Literature Review on Urban Aboriginal Peoples

Fall 2012

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Introduction

This literature review will examine the current and emerging themes from research on urban Aboriginal peoples, focusing on the following: 1) Health and Wellness; 2) Education; 3) Governance and Policy; 4) Housing; 5) Justice; 6) Economic Development; 7) Women; 8) Youth; and, 9) Community. In addition, the existing gaps in research will be addressed, as well as an understanding of what is working well thus far.   These elements will enable the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network to improve and expand the current research.

The way Aboriginal peoples have been written about and researched has changed over time and reflects changing policy goals, social mores, community needs and government agendas. Urban Aboriginal people are no different in this regard, as the attention from non-Aboriginal researchers and government officials reflect the social and political situation rather than the actual numbers of Aboriginal peoples in urban environments. Aboriginal peoples were a focus of non-Aboriginal attentions for a period of time and by the beginning of the 20th century they ceased to be of concern. This attention was renewed around the 1950's, when the government of Canada commissioned studies to examine Aboriginal conditions (Peters, 2002:55). These studies emphasized the difficult social and economic realities that faced people in Aboriginal communities and government officials promoted urbanization as a partial solution to the 'problem'. This, coupled with rising populations and inadequate housing and job prospects, led to a movement of Aboriginal peoples to urban areas.

Academia and researchers were tasked with the analysis of this trend and what it meant to Aboriginal peoples and to the cities. A large body of literature was written in the 1960's and 1970's. In the early 1980's, a number of statistical analyses were conducted but Peters states that after 1985, there was little research that focused on urban Aboriginal peoples being conducted. Peters states "….it is not only the objective conditions and numbers of urban Aboriginal people that contribute to public interest in Aboriginal urbanization but also interpretations of its significance and frameworks of meaning through which Aboriginal peoples' migration to cities was understood."(2002:57).

Much of the work throughout the 1960's and 1970's focused upon the innate incompatibility of Aboriginal cultures and urban residency, in addition to the need for Aboriginal peoples to give up their culture in order to successfully integrate into an urban environment. In the 1980's, scholars no longer concerned themselves with discussions of urban Aboriginal peoples and culture. Instead, the discussion focused on the issue of poverty, which was caused by a lack of formal education and employment. All other issues associated with urban Aboriginal peoples were seen to drive from their socio-economic status. They were identified as different from other sectors of urban poor because scholars determined that urban Aboriginal

peoples required specific services to aid with urban integration, the degree of their poverty, and their specific housing needs (Newhouse, 2012; Peters, 2002).

In addition, it is around this time that scholars begin to criticize the jurisdictional quagmire and resulting gaps in service for urban Aboriginal peoples. This jurisdictional challenge and paucity of services in general meant that the services that did exist were not equipped to adequately serve urban Aboriginal peoples.   What can be said about the literature of the 1980's concerning urban Aboriginal peoples is that the focus was more centered on improving life in cities. This literature did not deal with the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and urban environments nor did it explore issues of culture and community.

This literature review examines scholarship that has been building upon these trends. It covers a vast amount of literature, however, not all pieces can be explored in depth. Instead, this review attempts to provide a survey of the landscape of urban Aboriginal research. This examination of the current field occurred with the timeframe of one month and that has limited its depth. In addition, the author is aware that there are existing and expanding urban Aboriginal scholarship in the American, Australian and New Zealand contexts that could be beneficial to this literature review. Due to the time constraints, the scholarship examined was from the Canadian context.

Since the release of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996), the field of urban Aboriginal research has been changing. The research that has been conducted concerning urban Aboriginal peoples has been, until recently, undertaken from a negative perspective.   David Newhouse refers to this as a "'study of lack'"[1], that finds its roots in the perceived indicators of adaptation of Aboriginal peoples who moved to urban environments (Newhouse, et al. 2012:xi). Recent studies, such as the Urban Aboriginal Taskforce (2007) and the Environics Urban Aboriginal Study (2010), have been focusing on the urban environment as a place of creativity and revitalization.

The Friendship Centres and other urban Aboriginal organizations have been collecting information and best practices that come from more than half a century of grass roots work. As a result, we find ourselves turning to these organizations to explore the most current understandings of the community. The National Association of Friendship Centres (NAFC) is well aware that the research that has been completed concerning urban Aboriginal peoples does not always meet the needs of the community. To that end, the NAFC and the Office of the Federal Interlocutor for Metis and Non-Status Indians of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada created the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network (UAKN). The goal of UAKN is to create a network of academics, policy analysts and community workers in order to address the research needs of urban Aboriginal

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[1] David Newhouse uses this term to refer to early scholarship on urban Aboriginal peoples. In his discussion, it indicates a deficiency in necessary characteristics applied in the urban context.

communities. The multi-disciplinary research resulting from this initiative will focus not only on the existing gaps in current research but also provide a better understanding of urban Aboriginal communities as a whole (Newhouse, et al., 2012:vii).

In addition to urban Aboriginal organizations, Aboriginal scholars have been publishing pieces on urban Aboriginal experiences that examine continuity of Indigenous Knowledges and practices in addition to survival stories and relationship-building successes. The research landscape is changing to reflect the diversity of experiences, knowledges, and visions embedded in urban Aboriginal peoples today.   That being said, the field of urban Aboriginal research remains extremely small in relation to the community it represents.

Health and Wellness

The literature on health and wellness in an urban Aboriginal context has been centered upon a negative reality in which existing crises are outlined by statistics and calls for more services. The research is centered upon problems and statistics and does not clearly represent the needs of the population. Much of it is focused on areas such as chronic conditions (diabetes and addictions particularly), statistics, service delivery, and the wholistic meaning of health.

The research on Aboriginal health and wellness contains many gaps and is minimal and does not adequately reflect the urban Aboriginal population. It has been suggested that one reason for this lack of research could be that urban Aboriginal peoples are not easily identifiable and do not necessarily have a central administrative organization that could facilitate access (Wilson and Young, 2008:p.185). In addition, RCAP (1996) has stated that issues concerning health and health care in urban Aboriginal populations are needed, however researchers have not heeded this call. This could be due to the deeply embedded ideas about where Aboriginal people belong (ibid., 186). The urban Aboriginal population is also relatively mobile in ways that do not correspond to dominant migration models (Place, 2012). Frequently, the data that does exist is out of date or does not reflect a specifically urban environment. The term 'off-reserve'[2] is used to capture some Aboriginal health data but this includes those Aboriginal peoples who live in rural areas (24%) and those Aboriginal peoples who live on urban reserves. Comparisons, then, between on-reserve and urban Aboriginal populations are difficult when the statistics do not accurately reflect the population (Place, 2012).

The diversity of the urban Aboriginal population is not well represented in the statistics that do exist. Many studies do not identify First Nations, Metis, Inuit or

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[2] 'Off-reserve' is a category that applies only to First Nations peoples and does not refer to Metis or Inuit peoples.

non-status and hence do not examine the different health and wellness statistics or their social determinants (Browne, 2009). The scholarship that exists regarding Metis and Inuit peoples is extremely small. There is very little available in specific statistics that can help portray the health and health needs of these urban communities. The Metis Nation of Ontario is currently undertaking a research project that aims to collect and analyze this information on Metis citizens generally, however it remains to be seen if the urban context will be reflected in this research (http://www.metisnation.org/programs/health--wellness/health-research-initiatives). In the only existing Metis-related health literature review, the urban context was not identified at all within the existing research gaps (Kumar, et al, 2012). The urban Metis experiences with health and healthcare should be a focus of future research.

In the Inuit health context, more population research exists but the focus on urban contexts remains minimal. One study by Hanrahan examined the health needs of Innu and Inuit patients in Goose Bay, Labrador and St. John's in Newfoundland. There are 9 Innu and Inuit villages that surround these urban centres and the communities must travel to them to access many of their health care services. The experiences of Inuit and Innu peoples in this region in accessing health care are very difficult according to this study. The author discusses the need for improvement to combat the significant disorientation, language and communication barriers, inadequate accommodations and altered diets that are negatively impacting the Innu and Inuit in urban centres (Hanrahan, 2002).

Another relevant article that examines Inuit health in the urban context, concerns health promotion at the Tungasuvvingat Inuit Family Resource Centre in Ottawa, Ontario. The authors attest that because of the dearth of statistics and research, there is potentially 25% of the Inuit population who cannot access medical services. They make the point that urbanization could mean that the needs of the Inuit are changing. At the same time, there is a lack of Inuit health initiatives that focus on the urban context. The authors found that health promotion in urban centres is more effective when following culturally appropriate methods of communication. Currently, this is not the methodology employed. This research shows that one-on-one communication and the participation of Elders in health knowledge-sharing practices is extremely important for the urban Inuit community (McShane, et al, 2006). Though Inuit experiences with health care in travelling to the urban context deserves more research and attention, the growth of the urban Inuit communities point to an existing health research gap.

The statistics currently do not reflect the diversity or the needs of the community. Cardinal and Adin (2005) state that this lack of systemic data collection and analysis for urban Aboriginal health and wellness, are only partial indicators of an overall picture of the health and wellness of the urban Aboriginal community. In addition, across provinces and territories information is collected unevenly, as different places use different statistic identifiers (Minore, et al, 2009). This is further complicated by the fact that the use of Statistics Canada census data for

health research is affected by how Aboriginal identity has been defined and personally determined over time (Browne, et al, 2009). The urban Aboriginal community has no comprehensive community data, nor how it relates to other communities unless they search it out themselves. As stated, baseline data and the ability to collect pertinent health information is necessary for Aboriginal health services within urban communities. Browne et al have examined the nature of this data and how it affects urban Aboriginal peoples. She concludes that all of the existing health data must not be taken at face value. Browne also comments upon the depth of ethnographic and narrative information, as well as the various reports by research institutes and Aboriginal organizations. These pieces have the benefit of personal narratives, grass roots experiences, and/or work commissioned by and for Aboriginal organizations that have identified gaps in existing research (Browne et al, 2009).

However, there are some important statistics to be found in studies that analyze off reserve populations. A study by Tjepkema (2002), for example, found that off-reserve Aboriginal peoples had a greater likelihood of experiencing poor health, arthritis, diabetes and high blood pressure. In addition, he found that off-reserve Aboriginal peoples were more likely to cite an unmet health care need than their non-Aboriginal counterparts (Tjepkema, 2002). One of the benefits of this study is that the respondents were broken down into urban and rural, as well as the fact that it includes all Aboriginal identity respondents. It was noted that there was not a large difference between the urban and rural respondents, while in studies that compared the health of off-reserve Aboriginal populations with on-reserve populations and found that off-reserve health was better overall (Snapshot, 2007). It is important to state, however, that urban Aboriginal peoples experience the range of health challenges that exist in the Aboriginal population as a whole.

