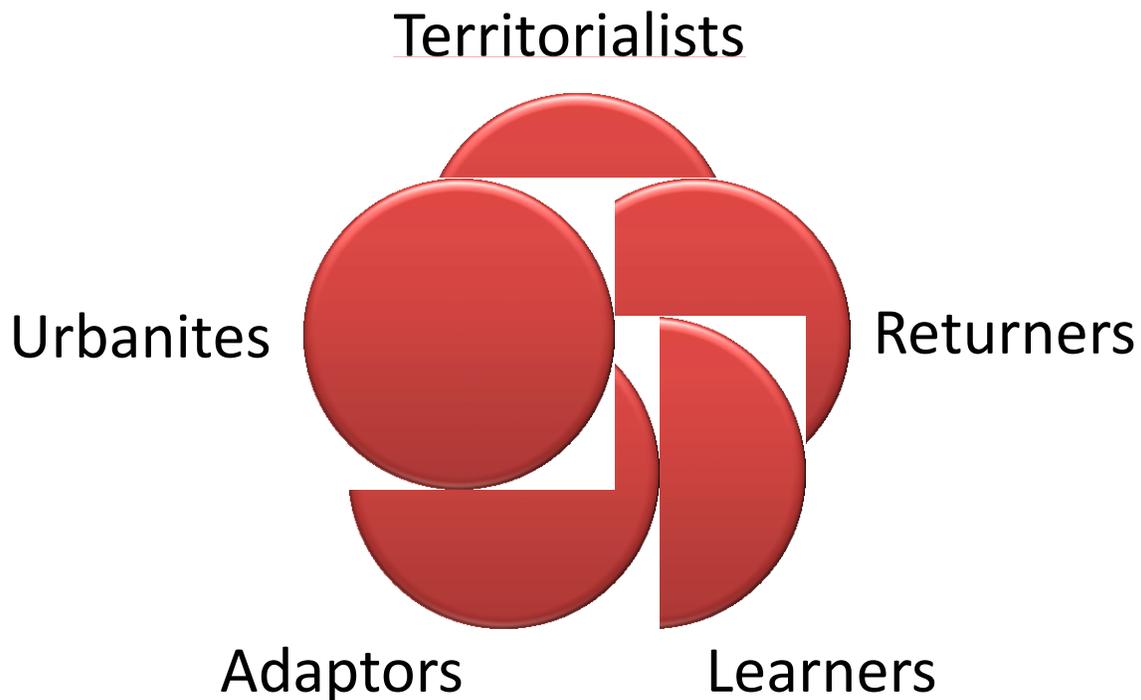
4.4.1 Territorialists

This group resides in their homeland -- whether Métis, First Nations, Inuit or mixed -- and who may or may not connect to their culture and practices within their territory.

Territorialists are Indigenous people who reside in their homeland whether Métis, First Nations, Inuit or mixed, and may or may not connect to their culture and practices within their territory. There were several research participants who travelled back and forth from their homeland to the nearest city for work or for education but continue to reside in the homeland by choice. Here, there is more of a focus on land based activities (Lawrence, 2004). This experience also covers

those who continue to live and work in the homeland, although such a sub-group is outside the scope of this research project.

Research participants particularly from Kitigan Zibi discussed travelling back and forth daily or weekly, or maintained houses in both Ottawa and Kitigan Zibi. This correlates with the Indigenous experience of returns (Clifford, 2013) where Indigenous people are only able to find work outside of the homeland and have to make frequent returns to visit family and friends. This experience is a reiteration of Indigenous "nomadic legacies" as "agricultural traditions [that] sustain relationships to land that transcend permanent settlement" (Darnell, 2011 p. 39).

This is an important practice to understand as it relates to the desire to maintain connections to the reserve, to the home community, and consciously choosing to stay there even if economically they are required to find work outside of their community and must travel daily to a job in Ottawa. In the following excerpts several research participants discuss their experience of daily or weekly returns to their homeland while working in the city.

A culture keeper from Kitigan Zibi used humour to highlight that he spent more time in his car travelling back and forth than in his community:

I don't live in Ottawa. I live in my trunk. (Laughs) No well, I am back and forth I started to work in Ottawa in January and I go back and forth to my community every day. It's an hour and half trip and I leave there in the morning around 5:30 and then I am here for work. I go back home, but most of all our business even though we are 140 clicks away, most of our shopping for clothes whatever necessities that we have, I think stuff like that is done in Ottawa at Future shop or Wal-Mart….Yeah. A lot of people go back and forth, yeah. Some of them live in Ottawa, some people were from Kitigan Zibi who live in Ottawa but work in Kitigan Zibi, travel from Ottawa to Kitigan Zibi everyday vice-versa.

(Rene Tenasco, First Nations Status, Male)

A woman from Kitigan Zibi explained how her family partially moved to Ottawa but also lived on the reserve, and split time between the two places. She shared that she does not feel like she lives in either fully:

And she [Mother] was actually giving a tour to someone from INAC and that person recruited her and her and my dad decided they would move the family down to Hull and we have been here ever since, but I say that with a grain of salt because I don't feel like we are totally in either Ottawa-Gatineau area or totally in Kitigan Zibi like my mom worked here since she moved to Ottawa and my dad still works in Kitigan Zibi. My parents still have their house that they lived in when they were there and I still go there quite often. I just went there this weekend. So, I kind of feel like I am in neither place full time….Well, they have 2 houses that they both own basically. So, my dad works on the reserve and he works like Sunday til Wednesday so he'll come down Thursday for the weekend. And my mom works here Monday to Friday. She has a regular 9 to 5 job and she so often goes down because, you know, these days she has been going down pretty much every weekend, so go down for maybe Saturday night and come back on Sunday. And I, when I first got my license and my own car, I used to go up every weekend. And yeah, I just had friends there that I would hang out with often and nowadays though I guess I established more of a life in the city that I go up…once every month or 2. (Mallory Whiteduck, First Nations Status, Female)

One of the main findings in the research was the Indigenous Diasporic (Clifford, 2007) experience of returns to the homeland, and the economic need Indigenous people have to move to the city for education and work, or travel back and forth. Indigenous populations are

increasingly moving away from "homelands" to secure jobs and pursue education, in the process

forging new identities described as "Indigenous diasporas" (Clifford 2007; Hall 1992). This

experience sheds light on the complex relations and connections that Indigenous people hold to

homelands. Diasporic ruptures and connections—lost homelands, partial returns, relational

identities, and world-spanning networks—are fundamental components of Indigenous experience

today.

4.4.2   Returners

This group is connected to a homeland/territory but live away and actively

participate in communities. Although I have long known that returns to the homeland for First

Nations people were a normal part of urban existence, during my research I have come to realize

how fundamental and important the return is for many Indigenous groups. Returns at many

levels can be the pivotal connecting factor to Indigenous culture, identity, and family. It can even

be central to the spiritual well-being of the returner and have the symbolic significance of a

pilgrimage.

My healing journey: My daughters name-giving ceremony.

In the article *Confessions of a Born Again Pagan*, Fred Kelly (2008) shares the

importance of the spiritual name and identity, which are one in the same. An Elder is chosen to

conduct the ceremony and the name-giving has a great deal of significance as it is an invocation

to confirm a person's spiritual identity. The name-giving is important so the person does not

become spiritually lost, disoriented, or ill as a result of lacking a spiritual identity. More than one

name can be given over the lifetime of a person:

> Names may be given before, during, or sometime after birth, although parents are
>
> urged to have the ceremony done as quickly as possible. Other names may be given out

of love or honour, for strength, and also for recovery from an illness. In this way, a name

will heal, and a name-giving ceremony is therapeutic to form part of one's personal

reconciliation when it is needed (p. 37).

In Secwepemc territory the Elders observe children and look for characteristics present to

match with the name. The Elders meet with the parents and look back into the child's family tree

for names that can be brought forward and together with the parents they decide on a name. A

name can derive from the child's personality, traditional family names, or contemporary names

that relate to animals, flowers, water, or earth. The parents gather items for a giveaway for those

who come to witness the name-giving ceremony (British Columbia First Nations Headstart,

2004). The name-giving ceremony brings family together to witness the sacred honour and

reaffirms family ties.

When I gave birth to my daughter in 2009, I knew that I wanted her to have more

connection to Secwepemc culture than what I had growing up. I wanted to provide her

with a choice and an opportunity to learn our language because it was one that I did not

have. In order to do this I wanted to provide her with access to our teachings and

knowledge of our traditional way of life. I knew in my heart that I wanted Teya to have a

Secwepemc name, as I had always wished that I had one and that I had more access to our

teachings. Originally, I did not think that we would be allowed to ask for a Secwepemc

name for Teya because we do not follow all of the traditional ways of the Secwepemc. I

did believe though that we would be able to have a Secwepemc blessing for Teya. I talked

with my mother about the process for doing this and we talked to our close family at a

neighbouring First Nations reserve Tk'emlups. My uncle and many of our extended family

fluently speak Secwepemc language and are knowledgeable of our traditional culture and

teachings. Although I did not know the process for such things at the time, I humbly asked

my uncle if he would oversee Teya's Secwepemc blessing. I was overjoyed when he

agreed and in the summer we began preparations for her ceremony. I knew this was also

an important ceremony for my father as his health was steadily deteriorating and I

desperately wanted him to be at the centre of the ceremony as I knew he did not have much

time left on this earth. I wanted him to know that we would raise our daughter to know her

culture, language and traditions even though we may live far away.

For me what happened next can only be described as a cultural miracle. All of the events

that transpired after initially putting our intention out to the world to have a traditional

Secwepemc blessing ceremony for Teya, brought about gifts for her beyond what I could

have hoped for. After being invited for Teya's blessing my great-aunt took the time to

write out our family tree with all the traditional Secwepemc names of our kin. She asked if

we would like one of the family's traditional Secwepemc names passed down to her. We

were so honoured to have Teya carry a traditional Secwepemc name from our

family. There are many ways that names are given, often the elders will watch a young

one and provide them with a name that suits their personality or traits; also, like in our

case, a name can be passed down from previous generations.

During the ceremony we were even more in awe and honoured to receive traditional

teachings from our family and three Secwepemc songs were provided to Teya. I cannot

even describe what an honour this is to receive traditional songs and the great

responsibility that goes with those songs. It means that as Teya's mother I also have a

responsibility to learn those songs and ensure that Teya is taught them. It will also be

Teya's great honour to pass them down to succeeding generations. Another great

responsibility that was given to me that day was the responsibility to see that Teya lives up to her name and is taught the dances of our people.

On the day of the ceremony my father and many of our family who were present spoke of the importance of that day and the revitalization of our traditional ways in our family. They spoke of how they had not seen a name-giving ceremony performed amongst our family in many, many years. We felt the continuation of the circle, of new life, of our traditional ways coming back again. My heart is full today knowing that my father was there for that special day even though he is not with us today.

Through Teya's name-giving ceremony I was able to heal from the past because it gave me hope for the future. Our family has experienced so much pain from the abuses of the Indian Residential School that were experienced by my grandfather and my mother. More than taking away our language and traditional teachings the residential school took love, respect, and dignity away from my grandfather and mother that had repercussions throughout our entire extended family. Our family has been slowly rebuilding ourselves through these long years, we have gained strength, and have worked on healing ourselves in our own ways. We have all experienced our own journey of healing.

In a way the act of having the name-giving ceremony for Teya has helped to undo some of the loss of language and culture that resulted from the Indian residential school. It was our family's way of saying "we survived, and we're moving forward."

(Matthew, C. Field notes, August 3, 2011)

Returners (Clifford, 2013) are Indigenous people who are connected to a homeland or territory but live away (urban or rural) and actively participate in Indigenous communities (First Nations, Métis, Inuit, urban or rural) cultures, and practices in their homeland community but

also potentially in the city where they live. Leaving the homeland can be regarded as forced expulsion of Indigenous people from territories due to limited economic opportunities (Hannerz, 1989). My research did not reveal an overriding sentiment of negativity attached to living in the city, but rather an acceptance of the realities of modern life. This is consistent with recent research on Indigenous people in cities that has found that Indigenous people consider the city home but maintain a connection to their community of origin (Environics, 2010). Returners practice land based activities in their traditional territory when they can return home to visit, and actively engage in Indigenous communities and the Indigenous cultures and practices found there. Returners, as a whole, find it important to connect to their home territory and culture, and have the specific *intention* of actively participating in Indigenous cultures and practices in multiple locations (in their own territories and in cities).

Based on the research interviews and my own experience, yearly return visits and pilgrimages are often made in the summer. The pilgrimage referenced in my research comes from Métis and First Nations participants who talked about returning to Lac St. Anne in Alberta for the summer pilgrimage which has a religious or spiritual connotation that is centred on the spiritual lake there (Evans, Gareau, Nielson, Krebs, & Standeven, 1999). One of the largest annual Catholic gatherings in Western Canada, the pilgrimage is for the Feast of Ste. Anne and Kateri Tekakwitha, the first North American Native to be declared a Saint. The pilgrimage site is located on the shores of beautiful Lac Ste. Anne in Alberta, about 75 km northwest of Edmonton. In the following discussion taken from the research transcript interview a male Métis participant talks about the importance of the pilgrimage to his life:

INTERVIEWEE: Well I was born and raised at well actually outside of Lac St. Anne, as Lac St. Anne was the hub, the mission, so a big mission and there is a reservation around

one end of the lake and we never lived on the reservation, we lived out in the bush, so we came into town, what we called town Lac St. Anne was the town to us and it had a general store, but we always came in – because every Sunday we would have to come in for a mass, and besides our whole family was in Lac St. Anne my granny and grandpa, I was a little kid they had a house there and my uncles and my mom's family all were there, so we went to Lac St. Anne and so it was very vibrant Métis community, very vibrant, healthy Métis community.

INTERVIEWER: Do you ever go back to visit?

INTERVIEWEE: I do as much as I can. I have two aunties who are still alive, thank goodness and I go visit them and we have this big pilgrimage every year there, it is a catholic thing, I don't go there for that, but my aunties are always there, they are selling stuff. They have set up little shops and things like that and I like to go back and I still have lots of relatives that are there especially on my mom's side, well my dad's side too, both of them there is lots of family there…

INTERVIEWER: Wow, that is exciting, can you tell me a bit about the pilgrimage, I have heard this before and I am not really sure you mentioned it was a Catholic thing, can you tell me a bit about it?

INTERVIEWEE: The first recording by the Catholic Church was about 1835 or 1840 when there was a priest that had gone out there and he came across a band of people who were semi-nomadic, these are my ancestors on both my mom and dad's side, 0:16:00 the L'Hirondelle family and then in 1850 a priest came up there Father Lacombe and he had a vision of Saint Ann on the lake so he setup this mission and our lake is we call it spirit lake, [traditional name] in our language, so then the priest then talked about there being

healing that there was healing qualities in the water and so they have this big mission, they have this big pilgrimage every year and when I was a kid people were always coming, but they came from everywhere by horse, they came from Montana and Saskatchewan, Manitoba and from the Northwest territories, northern Alberta, they were coming by horse any other way and trucks and cars and things like that, and then we used to have, I don't know how many people would have been there when I was a kid, maybe there were at least three or four or five thousand people that would come, now there is around at least 20,000 and upwards of 20,000 people who come there every year. They come there and people in remote communities in the Northwest territories, fly in, communities they save their money all year so they can send one or two people to come down at the cost of around $3000 an airfare just so that they can come there with these ghetto blasters and they sit outside underneath the speakers as all the prayers and the masses are going on and they record everything, they take it home to the people in their own communities. I mean this is a – the Catholic Church are really powerful in our communities, it was and it still is in many, many ways. (Tony Belcourt, Métis, Male)

With other Indigenous people, the non-religious return is the direct connection to their home community and territory, and is important for their cultural and familial connections. This can also include spiritual practices such as a Sun Dance or entering the sweathouse with trusted family, friends, or spiritual advisors. It is common that the summer return is often from two weeks to a month long. The summer return/pilgrimage is a time for reconnecting to one's roots, culture and immediate and extended family, and also for participating in land-based activities such as hunting, fishing, or trapping.

In the following excerpts several research participants discuss their experience making returns to their homelands. This Métis female discusses how when she was younger she usually went back to her Métis Settlement to visit family in the summer:

Yeah, so my dad still lives on Fishing Lake Métis settlement and he has land there and yeah, I tried to go back. I haven't been back for a while, but when I was kid, I was always there pretty much especially in the summertime, and I would just be there for mainly the whole summer, and then I have all my aunts and uncles live there too, well a lot of them and cousins and I try to go back I guess, the last time was two years ago but I tried to go back, I used to try to go back at least once a year once I was 17 and I'm going back this summer because we are having a family reunion. (Gabrielle Fayant, Métis, Female)

Another Métis female discusses how traveling back home is important enough to save up for the family to travel back to the homeland for an extended visit.

What we do is [what] you are talking about traveling back home…like every two years, you know, I save up enough money to fly my 3 kids and usually work pays for mine to Alberta and we stay there for a month, you know, and that's when my son learned to skin a rabbit and, trap a rabbit, two years ago and stuff but it's every two years for one month, you know. (Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female)

This First Nations male discusses that the majority of his family still lives in the homeland and he visits in the summer and the holidays. An important point he makes is that more regular visits are difficult as a result of the distance to the rural area where his reserve is located:

Yeah Sabiskgong Onigaming in Treaty 3 would be my home, it is a beautiful community

between Crow Lake and Lake of the Woods just about an hour south of Kenora and my

father is still there. Most of my family is still there including my mom's siblings. My

mom has got a few siblings and my father has got 13 brothers and sisters so they are almost

all there around the region and I try to go back as much as possible it's not very often

because it is about 2500 km I think maybe a little less so it is a long travel, but certainly the

couple of times a year mostly around summer and mostly around Christmas I go back and a

lot of it has been really good to me and that is my home. (Jeff Copenace, First Nations

Status, Male)

   This female First Nations participant discusses how she is only able to visit once or twice

a year as a result of the distance to her rural reserve, and how when she lived closer and was

younger was able to go back for longer periods of time. She also talks about how her returns

were often for ceremony and berry picking in her homeland territory:

I have never lived on reserve, but I have gone back to visit quite often throughout my

childhood. Well, I wouldn't say quite often. I have gone back. Holidays and summer

vacations things like that to visit family….I think on average I have gone back – about

once a year I think. Yeah, once a year, or once every two years. That's in the last couple of

years, I have gone back at least once a year….. I haven't gone back specifically at any

particular time. It usually revolved around different events. So, I would say in the last few

years I have gone back, you know, once for Christmas, once for summer vacation, once as

part of a volunteer opportunity I was undertaking and once for a family funeral….Usually

if I go back, it's usually for anywhere from one week to two weeks. It takes so long to get

there like I'm living in Ottawa it takes two days to get to Moose Factory unless I'm flying

and so to go all that way just to spend a couple of days doesn't really make a whole lot of sense. So, usually if I'm going to visit, I'll stay for an extended period of time because it just takes so long to get there and back….but when I was younger, when I was a teenager and I was living in Timmins which was a lot closer to Moose Factory, I would go up a lot more often with my family because it was easier to get to. We have gone or we used to go every year for traditional ceremony in the spring. We would go out to the land and we would camp and have ceremony for about a week. I also remember going out near the bay to pick medicines pick sweetgrass specifically. (Jocelyn Formsma, First Nations Status, Female)

In 2011, over half of the Aboriginal people in Canada resided in cities (INAC, 2013). Many people relocate for school and work, and the rates of economic participation of Indigenous people is higher for those living off-reserve. Many of the research participants left reserves for these same reasons, and the purpose of the return continues to be an important part of Indigenous life today. The longing for the homeland was a common experience among research participants, at the same time as many also found communities in urban centres that provided enough connections for them to stay permanently.

Based on the experiences of some of the research participants, returns cannot be viewed as an entirely positive experience. Although the return is a time to connect with family and friends some of the participants discussed negative experiences in returning to their homeland. These participants found reserve life to be unbearably quiet, and the large degrees of alcohol consumption and other behaviors unfavourable. Therefore they tended to keep visits to no more than a week. First Nation reserves, while places of cultural connection, can also be sites of decreased economic participation since some residents are unemployed and on social assistance.

I go back 2 to 3 times a year for about a week at a time because any longer than that, I

mean, you just run out of stuff to do, I mean, there's really not that much to do except drink

beer….I mean, it is fun for a week, but anything longer than that you kind of lose your

mind…now you step outside of reality for a bit and you enter what is perceived as a harsh

reality, but I always have a good time at home. (Lewis Barnaby, First Nations Status,

Male)

Homelands provide a more static culture with a structuring principle of collective

strategies and social practices. It is an important practice to that recognizes the diasporic

experience of Indigenous people connecting from the city to the homeland. Regardless of

challenges in getting there, many with a homeland continue to maintain cultural connectedness

through regular returns.

4.4.3   Learners

This group has limited or no knowledge and connection to Indigenous communities,

and actively engages in Indigenous communities (urban, rural or territorial) to learn

Indigenous cultures and practices.

One of the participants -- a respected community Elder -- said he did not know which

Indigenous community he is from because his father was adopted into a non-Indigenous family.

He was able to learn Indigenous teachings and practices from other Elders in the Ottawa

community, and he has become very connected to Indigenous culture and practices.

INTERVIEWEE: Yes, I identify as being Aboriginal.

INTERVIEWER: From which group?

INTERVIEWEE: I don't know which group, because I don't know where my dad came from but I assume it's the territory he grew up in and where his adoptive parents came from, so.

INTERVIEWER: And have you ever lived on a First Nations reserve or do you have access to a territory, land or settlement?

INTERVIEWEE: I never lived on it, and I don't have any personal access. Since about 1990 I started working for the university and for the university with First Nations reserves …[like the] Algonquin community they are introducing circles back in the community doing staff training with them. In the last few years it has been mainly doing sweat lodges at their request in the community.

In the last five years or six years I was at Carleton. That's what I did. That was my job working with First Nation's off campus so it was good, I really enjoyed it and I learned so much, that's where I was just understanding my own background and began to do research on my dad, and where he came from, and so that was perfect timing for me because it reinforced a whole lot of things about my own search, as well but it was a real eye-opener and my whole way of teaching changed dramatically…I have been working with an elder, an Ojibwe elder who at the time was teaching at Laurentian University and she got me involved in learning how to do circles, talking, teaching, healing and etc. and so I worked a lot with her on circle work....It was really just a whole new world for me too, I had worked for a long time by then, and been in school for a long time and teaching, taught a long time and over 20 years by the time I started that, hey so it was really great, it just opened up a whole new territory and the other thing that's beautiful about it is when we do that, and then you find yourself – you find out who you are in that context doing those things, it was

an incredible gift for me as well, but I just went "aha" now, I understood all the stuff, because you could feel that now you understood it, now you could use it and now you knew it -- how to be an Aboriginal person in the way you did everything, and so it was great for me.

I got involved with the Aboriginal community here [in Ottawa]…and then I got more involved I had always been around the pow-wow stuff and I knew people but it was just here and there. It wasn't anything really consolidating, it was kind of I guess the beginning of it, but it got more substantive and more substance to it when I started doing some work around Wabano, which I have been doing for 11 years, it might be 12 years now and doing work within the center and doing ceremonial stuff, doing openings and then also as (0:36:00) I worked with the elder that trained me and asked me, she didn't really ask me-grandmothers usually don't ask you-they tell you-to get involved in taking on responsibilities for the sweat lodge, then a lot more people from the city were coming out and being involved in. So that is probably how I got involved more heavily was through Wabano…..one of the elders she is from Birch Island area and she was working around Ottawa at the…Minwaashin Lodge, is the Aboriginal Women's Support Center, …and she was asked to come in there, and work with a group of grandmothers to train these women to take on the role of grandmothers, and to know who they were themselves, and to know the teachings and know the ceremonies… around that time I had met her, and she had come out to my place and asked if they could set up a sweat lodge there, and she had a cover and all that, and long story short we set up a sweat lodge and she ran lodges and brought up the grandmothers from Ottawa and did it there (the sweat lodge). And she got me involved in doing fire keeping there, and other places that she did lodges, so that is how

I learned about it…one of those grandmothers that she brought in helped then the three of us were working together on a lot of stuff and then she – it was time for her to move on, and leave the Ottawa area, so by that time she had already put me out to learn the sweat lodge so that I could conduct one, and then she left, and she left all the work then, by then she was also beginning to do lodges for the community in Ottawa, not just for the grandmothers and so by the time, she passed that on to [us] that we were doing community sweats for the Ottawa Aboriginal Community and so then when she left.

[After that] I was doing the lodges and [the other Elder] was working with me in all of them, and so that is how we got going and she was also conducting the fasting ceremonies here we started at my place, and she conducted and I went up to the ones she did up at Birch Island by Dreamer's Rock, we fasted up there on at least two occasions (0:40:00) and so out of that was basically working with our elders that all this target, and so we have been doing this and keeping it together so we do the sweat lodges…we have been doing this stuff not for an organization or attached to any place. Wabano will send people up when one of their programs will come up…– it's like they reach out to us, as to what we are doing so it's like our responsibility to do these things once you have been given the responsibility. (Elder Jim Albert, First Nations Non-Status, Male)

Learners are Indigenous people with limited or no knowledge and connection to Indigenous communities, cultures, and practices. Whether by forced or chosen alienation, this group actively engages in Indigenous communities (urban, rural, or territorial) to learn Indigenous cultures and practices. This group has the *intention* to belong to an Indigenous community and to learn Indigenous practices. As many people from this group do not know if they are First Nations, Métis, or Inuit, they find the acceptance of Indigenous self-identification

within urban communities to be a safe haven. They learn a plethora of Indigenous cultural

knowledge and practices through Elders and cultural teachers.

It would be difficult to imagine a discussion about Indigenous identity without discussing

the role of Indian residential schools, and the family breakdown and loss that have resulted from

Indigenous children being adopted out of their communities and raised in foster care. Several of

the research participants discussed the challenge of finding and securing their identity, either

knowing or not finding out they were Indigenous until later in life but never able to find out from

what nation because of the displacement from the child welfare system.

For Indigenous people who commit to learning cultural practices, the availability of others

to learn from is intrinsically important to their process of self-discovery. The mixing of

Indigenous cultures in Ottawa is a theme that was brought up many times in interviews with

participants and it is relevant in several ways. The mixing of Indigenous cultures in urban areas

provides a communal, shared space and culture in which to connect. This connection is

particularly necessary for Indigenous people who are far from their own homeland territories,

and also for Indigenous people who were subject to "the 60's scoop" (Dickason and

Newbigging, 2006), who were fostered or adopted out of their home communities.

For Indigenous people who were placed in foster homes or adopted into families, there is

often a lack of knowledge regarding which Indigenous group or nation they belong to. For such

people, and others disconnected from their traditional territory for a variety of reasons, access to

pan-Indigenous practices is essential for cultural reclamation and renewal. Another participant

also talked about connecting to her Indigenous identity through her partner who is First Nations,

and who also speaks his own language and is tied to his territory. Bonds to Indigenous identity

do not require a pan-Indigenous approach, although it can facilitate a connection.

