



Final Paper

This Is What I Wish You Knew:

Exploring Indigenous identities, awareness of Indigenous issues, and views towards reconciliation in the Halifax Regional Municipality

2018

UAKN Atlantic Regional Research Centre

The Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network, the UAKN, is a community driven research network focused on the Urban Aboriginal population in Canada. The UAKN establishes a national, interdisciplinary network involving universities, community, and government partners for research, scholarship and knowledge mobilization. For more information visit: www.uakn.org



Social Sciences and Humanities
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en
sciences humaines du Canada

Canada

This Is What I Wish You Knew:

**Exploring Indigenous identities, awareness of Indigenous issues, and views towards
reconciliation in the Halifax Regional Municipality**

Flint Schwartz

Jad Sinno

Nicole Doria

Janelle Young

Michelle Paul

Dylan Letendre

Vanessa Currie

Carla Taunton

Adele Vukic

Amy Bombay

Lisa Wexler

&

The Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Centre

With the support of the

Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network Atlantic Research Centre (UAKN Atlantic)

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

Canada Council for the Arts

&

Fullbright Canada

INTRODUCTION

Background

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's activities that took place between 2010 and 2015 have shone an undeniable light on the mechanisms and effects of Canada's colonial formation that continues to influence the health and well-being of the Indigenous peoples of this country. In an interview with the Ottawa Citizen (Kennedy, 2015), Justice Sinclair, chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), emphasized that the consequences of the Indian residential school (IRS) system and other aspects of colonization are not just an Indigenous problem, but a Canadian problem:

“Because at the same time that Aboriginal people were being demeaned in the schools and their culture and language were being taken away from them and they were being told that they were inferior.... unworthy of being respected — that very same message was being given to the non-aboriginal children in the public schools.”

This has led to generations of non-Indigenous Canadians perceiving Indigenous people negatively. Sinclair suggests that Canadians need to learn and understand about government policies, practices and their implications, and this is the difficult task that lies before us. Reconciliation, according to Sinclair, is about forging new relationships as equals. Although the role of current and historical policies, programs and determinants in Indigenous mental health inequalities are increasingly recognized in academic and political circles (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014; Elias et al., 2012; Haig-Brown, 1988; Morrisette, 1994; Regan, 2010), these understandings are less common in the views of the general public (Environics Institute, 2010). Before the TRC began its activities in 2010, the urgent need for education, understanding and new relationships in Halifax and other cities in Canada was revealed in the findings of the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (UAPS) conducted in 2009 (Environics Institute, 2010). For example, non-Indigenous Halifax residents were divided about whether Indigenous peoples have a distinct status as the first inhabitants of Canada (Environics Institute, 2010). The lack of recognition and understanding of the unique status and rights of Indigenous peoples is one of the most common forms of contemporary racism against Indigenous peoples (Environics Institute, 2010).

Numerous studies have found that Indigenous peoples are often blamed for the health and social problems they currently face, which is typically accompanied by non-support for policies that would result in improved life circumstances (Denis, 2015). According to the findings of the UAPS, the gulf between Indigenous and mainstream society is particularly pronounced in Halifax. Noticeably fewer Halifax residents were connected advocates for Indigenous issues (12%), compared to the average across Canadian cities (17%) (Environics Institute, 2010, p. 187). The lack of education and awareness of the history and consequences of colonization are among the

main contributors to continuing racism against Indigenous peoples in Canada (St. Denis, 2007). That said, it is unknown whether or not the efforts of the TRC have led to improved awareness levels related to Indigenous peoples in Halifax. However, the available evidence suggests that the majority of mainstream society is unaware of the work undertaken by the TRC or of the impacts of the IRS system (Denis, 2016; Niezen, 2017).

Further complicating the issues, is that the ability of Indigenous peoples to present a clear message of who they are to non-Indigenous peoples is not always straightforward, particularly in urban contexts, and for those who lost aspects of their cultural connectedness as a result of government policies aimed at assimilation (e.g., residential schools, sixties scoop). The legacies of these harmful policies have contributed to multiple, ongoing challenges - not least of which is the disconnection from Indigenous peoples heritage and culture - and the resulting struggle to reclaim and reconstruct their cultural identities (Bombay et al., 2014; King, Smith, & Gracey, 2009). In contrast to community settings in which everyone shares the same traditional cultural values, exploring Indigenous identity in the urban context is particularly complex due to the diversity of cultures represented in cities across Canada. Indigenous identity is further complicated by government-imposed identities, such as Indian Status, that are codified within the *Indian Act 1876* (Palmater, 2011).

Evidence suggests that Indigenous peoples who move from their home communities to urban environments can find themselves without culturally-relevant supports, unable to relate to the culture of the city, and struggling to integrate their past and present realities (Howard & Proulx, 2011; McMillan & Glode-Desrochers, 2014). Even for those comfortable in the mainstream, systemic and interpersonal racism are faced on a daily basis, as well as exclusion, marginalization, and economic disparities (Bombay et al., 2010; Environics Institute, 2010). Disputes between levels of government, lack of Indigenous service coordination and exclusion from local decision-making negatively affect urban Aboriginal people (Brand, Bond, & Shannon, 2016; Howard & Proulx, 2011).

At the same time, Indigenous peoples have created vibrant communities within urban areas, and there are numerous organizations which are designed to meet the needs of urban dwellers and support them to maintain connections to their cultural identities (Newhouse & Peters, 2011). Indeed, as the urban Indigenous population continues to grow, cities are increasingly recognizing the importance of involving communities in service planning and delivery and cities are also sites of economic, social and cultural opportunity for many Indigenous peoples (Carli, 2013; Wall, 2016).

The most recent population estimate for the HRM in 2016 was 403,131 persons, making up 44% of the NS population (Statistics Canada, 2017b) and making it the largest municipality in the Atlantic. Although diversity is low relative to other major cities in Canada, this is changing and is

particularly high in the central zone of the Nova Scotia Health Authority. In the 2016 census, 4.0% of respondents in the HRM self-identified as being First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit, and 6.7% of the HRM reported having Aboriginal ancestry (Statistics Canada, 2017b). Whilst this proportion is small in comparison to other Canadian cities, the statistical evidence indicates that the Indigenous population in Halifax is growing rapidly, having doubled between 2006 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

The dramatic rise in the Indigenous population in Halifax is part of a growing trend of urbanization among Indigenous peoples across Canada (Environics Institute, 2010). The dominant discourse still perceives Indigenous peoples as outsiders within urban areas, despite the fact that many Canadian cities are built on the traditional territories of their nations (Edmonds, 2010). In this way, the act of moving from rural to urban spaces disrupts the symbolic boundaries between Indigenous and settler spaces (Wilson & Peters, 2005). This requires a renegotiation of space and place in Canadian cities, and an increased visibility of Indigenous peoples, their stories and experiences, with the urban landscape (Coombes, Johnson, & Howitt, 2012; Culhane, 2003).