There is current research examining the nature of health challenges in the urban Aboriginal community, however, some choose to delve into the statistics from various federal and provincial surveys. The research that has been done that goes deeper than this, are always a result of partnership with the Aboriginal community or service organization.   These studies focus on cultural based health strategies and wholistic approaches to treatment. An example of this kind of work is the Urban Aboriginal Diabetes Research Report (Lavellee and Howard, 2011), where Aboriginal agencies, health service providers and researchers partnered with the Toronto Central Local Health Integration Network (LHIN) as part of a comprehensive four-year provincial diabetes strategy from the Ontario Minister of Health and Long-Term Care. Rather than gathering statistics, this research looked at urban Aboriginal cultural understandings of diabetes, it identified barriers and challenges to living with diabetes in Toronto, and it identified misconceptions and cultural nuances that would promote positive health outcomes (Lavallee and Howard, 2011). This study was able to provide a full understanding of the reality of diabetes in an urban Aboriginal context and engaged with the diversity of the urban population. Wholism and culture-based approaches, both for treatment and prevention, were central to this work. There is beginning to be a wealth of research

on the positive influence of culture to healing (Waldram, Herring, and Young, 2006; Waldram, 2008; Baskin et al., 2012). In addition, there is work being done that focuses on the use of traditional foods, music, and medicines in the healing process and health promotion (NAHO, 2008; Mundel and Chapman, 2010).

The Diabetes Research Report (Lavallee and Howard, 2011) highlights one of the more successful directions in current research in which community-based urban Aboriginal organizations are sponsoring their own research initiatives to supplement and improve their service delivery to the urban community. These organizations are best able to understand the nuances, diversity and needs of the urban Aboriginal community and so the research questions that are developed reflect known gaps in services and literature (Dion Stout, 2003). Another great example of this research is a paper by Mundel and Chapman (2010), in which they study the decolonizing effect of The Garden Project, an initiative between the Vancouver Native Health Society and the UBC Farm. They posit that by using Aboriginal healing in an urban context, the health promotion process begins to be decolonized, culturally revitalized and the underlying causes of Aboriginal health inequities can be addressed (Mundel and Chapman, 2010). In this literature, that mainly takes the form of reports, data is examined that is accumulated from different case studies. These case studies can cross provincial boundaries and compare different cities or they can focus on a particular Aboriginal service provider inside of one city. Much of this literature has focused upon Friendship Centres, Aboriginal health centres and clinics. These organizations witness the daily effect of the lack of basic health assessment data, which makes it much more difficult to address the visible health inequities. In addition, the lack of basic data makes it harder for Friendship Centres, Aboriginal health care centres and clinics to measure their performance and service delivery. The study, *Our Health Counts*, endeavored to develop a baseline population health database for urban Aboriginal peoples living in Ontario by examining three urban communities (Metis in Ottawa, First Nations in Hamilton and the Inuit in Ottawa). This was a collaborative effort with Aboriginal organizations and a research team, which lead to a successful picture of the health of urban Aboriginal peoples in Ontario (Smylie et al., 2011). Studies such as these are necessary for the effective service and program delivery in Aboriginal organizations and represent a growing trend in the literature.

A. J. Browne, et al (2007), sought to examine the approach and the dimensions of primary health care for Indigenous peoples at two health clinics that serve Indigenous peoples on the west coast. Using interviews, participant observation and analysis, Browne and her colleagues examined how current PHC indicators do not reflect what clients see as real health care.   Healthcare according to the people that access these services are interdisciplinary in nature and are able to engage with the "intertwining" issues faced by Indigenous peoples such as substance abuse, chronic pain, emotional pain and social suffering (Browne et al, 2007; Browne, et al, 2011; Kurtz et al., 2008; Okanagan Urban Aboriginal Health Research Collective, 2009). The importance of these studies, and others like them is that they highlight the large gaps that exist between those provincially run services

that have a large Aboriginal clientele and the concept of what constitutes proper health care for that community (Kurtz, et al., 2008; Okanagan Urban Aboriginal Health Research Collective, 2009). In addition, this work engages with the different requirements for each of the health services that exist within an urban environment. The inability to meet these requirements can be a barrier to care.

Many epidemiological studies have documented high levels of mental health challenges in Aboriginal communities.   The documentation that has taken place does not provide the entire picture of mental challenges, as many people either do not seek treatment or are not able to access treatment. These mental health challenges can be evidenced in various ways such as "...high rates of suicide, addictions, conflict with the law, violence, poverty, alienation and oppression of First Nations in Canada." (NAHO, 2006: 1).   Following the available statistics, such as *Snapshot* (First Nations Centre, 2007), some studies indicate off-reserve Aboriginal communities enjoy better mental health than those on-reserve. However, it is important to remember the intergenerational effects of residential school and associated trauma continues to affect those in urban settings (Browne, 2009; NAHO, 2006; Kurtz et al., 2008). What can be said, though, is those Aboriginal peoples who live off-reserve indicate that they have greater support networks and agencies available to them than people who live on-reserve. In urban areas, issues of housing, substance abuse, and deinstitutionalization can impact existing mental health challenges (Browne, et al, 2009; Kurtz et al., 2008).

It has been identified that social determinants of health are very important when examining the health and wellness of a population (Loppe and Wien, 2009). Though the definition of the social determinants of health lack Aboriginal specific indicators (such as language, culture, traditional activities, etc.), recent research has begun to examine social determinants of health and Aboriginal communities. This research has been almost exclusively done on-reserve or with Inuit communities. Research on the social determinants of health and how they interact with urban Aboriginal populations are necessary to give a broader picture to the wholistic health of these communities. In addition, it is necessary to produce a baseline of urban Aboriginal health and wellness and examine how the health disparities are produced in urban Aboriginal communities (Richmond and Ross, 2009; Smylie et al., 2011). There is currently a solid body of work produced in recent years that examines factors that contribute to determinants of poor health, though they do not deal with health directly (NWAC, 2007; Newhouse and Peters, 2003; Peters, 2002, 2003; Wilson and Peters, 2005). Some of this research examines the deficit that exists in urban Aboriginal experiences that contribute to overall health, such as housing, education and income.

Also, recent research has begun to focus on the idea of well-being and the interconnectedness of different social determinants from an Aboriginal perspective. Our Health Counts: An Urban Aboriginal Health Database Research Project (Smylie et al., 2011), The Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (Environics, 2010) and UATF (2007) analyzed a number of different social determinants of health and urban

Aboriginal perceptions of health. These studies, like Wotherspoon (2003) and the Aboriginal Task Group (2004), indicated that urban Aboriginal communities have high concentrations of extremely qualified people. It was found that employment opportunities in urban areas seem to be improving, as do income and educational levels. Despite these findings, social determinants of health, jurisdictional problems, and lack of funding for programing remain major issues.

What is clear is that the social determinants of health are still very influenced by Western constructs and do not take into account the impact of colonization upon Aboriginal health and wellness (Place, 2012; Mundel and Chapman, 2010). The impacts of colonization upon Aboriginal social determinants of health, such as lower levels of education, inadequate housing, and increased poverty, have had a negative effect on Aboriginal health overall.

Based on the literature review examined on Health and Wellness, future areas of focus include:

•More studies on how urban Aboriginal communities are affected and experience chronic diseases such as diabetes, arthritis, etc.:
•More research on mental health and urban aboriginal community;
•More research on women and any kind of health challenge;
•More research into urban Aboriginal community, good health and what helps maintain it;
•More research into how culture affects and supports healing and wellness in the urban context;
•More research into Inuit and Metis health and experiences with healthcare. These topics should be cross-sectioned with other indicators such as: poverty, housing, racism, and cultural relevance.
•Specific demographics on health in an urban context. Many of the statistics exist to compare urban Aboriginal communities to reserve communities or their non-Aboriginal peoples. These statistics need to be investigated in such a way as to support urban Aboriginal health goals.

Education

The literature on education in an urban Aboriginal context is very small. There are not very many research projects that have been executed with the urban Aboriginal population at their heart. The urban Aboriginal community is mentioned in the literature on Aboriginal education as a whole but the majority of this research is targeted to on-reserve experiences. The gaps in the literature, then, are significant. The current trends in the literature reflect evaluations of pilot projects that have been undertaken by provinces, investigations of urban Aboriginal students successes and experiences (such as racism), as well as a growing number of research papers that examine education in a specifically urban environment.

Education is an important and crucial aspect in terms of obtaining a well-rounded life. There is a well-established link between education, future economic well-being, and a healthy, balanced life. Aboriginal leaders in Canada (the Assembly of First Nations, the Metis National Council, and the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami) have made education a priority. This call has been from national political organizations and from regional political organizations. They intend on closing the "graduation gap" and training the younger generations in ways that reflect cultural relevance and need satisfaction in the community. The positive effects of education then begin to have an impact intergenerationally. Though Aboriginal education has made great strides in the last forty years, there still remains a significant gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. In order to achieve parity with the non-Aboriginal population, it is clear that high school and early education must be improved for Aboriginal people across the board. Much of the literature that exists surrounding Aboriginal education is concentrated in on-reserve scholarship. Out of necessity, this is changing in the past 10 years, as it is recognized that four of five Aboriginal students are attending a provincial run school (Richards and Scott, 2009). The Auditor General's Report predicted the bleak reality that it would require an additional 28 years to close the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal learners (Cherubini, 2010).

For urban Aboriginal youth, there has been a consistent disconnect between education and identity. Many studies that have explored urban Aboriginal education have stated that the experiences and cultural values students may be familiar with do not correspond to what is taught at school. The system marginalizes these students because they do not recognize themselves within it. This, accompanied with overt and institutional racism forms an extremely negative education experience. Aboriginal students reject this kind of education with its colonially oriented curriculum. This can lead to poor academic performance, poor attendance or dropping out altogether. The Aboriginal dropout rates are double that of non-Aboriginal students and research has pointed to a number of reasons for this. According to the APS, almost half of Aboriginal students leave school for family reasons (48.7%), followed by health issues (19.4%), work (16.6%) and other (12.3%). Boredom with school was also cited as an important factor (Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2009). Altering these statistics for all Aboriginal peoples is a priority that is beginning to be addressed. According to Urban Aboriginal Youth: An Action Plan for Change (2003), to face the challenges involved in urban Aboriginal education the plan must be wholistic, proactive and preventive (Chalifoux and Johnson, 2003).

Historically, poor performance in the education system for urban Aboriginal youth has been framed as a failing of Aboriginal students and has been linked to Aboriginal cultures/peoples maladjustment to urban environments and the perceived inferiority of Aboriginal cultures in general (Silver and Mallet, et al, 2002; UATF, 2007; Environics, 2010). Recent research has suggested that the problem is not with the students but with the schools and curriculum. Many studies, such as

the UATF (2007) and the UAPS (Environics, 2010), indicate that urban Aboriginal students want an education that allows them to participate wholly in the education system as Aboriginal peoples. Though Aboriginal histories and contemporary issues have an increased presence in the curriculum, more needs to be added. In addition, there has been research that addresses changing the indicators of educational success because despite the increase of Aboriginal curriculum and supports in recent years, there has been little improvement in corresponding educational outcomes (Saskatchewan Educational Leadership Unit, 2010). Recent research suggests that by re-definition what learning incorporates there will be a greater picture provided of Aboriginal learners.

There is a trend in the literature that indicates alternative schools should be established in areas where there is a high Aboriginal population. These schools would teach a 'blended' curriculum and would involve negotiations with provinces and Aboriginal leaders in urban communities (Environics, 2010; UATF, 2007; Silver and Mallet et al, 2002;). There have also been other suggestions, such as magnet schools (a designated school in a catchment area that focuses on Aboriginal studies), enhanced student mobility (allows for a school choice that better suits the needs of a child), and school enrichment (in which schools are provided with additional resources to improve the quality of education for urban Aboriginal peoples) (Silver and Mallet et al, 2002).