One of my research participants was an active learner, and her partner was Status First Nations of the Algonquin people. She was also strongly connected to her partner's culture. She discussed how she did not know which First Nation she was from because her mother was taken from her community and put into foster care at a young age.

In fact, we're non-status in my family but we've never found out what nation we were until I was twenty-one. It happened all by chance that we actually found out what nation we were displaced from because my mother was taken away from her family when she was just a little girl and she had no memory of that and she was placed in a foster family and she stayed with them her entire life we knew we were native but we didn't know what nation we were. (Nikki Maier, First Nations Non-Status, Female)

For these reasons it is integral to support the many cultural teachings that are available to Indigenous people. Attachment to Indigenous culture and identity is not ensured by being born Indigenous. As a result of years of marginalization within the mainstream culture, through both the Indian residential school system and the 60's Scoop, the challenge to construct or maintain an Indigenous identity is one wrought with difficulties, in particular for people who do not find out they are Indigenous until much later in life.

4.4.4 Adaptors

This group has limited or no connection to Indigenous communities for a variety of reasons including historical.

INTERVIEWEE: I have identified as being Aboriginal since I was a child. See I only recently found out that I am a native in the summer of 1990 when in Montreal - outside of Montreal they had that Mohawk standoff and that was the year that I went back home to the States in New Hampshire looking for

answers…I was determined to tell my story and I didn't know who I was living with in my foster homes and I looked up my father's name in a phone book and I went to the house only to find one of my oldest siblings, my brother, who told me that our father is a Mohawk. And I was very happy because - well I was scared and happy both – scared at the fact because they had that Mohawk standoff and at that time I was living in Montreal and I didn't want to have to let anybody know that I am native because they always don't like a native anyways, but I was happy in the other sense because like I said as a child I always thought that I was a native. I act like a native, I thought like a native, I did everything like a native and everybody, especially the nuns, they didn't like me because I have red skin…they didn't like me because I was the only native there and they used to beat me. So, I still have – I still have mixed feelings about being a native, all except when I started going to the Minwaashin Lodge, which was about 3 years ago. Someone introduced me to the Minwaashin Lodge. I was actually supposed to meet somebody there, but she introduced me to the lodge and I felt attracted to the lodge because it's a native center and I wanted to know more about myself through other natives. And that is when I started going to the once a week feather circle, which was held on a Wednesday.

INTERVIEW: So what keeps you here in Ottawa?

INTERVIEWEE: What keeps me here? Well, one thing I think I found a root. Prior to coming to live in Ottawa I used to move a lot because I never felt as though I could find my root or I couldn't find a place to lay down my head, and bury that seed to form the root….Throughout the entire 90's I spent 8 weeks every

year looking for answers, but I was constantly running in to obstacles upon obstacles because nobody wanted to help me open up a can of worms. So finally – I met someone over the Internet in 2004 who was willing to help so I went back home to the States two, three years in a row and I finally managed to interview some people there who knew some of the folks in my - both of my foster homes and I also went from city to city interviewing social workers or ask them if they would meet with me.

INTERVIEWER: Do you think Aboriginal people who live in the city have a culture?

INTERVIEWEE: If you were to ask me that before I was introduced to the Minwaashin Lodge I would have said probably not because I really didn't know that there was anything for us, but yes, I do believe because I believe that whatever color, whatever race, whatever you are born to, we have a right to everything as well, yes….I felt like as though hey, this is a place where I can sort of fit in, or I can learn about my own kind, you know, regardless as to whether or not that I lived on a reserve or not, which I hadn't and regardless if I am not from here in Canada….I will tell you something. Before I was introduced to the Minwaashin Lodge I felt like the lone wolf, which I still do. I am a loner…but I have always felt like an alienated person I never did feel I belonged due to my upbringing and the only people who ever – the only real person who ever helped and welcomed me was grandmother Irene. (Raven Wolfe, pseudonym, First Nations, Female)

The experience of *Adaptors* is largely a result of colonization and displacement. This group has limited or no connection to Indigenous communities for a variety of reasons. Some chose not to return to their Indigenous community after attending Indian residential school, while others who grew up in care either did not know that they were Indigenous, or knew that they were but had no other information such as whether they were First Nations, Métis, or Inuit. Within this group there are some who chose not to have a connection to an Indigenous community, viewing Indigeneity as a stigma. Others were unable to reconnect to a homeland because they did not know which Indigenous community they came from; eventually they may choose to become Learners to understand their history, cultures, and practices.

There were also research participants who discussed why they did not return to their reserves at all, had no residence there, and did not have many connections there. Many of them stated they did not want to go back because of racism, being adopted out of the community and not knowing their extended family well, or being non-status and not feeling that they had a First Nations community to return to. In the following excerpt a research participants discussed why she did not return to her traditional territory:

> You know, right now I don't see any need to go back, I mean in Saskatchewan you are a second class citizen. I have been there, done that. I never had so many problems with the police officers as when I was in Saskatchewan and just the way you are treated is just horrible in general, right? So Saskatchewan isn't a place I would say hey girls [daughters], I am just dying to go back to Saskatchewan, it's not true. I like Ontario, there is still racism, but at least they are little bit more subtle about it. (Michele Penney, First Nations, Female)

There are many factors related to why Indigenous people choose not to return, or have no choice but to leave their homeland. Another reason Indigenous people have to leave their homeland is based on living a turbulent life and getting involved with drugs, addiction, gangs, and problems with the law. Many in this group eventually end up in provincial or federal correctional institutes where they may or may not participate in healing and cultural renewal. Others have to leave their homeland in order to get a fresh start and to access drug rehabilitation centres and community services which may support connections to Indigenous cultures.

According to recent statistics *Adult Correctional Statistics in Canada 2013/2014* report (Statistics Canada, 2015), although Indigenous people only make up around 3% of the total Canadian population, they account for 20% of federal correctional services (n.p.). My research intentionally focuses on the stories and narratives of Indigenous people and their lived experience. A First Nations woman (under a pseudonym) described how she chose to reside in Ottawa as a means of rehabilitation to move away from both gang and drug involvement in Alberta.

INTERVIEWER: What brought you to Ottawa?

INTERVIEWEE: I lived in Edmonton for six months previous to moving to Ottawa and living in a small town on reserve in Northern Alberta, I moved to Ottawa as for me it was a geographical cure. I couldn't move anywhere else and stay. I could not move anywhere in Alberta. I could not move anywhere in BC or Saskatchewan because I know far, far, far too many people in the western part of Canada and as well they know me and my family, but it was better for me to move here. It is a geographical cure because I had a drug habit and the only way I could find to do that was to move to some place where I didn't know anybody, I didn't have any

connections at all so Ottawa was my best choice and I lived here before and I loved

Ottawa so I knew that the best thing for me to do was to come to Ottawa and I

wanted to work here. I remember when I lived here in '79 and '80 how beautiful the

city was, how pristine it was. It was clean. The people were really friendly. It was a

good city. I met Pierre Trudeau when I was here and I knew that I would meet more

better people here as well and I knew that I had a better chance of succeeding in

getting over my drug addiction and also finding new and better friends whereas back

home it was just really hard because – it seemed that every second house somebody

sold pot. I was a bootlegger, sold pills, sold crack. It was always something and it

was really hard. I couldn't remember what I did outside of drugs. I had no – it was

like as if I always did drugs and I know I didn't, you know. So, for me it was I

needed to move here. It was either move or die. It has helped me tremendously to

move out here. It not only helped me in getting away from the drug scene and the

drug people it allowed me to reach back into traditional way of life that I have

learned about in 1991, '92, '93 and '94 and reconnect with the elders that I had

worked with previously.

I left home for 20 years. I have been to Kingston. I was out here in Ottawa,

Vancouver, Victoria, Prince George, Saskatoon. I've been across Canada except for

the Maritimes and I moved back home in 1998 and my family, you know, insisted

that I come home because it was time for me to come home. I have been away long

and they wanted to see that I was okay and going back to where I came from, I made

a lot of people scared. They were still scared of me and I needed to change that. I

needed to change me as well, and I went back to university and made new friends,

but however when I went back home, I got into the drug scene, and it got really intense it was drugs that – I would never have expected to ever have gotten into but I did. I was introduced to it by my family. I'm not talking like my sisters or anything like that. It was one of my cousins showed me something and I didn't like it at first and then, you know, did it a couple more times and then I became addicted, yeah. And I lost a lot because of that, you know, I didn't lose just my home, you know, I lost friends because of my drug addiction and I no longer was interested in learning. My new thing was everything in my whole life everything was focused around drugs. How to get money for drugs and that was it, nothing anymore. I didn't even pray anymore. I was that type of person I would pray every day. It didn't matter what I was doing or where I was or anything whether I was in jail or on the streets I always prayed, but when I became entangled in the drug life, praying was no longer a part of it anymore. I lost a lot of my things that I did, my crafts, my writing, my poetry, my music, you know, I lost everything. It cost me a lot.

Our reserve is riddled with drugs, you know, and it's a sad thing and the thing is this crystal meth is coming onto our reserves. I'm scared for my family because my sisters and brothers are old. My brother is 72 years old…my sisters they are, they are older. They are in their 60s. My sister has already been abused by one of her sons I mean, held by her throat up against the wall. My sister is just a small woman she is like 120 pounds, (0:08:00) she is like 5 foot…[Her son] he is angry because she bought him clothes instead of giving him money. She bought what he needed or he said he needed and then he killed her dog. He drowned her dog, her brand new puppy

in her bathtub and while she was in there mourning and trying to revive her puppy he

rifled her purse and robbed her. So I must pray for her.

So now the gangs have infiltrated the reserves. All these gangs coming in and

infiltrating and turning these kids away from their family because the gang becomes

their family, you know, to be disrespectful to their grandparents, to their parents, to

their brothers and sisters. They are no longer their family. They do everything and

anything to carry these kids away from their family and that's what they have to do

and then when they try to go back to their family or try to leave the gang, it's horrible

what they do to them, you know, and some kids they just don't survive, you know.

INTERVIEWER: So do you go to any of the local Aboriginal events or

organizations?

INTERVIEWEE: There's a couple of pow wows here in the city that are not too bad

like Odawa pow wow. I like going to Victoria Island on Aboriginal day, you know,

going up there and listening to everybody sing and all that. I did do some drumming

and singing with Wabano singers like this little woman's drum group they have there

on Wednesdays we used to gather and go sing and drumming and I'm not able to do

that anymore because I'm just not able – I'm not physically able to go out yet until

my leg gets fixed or something gets fixed you know. So, I do things at home here I

have my own smudging. I make little things once in a while and then I'll give it a

friend or whatever. I listen to my music in my bedroom and I'll sing along with it or

hum along with it. I'll, on the weekends I'll crank it up during the day and just start

singing away with it, and I miss my drumming and singing, and having a couple of

friends come over with their drums. They come and sing along with me and that's

good to have too. We had culture night and culture teachings, cultural teachings on

Wednesday at Wabano and so. And they were actually pretty good and then this year

they had like different elders it seems every week or two they'll have a different

elder come in with their teachings. That's great, you get the teachings and then, there

are times when you can share what you know as well, you know, back in the early

90s when I got into my culture and started learning things. It was really hard for me

because I was having cultural war, I was having spiritual warfare inside because I

was going from the church to Aboriginal teachings and there's a real big struggle

within myself. (Leigh, Pseudonym, First Nations, Female)

This experience sheds light on the complex relations and connections that Indigenous

people hold to homelands. Cultural loss, displacement, and dispossession are components of the

lives of many Indigenous people today. While wandering and longing for the homeland is a

common experience amongst this group, many displaced Indigenous people have found

community in cities that provide enough connection for them to stay permanently.

4.4.5   Urbanites

This group sees the city as home, participates in Canadian culture and life, and do not

connect to Indigenous communities, cultures, or practices.

Urbanites are those who see the city as home, participate in mainstream Canadian culture

and life, and do not connect to an Indigenous community, culture, or practices. This is consistent

with research on urban Indigenous people that found many did not see themselves moving back

to their homelands and viewed the city as their home (Lawrence, 2004; Environics, 2010).

Mobility research over the years has also shown that there are many Indigenous people who

move between cities from 1951 the Indigenous population in cities was only 1.5%, increasing

through the years to current statistics it was found over half of Aboriginal people reside in

population centres (urban areas) (INAC, 2013). They may still identify as Indigenous, as one

research participant did, who said they have a strong sense of Indigenous identity.

Another variation is a complete or partial denial of one's Indigenous heritage as an

associated social stigma with or without the ability to "pass" as non-Indigenous (Lawrence,

2004). The desire to pass as non-Indigenous is an important concept to understand and the

reasons are numerous, including the racism in the settler society, the Indian residential school

attendance that made Indigenous people ashamed of their culture, or the belief that Indigenous

people are "inferior" to other groups (Lawrence, 2004).

There are also Indigenous people who do not need or desire to participate in Indigenous

practices. They are comfortable and secure in their Indigenous identity and choose to live their

life like any other Canadian. One research participant explained that he is First Nations but does

not actively engage in any practices because he strongly identifies with being Indigenous and

does not feel the need to.

INTERVIEWER: So do you self-identify as Aboriginal?

INTERVIEWEE: Ojibwe.

INTERVIEWR: So here in Ottawa what do you think connects you with your Aboriginal

identity?

INTERVIEWEE: Nothing really, I mean, it is just myself, I connect, that is the way I grew

up on reserve, you know. I might not, practice the traditions, and all that, but, I did grow up

on First Nations so I do have strong sense of who I am. So I don't need that, but it is great

that those supports are there, but what connects me I guess to the community, is that there

are a number of events. There is a large urban Aboriginal population, there are the

Aboriginal organizations here. So, yeah, all of that just, helps reinforce who I am I guess so it is there. (Vincent, Pseudonym, First Nations, Male)

Some Indigenous people in cities do not feel the need to adopt a pan-Indian culture, be involved in any practices affiliated with any Indigenous group, or be involved in urban Indigenous communities. From their perspective they are Indigenous because they just "are": it is in their genes, it is their ancestry. Another route to essentialization occurs in reducing Indigenous cultures to participating in "practices." However, very little research has been undertaken to date on what brings Indigenous people together in the city and what specific practices they engage in. My research provides insight, and is a valuable addition to the limited body of literature on Indigenous people. At the same time this research has also been a personal journey for me. I am an insider with my own tension in being an Indigenous person in the city, while attempting to adopt the gaze of the ethnographer and trying to make sense of – find meaning in – the multiple constructions of Indigenous identity in the city today. What is most fascinating about the research is that meaning and identity are not static for Indigenous people: we find and lose ourselves as we move from one locale to another, but continue to learn and expand our own cultural context over time, and so our sense of self and Indigenous identity is also iterative and evolving.

4.5   How do I Connect to my Indigenous Identity in the City?

Just as the experiences of Indigenous people in the city are not the same, so are the practices in how they connect to their culture. When asked if they connected to their Indigenous identity in the city 81% of participants said "yes", while 19% said "no." Nineteen percent of the research participants said they were not able to connect to their culture in the city. Most commonly participants reported that they connected with their Indigenous identity in the city by

being with other Indigenous people; participation in spiritual practices (such as ceremony, smudging, prayer, and the sweatlodge); participating in cultural activities (crafting, drumming, pow-wow, and land based activities such as hunting, trapping, or fishing); through their work (in an Indigenous organization or working on Indigenous issues); and through family gatherings.

Individuals who said they did not connect to their culture in the city also reported they connected by returning to their First Nations:

> When I get down to actually practicing my own culture and my teachings, I actually find that I have to leave Ottawa to get those because a lot of what's in and around Ottawa isn't specifically my culture. It's Algonquin, it's Inuktitut, it's Ojibwe. So to get back to my teachings, the Cree teachings, I often had to leave Ottawa for family." (Jocelyn Formsma, Female, First Nations).

For Indigenous people who are not Algonquin (i.e. with traditional territory in Ottawa), it is necessary to return to their First Nation reserve or Métis lands in order to connect with their cultures and teachings. The other reason people may not connect to their culture in the city is because it is easier to connect in nature away from the city. "It's a little bit like getting away from the city once in a while and going up to my mom's farm or going to sweats a little bit out of town" (Ben Powless, Male, First Nations). One of the Elders talked about how much easier it is to connect in the country:

> It's easier where I am living now, because I am in the country…but I walk out my door every morning at the back, and I always take tobacco out and I greet the Creator, so – and that gets me, tries to get me grounded as to who I am, and how I want to be that day, and so it's a constant every day, doesn't make a difference even if it's raining out, coming down, I will offer that, and acknowledge that. (Jim Albert, Elder, First Nations, Male)

As discussed earlier, being an Indigenous person in your own traditional territory is significantly different than being in another Indigenous territory. By being in your own First Nations territory – even in an urban centre – your culture and traditions will be acknowledged and practiced there, and yours will be the predominant Indigenous culture. If you are a visitor it will not be your culture and traditions. Therefore it makes sense that in order to connect to your own culture you would need to return to your own traditional territory, whether it is First Nations or Métis. The other variation is when your traditional First Nations or Métis culture is unknown, or when there are not strong connections to the traditional territory, Indigenous culture can be shared, whether it is more of the universal, pan-Indian culture or the culture of the local First Nation in their traditional territory.

The majority of the research found that it was people's cultural practices and spirituality that connected them to their culture in the city. Several of the participants spoke of how they bring their Indigeneity with them; no matter where they are, they are connected to their culture and identity. One bright young man articulated his connection not to objects but to his worldview:

> So, culture is not just about objects. Culture is not just about language. Albeit they are important elements, but that is not what culture is all about. Culture is about an idea of understanding and the ways you kind of view everything around you and the ways in which you take holistic approaches to understanding. (Lewis Barnaby, First Nations, Male)

Another participant who recently moved to Ottawa from another province to join the federal government discussed how she was always connected to her culture because she kept her drum and medicines with her wherever she was:

Part of it is in my home, like I continue with my practices, I smudge so I have you know, things that I need at home...so I guess my home is my home wherever it is and I take my things with me. An example is I was given an eagle whistle here a couple of years ago…I have a drum, I have different things that I have been given over the years and that comes with me, and that is a part of my culture and who I am. I sing, I have been given a number of songs so I sing… I have a song for water, so when I see water it will remind me and so I can sing that song, or I have a song for like the first light in the mornings, so if I am up early and I see that first light I can sing that song. So I guess that is a part of who I am, I don't just leave that when I move somewhere else. (Clare McNab, First Nations, Female)

Part of the richness and beauty of Indigenous cultures today is that they are intensely personal and are as varied as each person who practices them. While some Indigenous people need to connect by being in their own First Nations territory, others connect just by being themselves, and with the benefit of their spiritual and cultural gifts, such as singing and drumming. The connection to spirituality through ceremony, smudging, and prayer was common amongst many of the research participants. Unlike many organized religions of the world, Indigenous spirituality is not necessarily organized in the way of large churches with a weekly mass. There are often monthly or weekly sweatlodge ceremonies that people attend. Most of the participants talked of how they kept close to their culture by daily smudging and prayer. One enigmatic participant who worked in a very popular Indigenous health organization that is very embedded in Indigenous culture explained effortlessly how we do not have a religion per se, but as Indigenous people we have teachings and we take up what we need when we need it:

For Indigenous people, we don't have religion, right, we have teachings and our teachings are simply offered and you can take as much as you want and leave as much as you want.

We all have the wisdom to decide for ourselves what it is we need at that moment in time

and so when you get a diverse set of teachings, and you can pick what you need out of

those, you get a lot of what you need. So I don't just get Shuswap elders; I don't just get

Okanagan elders; I hear Ojibwe; I hear Métis; I hear Inuit; I hear Cree; I hear Oji-Cree; I

hear Mi'kmaq. So, there's just all these wonderful, wonderfully rich teachings that I get to

choose from. It becomes this smorgasbord of what I need. So I know that if I know I get

that, I know that other urban Indigenous people get that also. (Carlie Chase, First Nations,

Female)

Aside from the spiritual connection, many of the research participants also participated in

a variety of Indigenous activities and events such as crafting, sporting activities, and powwows.

The powwow has become a very pervasive and symbolic cultural symbol for Indigenous people

in North America. As social and cultural events, they are meant to unify the community through

"dances [that] are inter-tribal and represent a pan-Indian socializing" (Fixico, 2000, p. 56).

Aside from meeting other Indigenous people, powwows are also a way to connect with

friends and family. I have family from outside of Ottawa and I can always count on seeing them

in the summer for the Odawa powwow. So powwows also bring you closer to your relatives who

either live in town or travel in for these events. Many of the local First Nations also host

powwows over the summer that people from Ottawa attend. It is an opportunity for people from

those First Nations to go back to their reserves and know they will connect with their family and

friends as people make a point to attend.

There's the children's pow-wow, the Odawa pow-wow. We always go to the National

Aboriginal Day Pow-Wow out on Dow's Lake there and then, you know, keeping – in

contact with family. Every year Golden Lake has a traditional pow-wow in August and I

can expect to see my aunts and my cousins, and everything like that, so we usually try and

go to that and camp for the weekend, and my aunt is quite a bit more connected culturally.

(Chantal, Pseudonym, Métis, Female)

Not all community members see the powwow as an integral part of Indigenous culture

and traditions, as it promotes a pan-Indian culture and does not promote our distinct First Nations

languages and songs. One of the Elders that I interviewed from a nearby Algonquin First Nations

reserve discussed his thoughts on the powwow. He strongly felt that as First Nations people we

should be singing our own traditional songs and practicing our own ceremonies:

Our people like the original ones and when we have a gathering there would be discipline,

and to talk about more real things. I am not a fan of pow-wows or things like that. I don't

think that belongs to our people. I don't think that belongs to our people, and I think a lot

of young people are falling in that kind of thing, where they think that it's tradition – it is

tradition in a way where it became a tradition, but it became a tradition after we lost the

values of our people, of all we should meet and greet. I would like to see the original songs

of our people come back, the ones that were given through inspiration of the spirit or what

not, and those people will carry those to revive that among our people. Like even if it's one

or two or three songs by young people, and do our burials the way we used to and show,

you know, Christianity that we didn't need them before for our marriages, for naming up

our kids, for our funerals and stuff like that and we don't need them in the future. (Rene

Tenasco, First Nations, Male)

The powwow is a part of the cultural bricolage of present day Indigeneity. While it has

deep cultural meaning for some Indigenous people across North America, as it is meant to unite

various cultures, it is also seen by others as not connected to traditional First Nations languages, culture, and traditions. Yet Indigenous culture in the city is a blending of teachings passed down through the generations and evolving over time. Just as traditional songs, dances and ceremonies have their place as a means of connecting many different Indigenous people to their identity and culture, the meaning of the powwow is highly individual.

Along with attending events and participating in spiritual and cultural practices, one of the other important ways that Indigenous people connect to their culture is simply by being with other Indigenous people. It may seem that this is implied through attending cultural activities and events. However, as Donald Fixico (2000) discusses in relation to the powwow, the psychology of socialization is beyond just spending time together. As a culture within a culture, Indigenous people consistently deal with racism, and being a minority of the population with the constant pressure of Western culture. Being with other Indigenous people who have a shared understanding of our issues, challenges, and history makes it easier to relate and in a sense relax and just be yourself, and not have to fit-into a different cultural mode of mainstream culture. One of the single mothers in the research group who worked with a social service agency explained how being with other Indigenous people connected her to her family when she was away from them, providing a sense of familiarity.

> I guess one of the main things is I try to surround myself with Indigenous people be it Métis, Inuit or First Nations and, you know, just, you know, I can see – it may sound weird, but there are just little things, like native people do, that it just reminds me so much of my aunts and uncles like I don't know why they talk the same but there's just something about it so like it reminds me of, you know, home or when I was a kid. (Gabrielle Fayant, Métis, Female)

Another participant who worked in a well-known First Nations organization in Ottawa and who was an active powwow dancer explained that being with other Indigenous people in the city provided a comfort through the acknowledgement that you are part of a collective.

Just as in a lot of times in urban centres it doesn't [feel connected], but when you do find it, when you do find your own people when you do find your own community events again there is an attractiveness to it that provides a comfort level that you can't find anywhere else, you can't manufacture that. You are almost born with it. Either you understand your language or not, either you practice your cultures or not, either you are raised traditionally or not there is just a real level of comfort of again being around your own people and knowing that you are part of that collective and that it exists and no matter where you are in the world you know, that you are from there and you are from a community, but you are still able to come together and celebrate in an urban context just as you would back home. (Jeffrey Copenace, First Nations, Male)

Aside from the cultural and spiritual activities that Indigenous people participate in, one of the second most common answers to how Indigenous people connect to their culture in the city is through their work. The vast majority of research participants worked for Indigenous organizations in Ottawa, or they worked with the federal government in areas that encompass Indigenous issues and concerns. For the few that did not work in these areas, they were still active in the community, either through accessing services, or being retired but still actively engaged in cultural and spiritual practices in Ottawa. At some level, as Indigenous people we know that we care about our communities, people, and culture, but through the stories and experiences participants have shared with me, I recognize that people also need to contribute to

the Indigenous community and to the advancement of Indigenous issues by working for these organizations.

One of the participants who worked at an Indigenous health organization in Vanier discussed how much taking up the work of our people and serving impacted her life and contributed her growth as a person:

> I grew up in Ottawa, in the sense that I came as I was transitioning from youth to young adult so as I've learnt here that the life stages teachings are much for young adults for taking up the work of the people. The great thing about taking up the work of the people and serving in this age is that you learn more about yourself: how you like to take up the work; what you don't like taking up the work. [Laughs] So you grow a lot that way by doing service to the community. (Carlie Chase, First Nations, Female)

An active Métis community member discussed how it was her work with the national Métis governing organization for Ontario that connected her to her people and culture. It was through this work that she discovered her Métis identity.

> Well because of the work that I do with the Métis Nation, it is what has really connected me with my sort of identity and culture. I always knew I was Métis, and was told to be proud of that and you know, my parents were very supportive of that, and they sort of got us connected to it, but growing up my brother and I sort of thought we were the only two kids that were Métis and we weren't really sure what that meant. I think until we started working with other Métis people here, so the work I have done with the MNO and certainly the people here in the Ottawa area that is what really keeps you rooted in that culture. (Jennifer St. Germain, Métis, Female)

Another way of working in the Indigenous community is working in a service organization that is a community hub and connects Indigenous people to their culture. The participant cited below talked about her work in Indigenous education at a local university, and how it is difficult to disconnect from your culture when you work in these areas and are First Nations in your own territory.

Well, given that I work at Carleton University in the Centre for Aboriginal Culture and Education, I am connecting with it pretty much on a daily basis, whether it is interacting with students or finding moments to kind of bring awareness to Indigenous people, the traditions and cultures and world views at Carleton University. Our office is often looked to as, the, you know if you have a question anything related to Indigenous people go to them. So, we are constantly kind of answering questions and sharing knowledge with people and so in that sense I am connected to it every day at work. And then yeah, I find it kind of impossible just to disconnect because even - yeah, going home, my partner is Indigenous, my family, everyone is Indigenous. (Mallory Whiteduck, First Nations, Female)

This female participant who has worked in several Indigenous organizations in Ottawa discussed the distinctions between each of these organizations -- First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. The distinctions make clear the differences in Indigenous identity, and working in one of these groups is therefore part of your own identification with this group. For example, a First Nations person would likely work with a First Nations organization, as that is how they identify themselves.