**This is What I Wish You Knew:
A community arts project at the Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Centre**

With these complex issues related to being Indigenous in the city in mind, the Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Centre (MNFC) initiated a community arts project called “This is What I Wish You Knew”, which brought together 50 Indigenous community members to explore what it means to be Indigenous and living in Halifax.



By Sebastien Labelle

Over the course of several months in 2016, these Indigenous youth, adults, and Elders each created a clay tile and accompanying short videos that depict who they are as an Indigenous person, and that tell the stories they wish others knew about what it means to be Indigenous and living in Halifax (<http://www.thisiswhatiwishyouknew.com>). The resulting interactive clay mural that is displayed at MNFC showcases the diversity of the Indigenous population in Halifax, with each community member's tile and an accompanying video that tells the story and message behind each tile. This arts project was aimed at increasing the **visibility** of urban Indigenous peoples in Halifax, and is driven by the intricately linked goals of building **awareness** of Canada's historic and on-going role in colonialism, **recognition** of the experience of Indigenous peoples in Canada, increased **responsibility** of the citizenry for Indigenous social justice, and **the ultimate goal of forging new relationships as equals**. The specific goals of the community arts project were to:

- Investigate, with a cohort of Indigenous community artists, including youth, adults and Elders, how Indigenous peoples in Halifax define and experience their individual and collective identities.
- Engage community members from diverse Indigenous backgrounds as artists in the creation of **an interactive clay mural**, showcasing both individual expressions of identity, through individual tiles, and the collective story of the group through the full mural- where each tile is linked to a 2 to 3-minute film profiling the individual artist and his/her personal story.
- Create new dialogues and discourses about reconciliation, with the larger Indigenous and non-Indigenous community, through intimate engagement with

the lived realities of these Aboriginal artists, offering opportunities to build relationships, respect and understanding between communities through art and social media.

- Build a sense of agency and purpose that positively impacts the artists' sense of identity, wellbeing, and ability to contribute to the ongoing tasks of reconciliation and conciliation in Canada, through the development of a strong community initiative based at MNFC.

**This is What I Wish You Knew:
A community-based research project**

With the same goals of working towards increasing awareness and dialogue regarding the experiences of Indigenous peoples living in the HRM, the MNFC invited researchers and ten Indigenous university students living in Halifax to come together during the community arts project to discuss and explore these same themes related to the ongoing need for increased visibility and awareness of the Indigenous population in the city, and for increased efforts towards reconciliation. The conversations included discussions of personal experiences in Halifax, with many sharing experiences related to racism, lateral violence, and the need for non-Indigenous peoples to learn more about colonization and its impacts. At the same time, there were stories of cultural pride and strength, with many describing how they have been able to thrive in the face of adversity because of their Indigenous identities and continued connections to their culture.



By Chenoah Paul

The stories being shared in the context of the community arts project and by the Indigenous students informed the development of a research project which occurred in tandem with the community arts project “This is What I Wish You Knew”. Developed in collaboration with the MNFC, the research project had the following main goals:

- Assess the diversity of Indigenous peoples living in the HRM and explore the different ways in which they engage with their cultural identities
- Assess the unique experiences that Indigenous peoples living in the HRM face because of their cultural identities
- Assess levels of awareness and attitudes related to Indigenous issues and the need for reconciliation among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living in the HRM
- Assess how levels of awareness and attitudes toward Indigenous issues are associated with each other and how these relationships differ among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living in the HRM
- Assess how seeing the artwork and hearing the stories of Indigenous community members' influences levels of awareness and attitudes towards Indigenous issues among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples living in the HRM

The research took place alongside the community arts project had two components. First, adults (over age of 18) who had lived in the HRM for at least one year who self-identify as being Indigenous, and adults who did not have Indigenous heritage, were invited to complete a self-report questionnaire assessing several aspects of cultural identity, awareness of Indigenous/Canadian history and contemporary issues, and views on issues related to reconciliation in Canada. In part sparked by stories being shared in the community arts project and in part by their own experiences, the themes and questions asked in the survey were developed based on the conversations held between the Indigenous students and the rest of the research team. It was of interest to better understand the linkages between awareness and engagement with Indigenous issues, various aspects of cultural identity—and their relations with collective and allied actions in support of Indigenous issues and reconciliation in Canada.



By Joanne Sylliboy

In the second component of the project, community members who took part in the survey were invited to participate in focus groups aimed to explore the potential of the community arts project to contribute to increased understanding, recognition, and responsibility among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples with varying degrees of awareness and levels of engagement with Indigenous peoples and issues. To do this, three of the tiles from the clay mural, and their accompanying videos that describe the stories and messages behind the tile, were selected out of 50 to best represent the themes of:

- **Visibility/invisibility** of urban Indigenous identities
- **Awareness** of Indigenous issues in Halifax
- **Recognition** of these issues as important (for Indigenous and non-indigenous people)
- **Responsibility** in contributing to the process of moving forward toward social justice

Following the surveys, we conducted focus groups to further contextualize our survey findings and investigate key themes. Two separate focus groups were held with Indigenous (n=7) and non-Indigenous (n=7) peoples who took part in the survey and had agreed to be re-contacted. The group conversation was structured by ten questions asking about Canadian and Indigenous identities, awareness of colonization in Canada and of Indigenous issues, and the responsibilities of its citizenry to Indigenous rights and the need for reconciliation. After these questions, focus group participants were shown three short videos from ‘This is What I Wish You Knew’ in which Indigenous people shared their stories and current struggles punctuated by images of their artwork. The three selected videos feature experiences of intergenerational trauma and current identity struggles. Afterward, participants answered questions about their understanding of these issues and their sense of responsibility to address them as persons, community members and Canadian citizens. Focus group recordings were transcribed verbatim and thematically analyzed in relation to the survey results. Dominant themes relate to issues of identity, historical and political knowledge, and responsibility. These focus group discussions provide insight into how viewing the selected stories influences non-Indigenous peoples understanding of Indigenous issues and their role in responding to them.