With the recognized gap in education of Aboriginal children at provincially run schools and the acknowledged benefit to the provinces of having a better education process for Aboriginal peoples, some provinces have taken some positive steps. In Ontario, the Ministry of Education developed the First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Education Policy Framework, aims to reconcile the achievement gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. The Framework cites the importance of providing Aboriginal students with culturally relevant learning environments that better reflect their epistemic traditions and values. The companion and equally important document, Building Bridges to Success for First Nation, Métis, and Inuit Students, provides public school boards in Ontario with an outline to develop and implement policies for Aboriginal students to voluntarily self-identify themselves. According to the OME, Aboriginal student self-identification will provide data on Aboriginal student achievement in provincial public schools that will assist in the development and evaluation of programs to address their unique needs as learners (OME, 2007). Currently, B.C. is the only province that captures urban Aboriginal students in standard performance data. This helps the province track the students, which informs policy. Like Ontario, B.C. has an agreement in place to improve Aboriginal education success. Though other provinces may have similar policies there is not necessarily the political will to move forward (Saskatchewan Educational Leadership Unit, 2010). In Ontario, the OME has led to subsequent committees, which in turn developed urban Aboriginal models for engagement and picked three pilot sites. Dion et al., evaluated the pilot site in Toronto and concluded that support for such initiatives are necessary and should be continued. This evaluation was able highlight the real need for such initiatives and emphasized that

every aspect of education for urban Aboriginal peoples must be made a priority (Dion et al, 2010). The OME created other pilot sites as well. These evaluations stand alone in comprehensive research reports on the situation of urban Aboriginal education (Johnston, 2011). The recommendations in each case are similar in that they recommend more support for the students, data collection, relationship building between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, hiring of Aboriginal teachers, and long-term funding (Johnston, 2011; Dion et al, 2010).

Based on the literature reviewed, future areas for research and urban Aboriginal peoples include:

•Cultural connectedness and education in the urban environment
•Racism
•Curriculum development
•Aboriginal women/girls and urban education experiences
•Metis and Inuit urban education experiences
•Data collection
•Positive educational experiences in an urban environment
•Magnet schools and Aboriginal-only school research

Governance and Policy

The literature on governance and policy in an urban Aboriginal context is limited, but growing. There are still gaps in the literature, particularly in reflecting different segments of the urban Aboriginal population and governance. The current trends in the literature reflect a concentration on existing governance and future capacity through Aboriginal organizations.

The literature states unequivocally that the challenges that jurisdiction provides for urban Aboriginal communities have made service delivery difficult, the operation and funding of Aboriginal agencies tenuous, and have negatively impacted urban Aboriginal life. Disputes between different levels of government, devolution of federal and provincial responsibilities, lack of Aboriginal service co-ordination, an exclusion from municipal decision-making and questions regarding urban Aboriginal political representation, have had a profound effect on urban Aboriginal communities. RCAP has referred to this as a 'policy vacuum'. In much of the available literature, urban Aboriginal peoples are described as having "fallen through the cracks" (Carter, 2004; RCAP, 1996; Newhouse, 2003; Peters 2002).

Much of the research that exists on governance, policy and urban Aboriginal people, either subtly or explicitly states the need for government-wide policies that are replicated with departments. This would prevent services from being duplicated, enable communication, promote a broader picture of urban Aboriginal experiences, and underscore the important of urban Aboriginal communities to the

country (Belanger, 2011; Newhouse, Peters; Hanselmann, 2001; Morse, 2009; Abele and Graham, 2011; Tomiak, 2010; Walker, 2008a). Hanselmann undertook analysis in 2001 that examined urban Aboriginal peoples in Western Canada. He examined the urban Aboriginal policy landscape, which indicated clear lack of policy-supported activity. Though many western provincial governments have department specific policies, there are many demonstrated gaps. According to this research, Alberta and Saskatchewan are the provinces with the most government wide policies, while the federal government continues to be unwilling to create too many federal policies for urban Aboriginal peoples. Though this work is outdated, the author carefully examines existing federal, provincial and municipal urban Aboriginal policies at the time (Hanselmann, 2001).   It is pointed out in this research that lack of policy does not necessarily indicate lack of engagement or activity. To some extent, all levels of government are responding to the challenges faced by urban Aboriginal people, though not consistently.   This highlights some large gaps, few of which have been ameliorated at this point in time, which are housing, urban transition, childcare, addictions, family violence, suicide, and human rights. Hanselmann states that these differentiated policies are disconnected to the reality of urban Aboriginal peoples and are not necessarily responsive to areas in which the community has demographically demonstrated challenges. In addition, there is overlap and duplication in the existing policies, which demonstrates importance but may also indicate lack of co-ordination (Hanselmann, 2001).

Similarly, the Research Paper entitled "Urban Aboriginal Economic Development" (2009) states that it is not the absence of policy but the character of the existing policies that provide the difficulties. It states, as do other scholars, that the jurisdictional complexity is a problem and the policies are fragmented without addressing certain key issues. In addition, the existing policies are built upon assumptions that are based on land-based community experiences or homogenous urban policies and do not often deal with urban Aboriginal realities (National Network on Urban Aboriginal Economics, 2009).

Abele and Graham, and similar scholars, have provided a wealth of analysis of the evolution of urban Aboriginal issues and how they have been dealt with a various government levels over time (Abele and Graham, 2011; Peters; Newhouse; Hanselmann; Belanger 2011; Morse, 2010). In this literature, it is apparent that without strong and comprehensive federal policy, urban Aboriginal services (and agencies) have been at the mercy of political will and fiscal restraint. Through a series of cutbacks in the past twenty years, there have been greater opportunities for Aboriginal control of Aboriginal services (Abele, 2004; Morse, 2010). With the release of RCAP, all of this research suggests that relationship with the federal government changed and many committees formed. These relationships eventually led to the Urban Aboriginal Strategy, which was formed in 1998 to encourage the formation of effective community level organizations to address the needs of the community. Funding for it has been consistently renewed and the UAS is attempting to develop Aboriginal institutions and partnerships that are better aligned with the various jurisdictions and with the priorities of the community itself (Abele and

Graham, 2011, Morse, 2010;). Though there have been critiques of this process (Walker, 2005), many scholars have stated that UAS is meeting a real need and encouraging a form of urban Aboriginal self-governance through service-delivery models. Morse has stated that the committees that have emerged out of this strategy have the potential to be precursors to formal urban governance institutions (Morse, 2010). This may be an unforeseen outcome of the UAS process, as it was intended to create partnerships with stakeholders and align existing resources, scholars agree that it is possible to see within it the seeds of urban Aboriginal governance.

Recently, a Task Force on Urban Issues was formed which made a number of specific recommendations for Aboriginal peoples such as: coordination of intergovernmental policy delivery; action on poverty, employment, and housing (especially for the youth), and sustained support for UAS projects (Sgro, 2002). Though there has been no action on the recommendations, Abele and Graham have noted the reluctance of the federal government to solve jurisdictional and governance issues or to ensure reliable social, education and health support (2011).

The existing research on urban Aboriginal governance and policies necessarily engages with material on service delivery. Due to the refusal of the federal government to take primary responsibility for urban Aboriginal communities, many services accessed by urban Aboriginal peoples could be delivered by the province, the municipality, or an Aboriginal organization. Currently, many federal programs are delivered in a 'status-blind' fashion but others are mired in Indian Act definitions and have corresponding policies and practices. As previously stated, this jurisdictional quagmire has real effects on the urban Aboriginal population, particularly those that are in vulnerable situations. Though it should be stated that according to the UATF, the emerging Aboriginal middle class reported a lack of culturally relevant services that were available to them (2007). Much of the existing research calls on the Federal government to line up existing services, similar to Hanselmann's call a decade ago to line up existing policies by creating a federal policy (Abele and Graham, 2011, Walker 2008a;). Peters states that there has been limited extension of benefits to Aboriginal peoples in cities which concern administration and extent of coverage (in the case of non-Status people and Metis). The question of "status-blind" delivery is still very much controversial (Sgro, 2002; RCAP, 1996; Peters, 2002).

What much of the current literature indicates is the importance and the opportunity provided by these organizations. As stated above, it is these organizations that are now recognized to be possible self-government precursors. Newhouse outlines that there are four different kinds of urban Aboriginal organizations: physical (health, employment, housing, business), cultural and mental (education, language, powwow), social and political (political representation, sports and recreation), and spiritual and art (Elders, church and theatre); Newhouse, 2003). The recent research on urban Aboriginal organizations and services is attempting to capture their importance to the urban Aboriginal

community in living a good and well-balanced life. Newhouse has traced the development of these organizations and community clubs and social service agencies to the multi-faceted community centres that take on important roles in education, health, culture, language, advocacy, housing, justice, etc. In many ways, these organizations are the heart of the urban Aboriginal community through which vast networks and supports can be mobilized (Newhouse, 2003). These organizations construct the fabric of the urban Aboriginal community, particularly the Friendship Centres which boast 125 across the country, and are recently being recognized by federal and provincial governments as being more closer, responsive and accountable to the urban Aboriginal community than any other body (Newhouse, 2003; Morse, 2010; Walker, 2008a).

Recent research has begun to explore the connection between organizations and governance, with the premise that de facto self-governance is and has been occurring in the urban context for quite some time. In *Well-Being in the Urban Aboriginal Community* (Newhouse et al., 2012), there are three papers that begin the discussion around existing self-governance and the urban community. Foster, whose paper is discussed later in this literature review, examines the evolution of governance within the context of artist run organizations and their effect on the cultural health of the urban Aboriginal community (2012). Heritz examines the development of governance in Toronto through Aboriginal service organizations. She rightly states that due to the challenges (jurisdictional and economical) that these organizations have faced over time, they have had to develop their own solutions in order to fulfill their mandates and best serve the community. By responding to the needs in the community using culture-based governance practices, Heritz maintains that these organizations are moving toward self-determination (2012). Finally, Crookshanks examines the existence of self-governance in two housing organizations in Winnipeg and Edmonton. This scholar states that urban self-governance looks different but operates on similar principles as other forms of governance. What is notable is that these organizations are responding to a urgent need in their communities and proceeding to fill that need in culturally and socially relevant ways (2012). These scholars are clearly signaling that the intersection between Aboriginal organizations and governance requires more research and attention.

Another important trend that exists in the current urban Aboriginal research concerns self-governance/self-determination and what that might look like to the community. This question has not been fully engaged with in policy contexts. It is well established that urban Aboriginal peoples are not politically represented in an efficient way. Recently, the AFN has made some effort to include urban issues in its activities but it is not substantial and is related more to the responsibility for off-reserve member services by some First Nations governments (Graham and Peters, 2002). NWAC also has a strong commitment to urban issues due to the majority of the off-reserve adult population being female. These political organizations tend to be strongly "identity based" and lobby based on that platform. As a result, advocacy and policy can fall to Aboriginal service providers and organizations. This is a

restricted area for them, due to tension with political organizations, charity restrictions that prevents the use of a substantial part of the budget for advocacy, and financial realities of sometimes uncertain funding (Graham and Peters, 2002).