I think there's a few different ways [I connect to my Indigenous identity in the city.] I mean, one is through my working environments because I have always – since I have

moved here, I worked for Indigenous organizations. So, I guess politically, you know, the identification and having to explain you know -- what does it mean to be Indigenous, that it actually means many different things First Nations Métis, Inuit, you know, all the distinctions that kind of thing. (Jocelyn Formsma, First Nations, Female)

When asked how Indigenous people connect to their culture in the city, there was a range of answers that consisted largely of activities, spending time with other Indigenous people such as family, through their work, and through spiritual activities (alone or in a group). A small number of the research participants were not able to connect to their culture in the city. Through their stories it is clear there are a variety of connections, with some people participating in many of the activities described, and others connecting singularly through one activity such as their work, and choosing not to involve themselves in other ways. The lived experience of spirituality of Indigenous people is different from the mainstream because Indigenous spirituality is not practiced as an organized religion. Indigenous daily spiritual practices are often conducted in a solitary manner (which is common to many people), without a specific physical space (such as a church), and lacking weekly or daily scheduled spiritual activities (such as a mass), all of which may not provide as consistent a connection to spirituality. The other aspect, as described by the woman who worked closely with the Elders in her organization, is that Indigenous spirituality in the city is a collection of numerous teachings drawn from many Indigenous cultures across North America, and a person is free to choose the teachings that most resonate with them and disregard others. This is a highly individual way to connect to Indigenous spirituality as there is not one defined teaching or belief that is required for all to ascribe to. This is significant because it helps to better understand Indigeneity today. Because of the 50 or more original Indigenous languages at the time of contact (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010), the teachings and spiritual practices of

many of the individual linguistic groups would have varied. This variation exists today as teachings have continued to be passed from one generation to the next, in rural and urban areas, and have likely undergone some changes over time.

4.6   Summary

This section of the findings of my research focused on the practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa. One of the central findings of the research confirmed that people long for the homeland, frequently return to the homeland, and were forcibly expulsed from their homeland as result of economic necessity. Even though Indigenous people have to leave their birth communities for economic opportunity, their identity is often still tied to the homeland.

In this research I explored the practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa and queried if there were differences between those who had access to homelands and those who did not. Indigenous populations are increasingly moving away from "homelands" to secure jobs and pursue education, in the process forging new identities described as "Indigenous diasporas" (Clifford 2007, 2013; Hall 1992). This experience sheds light on the complex relations and connections that Indigenous people hold to homelands. Diasporic ruptures and connections—lost homelands, partial returns, relational identities, and world-spanning networks—are fundamental components of Indigenous experience today. People often make yearly return visits, or pilgrimages to their home territory in the summer. While a longing for the homeland is a common experience amongst this group, many Indigenous people have found community in urban centres that provide enough connection for them to stay permanently. Some research participants said they did not return to their reserves at all, had no residence there, and did not have many connections to an Indigenous community. This was due to not wanting to go back because of racism or other factors, being adopted out of the community and not knowing their

extended family well, or being non-status and not feeling that they had a First Nations community to return to. There were also several participants from a neighbouring First Nation community that made a return daily or weekly to work in Ottawa.

An important aspect of Indigenous life to understand is the challenge that Indigenous people have had with connecting to their culture when they were fostered out, adopted, or their family came to find out they had Indigenous heritage much later in life. The first challenge is that the Indian residential school experience (discussed in the literature review) and inter-generational trauma resulted in a great deal of family breakdown, and many Indigenous children were either adopted outside of the community or put into foster care. When these children grew up they did not have a connection to their homeland or culture, and many have struggled to come to terms with their identity. Some of the research participants and their families did not find out they were Indigenous until later in life, or found out much later if they were First Nations, Métis, or Inuit. As a result of these challenges many of the participants found a connection to Indigenous culture through organizations in the city that offered Elders teachings, beading, drum-making classes, and ceremony.

5   Chapter: The Indigenous Social Body

5.1   Introduction

The second analysis presented by Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) is the social body, which refers to "the representations and uses of the body as a natural symbol with which to think about nature, society, and culture" (p. 7). I explore the social body through the Indian Residential School system in Canada, which was the first tool of the state in achieving forced assimilation and the eradication of cultural practices, which amounted to cultural genocide.

What are the cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario? Do cultural practices differ between those with a homeland and for those who do not have a homeland? The second line of inquiry of my research was to explore the cultural practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa and the variation of their experience. In general, I found there was a great deal of similarity between First Nations and Métis who were attached to a homeland. The difference in experience comes from those who were disconnected from their homeland through adoption or foster care, or not finding out they were Indigenous until later in life. These people derived more of their cultural knowledge from cultural programming provided in the city in which they resided.

Many of the research participants did not feel welcomed to the city when they arrived in Ottawa. It took the majority of research participants many years to feel a connection to other Indigenous people. The challenge of connecting to other Indigenous people may be a result of the high mobility of people in and out of the nation's capital. While in Ottawa, many of the research participants connected to Indigenous culture through programs and services offered by Indigenous organizations. Many of the research participants also connected to their Indigenous lifeways and practices when they returned to their homeland. It is important to recognize that if

we as Indigenous people are not in our own homeland, then we are in someone else's. Therefore, we should maintain a respect for the culture, lifeways, and protocols while we are a visitor in another group's territory.

A continual challenge for Indigenous people today in relation to connecting to culture is the ability and desire to learn and understand an Indigenous language. None of the research participants interviewed was fluent, although some were able to speak their language. Being a visitor in another territory also made it difficult to learn their own language when it was not spoken in the area or taught in organizations or schools.

The practices of Indigenous life were different for each of the individual participants in the research. What brought many of them together was spending time with friends and family, participating in cultural events such as powwows, accessing and participating in programs and services in the city, and the arts. The investment of providing access to cultural connections for Indigenous people in cities goes far beyond just offering basic economic and health-related programs and services – it is about overcoming the hegemony of the systemic failures for Indigenous people in Canada. A necessary step in reconciliation and decolonization is to provide opportunities for the reintegration of cultural knowledge and sharing of Indigenous lifeways in order for people to thrive.

Exploring the body as it relates to Indigenous people and Canada requires going back to precolonial times. First Nations communities were by and large constructed in egalitarian ways. There was considerable freedom of movement and values as to how individuals lived their lives (Dickason, 1992). The embodiment of Indigeneity was a given as people had tribal affiliations and therefore belonged to a particular linguistic group and territory. Upon first contact with European people, life did not change drastically as there was a desire to utilize the native

knowledge of the land as it benefited the fur trade (Dickason, 1992). It was at the advent of colonization in Canada and at the time of Confederation and beyond that changed the life of the Indigenous person.

The residential school made the subjugation of the Indigenous body a legal imperative and unifying phenomenon that was experienced by every Indigenous child. The Indian Residential Schools system separated children from their parents. It was a tool for aggressive assimilation. The purpose of the residential school system was the total assimilation of Indigenous people. Indigenous parents were legally forced to send their children to the residential school, or face severe fines or be sent to prison.

The schools practiced corporal punishment, and Indigenous students were severely disciplined for speaking their traditional First Nations languages residential schools, where they also suffered severe mental, physical, and sexual abuse (Kelly, 2008; Mussell, 2008). In her book *Colonizing Bodies*, Kelm (1998) explained that the residential school was designed to re-form (in the dual sense of reshape and improve) and thus save Indigenous bodies because First Nations reserves were seen as unclean and diseased. However, residential schools had inadequate budgets and harsh conditions, and Indigenous children were starved and susceptible to diseases that overtook the schools. Well into the reign of the residential school, government reports uncovered that a third of the graduates were known to have died, and another third were unaccounted for or were in poor health. The final third of the Indigenous students may have "graduated" from the residential school but were not able to participate in hunting or trapping in their communities or were not accepted in the non-Indigenous community as a result of racism. The children grasped any opportunity to escape: "Children stole food when they had the chance, ran away, fought back, and even committed suicide in order to assert control over their bodies" (Kelm, 1998, p.

78). What was even more disheartening was the children who did survive the residential schools no longer belonged on the reserve: "Those who survived the experience did so embodying competing and contradictory notions of their physical selves" (Kelm, 1998, p. 80).

On a social level, the residential school system tore Indigenous communities apart. Parents were no longer able to communicate with their children, who now spoke a foreign language and lost the skills needed to live off the land. Indigenous children who attended residential schools were left in a cultural limbo: they were not accepted in mainstream Canadian society and could not secure employment, yet they could not live in their own communities and often looked down upon their own people and culture. Worse, upon later having their own families, they did not know how to be parents as their own parenting had been brutally interrupted. They were left with the pain and trauma of the residential school system, which manifested in self-hate and in the mental, physical, and sexual abuse of others around them.

In this discussion on the self and the social body I want to introduce a narrative written by my mother Geri Matthew (First Nations, Female), in which she explains firsthand her experience in the residential school and how it impacted her personhood and body:

> I attended the Kamloops Indian Residential School for eight years. I was one of the unfortunate girls to be "chosen" for daily physical beatings. These physical beatings occurred sometimes three to four times per day. Most of the beatings happened because I would speak words in my tongue, which is Shuswap or Secwepemcstin, or I would show affection to my younger sister and brother (giving them hugs), or I was not doing my chores fast enough or good enough (meaning scrubbing floors or stairs).
>
> For the purpose of this short account of being a survivor, I will focus on the above-mentioned "healing journey." First, I resisted the process of healing emotionally,

mentally, and spiritually. Emotionally, because I did not want to remember the pain, nor did I want to re-open the horrific wounds that had lain dormant within me. Mentally, because the memories caused such mental anguish—I am an intellectual person—and I could not understand cognitively, rationally, or otherwise what had happened to me at the residential school. Spiritually, because the infliction of the Catholic religion was imposed on us—we did not have a choice! My great ya7 ya7 (grandmother) had taught me our traditional teachings, beliefs, and about our sacred relationship to the animals and to the earth.

My mother's experience at the residential school illustrates the social body of Indigenous people. As my mother explained, she did not have a choice; her intentionality in the situation was removed and her personhood denied. Through the trauma of the residential school the Indigenous body transitioned to a social body controlled by the state and without personal intentionality. The imprisoned and abused Indigenous body at the residential school was a powerful symbol for state control. In response to her loss of language and culture in the residential school, my mother has moved to a place of relearning the language as a way of healing from her experience. The narrative of my mother Geri Matthew (First Nations, Female) describes how she moves with intention to embody a healed and whole self:

> Today, I embrace our traditional teachings, ways, and beliefs. I firmly believe that our language is rooted in our culture. Our language defines who we are. I have made it a personal mission and philosophy to learn the language and to work with the language in our community next year. . . . I believe that embracing our traditions, beliefs, and "ways" is truly the essence of my healing—my journey.

The idea of the individual self and its imposition on Indigenous ontologies began at the time of Confederation was solidified in the Indian residential school years. This social-individual

opposition is a challenging concept that Indigenous people have had to integrate into their personhood, which has been reflected in the challenges many Indigenous people are still grappling with today.

5.2   Heterogeneous Indigenous Cultures Mixing in the City

When asked if there was a "community" of Indigenous people in Ottawa, all of the participants responded that there are many "communities" and that they were not necessarily connected, although they might come together at certain events such as the Odawa Powwow. Participants explained that there is an Odawa group, a Wabano group, a Minwaashin group, and also First Nations, Métis and Inuit groups in Ottawa. One Métis, male participant who has a long history of involvement in a national Métis governance organization felt strongly against any suggestion of one unified group of "Indigenous" peoples and was adamant that there were separate groups with separate cultural identities.

> There are people whose centre of activity is at the Friendship Centre, and they all were at Odawa and then there are other kinds of centres of activity that are non-physical such as the Aboriginal People's Professionals Network (APN) and there are various specialties of interest, where Indigenous people come together either because of work and so on. So I see a number of Aboriginal communities within this urban setting and I think everywhere [in other cities as well], so I don't see a single [urban Aboriginal community] and I don't like the idea of governments trying to suggest, or create an urban Aboriginal group, there is no such thing. That doesn't respect the distinct cultures that we have, it is like trying to say we are all the same, we are not, and not all First Nations are the same. (Tony Belcourt, Métis, Male)

Of the research participants who completed the semi-structured interviews ($N = 25$),

88.00% (*N* = 22), said "yes" when asked if urban Indigenous people have a culture; 12.00% (*N* = 3) replied "no" to the same question. The overwhelming majority of participants agreed that urban Indigenous people do have a culture. Many of the participants believed that the culture in urban centres originated from First Nations traditions or reserves, while others felt the culture in urban centres was distinct and evolving. What makes Ottawa so complex in exploring culture and place for Indigenous people is the extent to which it is a politicized space, with multiple actors (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) with competing cultures and interests. Three of the research participants did not believe there was an urban Indigenous community, two as described above. One of the male First Nations participants who worked with a First Nations organization explained that his culture is representative of his First Nation and that in the city there is a great diversity of cultures so there is not a single culture.

> I don't think, not a single culture. I think their culture is representative of their nation. I don't subscribe to a pan-Indigenous or a redway or a homogeneous culture. Having lived in two parts of Canada I think it's very clear to me that there are very diverse cultures, different relationships to natural world, different languages that's very evident in the cultures themselves in terms of those distinctions. So I don't think urban Aboriginals have a single mono culture either. (Mark, Pseudonym, Male, First Nations)

Another participant who worked with a First Nations national organization in Ottawa, and had previously worked with the Friendship Centre movement nationally, explained that often people believe culture is tied to a First Nation, but as treaty people the territory often encompasses urban centres. He also made the point that the city can be the keeper of the culture, with Elders, teachings, and ceremonies, and that urban cultures should be recognized like other cultures that evolve and change over time.

Oh absolutely, I think there seems to be a debate, is there a new and emerging different culture, than say our traditional cultures and I had to reconcile my own mind, but I think there certainly is, our identities don't end at a reserve border. I mean, I think we have almost allowed ourselves – to be trapped in that way of thinking that unless you have the status card and live within this territory that is where the culture resides. And, I think first off we are treaty people and we live, we have this broader territory, this is always our land. So wherever we go we are still in our community, whether now we think of it as the actual reserve boundary or otherwise. When I was working in Downtown Toronto with the populations there was funny how many people come from Northern First Nation communities and come down to Toronto for whatever reason. And that would be the first time they went to a sweat or met with an Elder or, learned about the drum or any of these things, that sometimes you take for granted, so sometimes the city is actually the keeper of the culture I have found in the cities as often as it is remotely. I think it becomes a little more muddled when someone may have been adopted or unaware of their First Nation ancestry, other than they are First Nations and so they are looking and reaching to find different traditions, and different cultures and they build something that makes sense to them. And I think that is where we can have a discussion about identity and it is something different than it is otherwise, but, you know, I am a firm believer that we need to make sure and recognize and acknowledge that there is an urban peoples and which is the same peoples as on reserve and their culture is just as relevant and the cultures evolve and adapt and it is natural we should expect it to.

(Peter Dinsdale, First Nations, Male)

A female First Nations participant who works in an Indigenous women's social service

delivery organization discussed how urban Indigenous people can actually be more

knowledgeable of cultural practices and traditions than those on the First Nations reserve. The

city can also be a keeper of culture, nurturing ceremonies that are not necessarily practiced on

reserves.

> I would say it's pretty strong. Just now I noticed that they say that we're the ones who,
> urban Indigenous are the ones that are targeted for their loss of culture, knowledge and
> they're the ones that don't take it for granted. On the reserve, it's taken for granted: you
> don't realize just how native, or bush, or rez you are [Laughs] until you come out here and
> over here you see all these people sewing, or wanting to learn how to sew; people going to
> powwows and dancing. Whereas on the rez, you're not really exposed to that unless you
> have your once a year powwow. But if you start getting into it, you travel more. There are
> so many urban Indigenous that I know that are skilled in the arts such as dancing, sewing,
> painting, anything like. So, they say we need it the most here in the city but I'm not sure,
> just as long as they keep the services running and everybody…everybody will know.
> (Jennifer Jerome, First Nations, Female)

   The discussion around whether there is an urban Indigenous culture is framed by people's

experiences. I found that many Indigenous people do not necessarily participate in ceremonies

but are actively using and occupying their territory through practices such as hunting, fishing,

and trapping. Indigenous culture today is mediated by both the location of the person, and their

lifestyle, which is highly idiosyncratic, so the question becomes: "is Indigenous culture about

practicing traditions on the land, or is it the practice of ceremony, drumming and singing, or

speaking the language, or something else?" In short, it is all of these practices; today people who

have access to a traditional territory can more easily connect to traditions on the land, either by

being First Nations Status or Métis with access to a settlement or other land base. Inuit in the

north also have the ability to practice their inherent rights through hunting, fishing, and trapping.

So Indigenous cultural practices such as ceremony, drumming, singing, dancing, bead working,

and other activities are more accessible to all Indigenous people.

In response to my research question of whether urban Indigenous people had a culture,

the majority of research participants believed that they do. Many of the participants believed that

the culture in the city is derived from the homeland or traditional territory. Others talked about

the lack of cultural practices on reserve, while ceremonies, Elders, drumming, singing, and other

activities are very common in the city. What is most thought-provoking is that the majority

agreed that Indigenous people have a culture regardless of where it is derived. Many research

participants express a concern for the dilution and mixing of cultures over time, as the culture in

cities brings together different traditional teachings of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit from across

Canada.

The Indigenous experience in Ottawa encompasses many practices involving various

groups, identities, and communities of interest. When I began my research I set out to explore the

experiences of Indigenous people in Ottawa and the findings of my research have uncovered the

variety of experiences. My findings have revealed that not a single person who participated in the

research believed that there was one, single, homogeneous Indigenous community in Ottawa.

5.3   Indigenous Traditional Homelands and Being a Visitor

So, I guess in a nutshell I think this is Algonquin territory then, you are not an Algonquin

from what I can tell. You look Algonquin? No. And I am not. So we are visiting.... And so

the way I behave when I am visiting in someone else's territory is to be respectful and I

think it is respectful to say that Algonquins ought to be running this territory and I think it

is respectful by welcoming other people who come here because I am made to feel just as welcome. So I will be peaceful or neutral because this isn't my territory. I am visiting here, and I respect it enough to do whatever I can to help it. So, maybe that is Métis teachings, you know, one of one in one hundred, but that is how I have been taught. I don't go running around thinking that I'm from here and this is my backyard and, you know, and I am the cultural keeper of everything Métis here....And I come from another culture, and it is another culture in the country, and that is how I try to live my life. This is a tough place to do that I think we have to remember that we are not from here, we are just visiting here. This is never going to be my hometown, this is going to be home and it took a long time for this to feel like home, and you are going to find that you are still quite young, so you will probably go home a lot, but that is going to start to wane, as it did for me, and as it starts to wane, and this starts to feel more like home like you are always going to be longing to be there, whether it is a reserve as your home or whether, you know, me as a little northern boy and Flin Flon is home. (Guy Freedman, Métis, Male)

An important concept that came up in the course of research is being a First Nations or Métis person in another Indigenous group's territory. A traditional territory is the land that the First Nations occupied before colonization. The territory is where the First Nations group lived in various permanent and non-permanent structures, where they hunted, gathered, and conducted their spiritual affairs. Territories are generally connected by First Nations affiliation and language, although there may be several dialects in one Nation's traditional territory, or Métis homelands or settlements. For various socio-economic and historical reasons Indigenous people may not live in their own territory, and may have never lived there. But as an Indigenous person you are always in someone's traditional territory, as these areas cover the entirety of North

America and further south. When living outside of their homeland many participants relocate to

homelands of other Indigenous nations and are visitors there. Being a visitor also means there

could be some welcoming by the residents of that homeland. The research uncovered various

experiences of being welcome or not welcome by Indigenous groups when moving to Ottawa,

Ontario.

What is important to know and understand about being a visitor is that when you are

residing in another Indigenous group's territory you respect their local protocols, their decision-

making processes, and leadership.

> Four years ago I was very adamant when I lived in Vancouver, that I was a Mohawk in
>
> Squamish territory, I was in Musqueum territory. I was living there and if we as First
>
> Nations people don't recognize and respect the territories we occupy, how do we expect
>
> and demand the non-Indigenous population to respect our rights and territory and title? So I
>
> was an urban Indian in Vancouver. I was a Mohawk living in Squamish territory or
>
> Musqueum territory, you know, they have lived there for thousands and thousands of
>
> years, so the deference is owed to those communities. (Mark, Pseudonym, First Nations
>
> Male)

As a visitor we should seek to respect the local culture, traditions, protocols, and

language of the Indigenous traditional territory where we reside. Several of the participants

discussed that when you are not in your own Indigenous territory (including Métis communities),

then you should not profess to be the expert in that nation's territory as you should defer to that

nation. One of the participants from Kitigan Zibi stated that she had seen the local Indigenous

protocol overridden by the cultural mixing and pan-Indigenous culture in Ottawa:

I don't know if it is because Ottawa is the capital of Canada because I noticed the

government – I went to the Aboriginal Awareness Week that Health Canada and Statistics

Canada put on a couple of weeks ago. And they had a similar breakdown of First Nations

Day, an Inuit Day, and a Métis Day. I don't know if it is like trying to be like politically

correct thing going on, but that is what I noticed then, I know it is protocol in my teachings

anyway, to – how can I put it? Like if you are inviting an elder to open something, it

should be an elder who is from the nation, on whose traditional territory you are currently

on, but I notice sometimes in Ottawa that protocol is overridden by the First Nations, Inuit,

Métis inclusivity.   (Mallory Whiteduck, First Nations Female).

The overriding of traditional protocol in Ottawa is a practice that highlights the multilocal

(Rodman, 1992) phenomenon of place that can be viewed from several vantage points. As the

participant points out it, is tremendously complex since there are so many national Indigenous

organizations in Ottawa (see Chapter Two for a longer discussion), situated in the Indigenous

territory of the Algonquin, where the federal government also resides. For example, a Métis

organization may utilize a Métis elder for a meeting, or an Inuit organization would utilize an

Inuit Elder. Also, the distinctions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit as constitutionally protected

groups is physically enacted in Ottawa through the three different national offices of those

organizations and the pan-Indigenous movement to promote inclusivity of all three groups while

still on Algonquin Territory. This phenomenon would relate back to fields of power (Bourdieu

and Waquant, 1992) and also to social exclusion. What makes this situation more problematic is

that Ottawa rests on unceded Algonquin territory. It is important to view Ottawa as contested

space with multiple levels of meaning. The city is located on the traditional territory of the

Algonquin, on land that was not relinquished yet still colonized by settlers, and these usurpers

transferred ownership to the Crown. It is also important to know that within the Algonquin

people there is overlapping territory in the area that spans both Ontario and Quebec.

Figure 3. Algonquin Land Claim Map
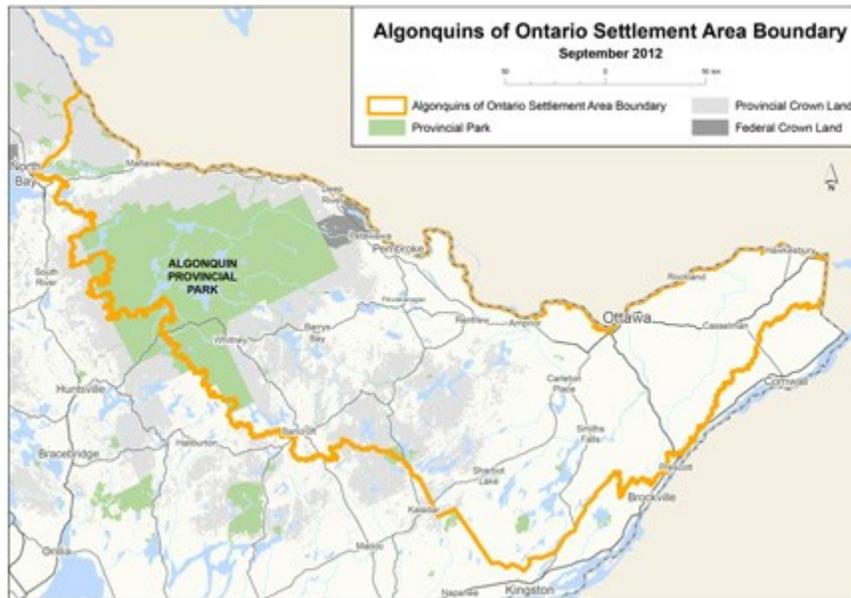
Note: Map retrieved from Queens Printer of Ontario (2017)

The social body, and experience of being Indigenous in the city, highlights the multilocal

and contested nature of land by being from a specific homeland or territory, or being a visitor in

another Indigenous group's territory. The social practices and protocols of Indigenous groups

establish the norms of interactions amongst these various groups.

5.4   Civility - A Sense of Feeling Welcomed or Unwelcome

Throughout the research participants discussed the practice of offering hospitality and welcoming to newcomers, how this facilitated connections with others, and what challenges Indigenous people face in connecting to others in Ottawa. In the book "*Cosmopolitanism*" Kwame Appiah describes the concept of hospitality as a unifying experience that brings humankind together in the increasingly urban world. In the social body context hospitality can be seen as a cultural norm of how people develop social relations and ways of being with each other. Hospitality is common in many cultures around the world, and Appiah (1992) discusses it as a specific form of civility and caring for fellow human beings. Indigenous people understand this concept in a variety of ways. The research participants discussed the practice of "visiting," having an "open door" for visitors, and the practice of always offering tea and food to guests. Although not exclusive to Indigenous populations, this tradition goes back to the habitus of communal living and potentially to trading practices. This practice is common amongst First Nations people on reserves, where you could unexpectedly drop by the house of a family member or friend as you drive by, but such unscheduled visits are much more limited in the city. It is also common to offer hospitality to travellers whom you may have a weak connection to, such as a friend of a relative. There are a number of ways research participants talked about this "welcoming," whether an Indigenous person takes it upon themselves to welcome a new person to Ottawa, or extends a welcome to someone with whom they have family or friends in common.