The current report

This report presents a summary of the descriptive statistical findings from this survey that Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents of the HRM were invited to complete in 2017 (N=274), a discussion of the preliminary findings from the focus groups. Pictures of the clay tiles from the community arts project are depicted throughout the report.

The first section of the report presents findings from questions that were asked only to the Indigenous participants (N=86). It provides a picture of the diversity of the Indigenous population in the HRM, and the different ways Indigenous peoples identify and engage with their cultural heritage. Survey findings presented in section also emphasized the past and ongoing unique experiences that Indigenous peoples in the HRM have faced as a result of their cultural backgrounds and the focus group data provide insight and context that are consistent with the survey findings.

The second section of the report presents findings from survey and focus groups asking about knowledge regarding colonization in Canada, and about participants' views towards Indigenous experiences in relation to reconciliation in Canada. The survey was presented to both the Indigenous (n=86) and non-Indigenous participants (n=180).

It should be emphasized that the participants who took part in the survey random sample and therefore are not necessarily representative of the larger population in the HRM. Instead, this survey was meant to provide a glimpse into the diversity of the Indigenous population in the HRM, and to get an idea with regard to how Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples view the responsibilities of Canadians to learn more about colonization and to contribute to reconciliation.

While the descriptive statistics that are presented in this preliminary report are informative and speak to the need for further educational and healing initiatives relating to colonization in the HRM, these data will be used in subsequent analyses to explore the links between these variables and how they differ between groups. Further analyses using this data set will explore the predictors of the perceptions and awareness of Indigenous peoples' experiences in Canada, as well as the barriers and facilitators to having positive attitudes towards reconciliation.

It is hoped that this project and its findings will help to understand how giving voice to members of silenced communities can contribute to dialogue and reconciliation - both within the urban Indigenous community - and between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Halifax. Similar community arts projects aimed at contributing to reconciliation are taking place across Canada, and it is hoped that the findings will demonstrate the capacity for community-driven arts based projects to contribute to reconciliation and to healing for Indigenous peoples living in urban areas.

SECTION 1: EXPLORING THE IDENTITIES AND EXPERIENCES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES LIVING IN THE HRM

Indigenous identities in the HRM

Although there are some differences between the terms “Indigenous” and “Aboriginal” in national and international contexts, they both generally refer to First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada. There are over 600 Indigenous nations with distinct histories, languages, cultural practices and belief systems in Canada. There are approximately 1,000 Indigenous communities throughout Canada, representing more than 50 cultural groups (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada [AADNC], 2013).

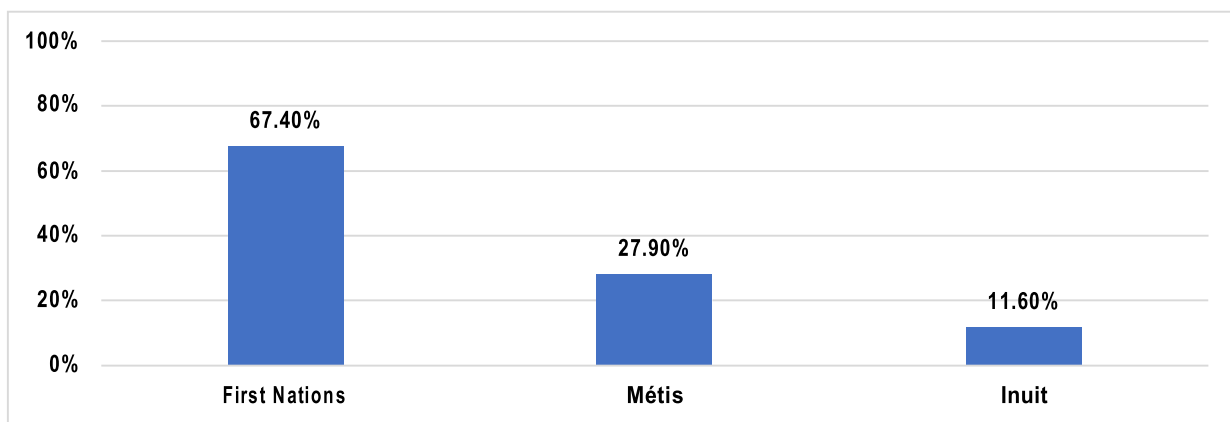


Figure 1. The proportion of Indigenous participants who identified as First Nations, Inuit and Métis. *Note that participants could identify with more than one group.*

Among those who identified as being Indigenous (N=86), 67.4% identified as First Nations, just over one-quarter (27.9%) were Métis, and about twelve percent (11.6%) identified as Inuit (Figure 1), with some identifying with more than one group.

Not unexpectedly, about three-quarters (77.6%) of the survey sample that identified as First Nations were Mi'kmaw, as Halifax is located on unceded Mi'kmaw territory (N=58). That said, in addition to those with Mi'kmaq ancestry living in Halifax, there were First Nations peoples from diverse cultural groups from across Canada who participated in the survey. In this regard, almost ten percent identified as Ojibway (8.6%) and/or Cree (8.6%), with smaller proportions identifying as Maliseet, Innu, Algonquin, Mohawk, or with other First Nations (13.8%; N=58) (Figure 2). Among First Nations participants, just over half (54.7%) were registered under the Indian Act (N=58) (Figure 3).

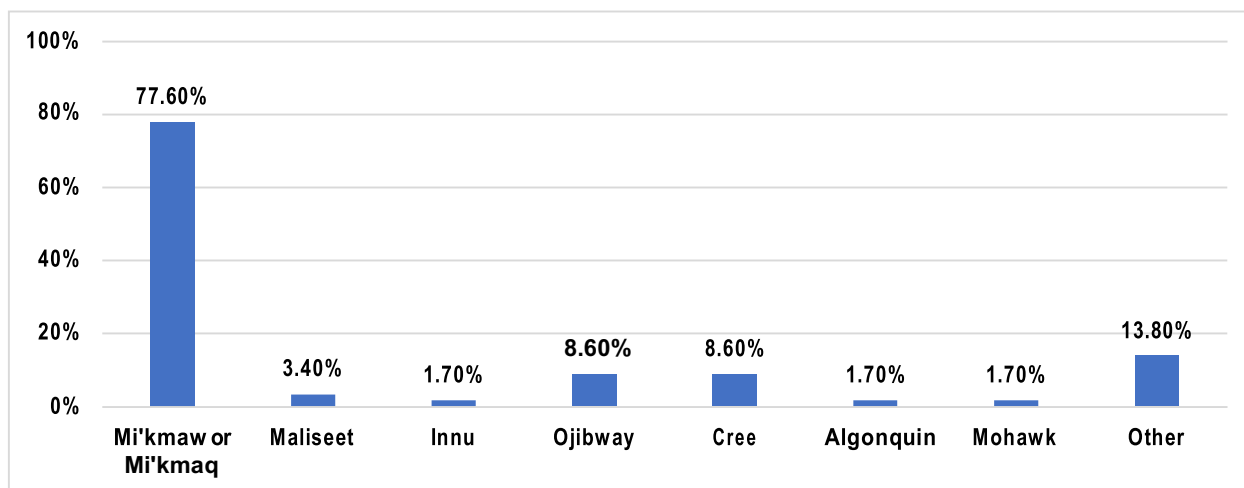


Figure 2. The proportion of First Nations participants that identified as being from various First Nations groups.