Dominant discourses about urban Aboriginal governance centre on community economic development and social cohesion rather than sovereignty (Peters, 2003; Walker 2005; Tomiak, 2010). Tomiak states that this question is rather inconvenient because of the complexity of the issue at hand. She states the heterogeneity of different circumstances prevent a single solution, the limitations of the expansive category 'urban Aboriginal' person, jurisdictional uncertainties (particularly when financial responsibility is concerned, and the continued relevance and connection to land-based nations (Tomiak, 2010:2). RCAP has been used as a guide to many self-governance issues for Aboriginal peoples, however, it appeared to try and fit urban self-governance into their nation-to-nation approach to overall governance. Three models were outlined none of which confronted many of the issues urban Aboriginal peoples face on a daily basis (RCAP 1996). Abele and Graham ask if economic well-being should be the focus of urban governance discussions as it, rather than Aboriginal rights, has the potential to change present circumstances for the community. Many scholars maintain that both are important and that it is only through negotiations with the urban Aboriginal community in an equal way that both rights and needs can be met (Abele and Graham, 2011; Walker, 2005; Tomiak, 2010). These scholars emphasize that the political will must be present to provide political space for urban Aboriginal organizations within the governance forum. It is these organizations that best understand the needs of the community but rather than wade through levels of government and differing funding requirements, scholars challenge that transforming political space so that it represents contemporary urban Aboriginal lives and needs is crucial. Scholars such as Peters disagree that focusing on socio-economic improvement will cause the discussion of rights and governance in urban contexts will disappear (Peters, 2002; Heritz, 2012). It is clear that the two are intimately tied together and, specifically with the discussion around Aboriginal organizations and governance, governance will continue to be on the agenda of urban communities.

Based on the literature reviewed in the area of governance in the urban Aboriginal context, future research should include:

• Aboriginal organizations and governance (historical and contemporary)
• Aboriginal women and community leadership
• Metis and Inuit governance in an urban context
• Jurisdictional concerns and policy implications
• Urban Aboriginal governance theory and policy implications

Housing

The literature on housing and urban Aboriginal peoples is filled with gaps. Considering that housing is continually stated as a primary concern for urban Aboriginal peoples, regardless of income, there is a lack of current statistics, community-based research, and analysis of how housing, or lack of housing, affects different segments of the urban Aboriginal community. Like education, the urban Aboriginal context is mentioned in larger reports of housing and Aboriginal peoples. However, this does not suffice as the needs of the urban community are unique and must be reflected in the research. The current trends in the literature are reports generated from recent partnerships between Aboriginal organizations (particularly housing initiatives), municipalities and researchers that are evaluating housing situations and needs through interviews and culturally based investigations.

Housing continues to be a considerable challenge for urban Aboriginal people. Historically, Federal concern with Aboriginal housing has been attached to the colonial and assimilative intentions of the country. However, this waned when the attention turned to land surrenders and housing policy was ignored until sixty years ago (Perry, 2003). Frequently, those Aboriginal people that migrate to urban areas are in search of better housing and relief from housing associated issues (such as health problems, family tensions and violence). Instead, they have trouble affording housing, not to mention affording a home of decent quality. In addition, the urban Aboriginal community faces issues of discrimination and communication of housing availability (Carter, 2004; CMHC, 1996a). A widespread understanding of urban Aboriginal housing issues does not exist. The housing challenges in the urban Aboriginal community have impacts on education, income, physical and mental health. The Canadian Housing Mortgage Corporation (CMHC) states that improving socio-economic conditions begins with affordable housing (CMHC, 1996b).

According to the CMHC, it was estimated that more than one-third of Aboriginal people in the country lived in inadequate, unsuitable or unaffordable housing as compared to 18% of the non-Aboriginal population. However, once again, statistics on urban Aboriginal housing experiences have not been fully captured, though this is changing. As stated before, though urban Aboriginal peoples report better statistics than on-Reserve Aboriginal peoples, as a whole, when compared to urban non-Aboriginal peoples this community has lower incomes, higher rates of unemployment and poverty, and higher incidences of single parenthood and domestic violence (Hanselmann, 20001; Mendelson, 2004).

In recent years, CMHC as frequently reported on urban Aboriginal living conditions. In 1991, it stated that more than half of all urban Aboriginal households nationally fell below one or more of the housing standards. Soon after, the CMHC stated that urban Aboriginal people were likely to "lack sufficient income to obtain

adequate, suitable rental accommodations…without having to pay 30% or more of their gross household income."(CMHC, 1995:2).   The CMHC followed this in 2001 with an estimate that one in five off-reserve Aboriginal households in Ontario were in core housing need (CMHC, 2004). In addition to the work of CMHC, there are some studies that aim to provide a fuller picture of urban Aboriginal housing (Institute of Urban Studies, 2004; Walker, 2008; UATF, 2007; Environics, 2010; Belanger et al, 2011). These studies highlight the fact that stable and suitable housing is a challenge for urban Aboriginal peoples of all income levels, age categories and family situations. The Environics Study states that 78% of urban Aboriginal peoples surveyed across Ontario rent rather than own (2010).

There are a variety of housing programs that exist, however, the demand for such housing has resulted in extensive waiting lists, in the case of the Manitoba Housing Authority has over 3,000 people on a waiting list for their 8,000 rent subsidized housing units in Winnipeg (Carter, 2004; UATF, 2007; Environics, 2010). In addition, the diversity of housing needs that must be met is a concern. Culturally appropriate housing, such as the type that include Elder visits or counseling programs, are few but highly sought after, as they become like a mini-community (Carter, 2004).   Since the creation of the first urban Aboriginal housing program, Kinew Housing Corporation, in 1972, there have been a series of expansions and contractions in program funding. This does not correspond with the steady growth of the urban Aboriginal population and cuts in the past twenty years have left existing housing programs politically and financially vulnerable, as well as stretched to their limits (Belanger, 2011). A key article that examines the intersection of Aboriginal self-determination and housing indicates that social housing merged with the right of self-government in the 1970's, through the Urban Native Housing Program. The separation of these since the 1990's has seen Canada take a more devolutionary approach to housing initiatives, which involve strategic short-term investment, rather than a long-term approach. Walker maintains that this allows the federal government to place the burden of success of these initiatives on civil society, as opposed to their earlier position that placed them squarely in a leadership role working with local actors. The author regards understanding self-determination through social housing as a partial victory when the state commitment to overall social welfare goals is lacking (Walker, 2008).

The Institute of Urban Studies (2004) recommended that there should be a range of housing choices available in a variety of neighbourhoods; overall, more rent subsidized and market housing needs to be built; urban Aboriginal incomes should increase; building must be done with an awareness of the proximity of different Aboriginal services and organizations (2004). There are a number of housing initiatives that have been steadily created since 2000. These initiatives tend to be partnerships between CMHC, a city, community organizations and a research collective. Many of these reports are breaking new ground, as they are collecting statistics, doing evaluations, reviewing the literature and interviewing urban Aboriginal peoples about the state of housing in particular cities. This kind of literature provides a picture of the immediate housing needs, along with the

systemic barriers that exist for different segments of the urban Aboriginal community (Bridges and Foundations, 2005).

Homelessness is one result of a lack of affordable housing and a current urban reality. It is difficult to assess the number of homeless people in a given urban centre; however, according to CMHC (2004) Aboriginal people are over-represented in those major cities where these statistics are available. The definition of homeless has changed over time and, according the Canadian Homelessness Research Network (CHRN), it currently includes those that are 'at risk' of homelessness and whose current economic and/or housing situation is precarious or does not meet public health and safety standards (Homeless Hub, 2012).   The more standard definitions of homelessness only take into account "street sleepers" which is where the statistics we do have come from. Belanger, et al, in their recent research on urban Aboriginal housing, determined that most homeless counts overlook 80% of the homeless (Belanger et al, 2011:11). The picture of Aboriginal homelessness is difficult to capture, even though researchers participating in local homeless census count now try to find the Aboriginal homeless. However, due to unwillingness to engage volunteers and the fluidity of homelessness between city and reserve, many of the numbers remain a small section of the whole (ibid.). Belanger also indicates that there is a diversity of contributing factors in urban Aboriginal homelessness, such as domestic abuse, mental health, and release of ex-offenders (2011). This indicates that there is a greater need of attention to this segment of the community, both in research and policy. Canada does not have a comprehensive plan to end homelessness and many of the programs that do exist to support those that are homeless are not culturally safe nor are they designed for Aboriginal people.

Based on the literature reviewed on housing in the urban Aboriginal context, there is not very much research being conducted on urban Aboriginal housing. What does exist depends on statistics from APS, the Census, RHS, and CMHC. Belanger et al. have conducted the most comprehensive study to date, however, there are many more nuanced questions concerning housing, homelessness and urban Aboriginal peoples that need to be examined. Future directions include:

•The experience of racism in housing situations;
•Why Metis and non-Status Indians are more likely to own homes than Status or Inuit people;
•Homelessness should be examined from an urban Aboriginal perspective with attention to mobility
•How the needs of current housing and homelessness programing is meeting the needs of the community,
•An examination of housing from the perspective of different segments of the urban Aboriginal community.
•Research on intersections between housing and mental health, addictions, physical health, and education in an urban context

Justice

The literature on Aboriginal peoples and the justice system is substantial. However, there is very little research available on justice in an urban Aboriginal context. The gaps in the literature, then, are significant. The brief indications given in the UAPS study allude to the need for more research on this theme overall. There is not very much current research being conducted.

It is well established that Aboriginal people are over-represented in the Canadian criminal justice system and this has been the subject of numerous studies and commissions. This is a complex issue with a variety of sources and the general literature has addressed challenges that range from processing, police interactions, courts, corrections, and government legislation and policy. However, significant to this work is the finding that the socio-economic status of Aboriginal people "is probably a more potent indicator of who is admitted to correctional institutions than is race" (La Prairie, 1992:1). By extension, the urban context for Aboriginal incarceration is crucial to examine as many urban Aboriginal peoples live in economically disadvantaged areas (UATF, 2007; UAPS, 2010). These areas are also noted for their higher crime rates. Fitzgerald and Carrington (2008) undertook a study that aimed to examine the ways in which the urban context was linked to representation in the criminal justice system. By examining living conditions, high crime rates, neighbourhoods, and economic factors in Winnipeg, these two scholars hoped to gather some empirical evidence that could link overrepresentation of Aboriginal peoples in the criminal justice system with the urban context (2008:525). Some evidence has suggested that there is an established link but only small studies have been conducted (2008:527). Notably, a one-day study conducted by Bittle et al (2002:11) stated that of those Aboriginal youth in custody, 53% spent two years prior in a city. The Fitzgerald and Carrington study was quantitative in nature and captured that Aboriginal people who lived in challenging socio-economic conditions were more likely to be identified as offenders in the criminal justice system (2008:549). These scholars call for more investigation into the relationship between living conditions and representation in the criminal justice system for urban Aboriginal peoples. They state that neighbourhoods, income, education, and racism are complexly linked to experiences with the justice system for urban Aboriginal peoples.