When new to the city an Indigenous urbanite will often go to the local Friendship Centre or other social service organization to find out about events and to meet others from the city. Indigenous people in the city can also learn about events, ceremonies, and programs and services through work, being invited by an acquaintance, or through a website or email listserv. These

acquaintances or friends provide the networks and act as gatekeepers or community navigators. This initial contact, and the reception a newcomer receives from other Indigenous people in the city, is important in determining whether the person feels welcomed by others. For example, most of the research participants said they did not have an immediate sense or feeling of being welcomed into the Indigenous community in Ottawa, and found it to be quite "cliquey." Research participants shared their experiences of how they had to attend multiple events over many months before feeling like a part of the community. Participants said that they had to search to find and be accepted into the urban Indigenous community in Ottawa. When many of the participants moved to Ottawa, in particular those who did not have family or friends already in the city, felt it to be a lonely, isolating place. Their descriptions suggested Ottawa was an enigma to many recently arriving Indigenous people, largely due to its individualistic nature and the high mobility of people moving in and out of the city, which has resulted in a certain level of wariness. In these excerpts, several participants discuss their feeling of alienation in Ottawa:

> Yeah, you have a lot of public servants. You have a lot of white collar people. A lot of people commuting and they are cranky, very cranky people and you're going to get doors slammed in your face because they didn't want to hold it open for a second and, you know, people aren't as friendly as you might expect. I find if you get into your neighborhood or something that it might not be the case but just going about your business they are not overly friendly and I heard that many, many times it's a frosty city, and I heard also that it's a lonely city because people just, you know, where it might be totally normal to just strike up a conversation in line at the drugstore, people will give you nasty looks for that.(Amanda, Pseudonym, First Nations, Female)

I just found there was a lot of distrust at first like you had to really, I think because there

are so many new people that come into Ottawa it is like there is a lot of distrust in new

people, and it takes other people a long time to become familiar with you, so in that way it

is and I told you too, I found it very cliquey, and I am a very outgoing person and it took

me about maybe 3 months to actually make a friend here…so you have to prove yourself or

something until people get to know you and then it is okay. (Carol, pseudonym, First

Nations Female)

It was really tough, when I came in 1997 I went to Carleton University which is not

downtown it is a little bit out of the way and when I first got to school there is a real lack of

First Nations people that I could identify with or at least identify to find on campus and I

went to the Aboriginal student center on campus and there was nobody there…it wasn't

until my second or third year university when I started studying a lot more Indigenous

courses and issues at the university that I actually realized…there was a huge community

here but I definitely spent a few years in Ottawa not knowing anyone and not being able to

find too many friends that were Anishinabe. (Jeff Copenace, First Nations Male)

You know when I first moved here 14 years ago I spent the first year being very lonely

because I didn't know there were Indigenous people and where they were, where the

Friendship Center was or anything like that. And that was my own, you know, I was

involved with taking care of my daughter and I was involved with being young new single

Mom and everything like that. And so I remember that being a very lonely lifestyle for me.

(Michele Penney, First Nations Female)

    The concept of welcoming experienced by Indigenous people when they first arrive in

Ottawa is constituted by two different types of inclusion and welcoming. The first is when they

first arrive in Ottawa and meet other Indigenous people, and the second is the experience

Indigenous people have in going to Indigenous organizations or events for the first time.

Participants also tied this discussion of being a visitor in the traditional territory of the Algonquin

people. Many have felt welcomed by members of the Algonquin community who assisted them

in a traditional cultural way of gifting or providing assistance when help was needed.

> My connection is when I didn't have a job for that little while, a friend from Kitigan Zibi,
>
> showed up at my doorstep with an entire deer chopped into hamburger and sausage and
>
> steaks and roasts and I lived off that deer for a whole winter and so -- it's their land. He
>
> was Algonquin and they got the deer from their Algonquin territory and that felt more right
>
> – it still felt like community, but it was their land. They were taking care of me in their
>
> land and I felt, I would do that for them if they came to my community. I would make sure
>
> they had [food]- and so that's how my relationship to the places are always a respect of
>
> whose land it is but I still feel like I'm able to make a place for myself as a Métis person
>
> here. (Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female)

  Other participants also talked about a general brotherhood of caring for other Indigenous

people and a common bond that connected Indigenous people:

Regardless of the years and years and years of assimilation or attempted assimilation

rather, you still see those traditional mindsets within people this notion of brotherhood and

this notion of connectedness among us, which is really nice to see and it is remarkable how

much it is present because if you really take a look at it deep down, you know that if you

have got a friend that was in dire need of help or assistance, you know that you could just

forget everything and help them out. I mean, I have seen that ever since I have been here.

And so it is just that the idea of brotherhood it's strong. It is very strong despite there being

a lack of traditional culture, there are those elements that are still very present within us, which is nice. (Lewis Barnaby, First Nations, Male)

It is interesting whether here or Toronto or Winnipeg I find that when you are walking the streets in the cities and you see another one of our [Indigenous] people there is a sense of camaraderie and you nod or you say hello or boozoo and back home there are so many of us I don't think that exists back on the rez you just keep walking because you're so used to it, I know it is friendly [in the city]. (Jeff Copenace, First Nations, Male)

Going back to say '65-'66 when my dad was first getting involved in government himself Len Marchand was on the scene, he was within Indian affairs at that point, and so there was always that informal network of hospitality of somebody new was coming into the branch or into the government, you just make sure that you can touch base with him, and make sure that they were setup and they had [a] social life going on, and then in terms of all the other practical stuff make sure they had a place to stay and everything else like that. (John Moses, First Nations, Male)

The experience of other Indigenous people in Ottawa upon moving to the city was one of immediate welcoming, which may be related to having family or friends already in Ottawa. Having a support network already in place when moving to Ottawa makes the transition much easier as local Indigenous people are able to link the newcomer to other people and organizations and also provide immediate friendship and support.

Well, I guess my situation was unique in that when I came to Ottawa, I already had employment and I had an established network of people that I know and I had friends that I had known since high school. I had a couple of family members. They are not close but I mean, they are still family and I became closer to them while I have been here just because

we have, been in such close proximity that we are able to see each other a lot more often. So, I already was able to – I came to the city and I was already able to connect to a support network. The people at work that I started working for were really supportive and made sure, I had what I needed and they helped me navigate some of the systems here at Ottawa, like you can go here for this and here for that and then finding a place to live. Again, it was beneficial because I had friends who lived here so I kind of stayed with people until I was able to find a place of my own and find good roommates and things like that. (Jocelyn Formsma, First Nations, Female)

So he [my uncle] was living and working here in town in the mid-60s and so when my father was first getting things set up for the rest of the family to come and join him, he stayed with my uncle Gib for a period of several weeks, or a few months while he was getting his own place and everything else like that and then we played that role ourselves. I remember by the late 60s and into the early 70s on a number of different occasions whether they were family members, or just friends or whenever we would have people stay with us at our house for a period of several weeks, or few months, until they got used to the city and you know, went out and got their own places to stay, and that kind of thing so that kind of network was in place fairly early stage of, just you know, people on very practical level helping each other by providing them with the place to stay while they got the bearings in the city and that kind of thing. (John Moses, First Nations, Male)

Despite these positive examples, there were many indications in the research that Indigenous individuals felt Ottawa was not a welcoming city when they first arrived. This experience would be particularly challenging for Indigenous people coming from small, rural

communities and reserves, where they were used to a higher degree of support and connection. A few participants suggested that this might be due to the high mobility of Indigenous people who move in and out of Ottawa for work and contracts but do not stay permanently. The sense of really belonging in the Indigenous community in Ottawa was only affirmed through the repeated practice of attending events within the community and "being seen" and contributing to the community. Another aspect of "being seen" was working in the Indigenous community. There were a number of participants who worked for an Indigenous organization in Ottawa and found that to be the source of their involvement in the community, and did not necessarily attend many Indigenous functions or events outside of work.

Participants said they found it challenging to create a sense of connection and belonging in Ottawa for a variety of reasons. This may indeed be a result of the high mobility in Ottawa by which Indigenous groups are "wary and cautious" of newcomers. My research has shown there are multiple groups of Indigenous people and communities in Ottawa, so it would seem natural that it could be difficult for Indigenous newcomers to find a compatible or similar group of Indigenous people in the city. Indigenous people in Ottawa are spread out across the city and do not live in one specific neighbourhood. For example, the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health is located in Vanier, and there is a sizeable Indigenous population in that area of town including a high number of Inuit people. The Indigenous organizations in Ottawa are also spread out across the city and are not all located in one area, making it difficult to identify a distinctly Indigenous space. The separation and distances between Indigenous organizations in Ottawa present challenges for Indigenous newcomers in establishing connections and belonging. However, these organizations work hard to create welcoming spaces that are not necessarily inherently there.

5.5   Cultural Practices: Elders, Smudging, Prayer and Ceremony

The number of practices in the Indigenous community in the Ottawa area today is vast. The following is not meant to be a full description of all of them, but rather my observations during my research. Indigenous cultural practices are common in social settings at meetings, events, feasts, and ceremonies including starting with an opening prayer given in either the language of the First Nations territory, in this case Algonquin or another First Nations language, or in English if there are no fluent language speakers present. The opening prayer is delivered by a local Elder or older Indigenous person and is almost always arranged in advance, as fluent Indigenous language speakers are quite rare [see section on Indigenous languages, section 3.21 below, for a more complete discussion on this]. The opening prayer is often preceded by a welcome to the traditional territory of that First Nation. The opening prayer, which can take many forms, sometimes requesting spiritual guidance from the Creator who is the deity/god/divine being of Indigenous nations, and often giving thanks for the elements, earth, and space/time that enable the discussion of the business at hand, the food (for a feast), and other beings (animals/plants). It most often closes with the words "All My Relations" which represents the general connection that all people, beings, and things have to each other.

The opening prayer sets the context and tone for the business or discussions for the day and is considered a respectful opening and welcoming to the traditional territory, as it is First Nations protocol to be invited in/welcomed into another nation's territory. If a person is not welcomed to a territory then this is contrary to protocol, and in previous times before and even after contact it would have been grounds for action whether it was a discussion, war, or disagreement, after which reconciliation would be needed. The traditional welcome goes hand in hand with the opening prayer and has great meaning and significance for Indigenous people. In

Ottawa where there are many fields[8] of power at play it is most common in parliament and

government meetings, and the daily business in the city that Indigenous protocols are not

followed possibly as a means of further asserting colonial rule, or complete ignorance of these

traditions. If one hopes to host a meeting where a significant number of Indigenous people are in

attendance, or on the topic of Indigeneity, it is recommended that Indigenous cultural protocols

be followed rather than insult the people of the local area.

It is also common when requesting an Elder to provide a traditional First Nations opening

prayer and welcoming that a cleansing also be performed. A cleansing is generally performed in

advance of the opening prayer and welcome, and is conducted in the space of the

meeting/event/function with the meeting's participants. The cleansing can be done by brushing

participants with cedar bows, or smudging them with sweetgrass, sage, cedar, or other sacred

herbs or plants, the choice of which depends on the traditional territory and the beliefs and

knowledge of the Elder. In the case of smudging, the herb is burned and "smudged" over the

person: smoke is rubbed over the face and front and back of the body, either with their own

hands and/or with a feather – often from an eagle. The cleansing/smudging is believed to remove

negative energy and provide a purification to start the day, meeting, event, or discussions with a

positive outlook. It is customary to follow and use the type of cleansing/smudging that is

Indigenous to that territory. For instance in the Ottawa area of the Algonquin, sweetgrass grows

naturally and has long been used for smudging, although sage is also common. Nowadays sage is

commonly used throughout all of the territories, as it is easily accessible and available. It can be

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[8] A field is "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions...these positions are objectively defined...in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97).

harvested individually, or given as a gift, and purchased from others at cultural events and in certain stores.

When an Elder is brought in for a traditional welcome and opening prayer and smudging he or she often stays at the event throughout the day to provide guidance or advice and also to deliver a closing prayer for the discussions of the day. Aside from the prayers, an Elder will often share their experiences and a story that teaches a lesson, provides guidance for the participants regarding the purpose of the meeting, or just generally for contemplation and growth. Stories and lessons are an important part of traditional teachings, and were once the cornerstone of Indigenous learning and knowledge. As a result of this they are considered gifts in themselves for those privileged to hear them. Indigenous knowledge was previously transferred through the oral tradition of storytelling and was an important agent for socialization for Indigenous people.

Along with the traditional welcome, opening and closing prayers, and storytelling, occasionally an Elder will also perform a song with a hand drum. There are traditional Indigenous songs for welcome, honour, and prayer that are performed on various occasions. There are both traditional songs and contemporary songs that are shared amongst Indigenous nations across North America. One song commonly shared is the Women's Warrior Song, performed by women to honour all women and to celebrate the strength of Indigenous women. Traditional Indigenous songs are often carried by and passed through families, so songs are owned by families, Nations or groups of people, and a person is only allowed to sing traditional songs that have been passed down to them or if they have been given permission by the owner of the song to sing it.

The other aspect of cultural practices is ceremony. Since ceremony is sacred knowledge I will only provide a very brief description of some of them, as much of what I am discussing in this section is traditional knowledge that has been learned and passed down to me, and it is supposed to be taught as the person is ready and willing to receive it. There are distinct ceremonies, Elders and pipe carriers who conduct ceremonies, and the sweatlodge. Ceremonial traditions are often specific to each individual Indigenous territory. Moreover, many Indigenous people now practice ceremonies that they did not practice traditionally. For example, the sweatlodge is not traditional to the Mohawk, nor is smudging to the Métis but they are practices that have been shared and adopted amongst many groups. In general, ceremonies are held for reasons such as purification, to pray for healing for loved ones or the person themselves, or to seek visions and guidance.

In terms of the research almost all of the participants discussed participating in various ceremonies, although they did not share specific details and I did not feel comfortable to ask them to elaborate, as it would be culturally inappropriate to do so. Cultural practices that occur in the social body bring Indigenous people in cities together and establish shared norms and practices amongst the groups.

5.6   Indigenous Language

I found that many of my research participants were concerned about or interested in learning their Indigenous language. However, access to learning the language continues to be a challenge for the development of language skills, with declining numbers of fluent speakers and difficulty in practicing speaking the language with others. As it relates to the social body of Indigenous people in Ottawa, the practice of speaking in the traditional language is one of great cultural significance that is shared amongst people from that territory. The pervasive

assimilationist policies of the *Indian Act* sought to destroy Indigenous languages to be replaced

by what colonizers believed to be a superior language – English.

Of the research participants who answered the semi-structured interview questions,

58.00% ($N = 14$) said they could speak their Indigenous language, while 42.00% ($N = 10$) said

they could not. The majority 79.00% ($N = 11$) said they could only speak "a bit" of their

Indigenous language, while only 14.00% ($N = 2$) reported being almost fluent in their Indigenous

language. Of the 24 participants who answered this question, none of them claimed to be fluent

in their Indigenous language.

One of the Métis participants discussed how he had been able to speak several Indigenous

languages but it was discouraged by his parents as they wanted him to assimilate into

mainstream culture:

> [I spoke] Michif, Cree and French, but I lost my languages over the years as my mom and
>
> dad felt it was important that they not speak our languages in front of us, as they wanted us
>
> to speak and learn English. And it has always been sort of a sad thing, but that was the
>
> way things were in the '50s and '60s. People wanted to get out of discrimination and our
>
> parents felt that the best thing to do was to just try to, I guess assimilate, rather than just
>
> integrate. Their concern was for our wellbeing, I don't fault them at all for what they did,
>
> that was what they thought was best for us. I have always regretted losing my
>
> languages.(Tony Belcourt, Métis, Male)

Another male First Nations participant discussed how his father was fluent in Cree but

that he did not teach it to his children, likely as a result of the Indian residential school where

people were taught to not speak their language. This individual felt that blaming the residential

school would not bring the languages back, and that it was the responsibility of the younger

generation, his generation, to go out and make the effort to learn their language.

> I am just learning [my Indigenous language] that's just a little bit. I am trying to – I wish I
>
> did, it would be so helpful in life in general if I did, my father's fluent, my mother
>
> understands and speaks a little bit. My mother used to always scold my dad and tell him
>
> that he needed to teach us, but he was shy and he was quiet and he never did. A couple of
>
> years ago I remember him apologizing to me and saying "I really wish I would have spent
>
> more time teaching you our language" and at the same time I told him you don't have to
>
> apologize, you don't have to apologize for anything, it is not like I was begging you to
>
> teach us, although I should have been. There is a lot of resentment I think towards some of
>
> our community members to the older generation saying I wish they would have taught us
>
> and lots of people of course very rightfully blame it on the tragic legacy of the Indian
>
> residential schools and that is very true but there comes a point where our young people
>
> need to take responsibility for that and they need to go out there and they need to do it
>
> themselves, there is no more time or room or space for blame and I have a real tough time
>
> learning and understanding to be honest, but I keep doing my best and I keep trying but
>
> hopefully I would love to be fluent in my language someday.(Jeffrey Copenace, First
>
> Nations, Male)

Today a lot of Indigenous people learn their language if they attend school on reserve

because First Nations communities integrate First Nations languages into the curriculum for

elementary and high school. One of the female First Nations participants from the nearby

community in Ottawa talked about how she was almost fluent as she took Algonquin immersion

in elementary and high school in her community.

Yeah, actually, I can speak [my language], I used to be fluent because I took Algonquin

immersion growing up. Yeah, because I went to school on the reserve, all my life so up

until you reach high school, you have the opportunity throughout your elementary years to

take Sciences or Algonquin immersion, so I chose Algonquin immersion. Then once you

hit high school, up until grade nine, they'll give you an Algonquin course. It's basically the

basics of what you learned in…immersion, so I kind of regressed and lost a lot of

it.(Jennifer Jerome, First Nations, Female)

If it was not for the Indigenous language rejuvenation occurring in First Nations

communities and within post-secondary institutions, the decline of Indigenous languages would

be in a worse state. The fact that half of the participants only spoke "a bit" of their Indigenous

language while less than 10.00% ($N = 2$) spoke almost fluently and none considered themselves

fluent provides context to the state of Indigenous languages in Canada.

The Indian residential school was instrumental in the decline of Indigenous languages

through assimilation. The number of Indigenous language speakers has been steadily declining

over the last 15 years from 29.30% in 1996, 21.50% in 2006 to 17.20% in 2011. However, some

of the recent decline may be attributed to the increase in people identifying as Indigenous in

Canada (Statistics and Measurement Directorate, INAC, 2013). Since 1992, linguists have

predicted that half of the world's estimated 6,000 languages will be extinct within a century, and

all but 20 of the 175 Indigenous languages spoken in the world at that time (Gibbs, 2002).

According to Mary Jane Norris (1998), as of 1996, "only 3 out of Canada's 50 Indigenous

languages had large enough populations to be considered truly secure from the threat of

extinction in the long run [...][I]n 1996, only 26% [of Indigenous peoples] said an Indigenous

language was their mother tongue." (p. 8).

According to Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey, there are three languages with more than 20,000 total speakers: Cree (96,700), Inuktitut (37,000), and Ojibway (25,100) (Statistics and Measurement Directorate INAC, 2013). Norris classified languages based on other research studies, which divides Indigenous languages into five groups: already extinct, near extinction (beyond the possibility of revival), endangered (survival a possibility, given sufficient community interest and educational programs), viable (with a small population base), and viable (with a large population base) (ibid). Half of all Indigenous languages in Canada are spoken by groups in British Columbia, although the size of these populations is small and accounts for only 7% of mother-tongue language speakers (ibid).

According to Norris (1998), there are a few factors that are essential in revitalizing languages. First, a language must be passed down and used every day in the home, and not just as a second language. Further confirmed by more recent scholarship "more value is placed on Indigenous languages when individuals are readily exposed to them both in and outside the home" (Jewell, 2016). The younger the speakers, the healthier the state of the Indigenous language is. For endangered languages, one of the greatest concerns is language transmission to younger generations before elders (those who are truly fluent) pass on.

Recent statistics from Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey shows 240,815 Aboriginal people have knowledge of an Indigenous language, which is a decrease of about 4.5% from 2006 but an increase of 3% since 1996 (Statistics and Measurement Directorate INAC, 2013). Although Statistics Canada's 2001 data show a decline in the transmission of Indigenous languages as a mother tongue, it is noteworthy that this is offset by an increasing number of second-language speakers of Indigenous languages and that Indigenous second-language learning is a growing trend (Norris, 2007). In Kinkaid's system of language classification, a language is endangered if it has fewer than 1,000 speakers. Second, languages in

the "viable but small" category generally have more than 1,000 speakers and are spoken in isolated or well-organized communities, where language is considered an important part of identity.

In his article "Saving Dying Languages," W. Wayt Gibbs (2002) quotes James Matisoff of the University of California at Berkeley: "Language is the most important element in the culture of a community. When it dies, you lose the special knowledge of that culture and a unique window on the world" (as cited in Gibbs, 2002).-Language is the primary vehicle for the transmission of culture writes Fred Kelly, an Ojibway and a member of the Anishinaabe Midewewin Society in "Confessions of a Born Again Pagan" (2008) contained in the book *From Truth to Reconciliation: Transforming the Legacy of Residential Schools*:

Language is the principal means by which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next...The very meaning of world views and traditional life ways are understandable in their original languages. The origin, the history, the peoples' relationship to the spiritual world, and the land are in the language. The totality of social, cultural, economic, and political systems of Indigenous nations is also in their native languages...A language is one's identity. A language is an inviolable gift to the Indigenous peoples from the Creator and their ancestors.(p. 36)

Finally, I have included a quote that I found to be extremely powerful, as it beautifully describes what the loss of Indigenous languages means to Indigenous people. This is an excerpt from the article, *One Generation from Extinction,* by Basil H. Johnston (1998), who is Ojibwa from Parry Island reserve:

It is the native peoples who have the most cause to lament the passing of their languages...they can no longer understand the ideas, concepts, insights, attitudes, rituals,

ceremonies, institutions brought into being by their ancestors; and, having lost the power

to understand, cannot sustain, enrich, or pass on their heritage...they can never capture

that kinships with and reverence for the sun and the moon, the sky and the water, or feel

the life beat of Mother Earth or sense the change in her moods; no longer are the wolf,

the bear, and the caribou elder brothers but beasts, resources to be killed and sold. They

will have lost their identity which no amount of reading can ever restore. Only language

and literature can restore the "Indian-ness".(p. 99)

Many of my research participants were concerned with or interested in learning their

Indigenous language. However, access to learning the language continues to be a challenge for

the development of language skills, with declining numbers of fluent speakers and difficulty in

practicing speaking the language with others. The loss of Indigenous languages is a pressing

concern, and paths to creating more proficiency need to be found to preserve the languages. In

the urban environment this is a challenge as there are often many different Indigenous peoples

and the language classes offered are those of the traditional territory of the local First Nations. So

a greater challenge is language accessibility when an Indigenous person is outside of their

homeland or traditional territory.

5.7   Accessing Programs and Services for Cultural Connectedness

I tend to wonder if, because you're in a city and you don't know anyone: it's not so much

about the details, of who are you related to. It's that I just want to connect to my people

and I, so then I realize you don't have to be my first cousin, you don't have be my auntie,

you don't have to be, that doesn't matter so much. I need to know you're one of, you're

like me – I don't care where you're from, really. There's that common thread; 'cause it was

the same thing when I moved out here, I was here for about … eight or nine months, my

mother came down to visit me …I didn't know anyone in the city; I hadn't connected to anyone Indigenous. I was working at the Royal Bank, I worked with a great team, I met some people. But you know, I was just okay. …[I attended] the event at Wabano, it was their annual general meeting and birthday celebration. Well, I think, well especially here at Wabano that's how we do AGM's here instead of just the usual stuff we have a big celebration, there's a feast, there's drumming, there's dancing. I sat there that night and it was the first time I felt at home since I'd left. I met the executive director that night, I called her the very next day to set up an appointment to volunteer. I just knew I needed to be a part of this. I think that's what I was saying earlier that…certainly, for me being an urban native, I connect to community through an organization. I think that's a really big difference for Indigenous people who particularly work for grass roots organizations, when we work for a charitable grass roots organization, we see it as our community. My people are here – I'm working for my people in the same way if I lived on a reserve, right. There's no such thing as nine-to-five, there's no such thing as a job description…it's not like working like I did for the Royal Bank. I knew when I showed up, I knew when I left at the end of the day. I knew what I could talk to a client about, and what I couldn't talk to a client about. Here it's about connecting and creating a place where our people, I shouldn't say, it's not even our people, yes our people, but also the non-Indigenous community come together. I think that's what urban settings are starting to do; it's saying, okay it's not the reserve where it's just Indians here. No one else shall pass! Right, then we don't have to get all the races; for or against, that wouldn't be my point about reserves today, but in the urban settings we're trying to say: how do Indigenous people, the whole diversity across this country come together and how does this diversity of Indigenous people come together

with the diversity of non-Indigenous people, in a good way. For me, I've never seen a place that does it as well as Wabano which is why I say I've stayed in Ottawa as long as I have, solely, because of Wabano. There isn't one other reason for me than this. I have no family here. Yes, I've developed friends and what-not but it wouldn't be enough to keep me, if I just had a nine-to-five job, I would have left years and years ago. But for me we're trying to…to think for my generation, particularly ones growing in the urban setting, is we're trying to redefine how not only we look, Indigenous people look, but how we look in context with other Canadians as well. There's no more room for racism; there's no more room for stereotypes. Are they still there? Yes. [Laughs] But it's, no more. Let's put it out there, let's show the beauty of our people, let's show how when you can put Indigenous traditional teachings as a foundation, it works for everybody. It doesn't make it an Indigenous-specific service; it is that, but it makes it an accessible service for everyone and that's what Wabano does well. You put culture not as a piece of what we do but as the heart and it has impact on everyone.(Carlie Chase, First Nations Status, Female)

72.00% of the research participants accessed programs, services and events for Indigenous people in Ottawa, compared to 28.00% that did not. There was a wide variety of programs accessed, but three were most often reported: the Odawa Friendship Centre, the Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health, and Minwaashin Lodge for women. As in many other communities, the first and most obvious thing that brings Indigenous people together in Ottawa is food. Whether it is community feasts, hosting meetings, or events creating connections and belonging, they are all assisted by providing food and eating together.

Accessing programs and services can facilitate connections and belonging for Indigenous people in the city. This social practice in cities is likely one of the most important findings within

the research in particular as it relates to the need for cultural renewal and decolonization. The

social relations that Indigenous people develop in cities lay the foundation for cultural

connectedness due to the large number of Indigenous people who seek these teachings. The

cultural teachings and practices form the bonds of shared culture that establish place-making and

connection in cities. When I found the Makonsag program, which is a Headstart program for

Aboriginal children, it finally facilitated my sense of belonging within the Indigenous

community in Ottawa. Whether it is a needs-based program with eligibility requirements for

lower income families or a program without eligibility requirements, the majority of the

participants were either actively involved by accessing a program, or loosely involved through

occasional participation in open programs for Indigenous people, in addition to annual

Indigenous events.

Participants indicated that there is a transitional process from initially moving to the city

and experiencing economic challenges, then accessing Indigenous programs and services, and

eventually stabilizing and finding gainful employment. The practice of accessing these services

was raised as a concern for professional urban Indigenous people who wanted to access cultural

programming but who felt that these programs were only for the economically disadvantaged.

These individuals did not want to be perceived as taking a spot from a family that needed it

more.

> When my kids were growing up they were eligible for Aboriginal head start, but there was
>
> many families ahead of my kids [on the waiting list] in my mind because my income level
>
> was higher and I could afford to have my children looked after in a private place.(Guy
>
> Freedman, Métis, Male)

Indigenous people in Ottawa attended events and accessed programs and services from one or more of the Indigenous organizations in the city. Each organization has a different set of programs and targeted clientele. Minwaashin Lodge is located in downtown Ottawa and aims their programming towards Indigenous females through a range of cultural and pre and post-natal programs. Wabano Centre for Aboriginal Health is located in Vanier, east of downtown Ottawa, and has a clinic and health centre that also focuses on cultural programs. The Odawa Friendship Centre is located west of downtown and provides a variety of family support programs, recreational activities, and youth programs. One of the male research participants who is an Elder within the Ottawa community talked about how the various groups do not necessarily get along, but that it is through this diversity in cultures and communities that gives Ottawa's Indigenous community strength.