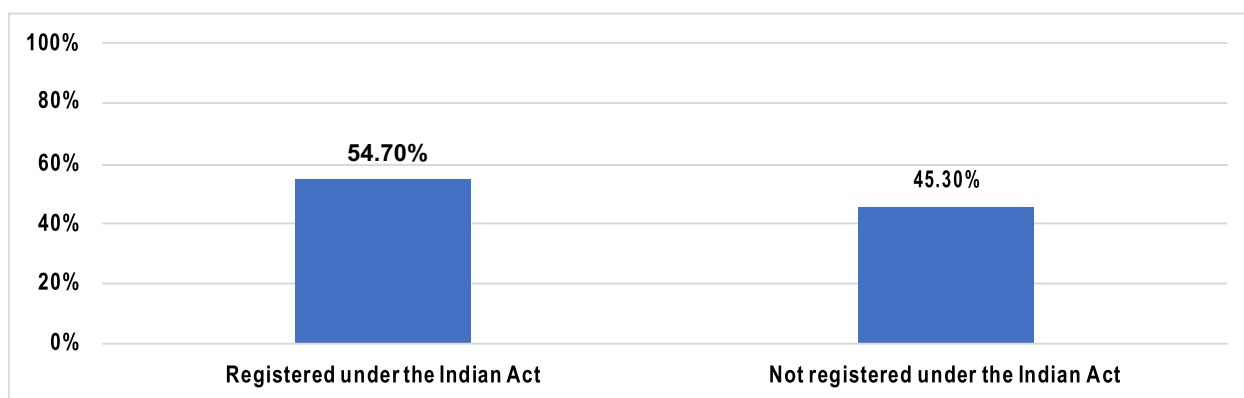


Figure 3. The proportions of First Nations participants registered under the Indian Act.

Of the participants who identified as Métis (N=24), one-quarter (25.0%) said their descendants' were part of the Métis diaspora that came out of the Red River Valley (Figure 4). The existence of an Eastern Métis communities that do not have connections to the Red River Valley Métis has been a subject of considerable debate and tensions nationally (Andersen, 2014). Analyses by Leroux and Gaudry (2017) demonstrated that between 2006 and 2016 there was a 124.3% rise in the number of people in Nova Scotia who self-identify Métis. The authors refer to this process as a form of “settler self-indigenization” wherein individuals and newly instituted organizations portray themselves as communities with specific land and treaty rights under the Canadian Constitution (2017, para. 3). Meanwhile, many Indigenous peoples whose territories are located in the prairies and local Mi'kmaw communities oppose any notion of a Métis community in Eastern Canada (Gaudry & Leroux, 2017).

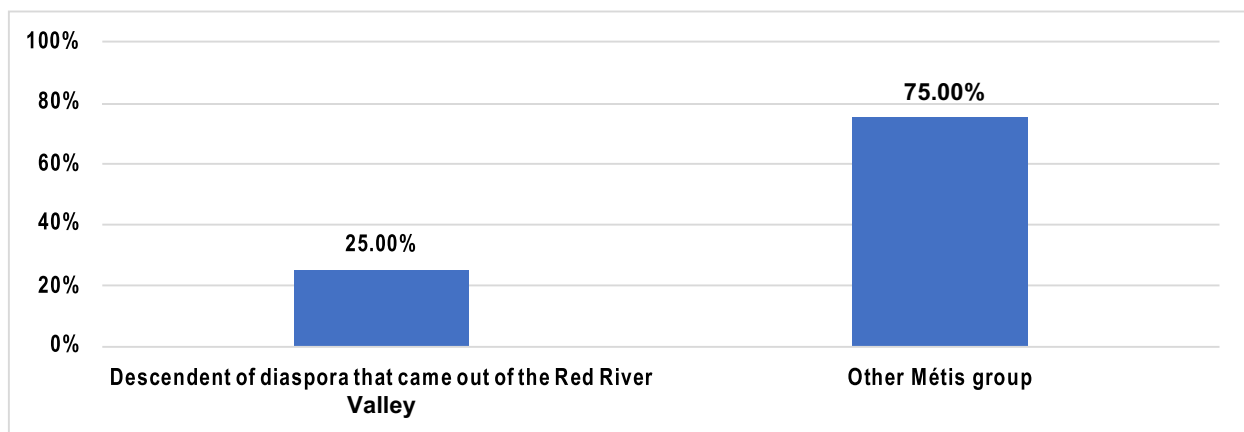


Figure 4. The proportions of Métis participants who reported that their descendants were part of the diaspora that came out of the Red River Valley.

There are four Inuit regions in Canada, collectively known as Inuit Nunangat. Of the participants who identified as Inuit (N=10), the large majority were from the territory of Nunatsiavut (Labrador), and only one participant was from Nunavut (Figure 5).

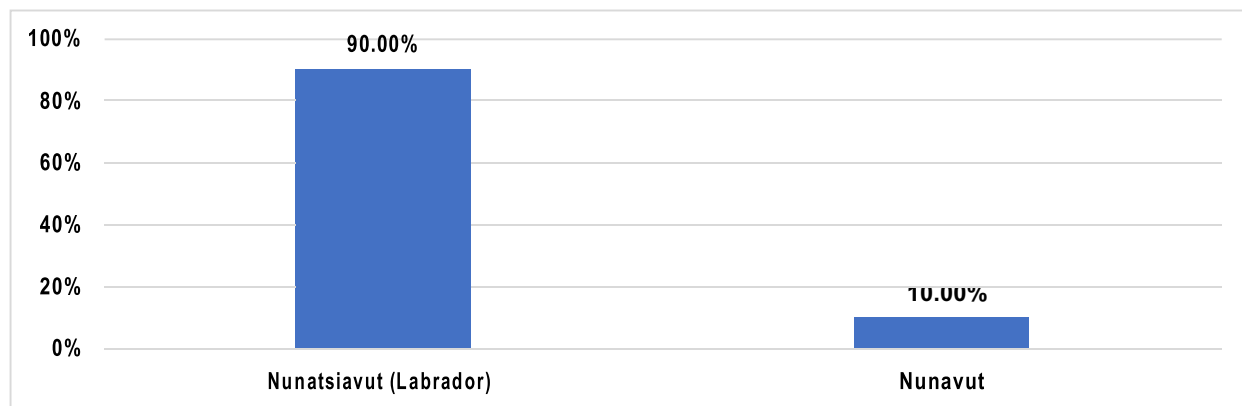


Figure 5. The proportions of Inuit participants from different Inuit regions/territories.