In addition, the Environics study (2010) found that half of the urban Aboriginal peoples they spoke to have been in contact with the criminal justice system, either as a witness or being charged with a crime in the past 10 years (2010:96). Half of the urban Aboriginal peoples surveyed have had serious involvement with the justice system (they have witnessed, been a victim of, been arrested for or charged with a crime). Almost seven in ten (68%) of those household incomes under $10,000 have had some type of serious involvement with the justice system (versus 39% with incomes of $60,000 or more). The study also found that some (four in ten) urban Aboriginal peoples surveyed who have been

seriously involved with the criminal justice system in the past 10 years believed they were unfairly treated. Of these people, three quarters believe it was either likely or definitely because they were an Aboriginal person. This did not inspire confidence in the Canadian justice system and this study found that there was strong support for an Aboriginal justice system among urban Aboriginal peoples (2010: 100).

Aboriginal peoples and justice in general is a well-researched topic. However, the indications of the UAPS (2010) study needs to be more researched. Based on the research reviewed for this literature review, Urban Aboriginal experiences with the justice system intersect important themes. Future directions in research include:

•Aboriginal women and justice, incarceration, crime
•Systemic and overt racism
•Socio-economic factors and justice in an urban Aboriginal context
•Aboriginal identity and justice in an urban Aboriginal context.
•Aboriginal gang research in an urban Aboriginal context
•Aboriginal offenders who are released into the urban Aboriginal community

Economic Development

The literature on economic development and urban Aboriginal peoples continues to be focused on poverty and unemployment. Much of this research is quantitative and identifies a substantial need in the urban Aboriginal community. However, current research is trying to reflect the changing and contemporary nature of the urban Aboriginal community. These trends involve examinations of the nature of urban Aboriginal economies and the emerging Aboriginal middle income group.

It is evident, upon a cursory examination of the literature concerning urban Aboriginal peoples, that economic concerns of the community have been a strong theme among researchers for many years. According to Newhouse, and others, the earliest studies were heavily weighted with social and economic status concerns. The themes of poverty and unemployment were coupled with relative social dysfunction to describe a community in the throes of distress (Newhouse et al., 2012; Peters, 2002). According to Horn and Halseth (2011), one of the early streams of research concerning Aboriginal economies examined how Aboriginal peoples migrating into the cities managed the difficulties created by attempting to integrate into the non-Aboriginal economy. Research in this stream was based on a success or fail attitude with analysis of accompanying indicators (Horn and Halseth, 2011: 104; Helin, 2006). Aboriginal peoples are treated in this early research as people without agency and merely responding to larger forces.

There continues to be a heavy focus in the available research on statistics about economic indicators, frequently from a sociological lens. This provides a solely descriptive view of the urban Aboriginal community and does not give a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding urban Aboriginal economies. In addition, it is not always clear as to their purpose. There is potential that this kind of data gathering may be understood as a means to control, centralize and administer to Aboriginal communities (Horn and Halseth, 2011). This is not to say there is not an important role for demographic research regarding urban Aboriginal economies or any urban Aboriginal issue. Particularly recently, this intense quantitative work has been supplemented by qualitative work, leading to studies like the UATF (2007) and the UAPS (2010).

The summary of these statistics for urban Aboriginal peoples indicates that even with rising levels of education, there are still high levels of unemployment, low incomes and poverty. This affects the community disproportionately, with women and youth suffering more often (UATF, 2007; UAPS, 2010). According to Wilson and Macdonald (2010), the Census data provides an income disparity between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples of 30%, a gap that they state will take 63 years to close (2010:3). In addition, with the recent economic downturn, the gap between employment and unemployment rate widened between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people (Zietsma, 2010).

The copious amounts of statistics indicate that much is known indirectly about urban Aboriginal economies but little is known about them directly (Horn and Halseth, 2011). However, in recent years we have seen an increase in research that is seeking to reflect the changing realities of the economic contexts for urban Aboriginal peoples, as well as represent the positive and creative economic endeavours that are being pursued by the community. An innovative paper in *Well-Being in the Urban Aboriginal Community* (2012) indicates a promising trend in research for urban Aboriginal economies. Côté examined the role of social capital in Indigenous entrepreneurs. This scholar determined that diverse social capital was very important in entrepreneurship and that volunteering was part of that capital. Importantly, it is also stated that participation in different networks does not require a sacrifice of one community for another. In this research, it was found that Euro-Canadian contacts continue to be of importance in business but an increase of participation in this community did not correspond to a decrease of participation in Indigenous communities (2012). This study called for more research into the nature of Indigenous entrepreneurship, social capital and outcomes. This innovative research is unique in the field and indicates an interest in delving deeper in to the nature of urban Aboriginal economies.

Some of the current research calls for more discussion concerning the effects of the often-mentioned jurisdictional context on urban Aboriginal business potential. It does not always prevent economic growth, however the different avenues of accountability, funding and bureaucracy can make growth more difficult, as it does not provide an easy or confident landscape for potential investors

(Research Paper: Urban Aboriginal Economic Development, 2008; Hanselmann, 2001; Newhouse, Peters et al., 2003; Horn and Halseth, 2011). In addition, the role governance can play in Aboriginal economies in general has been frequently stated (Cornell, 1992). However, for an urban environment, as stated above, governance looks much different than it does for reserves. Given the recent research into the role of urban Aboriginal organizations in the community, it bears stating that there should be an investigation into their role in developing an economy, as well as program impacts on economic, business and labour development (National Network on Urban Aboriginal Economics, 2009). Peters and others have indicated the steady growth in size and complexity of these organizations, leading to employment opportunities, as well as generation of skill sets that could be used in a variety of different business goals (Peters, 2005; Wotherspoon, 2004).

Much of the recent literature concerning urban Aboriginal economies come from, or is attached to, the Urban Aboriginal Economic Development Network (2008). This was a three-year project, which was mandated to "foster the exchange of knowledge and experience between practitioners, policy analysts, and researchers" (Horn and Halseth, 2011). In addition, it sought to improve the existing policy context, give strategic direction in research and develop capacity to support economic activities in urban communities (ibid.). In the Learning Circles held through the Network, it became clear that culture also plays a large role in the complexities of urban Aboriginal economies, but this remains under researched in the literature. Stated in another way, Horn and Halseth ask if urban Aboriginal economies are transformative in nature and do they support individuals or communities (2011)? It is apparent that urban Aboriginal economies are wholistic in nature and intimately connected to different aspects of life (physical, mental, spiritual, emotional) however, little is known about this practice in this context. Among other discussions, Horn and Halseth emphasize how any examination of urban Aboriginal economies must include careful attention to geography and dynamics. They state that there is a specifically Aboriginal circuit "that both mimics and supplements the existing flows and movement of capital, goods, and people in local and regional…economies" (Horn and Halseth, 2011; Levesque, 2003; Loxley and Wien, 2003). In this vein, an interesting article by Todd examines the important role of social networks in the development of the enterprises of young urban Aboriginal women. These entrepreneurs cite complex support networks that have been necessary for their success that have assisted them through their myriad of responsibilities in life and business (Todd, 2012). This is one of the few articles that engages the topic of urban Aboriginal women's economics and the complexity of urban Aboriginal economies overall. Many scholars have cited this as an important site for further exploration.

An emerging trend in the literature on urban Aboriginal economies is the Aboriginal middle-income group. Until recently, there was little recognition of the existence of an Aboriginal middle-income group, due to pervasive assumptions about Aboriginal people and their corresponding economic activity. Wotherspoon states that there has been relatively little discussion of social classes and urban

Aboriginal peoples, with the exception of a characterization of almost all Aboriginal peoples as 'underclass' (Wotherspoon, 2003). Wotherspoon's discussion of the middle class and studies such as the UATF (2007) and the UAPS (2010), indicate that this section of the urban Aboriginal community has not been represented in much of the research. Research into this part of the community would be an acknowledgement of the diversity of experiences that currently exist. Wotherspoon states that the existence of the middle class provides opportunities for direct and indirect influence, potential role models for youth, and a pool of skills and resources that can be mobilized by the community (2003). The UAPS reports that the growing Aboriginal middle class is pursuing available options for economic growth, making partnerships with non-Aboriginal peoples, diversifying, and accessing assistance opportunities (2010:212). Due to the social service orientation of most urban Aboriginal organizations, the burgeoning Aboriginal middle-class do not or are not able to participate in these community affairs (Urban Aboriginal Task Force, 2007). Horn and Halseth point out that a middle income group is key to economic growth and call for more exploration of the Aboriginal middle class, their participation in community and their involvement in urban Aboriginal economies (2011).

Based on the literature reviewed, it is apparent that urban Aboriginal economies and practices are not as well researched as aspects of poverty and unemployment. Future areas for research include:

•The nature of urban Aboriginal economies (historical and contemporary)
•Models of success in urban Aboriginal economies
•Urban Aboriginal economies and identity
•Aboriginal organizations and urban Aboriginal economies
•Aboriginal women and urban Aboriginal economies
•The emerging Aboriginal middle-income group.
•Metis and Inuit urban economies
•Culture and urban Aboriginal economies

Women

The literature on women in the urban Aboriginal community is filled with gaps. Aboriginal women as a whole are underrepresented in research. Many studies that have been conducted or demographics that have been discussed in the past have focused on the male Aboriginal experience. In the urban context, this trend has been repeated until recently. Despite growing understanding that disturbing demographic realities were affecting urban Aboriginal women disproportionately, research has been slow to respond. Without a doubt, the research that exists is problem-focused with very little work in positive representation or revitalization. Much of this research also ignores the interrelatedness of many issues confronting urban Aboriginal women today and deals with individuals rather than the community as a whole. Very similar to the

research on youth, what has been done is of questionable significance to urban Aboriginal women themselves and does not reflect their needs and priorities. The emerging trends in the literature involve an examination of women's health concerns; solutions based research for violence against urban Aboriginal women; identity; community involvement and business.

Demographically, urban Aboriginal women are more vulnerable to poverty, poor health, and homelessness. They have consistently been invisible to policy makers, even though they are often the heads of single families in one of the fastest growing and youngest populations in Canada (White and Lowe, 2008). The health of Aboriginal women is one of the trends that dominates the current literature and has historically received more attention from mainstream policy (Stout and Kipling, 1998; White and Lowe, 2008). An annotated bibliography of Aboriginal women's health research published in 2005, analyzed all current health research and only briefly mentioned urban Aboriginal women due to the lack of research (Bennett, 2005). A great deal of the existing literature remains a cursory analysis of demographics and the effect of the interrelated social determinants of health. The literature represents that there has been recent research on HIV/AIDS and its impact on the women of the urban Aboriginal community. Aboriginal women are at a greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, which is in turn impacted by their "triple marginalization". This term, or sometimes "triple jeopardy", is used throughout the health literature that focuses on Aboriginal women. It refers to the reality that when Aboriginal women have a health challenge they are discriminated against in addition to the discrimination they face for being both Aboriginal and a woman.