> I think there's probably more than one urban Indigenous community in different kinds of places… there are people who always go to Wabano, people who have always gone to Minwaashin…Same with Odawa, or the same with the Inuit children services, and IT, the Inuit community center, and other programs like that…not everybody gets along with everybody, not everybody likes everybody, not everybody wants to have anything to do with them. So I think all those are strengths for the overall community that's going on in Ottawa.
>
> (Jim Albert, First Nations, Elder, Male)

Another Métis female participant discussed the various organizations in Ottawa and how they overlap at certain events such as at powwows, which will bring distinct groups together. She also explained how Ottawa itself has created a national network across Canada.

Well, I think that the urban Indigenous community is – what's the word, complex? It's quite complex. So, when I go to places like Minwaashin Lodge, Odawa, Wabano, then there's this core group of people there, if I go to pow-wows, then that core group of people at the pow-wow. There's a different group of people at the Indigenous Professionals Network and some people will overlap so I'll see them at the pow-wow and I'll see them at the APN. You know, we are friends of people who aren't even connected at all with the Indigenous community. They come over to visit and they may not be seen in the Indigenous community…they are not necessarily engaged in the community as we are. So, I think there's different levels of – there's definitely an urban Indigenous community here that is different. You have the Wabano crew. You have an Odawa crew. You have even a Minwaashin Lodge crew and then at times those three crews mix together and you will see them all like at the pow-wows. The Professionals Network you have people who work in government so you see them at meetings, you see them at conferences whether they are in Ottawa or across the country. I meet up with a lot of Ottawa people in, different places across the country at conferences and so you still consider that as your urban community. So there is even that different level. Even when I go to national conferences, there is an urban Indigenous community and it's like a national one almost in a way too, right?(Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female)

The reason participants often provided for not accessing programs and services was that they had health and other benefits through their job and did not require any of the programs or services. One of the research participants who worked with the federal government and who had recently moved to Ottawa discussed being independent and not requiring any programs and services also due to her stage of life.

I went to a couple of networking functions and I heard about it by e-mail and, but I haven't really went to the Friendship centre, or any of the services available. I am professional woman I have been in the field for over 30 years and I am pretty independent so I don't need a lot to you know, to go look for health services or social service, I don't really need any of that, so I haven't had to access that. My kids are grown up, I have little grandchildren now so I have moved on to a new phase in my life, so and they are still in Saskatchewan, Alberta, so I don't need to really be looking for any type of service.(Clare McNab, Métis, Female)

While this was most common with professional Indigenous people in Ottawa, other professional Indigenous people stated they did access a variety of programs and services that were not needs-based but intended to maintain cultural and community connections. Another reason Indigenous professionals provided for not accessing programs and services was if they worked for the agency providing the program, and they wanted to maintain a clear separation and not overly engage in the governance of organizations where they worked. This can be a particular concern when a person works with a national Indigenous organization that provides various programs or supports at the local or provincial level.

Well, you know, in fact, I had been trying to avoid overly becoming involved in the community in Ottawa given the nature of my work. When I first came here I was working at a national Aboriginal organization…that provides services and the frontline agencies to people in communities and I was very conscious of the fact that if I volunteered, or participated too strongly in the local friendship center in the sense my position may cloud some of the relationships I have and the things we do like funding for youth programs or funding for the center.(Peter Dinsdale, First Nations, Male)

One program often mentioned that was not a needs-based program was the Odawa

Healthy Living Program, which provides sports and recreation activities through the Odawa

Friendship Centre. An important distinction that was brought up was the belief that many of the

programs and services for Indigenous people in Ottawa were only for the socially disadvantaged,

so many of the middle class professionals did not try to access them. Another research

participant pointed out that many of the programs and services, such as the Odawa Healthy

Living Program, Culture Night at Wabano, and Makonsag Aboriginal Headstart, were not needs-

based, and were accessible to anyone who self-identified as Indigenous. She made a point of

using programs and services to increase the cultural and community connection for herself and

her children, regardless of her income level, as she considered cultural needs just as important as

economic needs for Indigenous people:

> I really wanted my kids to know about their culture and I wanted to stay connected and I
> almost didn't think that it was fair that it was just for people in a certain economic
> bracket…all of them should be included and have access to it, you know, at a low
> economic level and for people who made a bit more money, we weren't struggling in terms
> of financially. We struggled with accessing culture and so I made the choice, right? I said if
> they want to not have me here, then they will let me know I mentioned to the program
> coordinator I just want you to know this is my income and she's like it doesn't matter, she
> says we are not discriminating here.(Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female).

Throughout my research, hearing participants' thoughts on accessing programs and

services, in particular middle-class professionals, influenced my decision to finally apply to the

Makonsag Aboriginal Headstart program. Originally, I had thought that Makonsag Aboriginal

Headstart was a needs-based program, and since both my husband and I were professionals I did not think that we would qualify, and did not want to feel that we were taking a spot from someone else who needed it. Although we did not have an economic need, we did have a cultural need to access programs and services for Indigenous people as we had relocated from British Columbia to Ottawa in 2007. Not having family in Ontario and being a long way from our traditional territory in British Columbia, I found it difficult to make Indigenous cultural and community connections, and having our daughter in the Makonsag program made a big difference in our lives. The program provided educational activities, outdoor activities, and cultural teachings—my daughter is comfortable picking up my drum and singing, smudging, and is learning Algonquin words. In addition, the Makonsag program provided a space for our family to connect with a part of the Indigenous community in Ottawa. I feel that being able to make those connections to community and culture are essential to making a home in the city. Our family was already in Ottawa for several years before our daughter started at Makonsag in September 2011, and it was not until she started in the program that we started to feel that we belonged in the community. While I was pregnant and on parental leave with both my children, I attended many community events such as Culture Night at Wabano, powwows, and family support programs, in order to meet other Indigenous people and connect myself and my children with the Indigenous community in Ottawa. I found it difficult to make those connections on my own, and our participation in the Makonsag program facilitated a sense of community participation and belonging.

5.8   Off-Reserve Service Delivery

The representation of off-reserve Indigenous populations is unclear. This population accesses programs and services through both Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations and

service providers. In *Perceptions of Indigenous people off and non-reserve*, EKOS (2006) found

that Indigenous people prefer Indigenous service delivery organizations and Indigenous people

for service delivery. EKOS also found that the first 48 hours to seven days are imperative to

finding and accessing services after a recent move. Research with the urban Indigenous

population in Winnipeg found that the majority of recent movers had not previously lived in the

city (87.00%) and had limited knowledge of the available services and supports and required

assistance *before they left* their current residence, and on first arrival in the city; these people

were most likely to access subsidized and unsubsidized housing as well as social, employment,

and medical services (Institute of Urban Studies, 2004).

  The Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (1996) outlined the importance of

Indigenous organizations and service delivery to urban Indigenous people, and also broached the

topic of urban Indigenous governance. RCAP characterized urban Indigenous organizations as

unorganized at the time of the commission, but described them as contributing to community

development by meeting needs and strengthening cultural identity. Specifically, RCAP saw

friendship centres as central to the development of community: "For many urban Aboriginal

people, a friendship centre is the heart of their urban Aboriginal community" (Section 1.4, para.

6). Friendship Centres began in the 1950s to provide programs and services to urban Indigenous

people and secured a commitment by the federal government through the Migrating Native

Peoples Program (MNPP) in 1972 out of the Department of the Secretary of State (DSOS). After

RCAP, Indigenous programming was developed to provide culturally appropriate and relevant

social services to urban Indigenous people, who often experienced socioeconomic hardship and

racism, and would not otherwise access mainstream services. Friendship centres are particularly

important to urban Indigenous people because they play two fundamental roles: as a referral service for social services and as a gathering place.

According to the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (Environics, 2010) urban Indigenous people aspire to the "good life" with family and a balanced lifestyle, as well as a good job, successful career, and financial independence. The city is home for most, and pursuing higher education is the leading aspiration of urban Indigenous people. Although First Nations, Inuit, and Métis people living in cities are culturally mixed they share many values and aspirations.

While programs and services for Indigenous people off-reserve have been established through various federal departments, there has not been a comprehensive approach. A specific framework or approach has not been developed for off-reserve populations, although the Government of Canada has adopted a partnerships approach focusing on alignment with other departments, provinces, municipalities, Indigenous organizations (such as National Association of Friendship Centres and community agencies), and the private sector. The Urban Aboriginal Strategy was initially announced in 1998 as a four-year, $50 million program to support the socio-economic needs of Indigenous people in urban centres. UAS was renewed in 2003 and again in 2007, when a long-term commitment was made to Indigenous issues by investing $68.5 million over five years to help respond effectively to the needs of Indigenous people living in key urban centres.

In 2012, the Government of Canada transferred three Indigenous programs from Canadian Heritage to Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development Canada: The Aboriginal Friendship Centres Program, Cultural Connections for Indigenous Youth, and Young Canada Works for Indigenous Urban Youth. The transfer of the programs was intended to better align and coordinate federal efforts to help urban and off-reserve Indigenous people increase their

participation in the Canadian economy (AANDC, 2014). Also in 2012, the Urban Aboriginal Strategy was renewed for $13.5 million annually, with several of programs that had been transferred from Canadian Heritage along with the program funding for the UAS to be delivered by the National Association of Friendship Centres (NAFC).

In terms of service delivery, it makes sense to provide additional capacity to Indigenous organizations to deliver the urban Indigenous programs, as this is the mandate of the Friendship Centres. One of the strengths of the original Urban Aboriginal Strategy is that it provides a multilateral approach to urban funding to select UAS delegated cities. It creates structural links between Indigenous service organizations in urban areas and a selection of federal, provincial, and municipal bodies that partners with the UAS, generally through joint project funding. With the transfer of the funding mechanism to the NAFC it remains to be seen how they will continue to engage with urban Indigenous people in the funding decisions beyond the NAFC national and regional representatives to ensure equal access to all urban Indigenous groups.

With over half of the Indigenous population in Canada living off-reserve there are significant challenges in providing the services needed by this group with a disparity in access to funding compared to their on-reserve counterparts.

5.9   Summary

One of the main findings of this research was how Indigenous cultures in the city mixed to be able to provide a plethora of teachings from many different Indigenous cultures. Participants most commonly reported that they connected with their Indigenous identity in the city by being with other Indigenous people; through spiritual practices (ceremony, prayer, sweatlodge); by participating in activities (crafting, drumming, pow-wow, and land based activities such as hunting, trapping or fishing); through their work (either working in an

Indigenous organization or working on Indigenous issues); and through family gatherings. Both pan-indigeneity and the connection to an Indigenous traditional culture have an important place in cultural reclamation and renewal. If an Indigenous person does not have a connection with the First Nations in the territory, it is much easier for them to connect to the urban community and to the more readily available pan-Indigenous culture.

Differences in the experiences of First Nations and Métis visitors to Algonquin territory were also explored. When an Indigenous person is residing in another group's territory it is customary to respect the local protocols and decision-making processes. However, in Ottawa traditional protocol is not always followed and the reasons are complex and exemplify the multilocal and multivocal levels at play in the city. Participants suggest it can go back to the fact that there are so many different communities represented in Ottawa such as being in Algonquin territory, national Indigenous organizations, urban organizations, and pan-Indigenous cultures present. Algonquin research participants have a much different experience in living within their own territory compared to Indigenous visitors from other First Nations and Métis groups. First Nations individuals residing within their own homeland had the benefit of family, friends and access to a land base. Many of the research participants who are visitors from other First Nations and Métis groups shared that they understood protocol in providing acknowledgement to the traditional territory.

In *Cosmopolitanism*, Kwame Appiah describes the concept of hospitality and the unifying experiences that bring humankind together in the increasingly urban world. Throughout the research, participants also discussed the practice of hospitality and welcoming and how this assisted in connecting them to others and their culture. They also shared how Ottawa can be a lonely place and the challenges they originally had in making connections and establishing

networks in the city. Participants also tied this theme of welcoming to the discussion of being in the traditional territory of the Algonquin people. Many felt welcomed by members of the Algonquin territory and have been assisted in a traditional way when help was needed. Traditional experiences of civility have decreased over time, likely as a result of the large numbers of Indigenous people moving from various homelands to the limited number of larger cities in Canada.

By attending events, functions, and accessing programs and services in Ottawa, I observed several cultural practices within the city and organizations. Most of these practices were part of the traditional Indigenous protocol that involves Elders, such as opening prayers and welcoming in the local Indigenous language at the beginning of meetings and events, and smudging to clear negative energy and for prayer and ceremony.

A major observation within the findings of the research is the low numbers of Indigenous people who fluently speak their language. Indigenous languages are rapidly being lost due to the large number of Indigenous elders who have passed on, and who are the last fluent speakers. To reverse this trend there needs to be a commitment within all communities on and off reserve to preserve Indigenous languages. The use of Indigenous languages is also important for the resurgence and decolonization efforts, as will be discussed in the conclusion of this dissertation.

One of the ongoing practices of Indigenous people today remains the utilization of organizations and institutions as gathering places and to connect to culture. These organizations, such as Aboriginal Friendship Centres and health centres, have been called the "invisible infrastructure" (Newhouse, 2003) of cities where Indigenous people access programs and services, attend community events, learn languages, and participate in ceremony and other practices. These organizations are critical to the governance of Indigenous communities in cities

as in many cities there are representative councils or committees that represent off-reserve

interests and programs and services.

6   Chapter: The Indigenous Body Politic

6.1   Introduction

In this last section of analysis of my findings I discuss the relations between Indigenous communities and the Canadian government through the theory of the body politic as put forth by Sheper-Hughes and Lock (1987): "the regulation, surveillance, and control of bodies (individual and collective). . . . [T]he stability of the body politic rests on its ability to regulate populations (the social body) and to discipline individual bodies" (p. 8). While the residential school system regulated the individual body and annihilated the cultural perception of self and personhood that had far-reaching consequences in the social body of Indigeneity, the *Indian Act* is an example of the regulation and control of the Indigenous body politic. As practice is an important concept in considering the body politic, the research also utilizes fields[9] and capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) (see Section 6.4 for longer discussion) with which to analyze the findings. A field is "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions...these positions are objectively defined...in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). The access that a given group has to economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is key to understanding the life chances of individuals in social structures.

Indigenous people have a distinct relationship with the government in Canada through the *Indian Act* (Department of Justice Canada, 2010). The government of Canada governs the relationship between Indigenous people and the state through the *Act*. It controls all aspects of

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[9] A field is "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions...these positions are objectively defined...in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97).

the lives of Indigenous people in Canada, including membership, governance structure,

education, health, and economic development. Status Indians continue to be considered wards of

the state, as reserve lands are still held in trust by the state. This provides the basis for the history

of colonization that has affected relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

This is an appropriate entry point into a discussion on indigeneity and the relationship

inherent to the land as a place and a "territory" of Indigenous people and the impact this has on

current notions of embodied space. As Indigenous people pre-contact were intrinsically

connected to territory for their livelihoods, subsistence, and housing, they embodied this

experience as part of their personhood. The process of first contact and colonization changed the

Indigenous relationship with the land and subsequently adversely impacted their personhood.

Indigenous people were then subject to hegemonic systems of classification that were foreign to

them and were inscribed as Status or Non-Status Indians, Métis, or Inuit people.

The classification of Indigenous people was a tool of assimilation (Lawrence, 2004).

Although habitus may seem to "rub against the premise of intentionality and being-in-the-world"

(Lindsay, 1996, p. 199) for some theorists, for my purposes it is useful as it accentuates the role

of historical and structural forces on the embodiment of personhood for Indigenous people. Over

decades of hegemonic forces of assimilation Indigenous individuals began to unconsciously

adopt the habitus of Western practices and the control and divisions created in the *Indian Act*

became lived reality. Rather than viewing themselves as cultures and linguistic groups inhabiting

places in the time before contact in the 1600's and 1700's, Indigenous people began to see

themselves as they were inscribed by the *Indian Act* as Indians and wards of the state. At that

time it would have been nearly impossible not to as the social control through power, control and

the law *Indian Act* were so complete. One clear example was how the *Indian Act* made it illegal

for Indigenous parent to keep their children they were legally required to send their children to the Indian residential school. Imagine how this happened—you are sitting in your living room visiting with your family, laughing and enjoying each other's company. Your grandparents are there as well as you all live together in a small house on the reserve. There's a knock on the door and your father goes to open the door. Moments later the North-West Mounted Police and the Indian Agent are there and they grab you, your mother has only a few minutes to try to gather a few items for you to take but the Indian agent takes these things and throws them on the ground as you are not allowed to take anything with you. They grab your three younger siblings who are crying and grabbing your mother and father who are bewildered and crying and holding on to all of you. Your grandparents are trying to talk to the Indian Agent but their English is not very good and the Indian Agent pushes them out of the way and ignores them. The NWMP and the Indian Agent grab all of the children and load them into the cattle truck. The NWMP tell your family that if they try to keep you or if you try to take them from the Indian residential school your parents will be fined or imprisoned, or both. The house is quiet as the children are gone and your parents and grandparents weep together and try to understand what happened. Elsewhere on the reserve the same thing happens in the other houses and all the children are taken there's a deafening silence that has taken over the community.

In the first part of the 1930s, the Indian Residential School System was a state-sponsored and run by churches with over 80 schools and an enrolment of over 17,000 Indigenous children (Erasmus, 2004). Over the entire time period of the residential schools from 1876, until 1996 it is estimated that 30% of Indigenous children, in the range of 150,000, were placed in residential schools nationally (Wabano Aboriginal Centre for Health, 2000). An amendment to the *Indian Act* in 1884 made attendance at day schools, industrial schools, or residential schools compulsory

for First Nations children (ibid) and the pass system was instituted which did not allow

Indigenous people to leave the reserve without a pass from the Indian Agent (Erasmus, 2004).

Assimilation of Indigenous people in Canada occurred through the dual forces of: the

Indian Act, which regulated and controlled physical bodies and the definition of Indigeneity; and

the Indian Residential School System, which regulated and annihilated the social life and culture

of Indigenous people. An infamous quote by Duncan Campbell Scott (Aboriginal Healing

Foundation, 2002), Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1920, outlined the government's

predominant goal: "I want to get rid of the Indian problem. . . . Our objective is to continue until

there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is

no Indian Question and no Indian Department" (p. 68). The government of Canada worked to

consciously assimilate Indigenous people and remove the parts of their personhood that were

believed to be primordial or savage and replace it with what they considered to be civilized

behaviors of non-Indigenous society.

The Indian residential school and the *Indian Act* have had pervasive effects upon the

embodied personhood of Indigenous people in Canada. Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) put

forward a proposal for emotion to be used as the missing link capable of bridging mind and

body, and the individual, social, and political bodies as they are the catalyst that transforms

knowledge into human understanding that brings intensity and commitment to human action.

The most important thread amongst various theories for decolonization is the imperative need for

Indigenous people to point to the wrongdoings and name it, redress for what has happened,

healing and the renewal of Indigenous lifeways.

6.2   The Métis Experience and Membership

An important aspect of the research was discussions that I had with Métis people in Ottawa who talked about their Métis identity and what attached them to their identity. Almost 24.00% ($N = 7$) of the total participants ($N = 30$) were Métis. The Métis are people of mixed First Nation and European ancestry who identify themselves as Métis, as distinct from First Nations, Inuit or non-Indigenous people. The 1940 *Métis Population Betterment Act* in Alberta defined Métis as "a person of mixed white and Indian ancestry having not less than one-quarter Indian blood who was not either an Indian or non-Treaty Indian as defined in the *Indian Act*" (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010 p. 257). The Métis have a unique culture that draws on their diverse ancestral origins, such as Scottish, French, Ojibway, and Cree. The Métis National Council consequently adopted the following definition of "Métis" in 2002: "Métis" means a person who self-identifies as Métis, is distinct from other Indigenous peoples, is of historic Métis Nation Ancestry and who is accepted by the Métis Nation" (Métis Nation Council [MNC], 2017). In 2003, the Supreme Court of Canada confirmed that Métis are a rights-bearing Indigenous people. Its judgement in *R. v. Powley* set out the components of a Métis definition for the purpose of claiming Indigenous rights under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982. These are: self-identification as a member of a Métis community, ancestral connection to the historic Métis community whose practices ground the right in question, and acceptance by the modern community with continuity to the historic Métis community (MNC, 2017). To be registered as Métis, the Métis person must apply to the Métis Registry operated by the Métis National Council Governing Member in the province in which they reside.

Important political and legal milestones have encouraged individuals to identify themselves as Métis from 1996 to the present. In recent years, Métis have won several important

Supreme Court cases, including *R. vs. Powley* and *R. vs. Daniels*, which have provided additional

rights and recognition for this group. The Métis entitlement to land was acknowledged in the

Manitoba Act of 1870, but that title was extinguished through grants of reserved land (Dickason

& Newbigging, 2010). In 1874 Métis scrip was introduced which provided for a specific amount

of land or a cash equivalent, and many Métis ended up agreeing to scrip since the lands in the

area did not do well for farming. Unfortunately, many of the Métis sold their scrip to speculators

for as little as half the value (Dickason & Newbigging, 2010) for land that would later command

a much higher price.

One aspect that was deliberated several times by research participants was the

identification of being Métis through regional affiliate Métis organizations. At the time of the

research it was necessary for Métis to apply to the local Métis regional affiliate for a Métis card,

which would allow them harvesting rights in that province. This was difficult for some of the

participants for various reasons, one of them being that the application process is complicated

and people are not always successful in applying for the card. Moreover, if a person was Métis

from Manitoba and had a card there, if they moved to Ontario they had to reapply for a card if

they wanted harvesting rights in the new province. Several of the participants discussed their

challenges with this process.

One research participant was an active Métis female who was well known for Métis

jigging performances and for her participation in the community. She discussed how difficult it

was for her to figure out the process to apply for a Métis card in Ontario, and how, in the end, her

application was denied, even though she was from a Métis settlement in Alberta.

It's very important. For Métis people, for me, I don't have that connection I guess. In terms

of being a Métis from Ontario I'm not and there was an issue with being a Métis from

Alberta and I had a [Métis] card when I got here and then after you don't live in Alberta anymore for 3 months then you don't have membership anymore, and so it didn't make a lot of sense for me because anybody who is First Nations they are still from that community wherever they go, so I didn't understand that process and they said well apply through MNO and I said I'm not a Métis from Ontario. So I did apply and I was rejected on the basis that I didn't have my grandfather's birth certificate who is French from Quebec and I didn't understand why that would be relevant because I had my land scrip, I had my dad's, you know, information, my mom's information and community, you know, recognition from Alberta, but I was still fairly new in Ontario and so nobody knew me. I couldn't get that, community recognition here. So then I just decided and they just would hire me for performances and so they obviously recognized after a while that, I was Métis and that I had this Métis knowledge, but that they still weren't willing to give me an MNO card and then at that time I decided I don't think I want one, not because, it wasn't important to me the card, the political thing wasn't important to me. I could still access funding and I didn't have to, hold a particular card for school that is accessing funding for school. (Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female)

The research participant continues to be active in the community even though her application for a Métis Nation of Ontario card was denied, later they said she should reapply. After that happened, she decided that it was not so important because of the political aspects of the Métis card. Another male Métis research participant also explained that in order to harvest, he would have to have a card from the Métis Nation of Ontario. Since he is not from Ontario, he would rather continue to be registered in Manitoba, even though he resides in Ontario.

Well I am not living a Métis life in order for me to access anything in terms of programs

and services if I wanted to hunt here, I would need to become a member of the Métis

Nation of Ontario to have status to hunt. But I am not from Ontario. You know, so - but I

can't go back to Manitoba because in order to be a Manitoba Métis Federation member I

would have to have residency in Manitoba and I mean, my ancestry is bulletproof in terms

of birthplace, events, occupations and things like descendants of the scrip taker. You need

to have those couple of things in place say you are a Métis and have the community

support behind it and then document it with ancestry. But here I would have to be a

member of the Métis Nation of Ontario to participate in programming services and – as

long as you are a descendant, as long as you are a Métis, but you wind up being a member

of the Métis Nation of Ontario, for me it is like hockey, I mean I know it is going to sound

crazy, but I am Flyers fan, just because I live in Ottawa I can't be a Senator fan. I am a

Manitoba Métis. I was Métis before even the word Métis. (Guy Freedman, Métis, Male)

As you can see from the last two quotes it is complicated for Métis people who fit within

the official definition of Métis to register and hold a Métis card in another province. These

individuals strongly consider themselves Métis but for differing reasons are not registered for a

card with the Métis Nation of Ontario. The registry is much different than that for First Nations

Status Indians, as that registration is with the First Nation into which you were born. Such

individuals have a Status card number that is the same number for their entire life; moreover,

their registration as a Status Indian is for life, regardless of residency on or off the reserve.

The female Métis research participant who discussed being denied a Métis Nation of

Ontario card also shared that the Métis National Council is working on establishing a national

registry rather than a regional governing body registry for each province. This would be similar

to how Status Indian registration is done, regardless of residency. A national registry for Métis

would make sense since it is traced back through ancestral connection and historic community.

As explained previously, the *Powley* case outlined a definition for Métis as self-identification as

a member of a Métis community, ancestral connection to the historic Métis community whose

practices ground the right in question, and acceptance by the modern community with continuity

to the historic Métis community (MNC, 2016). In the following interview excerpt the research

participant discussed the prospect of a national registry:

> [For] Métis there is a bit of a question well, if you are a Métis, then what does that mean
> and so from my experience working with the Métis National Council I know that they are
> trying to get a national registry and that makes sense to me, let my community in Lac le
> Biche say, oh yeah, she's from Lac le Biche. She still comes home, you know, she still
> works for Métis settlements. We are from Métis settlement, so I am still recognized and
> they are proud to have me from their community and so let my community say who I am
> from or as to where I am from and if I had a national card, then I would get that, you know,
> because it makes more sense.(Jaime Koebel, Métis, Female)

There were various ways that Métis research participants connected to their identity. One

young Métis woman who was active in the Indigenous community, in particular with Indigenous

youth, spoke about how Métis identity was less about the bloodline and more about having the

link to the Métis homeland, that is, the historic communities that connected her to her Métis

identity.

> Well, for me to be Métis it's not a bloodline like it's not like I look through my family tree
> and saw that there was, a Cree woman or Indian woman and they mix with a white person
> and then all of a sudden, I'm Métis. Like it's always having that kind of place to go back

to. I met a lot of Métis people from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and they are very – they don't necessarily have a settlement but they know where their communities are.(Gabrielle Fayant, Métis, Female)

Throughout the research there was a recurring theme that many Indigenous people connect to their identity through the work that they do. In this interview a professional Métis woman who worked with the Métis Nation of Ontario explained that it was when she began working with the Métis organization that she began to connect to her identity through her work and through spending time with other Métis people.