In addition to identifying with a specific Indigenous cultural group, significant proportions also reported identifying generally as an Indigenous person and/or as a member of the urban Indigenous communities. Among all Indigenous participants (N=86), three-quarters (74.4%) identified feeling a connection with Indigenous peoples in Canada, and about thirty percent (29.1%) identified with other Indigenous peoples internationally (15.2%). Just over two in five identified with urban Indigenous peoples in general (43.0%), and just over one-third (34.9%) identified as being part of the urban Indigenous population in Halifax specifically. Only a very small proportion said ‘none of the above’ or that they preferred not to answer (Figure 6).

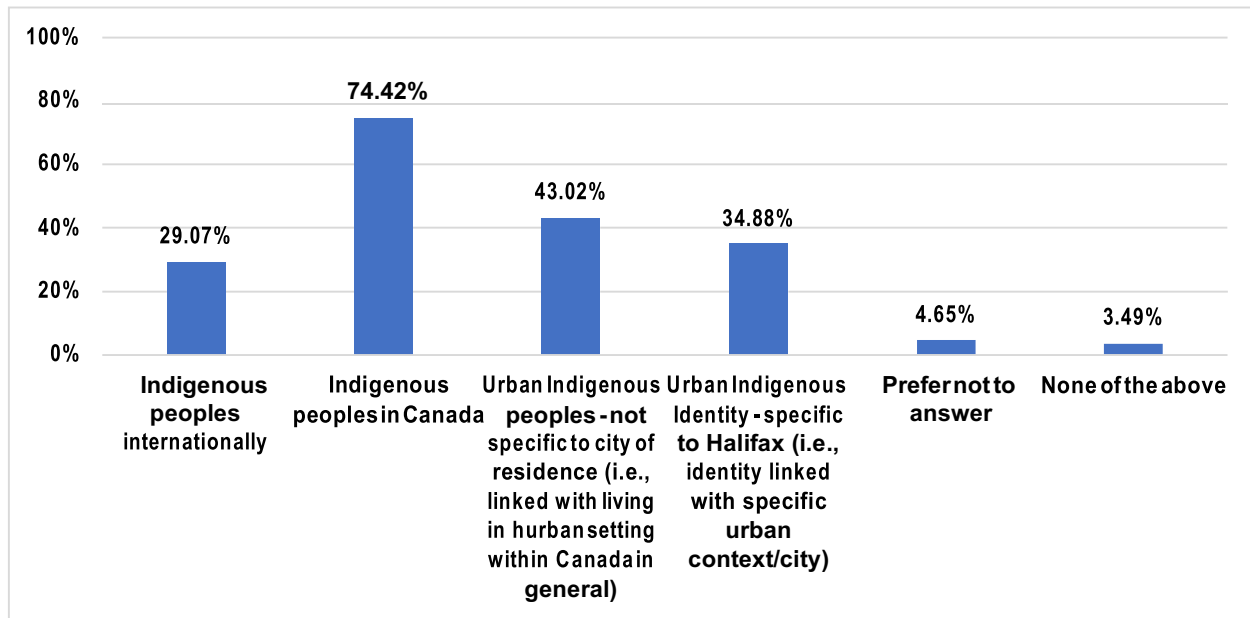


Figure 6. The proportion of Indigenous participants who identified feeling a connection with Indigenous peoples internationally, Indigenous peoples in Canada, urban Indigenous peoples not specific to city of residence or urban Indigenous peoples specific to Halifax.

Engagement with Indigenous identities in the HRM

Individuals engage with their Indigenous identities and traditional cultures in various ways, and have different views in relation to how central or important their cultures are in relation to their identities and ways of living. Participants who self-identified as Indigenous were asked to respond to a series of questions regarding the importance of their traditional cultural values and practices. Overall, the majority of Indigenous participants rated the values, beliefs and engagement with their cultural traditions and practices as important to them, appreciating the entertainment, and social interactions with and from their own cultural group. Almost ninety percent of Indigenous participants (87.4%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: “It is important for me to maintain, develop, or participate in the cultural traditions and practices of my cultural group,” with almost half strongly agreeing (46.0%).

A small proportion (4.6%) at least disagreed with the statement, and the remaining participants (8.1%) were neutral (N=86). Similarly, almost ninety percent (87.4%) at least agreed with the statement: “It is important for me to maintain, develop, or participate in the cultural traditions and practices of my cultural group”. In contrast very few (3.5%) disagreed or strongly disagreed, with less than 10% who were neutral (N=86) (Figure 7). Likewise, eighty-five percent (85.1%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement “I enjoy entertainment (e.g., music, singing, dancing, television) of my cultural group,” with over half strongly agreeing (52.9%). Very few (3.5%) disagreed or strongly disagreed, with just over ten percent (11.5%) who were neutral (N=86) (Figure 8).