The impact of the social determinants of health is often extreme in this segment of the community, as the challenges brought by colonization, poverty, lack of safe housing, violence, and lack of access to services contribute to the overall health and well-being of urban Aboriginal women. In addition, many scholars highlight the need for culturally appropriate health services, particularly in light of the fact that many urban Aboriginal women have access to mainstream services (Benoit, 2003; NWAC, 2007; White and Lowe, 2008, Hardy et al 2000). Hardy et al. did a study that examined the development of an Aboriginal Health Access Centre in Sudbury. The authors discussed the link between colonization, poverty and health and gave examples of how the use of traditional teachings, ceremonies, and Aboriginal values can complement Western practices to improve physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health (Hardy et al, 2000; Waldram, 2006). There is some representation in the literature surrounding urban Aboriginal women and access to services in general, due to jurisdictional issues, racism, illness, poverty, and substance abuse (Benoit, 2003). Some scholars have done studies on the silence and dismissal that accompanies urban Aboriginal women's encounters with the health care system (Aboriginal Women's Initiative, 2011; Kurtz et al., 2008; Dodgson and Struthers, 2005). These experiences, as noted by Kurtz et al, cause urban Aboriginal women to delay seeking health care (Kurtz et al, 2008; Dodgson and Struthers, 2005)

Overall, the literature on Aboriginal women health concerns rarely mentions the urban context or, if it does, the urban context is treated as simply a place rather than a community that can have an impact upon health. Many scholars have called for greater representation in research for all urban Aboriginal women's health concerns at every stage of their life (Aboriginal Women's Initiative, 2011; Kurt et al., 2008; White and Lowe, 2008; NWAC, 2007; Dodgson and Struthers, 2005; Hardy et al., 2000).

Homelessness and housing challenges are another issue that confronts urban Aboriginal women disproportionately. As stated, housing challenges in the urban context are not well researched. Poor housing affects all aspects of health and well-being, as well as impacting education and economic stability. The issue of housing and urban Aboriginal women is just beginning to be explored by researchers beyond demographic trends. In 2008, Waldbrook undertook a study in Sudbury examining housing and urban Aboriginal women and found that racism was a large barrier when trying to access rental housing and other services (2008). The housing demographics indicate that Aboriginal women are more likely to be homeless than non-Aboriginal women, while the homeless services are geared toward a male population (White and Lowe, 2008). It should be stated that housing issues intersect mobility issues for urban Aboriginal women in substantial ways. Clatworthy (1996) and Norris, Cooke and Clatworthy (2002) have stated that the urban Aboriginal population is highly mobile but these rates were highest for Aboriginal women who routinely reported that housing was an issue.

An existing trend in urban Aboriginal research is violence against Aboriginal women. It has been well established that Aboriginal women suffer greater rates of injury and violence. In an urban context, Aboriginal women are at a greater risk of violence than non-Aboriginal women due to social and economic vulnerability, as well as pervasive racism (Kurtz et al, 2008; UATF, 2007). In fact, NWAC reports that of the cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women, 60% were murdered in an urban area and 28% in a rural area (NWAC, What Their Stories Tell Us: Research findings from the Sisters In Spirit Initiative, 2010). Over 70% of women and girls went missing from urban areas and 22% were last seen in rural areas. NWAC states that the situation of missing and murdered Aboriginal women is overwhelmingly an urban issue complicated by complex socio-economic factors and mobility factors (NWAC 2010). Despite these known statistics, the literature has a demographic based focus on violence. In the past, the literature focused on domestic violence and its impact but this is changing to investigate violence against Aboriginal women that is perpetuated by strangers (Kurtz et al, 2008). In addition, there is a growing stream of solutions-based research that concentrates on urban Aboriginal women. These are research projects that involve interviews and focus groups with urban Aboriginal women and the aim is not to measure the incidence of violence but rather to examine the experiences of violence and to humanize the statistics (Kurtz et al, 2008; UATF, 2007; OFIFIC, 2007; Jacobs and Gill, 2002).

In addition, recent research has begun to explore urban Aboriginal women and human trafficking. This forced sexual slavery is widely associated with substance abuse; organized crime such as gangs, prostitution, and socio-economic challenges (Totten, 2009). The issues of human trafficking, prostitution, and participation in gangs are all recognized as existing with the urban Aboriginal community but little research has been undertaken regarding these topics as they relate to urban Aboriginal women. The literature states that in addition to the racialized violence and the existing systemic risk factors, urban Aboriginal women are more hesitant to report violence for fear that they will not be taken seriously (Kurtz et al, 2008; NWAC, 2008). The literature also indicates that there is a fear of loss of children or being the subject of shame if services are accessed (Status of Women, 2006). Studies have also cited poor relationships with the police as being a factor of fear in reporting violence. The experiences urban Aboriginal women have had with the police have resulted in a disproportionately high incarceration rate (LaPraire and Stenning, 2003; NWAC, 2007; CAP, 2007). Scholars and community leaders call for more research in this area, particularly in research that is community led, reflects women's voices, and examines the specific needs of urban Aboriginal women in regards to violence. There is more need of quantitative research that investigates the links between violence, racism, and other urban complexities, particularly in light of NWAC's research.

The literature has also started to examine the services available to women in abusive situations and how the existing services meet their needs. It is understood, through all of the literature, that available services do not meet the diversity of needs to support urban Aboriginal women. UATF, and other studies (Kurtz, et al., 2008; Kipling and Stout, 1998), have stated that urban Aboriginal women need support services such as: healthy food, safe shelter, clothing, transportation, addictions, mental health, relationships, life skills, legal counseling, transitional housing, education and training, and childcare services (UATF, 2007:207). UATF has suggested the creation of an urban Aboriginal Women's Strategy, which could focus on continuum of care, the co-ordination of services and the creation of new programs. In the study by Kurtz et al., it was clear that urban Aboriginal women felt silenced and needed to have real input and control over any policies and programs that were created for them.

Another theme in the literature related to urban Aboriginal women is that of policy and legislation with accompanying service outcomes. Since 1985 there has been a surge in research on the Indian Act and Bill C-31Matrimonial Real Property rights and the far-reaching effects they have had in Aboriginal women's identity. Many Aboriginal women who lost status moved to urban areas and when they were reinstated remained in the cities for a variety of different reasons. As a result, the themes in literature impact urban Aboriginal women directly. Although it is too broad to outline here, the research in this area intersects important themes such as: systemic discrimination; access to services based on status; violence and socio-economic status; political representation; cultural identity; and the creation of

inequities among and between Aboriginal women and men (Fiske and George, 2006).

It should be stated that though the majority of research emphasizes marginalization, Jaccoud and Bressard (2003) indicate that it is not necessarily the city that causes marginalization. In their research, they maintain that for those Aboriginal women who are born on the reserve, the process of marginalization began well before they migrated to the city. This is part of a much broader context that is associated with former and continuing colonization. Jaccoud and Bressard state that though the urban context can be isolating for Aboriginal women, it also offers some survival and protective factors. What it does not do, as evidenced by the dearth of research and services regarding urban Aboriginal women, is offer sustained opportunities for the improvement of living conditions (2003). Similarly, Culhane (2003) shares that urban Aboriginal women are at once over exposed by the narratives of marginalization at the same time as being erased and silenced through colonial representations. Her article discusses the holding of an annual Valentine's Day march through Vancouver's Downtown Eastside as part of urban Aboriginal women demonstrating strong community leadership and activism in an effort to draw attention to particular issues that affect the community disproportionately.

Urban Aboriginal communities are dependent upon this activism of urban Aboriginal women, or 'Volunteer Queens' who may be employed by social service agencies but most likely volunteer their time to help the urban Aboriginal community. This highlights a growing trend in the literature that illustrates the resilience and resistance in the urban Aboriginal community. The research indicates that it is specifically women who keep community issues politicized and circulating in addition to working tirelessly building and protecting community. UATF (2007) states that despite large gaps in services and programming, urban Aboriginal women are the most socially active in working to end oppression (2007:207). Many of these roles are imperative to the overall health of the community, yet often invisible (Silver, 2007).

Scholars such as Culhane (2003), Bobiwash (2003) and Janovicek (2003) examine urban Aboriginal political activism and resiliency and how it is entangled with broader processes of the mobility of Aboriginal women. Many urban Aboriginal women who came to urban centres, arrived after being forced out due to the patriarchal nature of the Indian Act, due to violence, due to economic hardships and/or due to lack of housing. Due to these unique experiences, urban Aboriginal women had challenges that were not being addressed by the Friendship Centres and so began to organize among themselves. Janovicek examined the history of women's organizing in Thunder Bay and stated that women needed emergency shelter to remove themselves and their children from abusive relationships. Aboriginal women of Thunder Bay in the 1970's began to organize spaces, oriented to craft and homemaker activities, in which they could freely discuss their central concerns (2003). Bobiwash in particular reviews the history of urban Aboriginal

organizing in Toronto and connects this to a development of an Aboriginal middle class in the city. She discusses the complexities of early urban political activities and the collaborations that occurred with wealthy non-Aboriginal organizations to further the strengthening of the urban Aboriginal community. In addition, Bobiwash indicates that occupying a middle class status allowed Aboriginal women to commit time and effort to community service. She states "…[t]hey pursued the dual goals of ensuring and maintaining the integrity of Native cultural identity in the city and building financial support for the establishment and delivery of services to Native people" (2003:578). Though Bobiwash is speaking historically, this is a phenomenon also commented on by UATF (2007) and UAPS (2010).

Similarly, there is very little research available on economic development and urban Aboriginal women, despite the overwhelming poverty and unemployment statistics. In 2008, the National Network for Urban Aboriginal Economic Development undertook a study in five communities to assess how to engage more urban Aboriginal women in creating business enterprises. This study indicated two key points. The first is that Aboriginal women lack the support structures available in an urban context for beginning a business. Second, Aboriginal women occupy key leadership positions in urban Aboriginal organizations and have created large and sustainable networks and relationships. Through this work they have developed leadership abilities, skills and experience in management. This study concluded that bringing together these two audiences would be of great benefit, coupled with the creation of necessary support structures (Aboriginal Women in Economic Development, Aboriginal Business and Community Development Centre, 2009). According to Findlay and Wuttunee, one of the issues in this field is that much of the work undertaken by Aboriginal women remains invisible and under resourced (2007). Considering that the majority of the urban Aboriginal population is female and many are the single heads of households, further attention needs to be paid to urban Aboriginal women's economic participation.

Based on the literature reviewed concerning urban Aboriginal women, it is notable that the larger research projects (UATF, 2007; UAPS, 2010; Kurtz et al, 2008, etc.), which sought to document urban Aboriginal women's needs and experiences, incorporate themes that are not largely researched. Future directions for research include:

•There is very little information on urban Aboriginal women and their experiences, whether teaching or learning, with education.
•Much more work needs to be undertaken in the field of economic development, as women form a significant part of the community and have acquired a solid skill base in management.
•Urban Aboriginal women and their identity is beginning to be explored but not nearly enough. They are artists, writers, actresses, storytellers, etc. and it is important that their work with cultural revitalization (language, art, history, identity) be explored.

•Their role in political organizing and organizations, whether through Aboriginal service organizations and Friendship Centres or not, should be examined.
•In addition, the challenges that face urban Aboriginal women daily are under researched.
•Their experience with violence, racism, housing, health, etc. should be approached from a distinctly urban experience.
•Also, the diversity of women and the challenges they face associated with different ages, nationalities, and sexual orientations should be considered.