Well because of the work that I do with the Métis Nation, it is really what has really connected me with my identity and culture. I always knew I was Métis, and was told to be proud of that and my parents were very supportive of that, and they got us connected to it, but growing up, my brother and I thought we were the only two kids that were Métis and we weren't really sure what that meant I think until we started working with other Métis people here, so the work I have done with the MNO and certainly the people here in the Ottawa area that is kind of what really keeps you rooted in that culture. (Jennifer St. Germain, Métis, Female)

Being a researcher who is First Nations, I felt it was important to explore the question of Métis self and some of the inherent challenges people face in connecting to their Métis identity. I was intrigued by my discussions with a couple of the Métis research participants about the Métis registry and how it challenged their Métis identity as an attachment to a region/place/governing organization rather than to their historic community. From my understanding, the requirement to register in the region where you live can run contrary to the desire to be registered where the individual's historic Métis community is. The registry supersedes the historic community which

poses problems for Métis identity. In order to have any legal right for harvesting, a Métis person has to register with the Métis governing organization in the region they live. Aside from the discussion about the registry, it is clear that there is a real, tangible connection that Métis people have to their historic communities and their history. As cited elsewhere in this study, the ability to work with Métis organizations can have a profound impact on connecting to Métis culture and identity, and also bringing Métis people together.

As with other Indigenous groups in Canada, the experience of being Métis is complex in how membership is determined. Another struggle is moving between provinces and not being able to register as Métis in their own community, which has presented challenges for present day Métis. Many participants talked about their homeland being their most important link to their culture and identity, not blood quantum or registry. The Métis have a rich and storied history as an Indigenous group in Canada, and the Métis research participants have brought many insightful reflections and perspectives that have enriched this study.

6.3   Indigenous Politicized Space, Social Capital, and Classless Inequality

The colonization of Indigenous people in Canada led to the acquired and assimilated habitus of mainstream culture and practices. The access that a given group has to economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) is key to understanding the life chances of individuals. The government of Canada and Indigenous people are "agents in a field" who wield power through varying types of capital not Indian agents but rather "agents" are individuals within social structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). These agents are structured in space by barriers that are reinforced by capital and signifiers. In this theoretical framework, the dominant class, the bourgeoisie, hold much more capital than the petit bourgeoisie and the working class. Social mobility relies on subtle ways agents in the field show taste and style that

underscore their ability to access cultural capital. In the Indigenous community, just as in

mainstream society, there is a wealthy bourgeoisie who have adopted the habitus of the dominant

class and participate in these fields[10] of power and hold capital over others within their own

communities. This group wields influence to exist and participate in the political field of the

mainstream society in order to participate in the formulation of law, which endows political

capital. One such field of power is Ottawa. In the state capital, a game is being played each day

between the Government of Canada, national Indigenous organizations, and mainstream political

parties, alongside individual Indigenous possessors of political capital. Exploring this social

structure reveals how Indigenous people need to exit the doxic mode[11] inherent in the

mainstream field of power, and instead work as self-determined nations to reclaim Indigenous

lifeways, effect a resurgence of traditional knowledge, and truly decolonize self and community

of this control.

In *Foundations of Pierre Bourdieu's Class Analysis*, theorist Elliot B. Weininger (2005)

outlines the concept of symbolic systems in class and boundary analysis. He posits that class

analysis "simultaneously entails an analysis of symbolic relations, roughly along the lines of the

status differentiation referred to by Weber" (p. 84). Author Erik Olin Wright (2005) in *If

"Class" is the Answer, What is the Question?* describes Bourdieu's class analysis as focusing on

the importance of symbolic classifications of lifestyle differences and collective identities, as

they are linked to class-based differences in life chances. The question, "what explains

inequalities in life chances and material standards of living?" (p. 185) is central to understanding

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[10] See footnote 10 for Bourdieu & Wacquant's definition of "field" (1992).

[11] Doxa is taken-for-granted assumptions (Bourdieu, 1977), that which is experienced as self-evident and natural, where the world of tradition is experienced as the natural, or normalized, world although it was much different than Indigenous cultures and life ways.

equality of opportunity. Wright argues that Bourdieu has the most expansive theory of life

chances based on economic, human, and cultural capital.

Bourdieu's theory of social life is primarily focused on forms of capital and fields of

relation. A field is "a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions...these

positions are objectively defined...in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or

capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field"

(Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97). The field is a non-physical space of competition for

different types of capital, outlined in *Bourdieu's Field and the Sociology of Welfare* by Michel

Peillon (1998, p. 216) as follows: (a)Economic capital, which corresponds to material wealth;

(b)Cultural capital, which covers educational credentials and cultural knowledge and goods;

(c)Social capital, which refers to the mobilisation of people through connections, social networks

and group membership; and (d)Symbolic capital, which is the form taken by all types of capital

when their possession is perceived as legitimate.

Agents in a field of power wield these different forms of capital in order to increase their

competitive advantage.

Bourdieu (1979/1984) sees dominant groups as able to access different types of capital

and influence cultural taste, which they can then use to maintain and reinforce class structures

that reinforce social inequality. Individual "taste," or choices in food, clothing, and other forms

of conspicuous consumption make clear distinctions between social status and lifestyle, which

are reflected in different vocations. More affluent and exclusive tastes are signifiers of economic,

cultural, social, and symbolic capital. As such, agents are not randomly ordered in social space,

but are individuals subject to forces that structure that space by reinforcing symbolic boundaries.

The variation in modes of access to capital leads to two types of individuals in the dominant

class: the petit bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. The dominant class or "bourgeoisie" are professionals, senior executives and employers; the "working class" are the manual workers and farm labourers; and in between are the "petit bourgeoisie" of small business owners, technicians, and teachers. Bourdieu provides an example of the distinct tastes of individuals who have the same occupation yet may be classified as members of either the bourgeoisie or petit bourgeoisie. At one extreme, there are older engineers from the middle or working class "promoted from the ranks or trained in second-rank schools"; at the other extreme are the "young engineers who have recently graduated from the *grandes écoles* and are at least second-generation members of the bourgeoisie" (p 297). Bourdieu posits that social mobility relies on the subtle ways that agents show their tastes in their "style," which is how they access cultural capital. The dominant groups are able to reinforce the class distinctions and social privilege through their tastes and access to different types of capital.

North America is a field of increased social mobility and less obvious differences between social groupings than the ostentatious display of French affluence that Bourdieau (1979/1984) portrayed in *Distinction*. Nonetheless, symbols of differentiation are just as important to class relations in North America as in France. Although the dominant class is able to distinguish itself, these class structures do not have hard boundaries, and mobility and promotion to higher social groupings is possible.

Here in Canada, the current *Indian Act* system has led to social inequality that has created differentiation and complex inequality among Indigenous individuals. In terms of style and taste in consumption, the contemporary Indigenous bourgeoisie has more in common with the dominant society than with the average Indigenous person in Canada, due to their greater access to all forms of capital. This social inequality is a colonial legacy of indirect rule, as current

Indigenous leaders have become "brown bureaucrats" mimicking the liberal democratic governance system (Monture-Angus, 1999). The colonial habitus has indirectly taught the Indigenous bourgeoisie—individuals in positions of power— how to oppress fellow community members in order to maintain their privileged positions (Friere, 2000). Some scholars argue that Indigenous leaders have become complicit in the oppression within their own communities:

> [O]ur politicians find themselves cooperating with their (former) enemies and adversaries to preserve the non-threatening, very limited resolutions they have worked with the colonial powers to create and define as end objectives...they have accommodated themselves to colonialism, not defeated it. (Alfred, 2005, p. 26)

At its very core, is the integration of *Indian Act* governance systems on reserves that created the system of *Indian Act* governance of a Chief and Council. Indigenous governance has been further eroded by individuals who have aligned themselves with Western forms of leadership and dominance.

In his book *Dances With Dependency Indigenous Success Through Self-Reliance*, Calvin Helin (2006) describes how Indigenous communities have become reliant on government transfer payments, arguing that First Nation Band Councils on reserves have become gatekeepers for the limited wealth coming into communities. Community members are unable to criticize the Band Councils lest they lose out on access to housing, employment, or other assistance. The First Nations bourgeoisie possesses and controls the economic capital of reserves, and make decisions on behalf of communities that can increase their individual privileges. The old boundaries of the underclass have faded away to bring forth a modern, educated, and often wealthy Indigenous group. This group has significant symbolic capital with access to the political powers of

representatives of the government of Canada, with whom they interact on a continual basis in the highly politicized space of Ottawa.

The inequality and differentiation between the Indigenous bourgeoisie and community members at large can be viewed as a field of power, where the Indigenous elites hold the majority of the social, economic, symbolic, and cultural capital within some communities. Bourdieu's concept of fields is fitting in this context as "a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 16). Capital and fields are interwoven, as a field can be compared to a game where players oppose one another and carry their beliefs (doxa) in a game that is fiercely competitive. Different forms of capital—economic, social, cultural, and symbolic—are wielded in the field as "both a weapon and as a stake of struggle, … which allows its possessors to wield power, and influence, and thus to exist" (ibid, p. 98). The exclusive political access of current Indigenous leaders provides this group with access to influential relationships and signifiers that allow them to cross boundaries into mainstream society. Not only does this group have the symbolic capital and electoral mandate to control decisions within their First Nations, but they also have the ability to influence the government of Canada and the direction of Canadian politics. Bourdieu referred to this political field as a site of struggle to formulate the law and endow political capital, which allows possessors access to private appropriation of goods and services (Peillon, 1998).

What is most troublesome about the relationship between the Canadian government and the Indigenous bourgeoisie is that the Indigenous elite fail to question the authority of the *Indian Act*. Indigenous identity has become so entrenched in the *Indian Act*, including the political distinctions between "status" and "non-status Indians," that the Indigenous elite no longer seeks to advance a self-determining agenda. Indigenous leadership is now so heavily invested in the

Canadian government's field of power, funding structures and in the *Indian Act*, that it is now complicit with state control.

Inequality and social differentiation have evolved to new heights for Indigenous people across Canada, with a division between those who are socially disadvantaged and who possess very little economic, cultural, social, or symbolic capital, and the few who are wealthy and powerful and who have access to all forms of capital. This inequality is played out on a daily basis in Canada's political fields of power, particularly where certain Indigenous groups hold symbolic power and know the rules of the game in national politics in Ottawa.

6.4   Summary

There were several subjects that Métis participants discussed as unique to their Indigenous experience. There have been many court cases in recent years establishing increased rights and recognition for Métis people. One of the main ones was the *Powley* case, which outlined the identification process for Métis people in Canada. Many of the participants discussed the challenges they had with living away from home and being required to register as Métis in another province, rather than the province of their actual homeland. Throughout this research, the connection to the homeland through the Indigenous diasporic (Clifford, 2007) experience has been central to the findings, and the experience of Métis also confirms this. Regardless of where Indigenous people reside, it is the connection to the homeland that remains intrinsically important to their identity and connection to culture.

One of the other main findings of the research was the extent of marginalization experienced by Indigenous single mothers in Ottawa. Many of the single mothers I interviewed discussed the challenges of working in such an affluent city, and making decent salaries but barely being able to stay out of poverty. It was the subsidies, food boxes, and support from

Indigenous programs and services that kept them going from month to month. It is sad and frustrating to hear the challenges that these hardworking single mothers have to face on a daily basis. Many of them worked their way up through accessing programs and getting training in life skills and education to go on to work full-time, yet were still barely able to make ends meet. Much more thought needs to be put into how to better support Indigenous single mothers so they do not have to face this much struggle on a daily and monthly basis.

Indigenous people continue to experience economic marginalization and inequality as a result of systemic forces with an extreme division between those who possess very little economic, cultural, social, or symbolic capital, and the few who are wealthy and powerful and who have access to all forms of capital. This reality contributes to the political reality for many Indigenous people who are disconnected from the political life and decision-making powers in Canada.

7   Chapter: Conclusion, Recommendations, Limitations and Future Research

7.1 Conclusions and Recommendations

Power, exiting doxic mode, and re-thinking habitus for decolonization.

There is a need to exit the doxic mode of "taken-for-granted assumptions (Bourdieu, 1977), that which is experienced as self-evident and natural, where the world of tradition is experienced as the natural, or normalized, world" that has been entrenched in Indigenous thinking and acted out as everyday practice in Canada since colonization. This mode of thought and action has created artificial distinctions between First Nations (Status and Non-Status), Métis, and Inuit people based on the *Indian Act*. Government-defined demarcations have naturalized the superficial separations between these groups. This is due in large part to a rights-based relationship between Indigenous populations and the government, wherein relationships are defined by treaties, and federal funding models in most places in Canada. The *Indian Act* goes so far as to define and control who has membership within these groups. The relationships between First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and other Indigenous groups would have evolved differently had the *Indian Act* never been enacted and the historical treaties and nation to nation relationships respected.

A resurgence of Indigenous thought and practices is required to undo the oppression and control within the *Indian Act*, reclaiming Indigenous control over the definition of who has membership, decision-making power, and access to their own resources. Continuing to have Indigenous groups controlled as wards of the state has created an all-encompassing, oppressive regime that has become a taken-for-granted assumption. The basis of the government relationship has focused on distinctions and what separates Indigenous groups, with an intention

to assimilate them into the dominant Canadian culture, and has weakened communal relations and rights of Indigenous people. This research was not meant to explore the historical relationship between the government and Indigenous people and Canada (which has been written about at length elsewhere), but to uncover the habitus and practices of Indigenous individual bodies, social bodies and the body politic.

A central challenge in exploring the cultural connectedness and practices of Indigenous people in cities has been to move away from the hard constructivist essentialism of the primordial or original culture, without falling into an endless proliferation of identities in a too-soft constructivist approach where there is no culture. It is necessary to maintain some sense of cultural connectedness or risk having no solid sense of self to identify with. Indigenous people in cities have been judged by the government, academia, and the mainstream population. Each assumes that Indigenous people in cities are less authentic and less connected to their culture and traditions than their on-reserve counterparts. Yet individuals do not automatically lose their traditions and assimilate into mainstream culture once they cross the city limits. The urban environment can enable Indigenous individuals to self-identify with their indigeneity, and thus connect with their Indigenous cultures. Since urban centres bring many different Indigenous cultural practices together, city dwellers have access to teachings that they may not have connected to otherwise. This has led to multiple, varied identities and the proliferation of cultural knowledge, which all hinges on being engaged and participating in Indigenous communities. In essence, there is not one, or one better way, of being Indigenous in the city.

The Indian Residential School system regulated Indigenous lives: as people lost their nationhood they also lost the knowledge and ability to practice and perform cultural practices of living on the land. Indigenous lives and identity became regulated and practices were allowed or

not allowed under the *Indian Act*. The assimilation of mainstream Western culture became the

habitus of everyday life for Indigenous people, and became normalized over generations. These

taken-for-granted assumptions are doxa (Bourdieu, 1977), where the world of tradition is

experienced as the natural, or normalized world although it was much different than Indigenous

cultures and life ways pre-contact. In order to challenge this natural world a critical discourse of

spoken words is needed, whereby Indigenous people access symbolic power to change the

colonizing habitus. This symbolic power is the power to make things with words. Indigenous

places were renamed, their significance forgotten. To counter this doxic mode, Indigenous places

must be realigned with Indigenous meaning, practices, ceremonies, and spirituality.

The process of first contact and colonization changed the relationships Indigenous people

had with the land and with each other. After colonization, Indigenous people became subject to

hegemonic systems of classification that were foreign to them. Individuals were inscribed as

Status or Non-Status Indians, Métis, or Inuit people.

The codification and limitation of indigeneity through state intervention has become a

part of the "habitus" of the Indigenous experience. In *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu

(1977) constructs the theory of how everyday practices are generated, acquired, and transmitted

among members of a given society. He aims to move beyond the opus operatum, "which

hypostatizes systems of objective relations by converting them into totalities already constituted

outside of individual history and group history" (p. 72). He instead focuses on the modus

operandi, a theory of the mode of generations of practices. The theory is a useful tool in viewing

the relations between the state, Indigenous people, and indigeneity because the classification of

individuals as Status or Non-Status Indians, Métis, or Inuit people has become a taken-for-

granted assumption that is rarely questioned.

The classification of Indigenous people was a tool of assimilation (Lawrence, 2004). Bourdieu's theory of the habitus is useful for my purposes as it accentuates the role of historical and structural forces on the embodiment of personhood for Indigenous people. The Indigenous way of life played out as practices and connections with the land became regulated under the *Indian Act* and in certain areas and controlled by the state.

The assimilation of Indigenous people in Canada occurred through the dual forces of the *Indian Act* and the Indian Residential School system, which sought to re-form actual bodies and annihilate the social life, practices, and culture of Indigenous people. The Indian Residential School system diminished individual and social intentionality, as the daily practices of Indigenous life were lost at residential schools and replaced over time with practices of the habitus of Western lifeways.

Bourdieu (1977) also put forth his notion of doxa where the world becomes self-evident and self-reproducing as natural. Through cognitive imperialism which akin to the adoption of doxic mode (as discussed in the section on Indian residential schools), Indigenous people have come to unconsciously accept the definitions of indigeneity and their own cultural practices within the confines of the *Indian Act*. Within the concept of doxa (that which is experienced as self-evident and natural), Bourdieu contended there is a universe of competing discourses of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Orthodoxy, in defending doxa, establishes an imperfect substitute and offers a "straightened opinion, which aims without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of doxa" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 169). Heterodoxy exists when the taken-for-granted assumptions of doxa are pushed back by those who are dominated and have a choice of competing possibilities. In other words in understanding the relationships of power is that 'doxa', which is the combination of both orthodox and heterodox norms and beliefs are the

unstated, taken-for-granted assumptions also known as the 'common sense' behind the distinctions we make. Doxa happens when we 'forget the limits' that have given rise to unequal divisions in society (Bourdieu 1979/1984: 471).

Bourdieu posited that crisis is a necessary means for questioning doxa but is not enough to produce a critical discourse. What is required to produce a critical discourse is a legitimation of spoken words that "derive their power from their capacity to objectify unformulated experiences, to make them public" (1977, p. 171). In order to obtain legitimization, a group must access symbolic power, "the power to make things with words" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 23). So if we recognize the power of doxic mode in our practices and the social structures that we inhabit how do we see ourselves out of this conundrum? Bourdieu proposes a solution in understanding the acquisition of symbolic power in the ability to change the ways of world-making through the possession of symbolic capital, which allows the wielder to impose recognition and present a particular vision of reality. When symbolic power is wielded as domination by one group on another Bourdieu argues that this is "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167) Symbolic violence is "the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Ibid). Bourdieu uses gender relations and class relations as examples of symbolic violence.

This "recognition" is a "set of fundamental, prereflexive assumptions that social agents engage by the mere fact of taking the world for granted, of accepting the world as it is, and finding it natural because their mind is constructed according to cognitive structures that are issued out of the very structures of the world" (Ibid, p. 168). Symbolic violence plays a central role in Bourdieu's analysis of domination. Misrecognition is "the fact of recognizing a violence which is wielded precisely inasmuch as one does not perceive it as such" (p. 168).

Misrecognition for Indigenous people is the continued oppression by Indigenous subconscious

complicity of buying into the domination of the *Indian Act* in accepting governance systems,

membership systems and living conditions on reserves. Misrecognition is way beyond

"influence" in what Bourdieu (Ibid) articulates as much more powerful and insidious:

> [B]eing born in a social world, we accept a whole range of postulates, axioms, which
>
> without saying and require no inculcating…This is why the analysis of the doxic
>
> acceptance of the world, due to the immediate agreement of objective structures and
>
> cognitive structures, is the true foundation of a realistic theory of domination and
>
> politics. Of all forms of "hidden persuasion," the most implacable is the one exerted,
>
> quite simply, by the *order of things*. (pg. 168)

Bourdieu provides the theoretical foundation to view the domination and power of the

present social structure in gaining complicity of Indigenous realities in Canada today.

Indigeneity as the knowledge and lifeways of this group has entered a doxic mode[12] through the

imposition of the *Indian Act,* whereby Indigenous people now embody these definitions as taken-

for-granted assumptions. Bourdieu contends that in order to overcome the doxic mode one must

access symbolic power to legitimate through spoken word a different reality. While defining

indigeneity through the *Indian Act* has become part of one's habitus, Bourdieu's theory of

practice would require Indigenous people to seek to interfere in the symbolic power of the state,

through recognition and a turn to produce and enact alternate, original practices that would serve

as heterodoxy to the status quo. Indigenous people must access symbolic power to legitimate

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[12] Doxa is taken-for-granted assumptions (Bourdieu, 1977), that which is experienced as self-evident and natural, where the world of tradition is experienced as the natural, or normalized, world although it was much different than Indigenous cultures and life ways.

Indigenous systems of knowing and classification through the process of decolonization, which

connects traditional practices to a resurgence of Indigenous identity and lifeways.

Decolonization is the movement away from state control and gaining recognition for

Indigenous nationhood (Alfred, 1999; Coultard 2014; Simpson 2011). Indigenous people can

utilize and access Indigenous symbolic power only through moving away from state definitions,

defining indigeneity for themselves, and enacting traditional practices and cultural resurgence.

Many Indigenous individuals have begun the process of establishing the link to their social and

cultural systems, taking incremental steps to move away from the *Indian Act* system of

governance to re-establish their own hereditary, electoral, membership, and bylaw systems.

Treaties that were signed in the colonial era, as well as more recent treaties such as the Nisga'a

Treaty and Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, have established Indigenous governing authorities

that create links to cultural traditions in contemporary times. Along with establishing

governance, Indigenous nations must also renew, reclaim, and evolve practices, traditions and

cultures in the face of hegemony.

Marginalization of Indigenous women and restoring the balance.

Chantal's story. (Pseudonym, Métis, Female)

I was at one point a homeless youth, and I accessed the Odawa Native Friendship centre's

food bank because I lived across the street, and previously I had known it was there

because an aunt had … held her reception at the friendship centre, so when I moved to that

neighborhood after getting off the street, I was still quite street involved and I started

going, like I said for the food bank, and then when I became pregnant, having the centre

across the street was a great resource and I was able to, you know, go to the prenatal and

family program there and, you know, I had asked to get connected with an Indigenous

doctor, which they facilitated which I love that doctor and it really just snowballed from there having, you know, going in and getting that referral for the name and then, you know, just getting engaged where – "Oh! Why don't you come to a prenatal class?" And I believe then they had the note vouchers and they gave out Loeb gift certificates. So, I would go religiously, and often I was the only one there, so they would give me extra Loeb money and so that was a really good incentive every week to keep going, because it was extra, you know, being on assistance and things like that when you have, you know, barely enough money to get your bus pass to get around and, you know, relying on family and food banks and things like that, that incentive to just go and, you know, I wouldn't have to wait in line at the food bank. I can just go down to the grocery store. That was a huge, huge benefit and things like the good food box and maternity clothing and stuff like that so. I was very, I guess, like self-aware about being, you know, healthy in my pregnancy and things like that, so I was pretty motivated to attend the pre-natal classes and again to me it was something positive to do with my time…eventually like through Minwaashin Lodge and their shelter I did get, you know, I was there homeless with my son. He was a year or 18 months old, and we spent the summer there and then got housing afterwards which in effect did end our homeless situation permanently.

There are so many [people]… it's either they are way below [the poverty line] or, you know, doing pretty good, but there is like many. I mean, myself and most of my peers are right in the middle where most that I know professionally are really walking a fine line. They are making enough. They are not on assistance. They are not on that poverty line, but they don't make enough, you know, to get past that paycheck to paycheck kind of life. You know, a lot of – I know a lot of my co-workers, you know, they are just as eager for the

free March break camps, and the free summer camps and, you know, things like that. If it wasn't provided by agencies, you know, they would be in real trouble. Myself I make 40,000 a year, but I mean if I don't figure out a way to pay for two kids in summer camp this summer, you know, that's – unless a lot of it is going to be free, I'm not sure how I'm going to pull it off. So, I think there are quite a few [Indigenous people in Ottawa] in the higher income bracket, but …from what I have seen it's for the most part it's people who have like huge family support. My cousin actually works at Carleton and, you know, she has grown up on the reserve, she has family here, she has family there. She does a little of everything lives traditionally and, you know, she makes good money. She went to university. She had that support whereas in my family where it's kind of disconnected we have, you know, most of us started on assistance or are still there. So, I see the split but I think there's, you know, a good population in that gap that are struggling to cope. Interviewer: That's interesting. So, you actually think people who are [earning] between the 20k and the 60k who are, making a reasonable income but still just barely making it? Interviewee: Yeah, the working poor absolutely.

   Economic marginalization is a theme I discerned through this research project that particularly affects single, Indigenous women in the city. Many of the Indigenous professionals belonging to the upper income bracket have significant economic capital and do not need to access programs and services at any of the Indigenous organizations in Ottawa. However other research has shown that upwardly mobile Indigenous women give back through community development in cities (Howard-Bobiwash, 2003). At the other extreme, the group with the least social, cultural, symbolic, and economic capital is single mothers. These women have an

economic imperative to use social programs and services just to stay above the poverty line.

Single mothers require subsidies in child care, food banks, and bus passes in order to survive

from one month to the next.

The marginalization of Indigenous women in Canada is apparent through their increased

likeliness to live below the poverty line. Low income affects about one in five single parents, of

whom nine out of ten are lone mothers (Statistics Canada, 2013). Many people in Canada do not

realize how precarious the economic situation is for many Indigenous women and how

vulnerable they are to becoming homeless. The situation is further exacerbated for single

Indigenous women with children as "37 per cent of First Nations females (off-reserve) live in

poverty (below Canada's low-income cut-offs), as do 23 per cent of Métis and Inuit females; 18

per cent of Aboriginal women aged 15 and over are single parents" (O'Donnell & Wallace,

2011). For this reason, additional time has been taken to further investigate the economic reality

for Indigenous women and girls brought forward in the research interviews.

Marginalized urban Indigenous women in Ottawa, even those who are working, are living

a fine line between making rent, and falling into poverty and homelessness: "40% of single

Indigenous mothers earn less than $12,000 per year" (UATF, 2007a, p. 62), consistent with

research conducted in Vancouver suggesting that "70% of street prostitutes working the most

dangerous and lowest paying 'tracks' in the Downtown Eastside were Indigenous women under

the age of twenty-six, and most are mothers" (as cited in Culhane 2004). The intense

vulnerability and poverty of urban Indigenous women has moved them into a position of marked

invisibility, as Indigenous women are subject to an intensification of the marginalization inherent

in a settler society. It is necessary to "acknowledge the specific vulnerability and overexposure

of Indigenous women to sexual exploitation, violence, and murder that has historically, and continues to be a fact of Canadian life" (Culhane, 2004, p. 598).