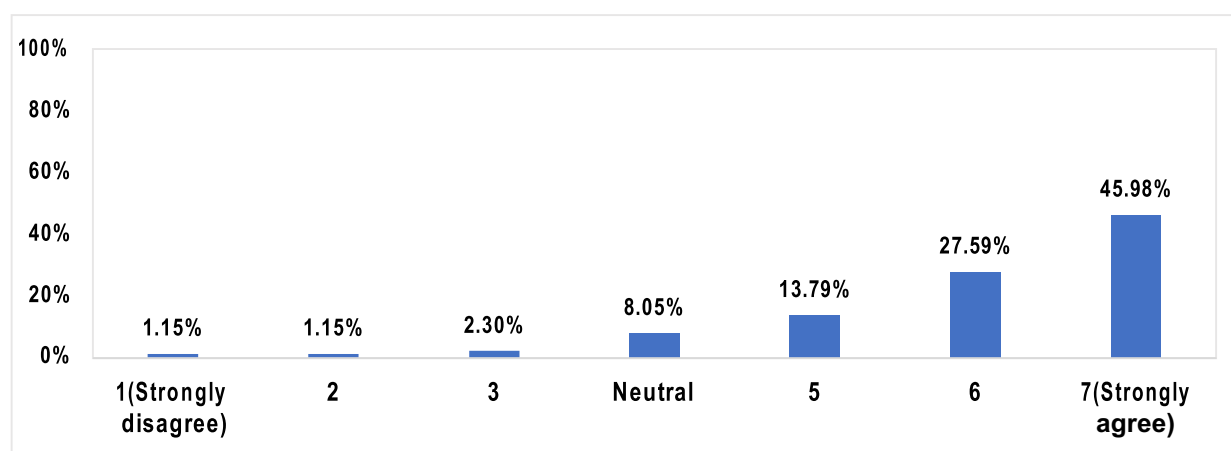


Figure 7. The proportion of Indigenous participants who found it important to maintain, develop or participate in cultural traditions and practices of own cultural group.

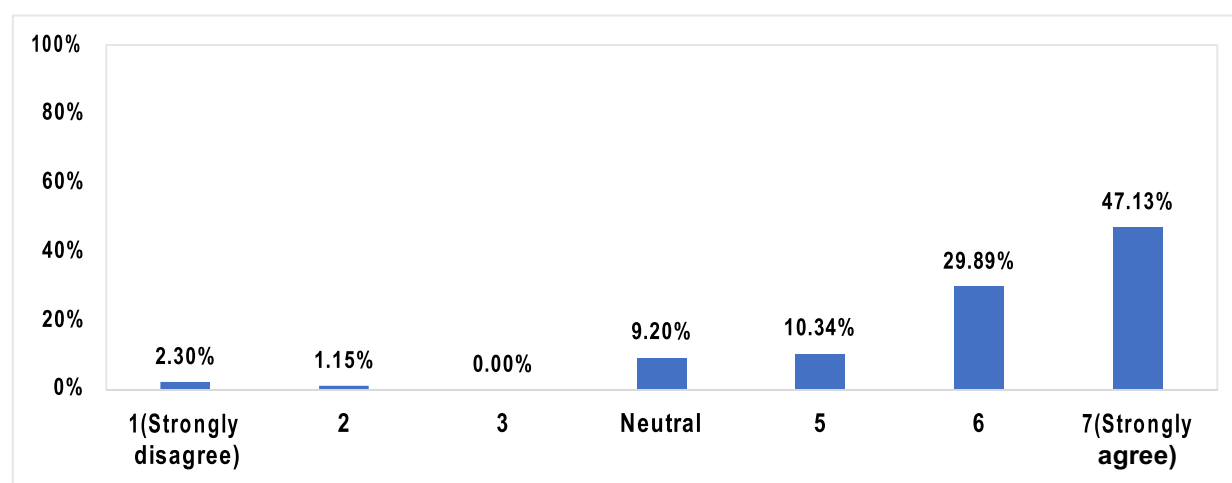


Figure 8. The proportion of Indigenous participants who believe in the values and/or beliefs of own cultural group.

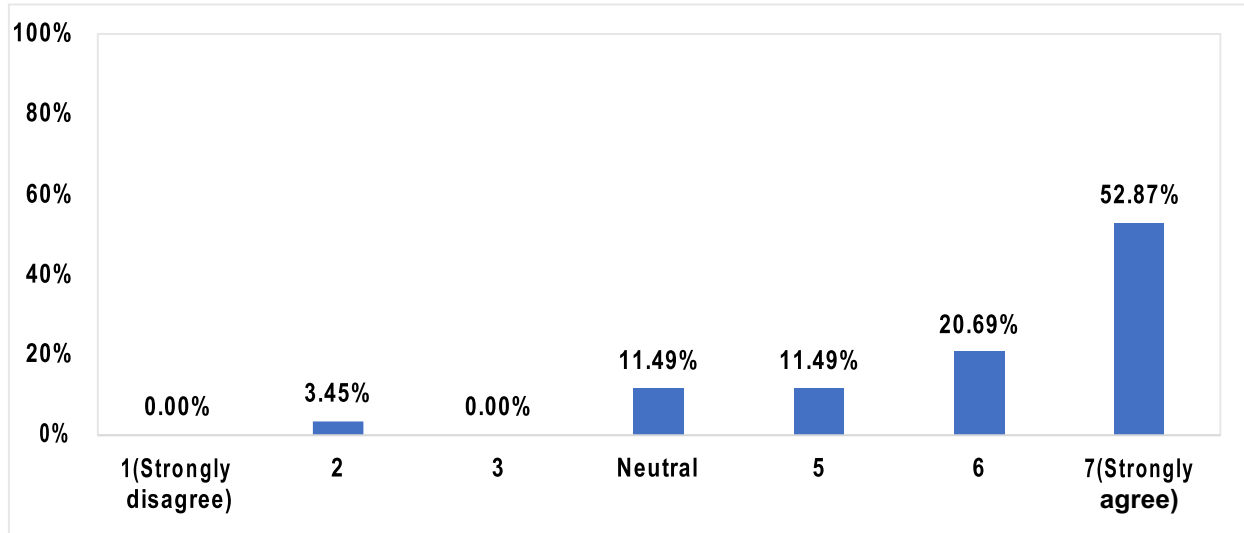


Figure 9. The proportion of Indigenous participants who enjoy entertainment (e.g., music, singing, dancing television) of own cultural group.

Indigenous participants (N=86) rated their agreement with a series of questions on their self-perceptions of cultural pride. In general, at least 80-90% of Indigenous participants indicated a strong sense of cultural pride, endorsing pride in group membership and belonging. Over nine out of 10 Indigenous participants (93.1%) agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: “In general, I’m glad to belong to my cultural group,” with two out of three respondents (66.7%) strongly agreeing. A very small proportion of participants (3.45%) disagreed to strongly disagreed with this statement or were neutral (3.5%; N=86) (Figure 10).