Youth

Much of the research on urban Aboriginal youth begins with a discussion of statistics. As was stated previously, this gives a very narrow and negative understanding of this section of the urban Aboriginal community. A review of the literature of Aboriginal youth finds that on-reserve communities continue to dominate the research. The youth of the urban Aboriginal community, according to statistics are much more likely to experience insufficient housing, food insecurity, violence, poverty, unemployment, and poor health outcomes (Statistics Canada, 2006, OFIFC, 2012). What is most notable about all of this literature is that it follows what Newhouse describes as the "study of lack" template. There are surface analyses of demographic material and an overwhelming consensus that the urban Aboriginal population is in a state of crisis. Though demographic investigations are necessary, they can reduce experiences to numbers without deeper investigations. The landscape of this research, then, is filled with significant gaps. The current trends include youth programming; innovative identity research; and investigations into urban Aboriginal youth mental health.

In recent years, there have been some research studies that have attempted to analyze the urban Aboriginal youth experience by engaging with them through focus groups and interviews. This research has the ability to let us hear the voices and concerns from the youth themselves but it is imperative that this research be connected back to larger trends in urban Aboriginal communities. Given the importance of the youth to the overall urban Aboriginal community and the fact that they comprise half of the total Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada, 2006), there is not a great deal of research that has explored the experiences of this part of the community.

In 2003, the government commissioned an Urban Aboriginal Youth Taskforce, which took a deeper look into the experiences of urban Aboriginal youth. They began with a framework of "social exclusion", searching for multiple ways in which urban Aboriginal youth can be supported in every facet of their lives. They recommended government funding for appropriate youth centres, healthy and culturally appropriate programming and activities, widespread educational reforms, health programming, gang-exit supports, substance abuse facilities, as well as short

term and long term employment strategies. This report also highlighted those programs in these areas that were extremely successful and summarized their best practices.   It was stated that the youth must be able to substantially contribute to the content and structure of any future initiatives, as youth empowerment is key to their well-being. Notably, this report is one of the only reports on youth that discuss the necessity of a wholistic approach. They acknowledge that the most challenging areas the urban Aboriginal youth face are intimately connected and that solutions cannot depend entirely upon programming and services but must engage with the community as a whole. This implies that the youth cannot be specifically targeted without also improving urban life for adults (2003). Similarly, Crooks et al. examined how to make services and programming more relevant to the urban Aboriginal youth population and found that strength-based programming which considered all circumstances, historical and current, that affect the youth was key. They also stated, like the Taskforce (2003), that youth empowerment and cultural relevance was of utmost importance (Crooks et al., 2009).

There has been some research into urban Aboriginal youth and identity formation and maintenance. Belanger et al. (2003), explored experiences of identity and urban Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg and found that there was a lack of programming that encouraged positive identity formation. Interestingly, the youth in this study found themselves in a good position to teach the non-Aboriginal community about Aboriginal peoples (2003). An innovative article that calls for similar research examines the themes of political identity and racism through Aboriginal hip-hop. The author worked in a youth centre in Edmonton and investigated the way Aboriginal youth were moving and interacting across urban spaces in the face of racism and colonial assumptions (Buffam, 2011). It is clear from the above research that youth identity and interactions with urban communities are incredibly diverse and need more research attention.

The majority of the literature that tackles urban Aboriginal youth is centered in discussions of poverty, unemployment, violence and health. There are great similarities in these works, as they tend to be smaller studies that incorporate interviews and/or a focus group, census or other statistics data, or a broader sociological analysis. In many cases, this work reinforces the conclusions of the statistics data and the need for action. For example, the health of urban Aboriginal youth is poorer than that of non-Aboriginal youth and they tend to represent higher in those chronic disease categories as compared to youths on reserve. A small health literature review found that even with the knowledge of these statistics, researchers were focusing on non-Aboriginal youth 2.5 times more than Aboriginal youth (Wilson and Young, 2008). Of this literature, addictions and substance abuse, as well as diabetes and obesity are dominant themes. Mental health is beginning to be researched in urban Aboriginal youth, and hopefully concurrent disorders, but mental health and Aboriginal peoples as a whole is under-researched. In some of this research, the urban context is treated as a mere location fraught with accompanying sociological circumstances rather than a home or community. In

some cases, the urban context is forsaken for a discussion of Aboriginal youth challenges as a whole (Ghelani, 2011).

The literature that engages with youth education, programming, and identity is where the most innovative work is being done. To be sure, this literature also has its share of statistical discussions and discourse of "lack". However, these topics have delved into the urban context that affects the youth and has turned to the youth themselves to explore the needs of this part of the community. Earlier, the education research was discussed and though there is a representation in the literature of the experiences of urban Aboriginal teachers, the primary information comes from urban Aboriginal youth. Their voices are rather well represented in that section of the literature.

Similar to Aboriginal women, Aboriginal youth have a body of research associated with them, yet very little is done with an urban lens. Notable exceptions are some identity formation research, education and poverty. Based on the literature reviewed, future research includes:

•Youth identity and their possible position as cultural brokers,
•The influence of Friendship Centres on their identity formation and specific arts based inquiries should be examined.
•In addition, their political involvement, their ideas of urban community participation, and perhaps their thoughts on governance should be considered.
•Additionally, more demographic information and examination of challenges that urban Aboriginal youths face, including their experiences with police, drugs, housing, racism, gangs, etc. needs to be explored.
•Though there is some research on Aboriginal gangs, like so many other Aboriginal youth research projects, the urban environment is not necessarily considered as a factor. Every aspect of life for Aboriginal youth in the cities needs to have more research associated with it. Currently, there is very little complex research available that explores urban Aboriginal youth experiences.

Community

The literature concerning the urban Aboriginal community has changed over time. The early research is very oriented around the perceived innate incompatibility of Aboriginal peoples and the city. The city was continually portrayed as a centre of cultural loss and focused on the inability of Aboriginal peoples to adjust to life in the city as being responsible for grim socio-economic statistics. This sentiment was even portrayed, albeit to a lesser extent, in the RCAP report (1996). In recent literature researchers have endeavoured to concentrate on how Aboriginal peoples are living their lives in the city and what this community looks like. Previous assumptions of mobility, the role of culture and identity are being questioned and explored. These are the emerging trends in the literature,

along with a more in-depth examination of pervasive racism against the Aboriginal community and individuals within urban centres and its impact.

The mobility patterns of the urban Aboriginal community have broad implications, not only for demographics, research and service delivery but also governance issues. There have been some excellent studies concerning mobility patterns that will not be reviewed here (Clatworthy, 1996; Clatworthy and Cooke, 2001; Norris, Cook and Clatworthy, 2002a, 2002b; Norris et al., 2001; Norris and Clatworthy, 2011). Mobility itself has been routinely examined from a Western perspective and has, until recently, been applied to urban Aboriginal communities accordingly. It should be noted that mobility in the urban Aboriginal context is a complex phenomenon that refers to what Norris has termed the "churn". Urban areas may provide more economic and educational opportunities, along with a possibility for housing and increased health services. However, it has been established that urban Aboriginal mobility patterns can be part of not only Aboriginal identity maintenance (i.e.: returning to the community to reinforce ties with the land and culture) but also maintaining family and community relationships. These aspects of urban Aboriginal mobility and migration deserve further investigation.

Historically, migration has been a factor in the growth of Aboriginal populations in urban areas, however recent studies indicate that growth factors are increasingly ethnic mobility and natural increase (Norris and Clatworthy, 2011). There are complex dimensions for mobility, which are particularly affected by gender and housing related issues as stated earlier. In the mobility literature it is clear that reserves and rural areas continue to be key places for urban Aboriginal residents and that there are differences between migration patterns across cities and provinces. Scholars have stated that the research on mobility patterns is limited and is only just beginning to delve into the complexities. It is clear that employment, housing and gender play important roles but the difference between people that are more mobile (migrants) and less mobile (non-migrants) are not clear cut (Peters, 2002). According to a recent mobility study in Winnipeg, safe and secure housing is a key issue, along with culturally appropriate support systems (First Nations/Metis/Inuit Mobility Study, 2004). This large study, however, also indicated that reasons for leaving the city were mostly due to family issues. In addition, different kinds of services throughout the city were frequently accessed, regardless of mobility. As Peters states, any policy or programing that focuses exclusively on urban areas is at risk of ignoring an important set of factors that influence the community (Peters, 2002).

Identity and culture provide an important theme in the research on urban Aboriginal communities. RCAP (1996) found that the maintenance of identity and culture was foundational to urban Aboriginal people, though the challenges of doing this without access to traditional people, places and practices were significant. They also stated that the influence of racism and stereotypes played a role in pursuing and maintaining Aboriginal identities and practices.

As has been stated previously, the idea that Aboriginal identities and the urban context are incompatible still exists. However, Newhouse argues that the presence of Aboriginal identities in an urban context is not only changing the Western institutions but also creating a strong revitalization movement (Newhouse, 2000). Scholars have continually found the truth in RCAP's initial statement in how cultures and identities are being actively maintained and explored in urban contexts. Moreover, recent research indicates that urban Aboriginal peoples are feeling more confident in their ability to retain and expand their identity and culture within the city (Restoule, 2005; UATF, 2007; UAPS, 2010; Peters, 2011). Though this is a solid theme in the urban Aboriginal literature, it requires continuing and complex investigations, as Peters states, because understanding contemporary urban Aboriginal identities is key to understanding how urban Aboriginal communities are functioning and thriving (Peters, 2011). In addition to this, it is also necessary to understand those factors that are threatening Aboriginal identities, cultures and practices in an urban context. In fact, Peters (2011) has recently undertaken an exhaustive literature review on urban Aboriginal identity that is an excellent survey of recent identity research.

One aspect of the identity literature is the important role of Friendship Centres and Aboriginal service organizations. As illustrated throughout the review, Friendship Centres and Aboriginal service organizations have been foundational to the urban Aboriginal community. The Friendship Centre movement began in 1951, with the National Association of Friendship Centres being established as the national body in 1972 (Cyr, 2011). As previously stated, there are 125 Friendship Centres all over Canada and each is a community based and directed institution that serves the diverse social, cultural, economic, recreational, and community development needs of the urban Aboriginal community. They have also provided space, education and inspiration for identity maintenance and exploration. Work by Janovicek, mentioned earlier in the review, and other scholars have discussed how having space and control over services that allowed participants in programs to enforce their identity (Janovicek, 2003; Newhouse, 2003; Silver, 2006; Proulx, 2003). In addition, Lavallee and other scholars have reported that these institutions can offer programming that is not necessarily identity based, yet the way in which it is delivered encourages participants to reflect on their culture and identity. For instance, Lavallee did research on a martial arts program offered at a Friendship Centre and found that it incorporated Indigenous teachings and philosophies. This demonstrated to the participants how identity connections were possible in the urban setting (Lavallee, 2008). More research is necessary into the effect these organizations have upon identity. Some of this information has been captured in the various histories that exist about the Friendship Centre movement and specific Friendship Centres, however it warrants its own research.