Many Indigenous women struggle to rearticulate and reclaim representations of themselves (public and private) against the overexposure of their lives. In the alleys and streets of cities across Canada, Indigenous women and their bodies are treated as the dehumanized racial other, implicitly justified by "values that deem certain bodies and subjects in specific spaces as undeserving of full nationhood" (Razack, 2002). In these places one can see the multiple constructions between the white settler society, with businesses in the front and poverty in the back-end alleyways. Multilocality (Rodman, 1992) means that in any city, Aboriginal women walk between two worlds of access/privilege and social inclusion (Howard-Bobiwash, 2003) and exclusion:

> Physical intersection of power and space in Vancouver's DTES, where processes of gentrification and property development have generated specific methods for governing places and bodies. The security guard invoked another divide, telling Amy to 'go back to the reserve'—a place where she feels neither estranged nor 'at home'. (Robertson, 2007, p. 528)

In research on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls found rates of violence, including domestic violence and sexual assault, is 3 to 5 times higher for Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal women in Canada (Brzozowski, Taylor-Butts, & Johnson, 2006; Native Women's Association of Canada [NWAC], 2010). Aboriginal women also experience the most severe forms of violence, including being sexually assaulted, beaten, choked, or threatened with a gun or a knife (Brennan, 2011). Young Aboriginal women are five times more likely than other Canadian women of the same age to die of violence (Amnesty International, 2014). The *Truth*

and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action (TRCA, 2015) has pressed for the Canadian

government to start an inquiry into this gendered violence: "we call upon the federal

government, in consultation with Aboriginal organizations, to appoint a public inquiry into the

causes of, and remedies for, the disproportionate victimization of Aboriginal women and girls"

(Para 41). As a result of the ongoing violence against Indigenous women in Canada, the federal

government agreed to a *National Inquiry on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and*

Girls in December 2015.

The Native Women's Association of Canada has been leading the research and strategy

on the violence against Indigenous women for close to a decade, and has published several

reports on the issue at the international level that point to the high incidence of violence in cities.

The *Fact Sheet on Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls* (NWAC, 2010) reports

that:

> The majority of cases occurred in urban areas, but resources are also needed in
>
> rural and on-reserve communities. Of the cases where this information is known,
>
> 70% of the women and girls disappeared from an urban area and 60% were found
>
> murdered in an urban area. Only a small number of cases occurred on-reserve (7%
>
> of missing cases and 13% of murder cases). While the majority of cases occurred
>
> in urban areas, this violence often has a direct impact on rural or reserve
>
> communities. Most Aboriginal peoples living in urban areas maintain close ties to
>
> their home communities. The shock and grief of a missing or murdered
>
> community member impacts the entire community, no matter where the violence
>
> takes place. (n.p.)

The marginalization of Indigenous women leads to their vulnerability, particularly in low income areas where drug addiction and prostitution are part of the lived experience (NWAC, 2010). The norms and expectations of dominant society are subverted in these poverty stricken urban areas, with differential power relations, contested and negotiated constructions of place, and shared narratives. While those who live in these contested areas maintain shared narratives "of a place demarcated by individual and collective histories of social suffering, women arrive at a sense of belonging through recognition of mutual (albeit distinct) journeys to the social margins" (Robertson, 2007, p. 539). The dialectical approach of feminism emphasizes the significance of multiple knowledges, "developing self-defined, group-based standpoints that, in turn, can foster the type of group solidarity necessary for resisting oppressions" (Hill-Collins, 2000, p. 275). Indigenous women have to be concerned about a double oppression from mainstream society and within their own communities. Those women who take an Indigenous feminist stance are accused of betraying their own people and nation if they challenge oppression (St. Denis, 2007). Although their experiences may have been vastly different, women who experience social exclusion bond together because they have arrived at the same place and can relate to each other's daily struggles and challenges.

Indigenous women require safe spaces and spaces of resistance. The development of drop-in centres, social housing, shelters, and transition houses that are safe from public and private violence provide spaces for leadership to organize Indigenous voices (Culhane, 2004, p 599). To achieve emancipation, First Nations people must begin to claim spaces of resistance to hegemony, patriarchy and the symbolic violence inherent within the social structures in which they exist. One of the best ways that emancipation can be achieved is through feminist praxis and employing safe spaces. There are many uses of the concept of safe spaces or sights of

resistance. These spaces are "pockets of possibility…[where] hope is cultivated in these 'safe'

spaces…[they] offer recuperation, resistance, and the makings of 'home' (Fine & Weis, 1998,

p.275). These foundations of resistance for Indigenous women are strong families, role models,

community, language, storytelling, and a relationship with the land to provide strength against

oppression (Anderson, 2000). This also involves Indigenous women in communities, in

particular those who overcome marginalization, as upwardly mobile supporters of community

development and cultural pride (Howard-Bobiwash, 2003). Mohanty talks about these spaces as

"communities of resistance…the necessity of forming 'resistant/oppositional' communities"

(Mohanty, 2003, p.47). Building these connections, organizations, and networks is key to

empowerment for Indigenous women, for whom "capitalist systems ravage our collective ways

of being…differences in forms of oppression result in different strategies…finding our voice to

articulate our realities despite contradictions is our way to liberation" (Blaney, 2004). More

recent movements such as Idle No More provide a further example of community resistance led

by Indigenous women and spaces of resistance.

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foundations of resistance for Indigenous women are strong families, role models, community,

language, storytelling, and a relationship with the land to provide strength against oppression

(Anderson, 2000). Indigenous women need to claim more spaces of resistance both in

communities and in non-First Nations communities.

A central consideration in developing safe spaces and sites of resistance for Indigenous

women is that this is not just a story of social exclusion and street life. I spoke with several single

mothers who worked full-time and were successful, contributing members within their community – yet were barely able to make their rent and buy food for their children. Securing employment and completing educational studies do not guarantee a living wage, given the rising costs of housing in Canadian cities and the cost of childcare. A lack of an affordable, national childcare program in Canada has detrimental effects for single mothers who are barely making it by. It risks sending them into further poverty, or worse leaves them unable to work and in poverty.

Wesley-Esquimaux (2009) maintains that as Indigenous communities in North America experienced cultural and social fragmentation during colonization, "damage radiated from the heart and centre of the family – the women – and temporarily shattered the hoop that ensured balance in life" (p. 13). This fragmentation resulted in the displacement of Indigenous people and identities and ultimately led to hegemony and acculturation. The step forward needed for decolonization is bringing the Indigenous gaze back to the sacred hoop through deconstructing historic trauma to regain control of Indigenous spaces; using our stories to proclaim our collective power; and reinforcing social action in our communities, both urban and rural, to "victorize" (p. 28) our academic and life experiences to reframe the past. Castellano (2009) calls for Indigenous communities to reconstruct – through healing, education, justice, economic development, or nation building (the goal is the same) -- the "ethical rules that give expression to values" (p. 232), which she terms the "ethical universe" based on cultural renewal and healing. She sees "restoring the balance" (ibid, p. 233) between male and female gifts as the medicine needed for personal, community, and nation healing.

Decolonization is not only about institutions and political systems. It is also about empowering all members of Indigenous communities to participate in and benefit from change.

Indigenous women need to become the centre of the circle again as leaders within Indigenous communities, effectively hold men and the community at large responsible for their actions, and move away from androcentric governance that mimics the colonial structure.

As Monture-Angus states, "the only way to really change things for Indigenous people…will come when the women stand up" (Monture-Angus, 1999, p. 15). Colonial policies eroded the power and leadership positions that women held in Indigenous communities, which clashed with European androcentric ideals. Traditional Indigenous systems of governance were based on a holistic perspective that colonization eroded. Just as Elders and young people have roles in our communities, women have central roles as well.

An example of the role that Indigenous women held before contact comes from Smith (1999), who outlines how Maori women brought a claim against the Waitangi Tribunal because the English translation of a "chief" was assumed to be only male. Maori women have gone to great lengths using texts, research, and oral testimony to establish their "rangatiratanga," or "chiefly and sovereign status, of Maori women." They have been "compelled to prove that Maori women were as much rangatira (chiefs) as Maori men" (Smith 1999, p. 46). In another case amongst the Mohawk, Taiaiake Alfred describes how Kanien'kehaka' women had a significant role in their traditional Rotinohshonni societies. Although the leadership was male, women had the specific right to select them, and the responsibility to hold them accountable. In this traditional view, there were socially instituted links "between those charged with the responsibility of decision making and those who…live[d] with the consequences of their decisions" (Alfred, 1999, p. 91).

Through cultural imperialism, women have been denied their strong positions of leadership in Indigenous communities. The impact of this sexism has been devastating to Indigenous women, who continue to experience it both inside and outside their communities:

> Not only have Native women been subjected to violence in both white and Native societies, but we have also been subjected to patriarchal policies that have dispossessed us of our inherited rights, lands, identities, and families. Native women continue to experience discrimination through the Indian Act, inadequate representation in Native and mainstream organizations, lack of official representation in self-government discussions, under-and/or unequal employment, and ghettoization of the educated Native woman…encircling Native people in ever-tighter grips of landlessness and marginalization, hence, of anger, anomie and violence, in which women are the more obvious victims. (LaRocque, 1996, p. 11)

When the mothers of any community experience such pain and disconnection, the entire community begins to fall apart. Decolonization and cultural resurgence require Indigenous women to take back their traditional roles and power within their communities.

Resurgence and naming our world: Healing, cultural renewal, reclamation, and restoration.

The move towards decolonization is not simple or straightforward. The many years of colonization have led to the loss of culture, language, traditions, land, and life-ways. The process of decolonization is complex and will be a task for many generations. Indigenous people have never disappeared, despite the ongoing process of colonization, assimilation, and pervasive Western hegemony. Ahead is the challenge of determining how Indigenous nations will

decolonize as there is no one way to achieve decolonization. To try to impose the same model on everyone would disrespect and undermine their self-determination. Each Indigenous community and Nation has to determine what decolonization consists of for themselves, and integrate that vision into their activities and communities as they see fit, whether through a return to more land based activities; a focus on healing and cultural renewal; the resurgence of spiritual, social, and political systems; the reacquisition of lost lands; direct or militant action or a combination of approaches.

The struggle of cultural imperialism continues today, regardless of where Indigenous people reside. Colonization in large part devastated the connection of Indigenous people to the land and caused a loss of language and cultural practices. To move forward with decolonization and cultural resurgence, Indigenous people must confront the funding mentality of Indigenous groups (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit) that has been imposed by the Canadian government by reintegrating ancient treaty relationships which included nation-to-nation negotiation, diplomatic mechanisms, and other political strategies (Asch 2014; Simpson, 2009). However, the specific process of decolonization and resurgence looks different in each Nation, for each person, family, and community. Whether the resurgence and self-determination begins at home (Monture-Angus, 1999) or a pan-Indigenous collectivity, "it moves from being an individual act, vision or commitment, to one that functions on the level of a family" (Simpson, 2011, p. 144). From the individual to the collective the journey to renewal, restoration, reconciliation, transformation, and decolonization are the destination (Alfred, 2009; Castellano, 2009; Corntassel, 2008; Coultard, 2014; LaRoque, 2009; Simpson, 2011; Wesley-Esquimaux, 2009) .

Taiaiake Alfred (1999) defines decolonization as "the mechanics of removing ourselves from direct state control and the legal and political struggle to gain recognition of an Indigenous

governing authority" (pp. 2-3). Some participants in the movement towards cultural resurgence contend that seeking the recognition of rights through Western, state-defined law is a reproduction of colonial power (Coultard, 2007). A focus on the "peoplehood" model is an ongoing, spiritual foundation for Indigenous people to begin the process of decolonization from within (Corntassel, 2008). Proponents of this alternative approach argue that Indigenous people have become so involved in seeing themselves through the colonial framework that they do not see how the hegemony has imbedded itself in their very language:

> When Indigenous Peoples discuss the meaning of self-government and /or self-determination, we are forced to do it in a language that is not our own. We must express our ideas in English or in French, both of which epitomize our colonial experiences. It is almost solely Indigenous energy that fosters the accommodations that are required to carry on both the political and legal dialogues in either of the Canadian colonial languages. This is a particular experience of colonial oppression. (Monture-Angus, 1999, p. 22).

It is imperative that Indigenous people begin to define themselves through their own traditions and independence, recognize the doxic mode and social violence of structural systems and not through the limited scope of the Canadian constitution. The task for Indigenous groups is to move towards full self-governance if decolonization is to be achieved, not partial or municipal structures that are only replications of colonial governance. "Further, self-government that only allows Indigenous people to assume some but not all powers of Indigenous governance actually operates to further imbed destructive colonial relationships in our communities, all the time under the guise of offering real change and hope" (Monture-Angus, 1999, p. 29). Vine Deloria Jr. makes a compelling argument along the same lines when he writes that "self-

government implies that the people were previously incapable of making any decisions for themselves and are now ready to assume some, but not all, of the responsibilities of a municipality" (Deloria & Lytle, 1984, pp. 13-14).

At the center of Indigenous societies are the values of respect, sharing, and territorial protection. As Monture-Angus notes, "the Indigenous view of land rights encompasses both a notion of time as occupation (past, present and future) and a notion of spiritual occupation or connection…the relationship to land is seen not solely as a right but equally as a responsibility" (Monture-Angus, 1999, p. 57). All Indigenous people look to their traditions for a sense of identity through their self-defined nationhood.

Indigenous people in Canada have initiated many entry points into decolonization over the last twenty years, from academic writings to the Idle No More movement. Decolonization brings unease to the dominant settler society because it seeks to motivate non-Indigenous citizens into taking action to remove guilt from the past through reconciliation and a disruption to the status quo. Other approaches include the restoration of land-based practices and supporting traditional diets; emphasizing the transmission of cultural knowledge and values from Elders to youth; strengthening traditional governance systems, including familial activities and cultural and social institutions; and moving towards sustainable land-based economies (Alfred, 2005). Many believe Indigenous people have a responsibility to future descendants through "seven generations," which requires a transformation all of our systems so that natural resources are reused, consumption reduced, and further waste production is cut (LaDuke, 1999). This facet of resurgence is focused on the restoration of traditional practices, caring for the earth, governing systems, and ways of life.

Indigenous scholar Leanne Simpson (2011) shares her stories of Nishnaabeg resurgence in *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back*, and argues that in the path to political and cultural resurgence much work needs to be undertaken to decolonize Indigenous-State relations, but more importantly, "transformation will come from focusing on ourselves and within our own nations" (p. 19). Simpson stresses that recognition from the state is a waste of time as there has been no will shown by the state to change, while resurgence must be centred on indigeneity to "reclaim and re-politicize the context and nature of Anishnaabeg thought" (p. 20). Simpson calls upon Indigenous people to "delve into their own culture's stories, philosophies, theories and concepts to align themselves with the processes and forces of regeneration, revitalization, remembering, and vision…propelling us to new social spaces based on justice and peace" (p. 148). Simpson calls for a personal, individual resurgence that leads to broader family, community, and nation level change. Simpson is critical of the reconciliation movement and absolving Canada of responsibility when there has not been any change in how the government engages with Indigenous people, and she argues for "Aanji Maajitaawin: [which means] to start over, the art of starting over, to regenerate" (p. 22). Through regenerating, she contends, the needed re-balancing in the Indigenous-state relationship will occur to a Nishnaabeg perspective that is restorative.

Through revitalizing the lost identities of their communities, Indigenous people can begin to reconstruct their nationhood. These traditional systems ensured that people were not exploiting their resources for the accumulation of material items, and that community members collectively looked after the needs of one another. Indigenous people need not look to the government to acknowledge their sovereignty; this self-governing power and authority can come from genuinely implementing Indigenous governance systems. With functional governance

systems grounded in traditional language and practice, it does not matter what position the state takes towards Indigenous people.

For some Indigenous people and communities the process of decolonization centres on healing, moving forward, and finding meaningful connections with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC, 2017) has included culture as one of its 12 social determinants of health, as the dominant cultural values lead to marginalization and devaluation of both languages and culture, and contribute to a lack of access to culturally appropriate health care and services. Providing culturally appropriate programs and services to urban Indigenous populations increases self-esteem, resilience, and overall health, including mental health.

The *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* (TRCA, 2015) cites 94 different actions to "redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation" (Para 1). The calls to action are based on six focus areas including child welfare, education, language and culture, health, justice, and reconciliation. The commission calls up on the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal governments to "fully adopt and implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People* as the framework for reconciliation" (Para 43) with a basis in the Royal Proclamation and treaties to affirm the nation-to-nation relationship with the Crown to ensure Indigenous people in Canada are full partners in Confederation (Para 45). Broadly, the transition from healing to reconciliation and holistic components proposed for a residential school resolution include:

> Acknowledgement, naming the harmful acts and admitting that they were wrong; redress, taking action to compensate for harms inflicted; healing, restoring physical, mental, social/emotional, and spiritual balance in individuals, families, communities, and nations;

and reconciliation, accepting one another following injurious acts or periods of conflict and

developing mutual trust. (Castellano, 2008, p. 385)

Taken together, the movement towards renewal, restoration, reconciliation, and

transformation lays down the needed healing foundation for decolonization. Monique D. Auger

(2016) conducted a metasynthesis of 11 qualitative studies that show how culture in Indigenous

communities is more than identity, and should be emphasized through renewal and restoration as

cultural connectedness/continuity are required to initiate healing and empowerment. Across the

studies there were five key themes: the connection between cultural continuity and health and

wellbeing; conceptualizations of cultural continuity and connectedness; the role of knowledge

transmission; journeys of cultural (dis)continuity; and barriers to cultural continuity. Auger

(2016) found that theories of acculturation were harmful to communities, and a focus on cultural

continuity/connectedness is necessary for healing, well-being, and identity. Cultural

connectedness is how integrated Indigenous youth are to their culture (Snowshoe et al, 2014) and

can be measured by identity, traditional and cultural activities, and spirituality (ibid p. 249).

Cultural continuity (Greenwood & de Leeuw, 2012; Kirmayer, Tait, & Simpson, 2009;

Loppie-Reading & Wien, 2009) set the foundation for cultural connectedness as it covers the

intergenerational cultural connectedness of Elders who pass traditions on to family and

community (Loppie-Reading & Wien, 2009). Culture is one of the single most important

elements in self-esteem and resiliency. Previous research on the connection between Indigenous

youth and suicide in 198 British Columbia First Nations found that those with increased

infrastructure, and which were farther along in the self-determination agenda, showed increased

levels of cultural continuity which led to significantly lower levels of suicide. The six factors

were: (a) self-government, (b) engagement in land claims, (c) existence of education services, (d)

tribal-controlled police and fire services, (e) on-reserve health services, and (f) existence of

cultural facilities (Chandler & Lalonde, 1998). While there remains some discussion on the

circularity of the argument, subsequent research considered only language (Hallett et al., 2007),

and found that communities that had higher levels of Indigenous language preservation showed

significantly lower levels of suicide. In other research on American Indian women in Denver

(Lucero, 2014) found:

> The phenomenological structures…indicated that cultural identity and cultural
>
> connectedness were distinct constructs. The women conceptualized cultural identity as a
>
> stable understanding of self…while cultural connectedness was seen to be created by three
>
> interacting elements: relatedness to, and social interactions with, other Native people;
>
> active cultural involvement; and cultural knowledge. (p. 9)

Lindy-Lou Flynn (2011) found that in a Vancouver centre, cultural teachings were

important to symbolic healing. The Indigenous cultures of the Plains in particular were

accessible in the city as sweats, sundances, and drumming are mobile.

> For many individuals, connecting to a pan-Indigenous culture has produced an inter-tribal
>
> healing and empowerment movement. Pan-Indigenous culture, the drum and pow-wows
>
> have the power to heal, "I went to Round Lake….they taught me…about being Native,
>
> about being proud of my culture, about sage, about sweetgrass ceremonies, sweat lodge"
>
> (Wally Awasis in Flynn, 2011, pp. 230-231).

These cultural activities can be set up anywhere, and are inclusive of all Indigenous people,

as they are organized through Friendship Centres connected to universities and Indigenous

organizations in cities. This is more difficult for cultures that have standing structures such as

longhouses and for whom ceremony is deeply tied to clan systems and familial teachings which

do not accommodate large numbers of outsiders. For this reason Flynn (2011) argues that Plains culture and ceremony are easily adopted by large numbers of Indigenous people in cities.

Cultural continuity also positions culture as being dynamic through the preservation of collective memory, which may change over time (LaRocque, 2011). Kiera Ladner (2009) in her article *Understanding the Impact of Self-Determination on Communities in Crisis* makes the connection between health and self-determination, saying that while "governance and community health is largely ignored in the literature, it is crystal clear that there is a primary relationship between the two" (p. 88). Ladner (2009) discusses several facets of well-being and governance including the existence of a direct correlation between good governance and economic success (community well-being) (Cornell, 2006; Cornell & Kalt, 1995; as cited in Ladner 2009, p. 92); the role of cultural continuity (Chandler and Lalonde, 1998); and the role of public policy institutes in the discussion where policy innovation is needed for Indigenous governance if health is to improve (Abele, 2004). Ladner (2009) calls upon Indigenous communities to embrace radical transformation to achieve the resiliency needed for change:

> What is required is nothing less than radical transformation. Indigenous communities, and indeed indigenous governance, requires radical transformation if some semblance of honourable governance is to be achieved….Allowing traditions and languages to guide this process will make it honourable and/or will make honourable governance achievable for indigenous worldviews, understanding of family and community, and responsibilities are embedded therein. (p. 98)

There are viewpoints that are critical of the healing agenda (LaRoque, 2009) as a distraction to the decolonization, as "the language of 'healing' assumes woundedness and invites therapy….[and] assumes personal responsibility; the language of decolonization assumes a

confrontation with colonial forces and the rearrangement of the status quo" (p. 170). Others

stress that reconciliation has become a government process and is not going to achieve

decolonization (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Simpson, 2009). Even members of the settler society

believe that reconciliation is only meant to assuage colonial guilt, and not sincerely right the

wrongs of the past (Regan, 2010). However, it remains difficult to see a path to decolonization

without the work of healing ourselves and our communities in order to strengthen the Indigenous

individual body, social body and the body politic. I see healing, renewal, restoration,

reconciliation, and transformation as parallel dimensions and paths within and to decolonization.

Indigenous people also seek to reconnect with their identity through language

revitalization and the use of oral traditions. The oral tradition is the practice of teaching through

stories passed on from one generation to the next and is integral to Indigenous culture and

personhood. It enables people to connect to the past and look to the future through stories and

place names passed down from their ancestors. Smith discusses the disconnection that occurs

when traditional territories, rivers, and places were renamed in English as the "newly named land

became increasingly disconnected from the songs and chants used by Indigenous peoples to trace

their histories, to bring forth spiritual elements or to carry out the simplest of ceremonies"

(Smith, 1999, p. 51). From this perspective, self-determination cannot be negotiated in the

language of the oppressor; Indigenous people will not find justice in the courts. In other words,

as Monture-Angus states, "by wedding ourselves to the decisions of the past, we continue to

entrench in present-day form, the oppressive relations of Canadian, British and French history"

(Monture-Angus, 1999, p. 59). The road to decolonization lies within a recognition of alternate

governance structures and implementation of languages and cultural practices. McIvor,

Napoleon, & Dickkie (2009) found the connection between Indigenous language and culture was

a protective factor against risk: "six linked themes emerged as protective factors against health issues; land and health, traditional medicine, spirituality, traditional foods, traditional activities and language" (p. 6).

If Indigenous people learn their traditional languages, name their world, and integrate this rearticulated world along with a renewal of cultural practices, they will be able to rediscover the value systems and worldviews inherent in these languages. For example, Indigenous languages can assist Indigenous people to re-establish the connection to the land, viewed not as a piece of property to be owned, but with respect as the giver of life. By reclaiming the symbolic power of naming, Indigenous people can begin the first steps necessary to break from state control. It is difficult for Indigenous people to institute autochthonous forms of governance while they continue to be based on the English language and Western democratic values and rule of law. In this sense, Indigenous languages are the key to self-determination, self-governance, and deep decolonization.

Indigenous languages are critically important to protecting and evolving Indigenous traditions. Naming is intrinsically important to culture, as it is "the symbolic struggle over the production of common sense . . . for the monopoly of legitimate naming, that is to say, official – i.e. explicit and public – imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world." (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 731). By tapping into the symbolic power systems of naming and language revitalization, Indigenous people would be able to renew their individual and collective identities

– and overcome the doxic mode[13] of Western hegemony and governmentality – through oral traditions and Indigenous epistemologies.

Indigenous power lies in the ability to access autochthonous knowledge, reinstitute traditional systems of classification and naming, and renew social and cultural practices. Bourdieu (1979) argued for "official nomination, an act of symbolic imposition that has behind it all the strength of the collective, the consensus, the common sense" (p. 732). What is challenging for Indigenous people in contemporary times is that identity is intrinsically entwined with government regulation through the *Indian Act* and through a history of imperialism enacted through legislation. The problem is that the relationship has not changed and that Indigeneity continues to be defined through government legislation, and through the co-optation of vital Indigenous self-determination. However, there has been a resurgence of decolonization through social, cultural and traditional practices and a move away from Western habitus and symbolic violence, not because we are required to have traditional ways of life but because these were Indigenous practices before colonization.

The future of Indigenous communities and path to recognition, cultural renewal, reclamation, reconciliation, healing and decolonization are paths that Indigenous communities themselves must set out. There are many ways to achieve decolonization but the path is necessary for our individual personhood, nationhood, environment and the seven generations after us.

7.2 Limitations of the Research

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[13] Doxa is taken-for-granted assumptions (Bourdieu, 1977), that which is experienced as self-evident and natural, where the world of tradition is experienced as the natural, or normalized, world although it was much different than Indigenous cultures and life ways.

I formally began my fieldwork in February 2011 and completed it in May 2012. I felt well-positioned to undertake this project as an urban Indigenous person who had resided in Ottawa for three years, with the basis of a local network, as well as a national network established through previous employment with an Indigenous policy research think tank and work with Indigenous organizations. I had been building networks informally by becoming more active in the urban Indigenous community through participation in cultural events and participation in several programs for Indigenous women with children. However, this posed some limitations, as it focused opportunities for participant observation to a predominantly urban Indigenous middle-class group -- although many in this group are instrumentally involved in the Indigenous community in Ottawa.

In the general sense I was pleased with the recruitment process. Initially I had some challenges recruiting participants and several cancellations of scheduled interviews. Given the nature of my networks many of the research participants were working in Indigenous organizations in Ottawa, and also in the federal government. It would have been beneficial to have more participants from lower income brackets that could have been cross-referenced with experiences from higher income brackets. However, it was more difficult to recruit lower income bracket participants likely as a result of my networks. I had originally intended to include Inuit people within my research and I did have a couple Inuit people contact me for interviews, which I tried to arrange, but in the end one did not schedule an interview and the other cancelled. For future research I will likely focus on one cultural grouping such as specifically First Nations or Métis.

Another aspect of the research that was challenging was the process of learning to use the video camera and audio recorder and the practice of shooting video. I did attend training

workshops and a class on video ethnography, but it was a steep learning curve that is very technical. After I completed the research, I had problems editing the footage because of the large sizes of each video file.

7.3 Suggestions for Future Research

This research focused on the experiences and practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa, Ontario. I did not have many research participants experiencing extreme marginalization. Future research could expand the focus beyond single, Indigenous mothers, to better understand the challenges and needs of marginalized Indigenous people in Ottawa. In addition, I was not able to secure any interviews with Inuit people residing in Ottawa. There has been some research with Inuit groups in Ottawa, but more is needed. Another area where there is a lack in the research in Ottawa is on the young Indigenous population. What are their experiences and their participation in Indigenous lifeways in Ottawa? My sample was focused on adults over the age of 18, so I did not explore the experiences of Indigenous youth. Research specifically on that sub-population would be valuable to understanding the experiences of urban Indigenous youth and how they may or may not be participating in decolonization.