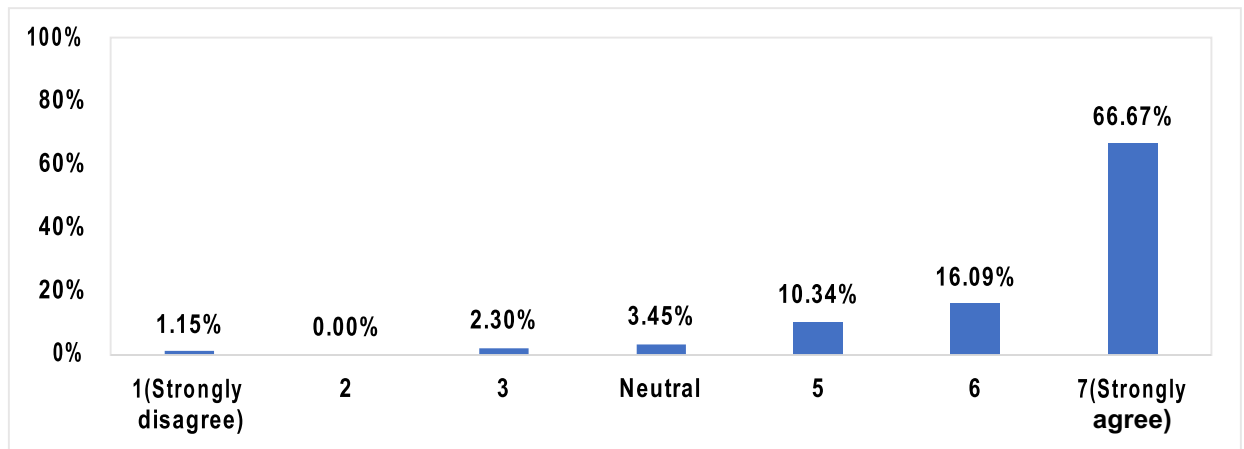


Figure 10. The proportion of Indigenous participants who in general are glad to belong to own cultural group.

About eighty percent (81.6%) agreed or strongly agreed that they generally feel good when thinking about belonging to their own cultural group, with nearly one in two participants (47.1%) strongly agreeing. Comparatively, only one in 20 participants (5.8%) disagreed, while the remaining respondents (12.6%) were neutral (N=86) (Figure 11).

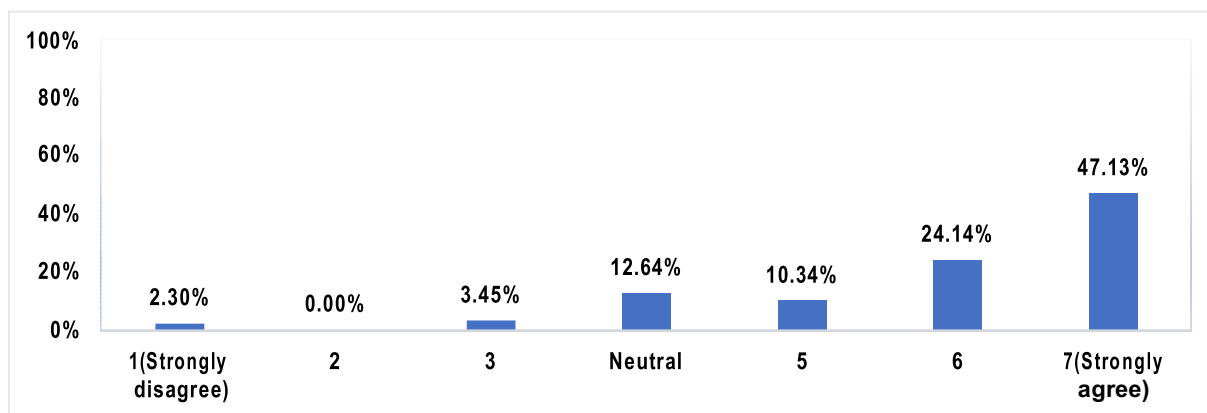


Figure 11. The proportion of Indigenous participants who generally feel good when thinking about belonging to own cultural group.

Nearly nine in 10 participants (87.4%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement: “I often regret that I belong to my cultural group,” with seventy percent who strongly disagreed. Comparatively, only five percent of participants (4.6%) agreed (selecting 5), with none of the participants strongly agreeing (selecting 6 or 7). The remaining participants (8.1%) were neutral (N=86) (Figure 12).

Similarly, almost nine in ten participants (86.21%) disagreed to strongly disagreed with the statement: “I don’t feel good about belonging to my cultural group.” Comparatively, a small portion of participants (3.45%) agreed to strongly agreed. The remaining participants (10.34%) were neutral (N=86) (Figure 13).

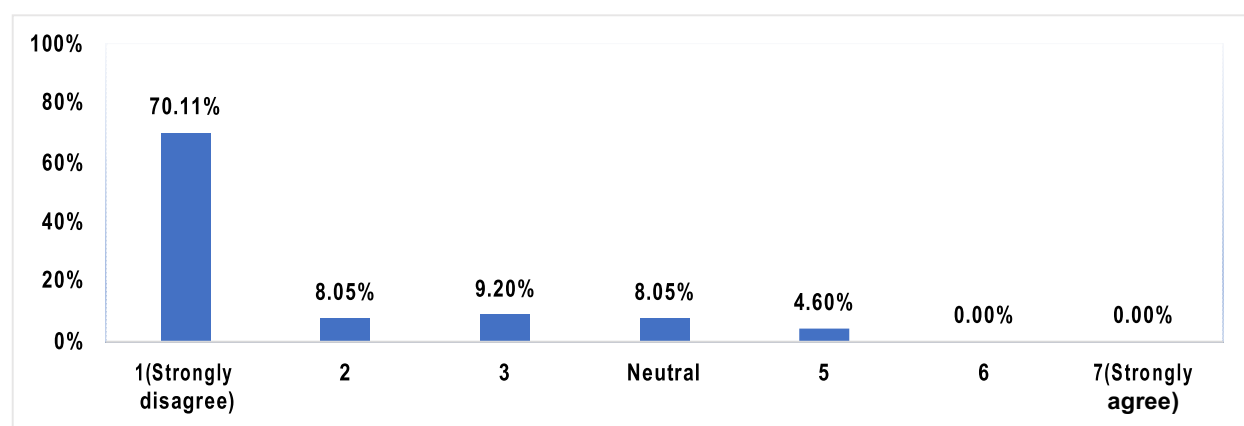


Figure 12. The proportion of Indigenous participants who often regret belonging to own cultural group.