Research on artists and performers and their relationship to identity formation and maintenance are not very well explored. Foster (2012) has done a study that examined the role of artists and performers in maintaining cultural

sovereignty in Toronto. This piece opens up space to explore different ways Aboriginal identity can be expressed in urban contexts and research such as this can lead to other explorations of identity and art.

Experiences of urban Aboriginal communities should be firmly embedded in a discussion of history, colonial legacies and racism. Recently, more research and literature is apt to situate itself in these contexts, recognizing that some of the more negative circumstances experienced by the urban Aboriginal community are direct results of dislocation, discrimination, residential schools, dispossession and colonial trauma. Peters states that there is a recent trend in research that examines the erasure of Aboriginal people from urban spaces, tracing this history from earlier encroachments by settlers to the continuing "'municipal colonialism'" in city planning (Wilson and Peters, 2005; Peters, 2011; Stanger-Ross, 2008; Belanger and Walker, 2009). The term "municipal colonialism" was introduced by Stanger-Ross in 2008. In this article, the author examines the development of the city of Vancouver and the "problem" imposed by the two communities of Kitsilano and Musqueam inside the city. Stanger-Ross maintains that urban areas are a "particularly powerful" expression of settler possession and hence have particular methods of dispossession of urban Aboriginal people and communities(2008).

In an interesting article by Belanger and Walker, the Municipal Aboriginal Pathways of Winnipeg is examined. These scholars found that though the Aboriginal policy agenda of Winnipeg was stated to be defined in terms of "co-production" and co-operation, in practice it was the city that determined the nature of the political relationship and approached the Aboriginal community only when the city deemed it necessary (2009). In order to have meaningful engagement with the urban Aboriginal community, Aboriginal peoples must be considered full partners in policy and planning production. An examination into the policy directions of smaller urban areas in Manitoba has yielded similar results. This research by Moore, Walker and Skelton indicated that these urban governments continued to dictate whether or not there was an Aboriginal policy direction and who would participate in it. These authors conclude that though the Canadian myth might be undergoing a re-write, the fundamental colonial mentality ensures continuing relationships of inequality (2011).

These authors represent a growing academic trend that reflects the position of the urban Aboriginal community within, and its relationships with, urban centres. The preceding articles represent scholarship that is engaging and analyzing urban Aboriginal policies and how they are being affected by and affecting urban Aboriginal communities. A notable book representing this trend is entitled *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters (2011).   The purpose of this book is to discuss the diversity of policy issues that face urban Aboriginal communities. The authors in this book highlight the fact that each municipality has sometimes vastly different Aboriginal policies, which are impacted by provincial relationships, federal relationships and jurisdictional issues. The article by Abele and Graham examined the complex relationships between urban

areas and urban Aboriginal communities and determined that changes in policy tend to coincide with the location of urban areas on the federal agenda and whether or not particular issues (such as occupations, etc.) were of central concern. These scholars argue that since 1993, the federal government has veered away from episodic investment in and attention to urban Aboriginal issues. The authors attribute this to the federal recognition of the importance of cities, the maturity and activity of urban Aboriginal organizations, and the overall federal recognition of the need for engagement with urban Aboriginal peoples.

Another interesting article in this book concerns urban Aboriginal policy in New Brunswick. Regionally, there is not a great deal of discussion concerning urban Aboriginal policy on the East Coast. Murray's article analyzes the history of Aboriginal urban relationships with municipalities in New Brunswick and concludes with optimism. From her perspective, early relationships, pre-Confederation, are in a period where these relationships became an official concerned and were defined by proximity of town and reserve. In the 19th century, industrialization defined the period where segregation between town and reserve was preferred. Murray states that the third period was marked by the end of the Second World War and was defined by the eradication of the reserve system and integration of Aboriginal peoples into urban labour markets. Murray believes that current relationships represent the fourth era, which she calls trans-spatial. This represents the relationship between urban centres and reserves as being economically and constitutionally interdependent (2011).

Abele et al, examines the Aboriginal policies in four different Ontario cities. The vastly different Aboriginal policies that have developed in each city, state the authors, can be attributed to demographics and their histories. They make the important point that Aboriginal rights and title do not form part of the municipal governance framework. This highlights the importance, then, of Aboriginal organizations who make Aboriginal concerns "visible" to municipalities. Good urban Aboriginal policy, according to the authors, is very much affected by strong and engaged urban Aboriginal organizations who take it upon themselves to keep urban Aboriginal concerns on the municipal agenda (2011).

Andersen and Strachan write an article in this volume that concerns the need for federal leadership in the creation of urban Aboriginal policies. Examining Alberta, the scholars conclude that there is a great deal of Aboriginal programming that occurs in urban centres but in a policy vacuum. This means that the programs and services available vary vastly by city and that there is a great deal of overlap and gaps in services. The authors also conclude that this situation places urban Aboriginal communities of Alberta in competition with one another for funding, most of which is short-term (2011). Finally, Walker et al contribute a paper that is related to some of Walker's previous research. The authors examine urban centres in Manitoba, including Winnipeg, and state that co-production of urban Aboriginal policy is necessary to combat a re-production of colonial relationships. Currently, policy is being produced by governments and implemented in urban Aboriginal

communities. Though the authors identify promising practices, they state that there are a number of stakeholders that are taken to represent urban Aboriginal communities. It is problematic to identify urban Aboriginal leadership as those who are members of one political organization and ignore other elements of diversity. Overall, this book is an important contribution to understandings of urban Aboriginal policies and relationships between Aboriginal urban communities and urban centres.

In addition, non-Aboriginal racism and its effect on urban Aboriginal individuals and communities are starting to be discussed explicitly in the research. Restoule's research on urban Aboriginal men and their identity in Toronto found that people frequently hid their identity to avoid racism (2005). This theme is widely evident in the literature (both historically and recently) and many scholars have discussed how this self-denial and family denial of identity has impacted urban Aboriginal peoples today. This denial of identity can be shame based and/or fear based, as racism can lead to physical and mental trauma (Lawrence, 2004; Belanger et al., 2003). The study by Belanger et al., provides a youth perspective on the impact of racism on identity development. According to these youth who were interviewed in Winnipeg, there is more identity based programming necessary to counteract this racism and build a positive sense of self (2003:iv). The UATF and the UAPS both indicated that racism extended from difficulty with potential landlords, to employers, to police, to shopping with a Status card, to teacher encounters (2007:21; Environics, 2010). Racism not only occurs from non-Aboriginal people but also from Aboriginal people, frequently based on a claim to racial or cultural authenticity. These studies also indicate the severe lack of anti-racism initiatives or even acknowledgement by cities that racism against Aboriginal peoples is pervasive (2007).

Not all racism, however, is overt and a study of culturally appropriate healthcare treatment in Winnipeg by Devertuil and Wilson indicate that the discrimination that occurs can be attributed to white privilege and its normalization. They maintain that leaving this privilege unexamined is what leads to the exclusion of cultural approaches to issues (2010).

The literature concerning the urban Aboriginal community in all of its facets has been expanding in both scope and depth in recent years. The city and Aboriginal culture are no longer regarded as inherently incompatible and there is beginning to be an increase in positive Aboriginal identity formation. Based on the literature reviewed, future areas of research include:

- Arts-based research - urban Aboriginal music, performance (theatre, movies, story-telling, art)
- Examination of the diversity with the urban Aboriginal community (nations, genders, sexual orientations, age, income, etc.) and how it intersects with identity, mobility and racism
- How mobility affects service delivery, governance and policy

•How mobility, gender, housing and diversity intersect
•Experiences with racism and solution based research
•Neighbourhoods – much of the research on urban Aboriginal communities is individually focused
•Friendship Centres and their influence on identity

Conclusion

This literature review has covered a vast amount of current research that concerns urban Aboriginal peoples. The emerging trends in the literature were divided into nine general themes of: 1) Health and Wellness; 2) Education; 3) Governance and Policy; 4) Housing; 5) Justice; 6) Economic Development; 7) Women; 8) Youth; and 9) Community. These themes cover the majority of the literature that currently exists. There have been some topics that have not been covered due to time and space limitation. The review does provide an overview of the existing research landscape. The gaps in urban Aboriginal research remain significant in every theme. This provides the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network with an opportunity to improve and expand the current research, both locally and nationally.

At the end of each theme, there are brief areas indicated for research opportunities. Each one of these recommendations can be executed on a national scale and these large-scale studies would be welcomed in the literature. Large-scale studies involving urban Aboriginal peoples have been limited to province wide research or studies that compare urban Aboriginal experiences in different cities. A national picture of the different facets of urban Aboriginal life is missing from the literature, as the existing statistics are not able to provide an accurate snapshot.

Who are the members of the urban Aboriginal community?   This seems to be a basic question, however, the existing statistics cannot tell us. The issues with collecting demographic about urban Aboriginal people are significant, as mentioned earlier, and this leaves a hole in our knowledge. Under every theme reviewed, there is a lack of literature that represents the diversity of the urban Aboriginal community. More research needs to occur with the different segments of the community. This includes: Aboriginal women, Inuit peoples, Metis peoples, Non-Status peoples, Aboriginal youth, Elders, and sexual orientations. The research required is both quantitative and qualitative, so that the literature truly reflects the existing urban Aboriginal community. Any kind of demographic research that occurs should be complex in nature, using a variety of methodological lenses and tackling nuanced urban issues. In addition, the "who" question tends to be individually focused in the literature. The "who" question can and should have a collective focus as well. The field would benefit from more quantitative and qualitative investigation (such as UATF, 2007 and UAPS 2010). However, these

studies give current overviews of the community, whereas in-depth looks at the histories of these communities would provide a well-rounded picture.

This literature review has also indicated that how this research is being conducted is increasingly important. Many scholars have indicated that there should be a greater methodological depth to the studies that are being done. In the past, the sociological lens tended to dominate the field, though that is quickly changing. Innovative work can be done in which researchers use gender lenses, arts-based methodologies, and various other investigative tools that can help to expand the field. In addition to this, it appears as though much of the innovative and effective research currently conducted is done through partnerships with Aboriginal organizations. Whether researchers are partnered with housing initiatives, Friendship Centres, or health organizations, this research usually responds to a direct need that has been identified by the urban Aboriginal community. The studies that result can have far-reaching policy implications and produce long-standing relationships (that may lead to future research) that are beneficial to the community. These working relationships and alliances should also be studied so that ethics and best practices in an urban Aboriginal context can be further developed.

What needs to be researched? Due to the quantity of existing gaps in the urban Aboriginal research landscape, this question could be answered in many ways. Concerns of members of the urban Aboriginal community are not always reflected in the research. Much of the existing research, even the most current, tends to focus on negative and crisis-oriented experiences. Positive-oriented and strength based research needs to occur in every theme reviewed. As stated above, there should be a collective focus in the research, to complement the individually oriented material, which can represent a diverse understanding of the urban Aboriginal community. In addition to the histories mentioned above, research should be done on the nature of the urban Aboriginal community itself. How has political organizing occurred? What does it look like? How is identity strengthened through community participation? These questions, and others like them, should pay attention to the long history of Aboriginal political organizing in urban contexts. There is a great deal that needs to be researched. The points provided at the end of each of the themes in this review are merely a start.

The UAKN has an immense opportunity to expand and improve upon this existing research in a way that corresponds to its mandate and the needs of the urban Aboriginal community.

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