Another area of future research would be a comparative perspective between major cities in Canada. Winnipeg and Vancouver both have large Indigenous populations with a large service delivery context. Yet neither has the same political context as Ottawa, which is the Canadian capital. It would be interesting to understand if the Indigenous experience is vastly different or if there are any commonalities.

7.4 Summary

The main conclusions of the research followed the two main lines of inquiry on the Indigenous experience today in Ottawa and on the cultural practices and their variations between

Indigenous groups. The research confirms the other literature that Indigenous cultures are heterogeneous. The Indigenous experience today is a continuum of many different experiences and to essentialize Indigenous cultures is to doubly oppress Indigenous people. Double oppression comes through hegemony and by the adoption of the *Indian Act* distinctions as habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). This leads people to believe that some practices and Indigenous cultures are more Indigenous or have more status than others.

Based on the multiple Indigenous experiences today and systemic issues from colonization and the Indian residential school, services – in particular cultural programming – are key to fostering identity, self-esteem, healing, and overall positive mental health. Organizations where Indigenous people in the city can access programs and services are also gathering places that act as containers for the transmission and sharing of culture and friendship. In moving forward, decolonization and resurgence of Indigenous lifeways are important projects, both for both nations and each individual to determine, as the approaches to decolonization are as different as the cultures themselves.

The practices of Indigenous people in Ottawa correspond with the Indigenous diasporic (Clifford, 2013) experience. Returns to the homeland are important for First Nations and Métis people. Many Indigenous people had to leave their homelands in a forced expulsion (Hannerz,1989) that could be described as transnationalism that causes disconnection and displacement. This can also be experienced positively through "nomadic tendencies" (Darnell, 2011) and the acquisition of resources in the city (rather than hunting and fishing as in decades past). However, many Indigenous people adapt to city life and come to view the city as home and find economic stability (Environics, 2010). So the city should not be viewed in only a negative social deficit context, for it can also present cultural vitality and hope. Many Indigenous

people who leave their homeland, or do not have one, are in the homeland of another Indigenous group. Indigenous people who have been disconnected from their identity because of the Indian residential school, adoption, or fostering have had the most challenge in connecting to their identity.

One area of concern in the cultural aspects of Indigenous people in cities is the low acquisition of Indigenous languages. Increased support for learning and practicing languages, which are intrinsically connected to the resurgence of Indigenous lifeways, is imperative for decolonization.

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Appendix A

Transcription Confidentiality Agreement

Title of Research Project: Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and
Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People

Date of Ethics Clearance: February 3, 2011

Researcher: Cheryl Matthew

Method: Semi-Structured Interviews and Talking Circles

Ethics Clearance for Data Collection Expires: May 31, 2012

This is to certify the confidentiality agreement made between Cheryl Matthew, the researcher, and <<the transcription service >>
_____

- I understand that all interviews submitted by Cheryl Matthew for transcription are strictly confidential, and agree that no details will be revealed to any third party unless specifically authorised by the Cheryl Matthew.

- The transcription service will return all original documentation relating to the interviews (CDs, original documents, disks etc) on receipt of invoice of payment.

- The transcription service will delete any work completed that relates to the interviews (notes, transcripts etc) on receipt of invoice of payment.

Signed by: _____

          Signatory, Transcription Service   Date:

Signed by: _____

          Cheryl Matthew, Research   Date:

Letter of Information

Dear

Letter of Information

Title of Research Project:	Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People
Date of Ethics Clearance:	February 3, 2010
Researcher:	Cheryl Matthew
Ethics Clearance for Data Collection Expires:	May 31, 2012

Re: Invitation to be a Research Participant

I would like to take this opportunity to introduce myself, my name is Cheryl Matthew and I am a PhD student in anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University and from the Simpcw First Nation in BC. My research is being overseen by my co-supervisors ███████████████████████ of Carleton University. I have included their contact information at the end of this letter.

The purpose of the research is to explore the culture and identity of urban Aboriginal people in the city through places such as organizations and also through relationships built through networks in the city and participation in programs, services, conferences, events, and ceremonies in creating a shared culture. One of the main purposes of the research is to produce a film on urban Aboriginal culture and identity in the city.

I am contacting you as I would like to extend an invitation to you to become a participant in the research and to participate in a **semi-structured 60 to 120 minute video or audio recorded interview.**

The topic of the interview will be on your thoughts and experiences of urban Aboriginal culture and identity as a resident of the city. I may also contact you later to attend a 3 hour Talking Circle to discuss the themes that have come out of the research.

The research interviews and talking circles will be video recorded and/or audio recorded with a photograph of you. However, there are no anticipated risks, discomforts, inconveniences, or deception involved in participating in this research. In order to minimize any risk to you in conducting this research, standard conduct will be followed such as informed consent and not requiring you to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with, being able to stop the interview at any time, the ability to withdraw from the research within three months of receiving your interview video, audio, photographs or summary of interview. Participants are required to contact the researcher and let me know by phone, email, mail or fax that they would like to withdraw from the research. You will be invited to keep the materials but the video and/or summary of interview and any field notes will be removed from the research data and destroyed.

Before you consider participating it is important that you know that there will not be any anonymity in the video recorded portions of the research project. Research participants have the choice of video or audio recording their interviews*. **If confidentiality is required audio recordings can be kept anonymous***. The first part of the interview will be demographic questions that will not be video or audio recorded and will be stored separately and confidentially with a unique study identifier number.

Only the researcher and transcriptionist will have access to the data. And a confidentiality agreement will be signed by the transcriptionist.

There are benefits to your participation in this research which include the opportunity for urban Aboriginal people to talk about the positive aspects of city life, and what it brings to their life, and how they have benefitted from participating in the urban Aboriginal community. As a token of my appreciation I will also provide a small gift as compensation/honourarium for being involved in the research.

1) A gift/honourarium will be provided to semi-structured interview participants and Talking Circle participants with a value of approximately $10.

I can also assist by providing bus tickets and with childcare costs if needed. Data will not be destroyed and will be kept, for future publications on this research topic indefinitely, the data will be stored and encrypted on an external hard drive as well as any print copies of transcripts and coding and theming documents will be stored in a locked cabinet at the residence of the researcher. The final research results, publications, and film will be sent to all participants by the researcher after the research is completed.

This research project was reviewed and received ethics clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board.

Contact information for the Carleton University Research Ethics Board Chair is:

If you would like any more information at any time please feel free to contact me, Cheryl Matthew at ███████████████████████████

In Spirit,

Cheryl Matthew

Consent Form

Title of Research Project:	Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People
Date of Ethics Clearance:	February 3, 2011
Researcher:	Cheryl Matthew
Method:	Telephone or Face-to-face Semi-Structured Interviews

Ethics Clearance for Data Collection Expires: May 31, 2012

This consent form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about anything mentioned in this document, or information not included here, please feel free to ask.

I, _____ volunteered to participate in this study on urban Aboriginal people.

1. Your participation in this study is voluntary.

2. The purpose of the research is to explore the culture and identity of urban Aboriginal people through places such as organizations and also through relationships built through networks in the city and participation in programs, services, conferences, events, and ceremonies in creating a shared culture.

One of the main purposes of the research is to produce a film on urban Aboriginal culture and identity.

3. A telephone or face to face semi-structured interview will be used to gather data and the interview will be 60 to 120 minutes long. If I have any follow-up questions I may ask for one follow-up interview with you which you do not have to participate in.

4. This interview will be video recorded and/or audio recorded.

5. There are no anticipated risks, discomforts, inconveniences, or deception involved in participating in this research.

6. In order to minimize any risk in conducting research standard conduct will be followed such as consent and not requiring participants to answer any questions they are uncomfortable with, being able to stop the interview at any time, the ability to withdraw from the research within three months of receiving their interview video or summary of interview.

7. **<u>There will not be any anonymity in the videotaped portion of the research.</u>** Interviews that are video recorded will not allow for anonymity of the responses to the questions. The research will not provide confidentiality of the answers to the research questions as the answers to the questions will be attributed to you in the video recording.

8. **<u>If anonymity is required</u>** interviews that are audio recorded will provide anonymity if requested. The first part of the interview will be demographic questions that will not be video or audio recorded and will be stored separately and confidentially with a unique study identifier number.

Participants will be given the opportunity to review their video, audio and photographs after the interview and can choose to allow the use of all of the audio-visual materials, have sections removed from the interview that they are not comfortable with, or to withdraw from participation in the research within three months of receiving the audio-visual materials. Participants will also be provided with the opportunity to comment on images prior to wider publication or presentation.

Only the researcher and transcriptionist will have access to the data. And a confidentiality agreement will be signed by the transcriptionist.

9. Benefits of your participation in this research include the opportunity to contribute to the limited knowledge that currently exists in research and film on the culture and identity of urban Aboriginal people in Ottawa. Much of the research that exists on urban Aboriginal people focus on the social deficit model this research provides an opportunity to talk about the positive aspects of city life and what it brings to their life and how they have benefitted for participating in the urban Aboriginal community.

The project will also provide a small gift as compensation/honourarium for being involved in the research.

10. You can choose to not answer any question that I ask that you do not wish to answer.

11. Participants can withdraw from the research project within three months of receiving the video footage of their interview, or summary of interview.

Participants are required to contact the researcher and let me know by phone, email, mail or fax that they would like to withdraw from the research. You will be invited to keep the materials but the video and/or summary of interview and any field notes will be removed from the research data and destroyed.

12. A gift/honourarium will be provided to participants with a value of approximately $10. As transportation and child care can be barriers to participation I will provide bus tickets to any participants who may require them as well as offer to pay for childcare costs at the standard hourly rate for parents with children who do not have access to childcare.

Gifts will be distributed after the completion of interview no additional gift will be provided for a follow-up interview. If you decide to withdraw from the research the honourarium can be kept in appreciation for the time taken to complete the interview.

13. All data will be stored on an external hard drive attached to my computer. The external hard drive will be encrypted with standard encryption. The data will be transferred to the desktop within 24 hours of the interview being completed, or pictures being taken, and erased from the recording device. This includes the audio recorder, the video camera, and the photographs. Any print copies of transcripts for coding and theming will be kept in a locked storage cabinet during analysis and after the research is completed at the residence of the researcher.

Data will not be destroyed and will be kept, for future publications on this research topic, indefinitely the data will be stored and encrypted on an external hard drive as well as any print copies of transcripts and coding and theming documents will be stored in a locked cabinet at the residence of the researcher.

14. The research results, publications, and film will be sent to all participants by the researcher after the research is completed.

15. This research project was reviewed and received ethics clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board.

16. Contact information for the Carleton University Research Ethics Board Chair is:

████████████████████████

Research Ethics Board
Carleton University Research Office
Carleton University
1125 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5B6
████████████████████████████

Researcher contact information:
Cheryl Matthew
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
B753 Loeb Building
████████████████████

Supervisor contact information:

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate.

_____ _____ _____

Participant Name   Signature   Date

_____ _____ _____

Researcher Name   Signature   Date

Oral Consent Script

Hello _____,

My name is Cheryl Matthew I am from the Simpcw First Nation in BC, and I am a PhD student in anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Carleton University. The title of my research is *Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People.* The date of ethics clearance was February 3, 2011. The Ethics clearance for the data collection expires on May 31, 2012.

The purpose of the research is to explore the culture and identity of urban Aboriginal people in the city through places such as organizations and through relationships built through networks in the city and participation in programs, services, conferences, events, and ceremonies in creating a shared culture. The topic of the interview will be on your thoughts and experiences of urban Aboriginal place, culture and identity. I may also contact you to attend a 3 hour Talking Circle to discuss the themes that have come out of the research.

I am contacting you as I would like to extend an invitation to you to become a participant in the research and to participate in a:

[Researcher to use the appropriate description]
1) semi-structured 60 to 120 minute video recorded or audio recorded interview; or
2) unstructured narrative interview that will consist of a series of at least 5 interviews and each will be 60 to 120 minutes long that will be either video, audio recorded or photographed.

The research interviews and Talking Circles will be video recorded and/or audio recorded. However, there are no anticipated risks, discomforts, inconveniences, or deception involved in participating in this research. In order to minimize any risk to you in conducting this research, standard conduct will be followed such as informed consent and not requiring you to answer any questions you are uncomfortable with, being able to stop the interview at any time, the ability to withdraw from the research within three months of receiving your interview video, audio, photographs or summary of interview. Participants are required to contact the researcher and let me know by phone, email, mail or fax that they would like to withdraw from the research. You will be invited to keep the materials but the video and/or summary of interview and any field notes will be removed from the research data and destroyed.

Before you consider participating it is important that you know that **there will not be any anonymity in the videotaped portion of the research.** Interviews that are video recorded will not allow for anonymity of the responses to the questions. The research will not provide confidentiality of the answers to the research questions as the answers to the questions will be attributed to you in the video recording.

If anonymity is required interviews that are audio recorded will provide anonymity if requested. The first part of the interview will be demographic questions that will not be video or

audio recorded and will be stored separately and confidentially with a unique study identifier number.

There are benefits to your participation in this research which include the opportunity for urban Aboriginal people to talk about the positive aspects of city life, and what it brings to their life, and how they have benefitted from participating in the urban Aboriginal community. As a token of my appreciation I will also provide a small gift as compensation/honourarium for being involved in the research.

1) A gift/honourarium will be provided to semi-structured interview participants and Talking Circle participants with a value of approximately $10.

2) An honourarium of $75 will be provided to unstructured, narrative interview participants. If for any reason you decide to withdraw from the research you can keep the honourarium in appreciation of the time taken to be involved in the research.

I can also assist by providing bus tickets and with childcare costs if needed.

Data will not be destroyed and will be kept, for future publications on this research topic indefinitely, the data will be stored and encrypted on an external hard drive as well as any print copies of transcripts and coding and theming documents will be stored in a locked cabinet at the residence of the researcher. Only the researcher and transcriptionist will have access to the data. And a confidentiality agreement will be signed by the transcriptionist. The final research results, publications, and film will be sent to all participants by the researcher after the research is completed.

Contact information for the Carleton University Research Ethics Board Chair is: ███████ ████████████ Chair, Research Ethics Board, Carleton University Research Office ███████████████████████

For verification regarding the authenticity of the research please feel free to contact my co-supervisors:

████████████████████████████

School of Canadian Studies   School of Canadian Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology Department of Sociology and Anthropology
██

The best way to contact me is through my Carleton email ███████████████.

Do you have any questions or require clarification of any of the points that I've outlined here?

Can I have your permission to begin?

Appendix D

Looking for Urban Aboriginal Adults (18+) to Participate in Research on Culture, Identity and Place in Ottawa and Vancouver

Title of Research Project: Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People

I am looking for research participants:
- People who self-identify as Aboriginal (First Nations Status or non-Status Indian, Métis, Inuit, or mixed Aboriginal heritage)
- Aboriginal adults 18+, male and female
- Must reside in Ottawa or Vancouver

I'm an Aboriginal researcher looking for research participants for a 60 to 120 minute video or audio recorded interview. Video recorded interviews will not provide anonymity but audio recorded interviews will be anonymous. The topic of the interview will be on your thoughts and experiences of urban Aboriginal culture, identity and place as a resident of the city. One of the main purposes of the research is to produce a short film on urban Aboriginal culture and identity in Ottawa, Ontario and Vancouver, BC and to show the vibrancy of urban Aboriginal life.

A gift/honourarium will be provided to participants with a value of approximately $10. As transportation and child care can be barriers to participation I can provide bus tickets as well as offer to pay for childcare costs at the standard hourly rate for parents with children who do not have access to childcare.

If you are interested in participating or would like any more information please feel free to contact me, Cheryl Matthew at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University, B753 Loeb Building, Phone: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮
▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

This project has been reviewed and cleared by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ **ethics@carleton.ca.**

Appendix E

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
Cheryl Matthew, PhD Student Anthropology

The participant information form and the first eleven demographic questions, will not be video or audio recorded, and will be removed and stored separately from the rest of the study questions in order to protect your identity and personal information. A numeric study identifier will be used to confidentially store this information.

Answer only questions you feel comfortable with.

Study Identifier number (researcher to fill out):
_____

Participant Information Form

Name:_____

Address to mail research materials: _____

_____

E-mail: _____

Phone/Cell: _____

Basic Demographic Information

1. Year of Birth:_____

2. Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐   Transgendered ☐

3. Aboriginal Self-Identification:
    First Nations (North American Indian) ☐ _____
        Status ☐   Non-Status Indian ☐   Bill C-31 ☐
    Métis ☐ _____
    Inuit ☐ _____
    Mixed ☐ _____
    Other ☐ _____

4. Do you speak and Aboriginal Language? Yes ☐   No ☐

If yes, which one(s): _____

5. Present marital status:
    Married: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Common Law: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Separated: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Divorced: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Widowed: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Single: Yes ☐ No ☐
    Other: _____
    Prefer not to answer: ☐

6. Dependants: Yes ☐, How many_____   No: ☐

7. City of residence: _____

8. Postal Code: _____

9. Occupation:
    Employed: Full-time ☐   Part-time ☐
    Self-Employed   Full-time ☐   Part-time ☐
    Student: Full-time ☐   Part-time ☐
    Other: _____
    Prefer not to answer ☐

10. Income level:
    $20,000 and below ☐
    $20,000 to $40,969 ☐
    $40,970 - $81,941 ☐
    $81,941 - $127,021 ☐
    Above $127,021 ☐
    Prefer not to answer ☐

11. Highest level of education attained:
    None ☐
    Elementary ☐
    Completion of High School ☐
    High School Equivalency ☐
    Some College/Technical Institute ☐
    College/Technical Institute Certificate (1 year of less) ☐
    College/Technical Institute Diploma (2 years of less) ☐
    Associate of Arts Degree (2 years) ☐
    Some University ☐
    Bachelor's Degree ☐
    Master's Degree ☐
    Doctor of Philosophy ☐

Other: _____
Prefer not to answer ☐

1. Do you identify as being Aboriginal?

2. How long have you lived in Ottawa?

3. Why do you live in Ottawa? What keeps you here?

4. Do you have family here?

5. Have you lived in any other cities? What brought you to Ottawa?

6. Ever lived on a First Nations reserve or have access to a territory/land/settlement? Or travel back to visit one?

7. Do you do any land-based activities (trapping, hunting or fishing, etc.)?

8. Do you speak an Aboriginal language?

9. Do you think urban Aboriginal people (in general) have a culture?

10. How do you connect to your Aboriginal identity in the city?

11. Do you think there is an "urban Aboriginal community" in Ottawa? In what places?

12. Are you involved in the Aboriginal community in Ottawa?

13. Has your participation in the community affected your life in a positive or negative way?

14. Do you access any programs and services for Aboriginal people in Ottawa?

15. What do you think brings the urban Aboriginal community together in Ottawa?

16. Do you work in the Aboriginal community here in Ottawa?

17. What places do you go, events do you attend within the urban Aboriginal community in Ottawa.

18. How do you hear about events in Ottawa?

19. Do you belong or visit any Aboriginal website, social networking sites, listserv's through the internet?

20. Do you attend any watch any Aboriginal programming (APTN), films (Smoke Signals, or read any Aboriginal literature (Thomas King, Thompson Highway etc)/arts/theatre/galleries?

21. Do you volunteer anywhere here in Ottawa?

22. There was some research done here the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATF, 2007) that found a huge gap between urban Aboriginal people in Ottawa making under $20k annually and those making above $60K annually, do you agree? Have you seen this here?

23. (When appropriate) That UATF research also talks about those making above $60k as wanting more cultural programming and feeling disconnected from the urban Aboriginal community, do you think so?

24. If you had a million dollars for a program or service for urban Aboriginal people in Ottawa what would you do with it?

25. Other participants have talked about "welcoming" being an important for the urban Aboriginal community. Tradition of Aboriginal hospitality? Have you felt this?

26. Do you think that any of the National, regional or local Aboriginal organization represent you, your interests, or your culture and identity?

27. If you had 100 million dollars for urban Aboriginal people in Ottawa what would you do with it?

28. Other participants have talked about "welcoming, being invited out, and visiting" being important for Aboriginal people in Ottawa. The tradition of Aboriginal hospitality – have you felt this?

29. Do you think that any of the National, Regional or local Aboriginal organizations in Ottawa represent you, your interests, or your culture and identity?

30. Can you tell me a story about participating in community in Ottawa that has deeply affected you?

31. Do you have any other thoughts, comments that you would like to add?

Unstructured, Narrative Interview Topics

Title of Research Project: Community is Where I Find It: Place-Making, Culture, and
                                          Identity Among Urban Aboriginal People
Date of Ethics Clearance: February 3, 2011
Researcher: Cheryl Matthew
Method: Unstructured, Narrative Interview Topics
Ethics Clearance for Data Collection Expires: May 31, 2012

General topic discussion: early years, mobility and residence

> Discussion on where they were born and raised.

> Discussion on their extended family and where they live.

> Discussion on when and why they moved to the city.

> Thoughts on city life.

> Challenges in moving to the city, opportunities provided in the city.

> Moves within the last ten years, between what cities.

> Length of time residing in urban areas in Canada.

> Access to a traditional territory or First Nations reserve.

General topic discussion: Aboriginal community events, activities and culture questions

> Participation in land-based cultural activities (i.e. hunting, fishing, trapping)

> Land-based cultural activities and connection to Aboriginal culture/identity.

> Participation in Aboriginal spiritual practices or ceremonies.

> Involvement in the urban Aboriginal community in Ottawa.

> Specifically, participation in Aboriginal cultural events in Ottawa.

> Connection to Aboriginal culture/identity.

> Connection with Elders in the city.

> Thoughts on Aboriginal culture/identity.

Use of Aboriginal programs and services in the city.

Impact of the residential school on life.

General topic discussion: Aboriginal organizations and representation questions

Work or volunteer in Aboriginal organizations in Ottawa.

Thoughts on working in Ottawa in general as an Aboriginal person (in any sector).

Access any programs or services from any Aboriginal organizations in Ottawa.

Participation in any national or regional Aboriginal political organizations.

Representation by any national or regional Aboriginal political organizations.

General topic discussion: Aboriginal arts, media and networking questions

Participation in Aboriginal social networking sites, email listservs, websites through the internet.

Networks, who attends events with and how they hear about them.

Thoughts on their network in Ottawa.

The development of their network in Ottawa.

Participation in any Aboriginal arts or media events or organizations.

Role and importance of the Aboriginal arts in their life.

Watch Aboriginal film or programming on television.

Attendance at any Aboriginal arts or media events, festivals, conferences.

Reading Aboriginal literature.

Connection between arts and media and culture and identity.

Appendix G

Canada – Aboriginal Relations Historical Timeline

Adapted from "First Nations Historical Timeline" British Columbia Teachers Federation (2017)

1763: Royal Proclamation of October 1763 is signed. This document explicitly recognizes aboriginal title; aboriginal land ownership and authority are recognized by the Crown as continuing under British sovereignty. It states that only the Crown could acquire lands from First Nations and only by treaty.

1867: The British North America Act gives the federal government responsibility for aboriginals and their lands.

1871-75: The first five numbered treaties deal with native lands in northwestern Ontario and what is now southern Manitoba, southern Saskatchewan and southern Alberta.

1876: The Indian Act is passed, essentially extinguishing any remaining self-government for natives and making them wards of the federal government. It influences all aspect of a First Nations person's life from birth to death. Indian Bands were created and Indian Agents became the intermediaries between First Nations people and the rest of the country.

1870s: The first residential schools open. Their painful legacy would stretch to today.

1884: Anti-potlatch laws were enacted under the Indian Act. Responsibility for the education of children was given in large part to church-run residential schools. There was resistance to the aggressive polices of the governments. The people retained a profound conviction that their hereditary title still exists.

1885: The Northwest Rebellion was a brief and unsuccessful uprising by the Métis people of Saskatchewan under Louis Riel. Some Cree groups also fought, but for a variety of reasons, some unrelated to the Métis grievances

1893: Duncan Campbell Scott becomes Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs. His stated objective was assimilation. He ruled the department until 1932.
1909-1910: First Nations make application to King Edward VII to have the Privy Council determine aboriginal title. The request was denied.

1927: Indian Act amended to make it illegal for First Nations to raise money or retain a lawyer to advance land claims, thereby blocking effective political court action.

1951: Parliament repeals Indian Act provisions of anti-potlatch and land claims activity. Major changes to the Indian Act remove a number of discriminatory rules, including a ban on native consumption of alcohol, although it is only allowed on reserves.

1960: Natives are given the right to vote in federal elections.

1969: The Federal government, under Prime Minister Trudeau and Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Cretien, issues its White Paper, advocating policies which promote the assimilation of First Nations people. There is nation-wide political activity to counter the White Paper.
1972: Indian Control of Indian Education policy document written by National Indian Brotherhood advocating parental responsibility and local control over First Nations education. This policy is accepted by federal government a year later.

1973: In the Calder case, the Supreme Court held that aboriginal rights to land did exist, citing the 1763 Royal Proclamation.

1982: Canada's Constitutional Act, Section 35, recognizes and affirms existing Aboriginal and treaty rights.

1984: The Inuvialuit Claims Settlement Act gave the Inuit of the western Arctic control over resources.

1985: Changes to the Indian Act extend formal Indian status to the Métis, all enfranchised aboriginals living off reserve land and aboriginal women who had previously lost their status by marrying a non-aboriginal man

1990: The Oka Crisis focuses attention of native land claims.

1999: Nunavut is created in the western Arctic, with lands set aside where Inuit can live, hunt and control sub-surface resources.

1999 The Corbiere decision the Supreme Court decides that off-reserve members should have voting rights in on-reserve elections.

2000: The federal government approves the Nisaga'a Treaty, giving the tribe about $196 million over 15 years plus communal self-government and control of natural resources in parts of northwestern British Columbia

2003: The Powley decision of the Supreme Court of Canada affirmed Métis have an Aboriginal right to hunt for food in the community in and around Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario as recognized under *s. 35 Constitution Act*. It outlined a basic legal test that an individual would need to pass in order to be considered "Métis" for asserting s. 35 rights.

2005: The Kelowna Accord called for spending $5 billion over five years to improve native education, health care and living conditions. Paul Martin's minority Liberal government fell before the accord could be implemented.

2008: Prime Minister Stephen Harper offers official apology to the former students of Indian Residential Schools, on behalf of the Government of Canada, June 11, 2008.

2010: Canada signs the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

2010: Bill C-3 restores status under the Indian Act to grandchildren of Aboriginal women who lost their status through marriage to non-Aboriginal men.
2011: A winter housing crisis in the northern Ontario native community of Attawapiskat rivets national attention on native living conditions.

2011: While other churches issued formal apologies for their participation in the Residential School System between 1986 and 1994, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops continues to refuse to issue a formal apology.

2012: Harper holds a summit meeting with First Nations chiefs.

2012: The interim report of the TRC reveals a lack of cooperation on the part of federal government and its failure to provide full access to documents requested by the commission.

2015: The final report for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is released at the closing ceremony in Ottawa.

2016: In the Daniels decision the Supreme Court has declared that Métis and non-Status Indians are "Indians" for the purpose of federal Parliament's law-making jurisdiction under subsection 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867.