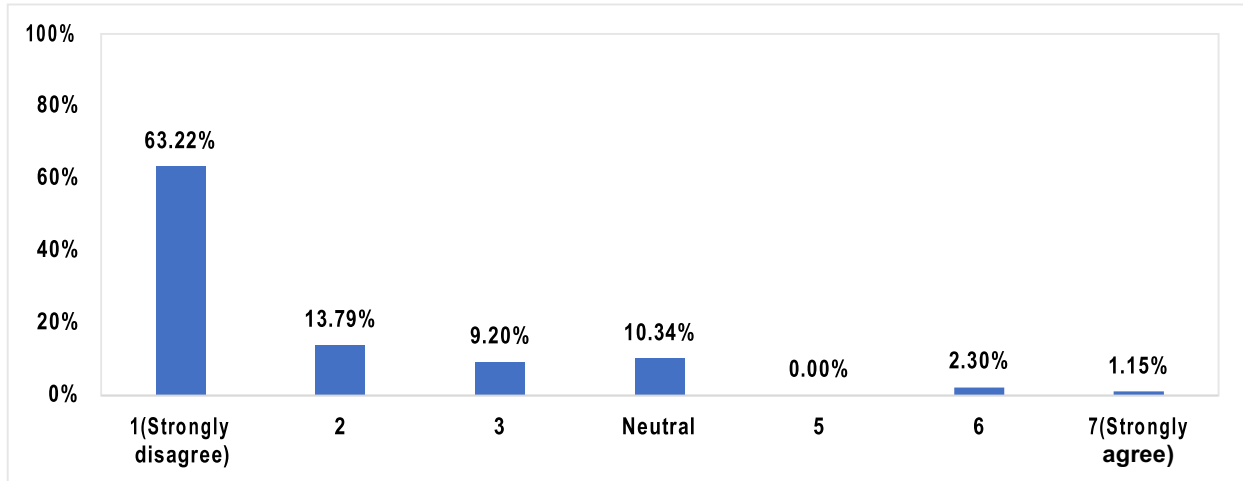


Figure 13. The proportion of Indigenous participants who don't feel good about belonging to own cultural group (n=86).

Experiences of Indigenous peoples in the HRM

Acts of racism and discrimination are perpetrated against Indigenous peoples in urban and rural areas across Canada and have negative consequences for the health and wellbeing of individuals and communities (Cardinal, 2006; Environics Institute, 2010; Senese & Wilson, 2013). Despite the prevalence of racism toward Indigenous peoples in Canadian settler society, as argued by Allan and Smylie (2015), their experiences are often “omitted” in discussions of racism (p. 4). In this section, we examine findings related to Indigenous participants’ experiences of racism within the HRM.

Participants were asked a series of questions regarding their experiences of intergroup interactions in the past year. Although findings regarding intergroup interactions were mixed, it is significant that at least one in two participants reported, in relation with their Indigenous heritage, at least some negative experiences of interactions with non-Indigenous groups. As the following tables detail, there appear to be differences in types of negative interactions, with more participants endorsing having been ignored, seeing negative body language, and/or being told not to complain of racism than having been ignored in public based on Indigenous heritage. Over two in three of Indigenous participants reported having experienced stereotyping based on assumptions that they were not intelligent because of Indigenous heritage, with almost one in five reported experiencing this most often to very often. This finding mirrors that over three in five Indigenous participants reported sometimes to very often experiencing someone acting surprised at scholastic or professional success because of Indigenous heritage. Despite having experienced these stereotypes from non-Indigenous groups, almost three quarters of Indigenous participants reported being told that people of all racial/cultural groups experience the same obstacles.

Just over half (54.9%) of Indigenous participants reported having at least some experiences of having been ignored at school because of their Indigenous heritage, with just over a third (34.2%) endorsing that they had experienced this sometimes (20.7%) or often to very often (13.4%). That said, forty-five percent (45.1%) indicated that they had never experienced being ignored at school because of their Indigenous heritage (N=82) (Figure 13).

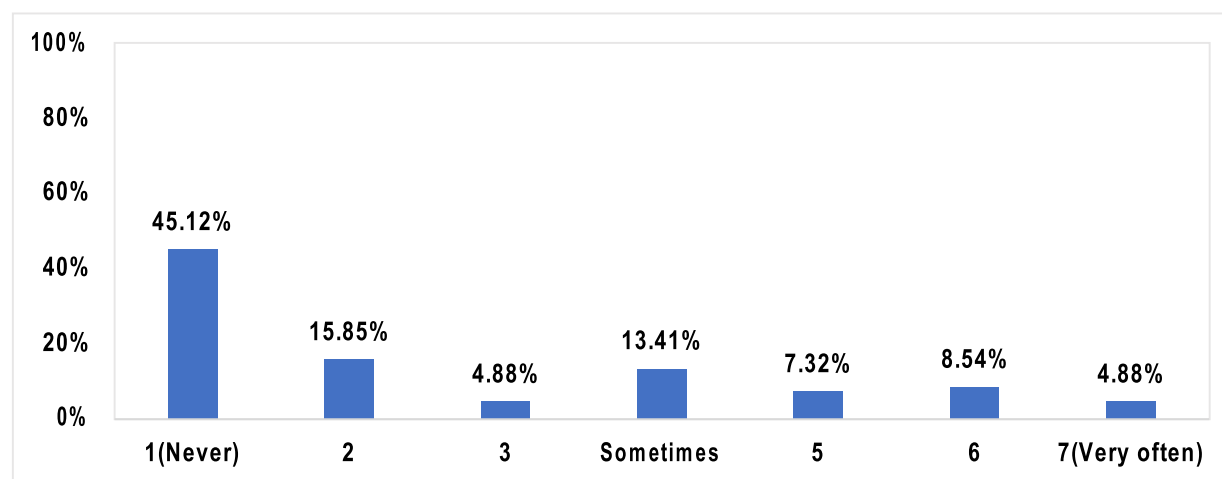


Figure 13. The proportion of Indigenous participants ignored at school or work because of Indigenous heritage.

About half of Indigenous participants (51.2%) reported having thought at least some of the time that someone's body language showed people feared them because of their Indigenous heritage. Over a quarter of participants (28.2%) indicated that they had experienced this at least sometimes (19.52) to very often (8.54%). Just under half of Indigenous participants reported they never thought someone's body language showed people feared them because of their Indigenous heritage (48.78%). This experience had occurred sometimes for one in seven (13.41%) and most often to very often for one in five (20.71%; N=82) (Figure 14). Similar experiences were reported for Indigenous participants regarding someone avoiding eye contact because of their heritage, with 1 in 8 reporting that this had occurred some of the time (12.41%) or most often to very often (12.2%; N=82). For avoidance due to body language, this was reported to have happened some of the time for 1 in 10 (9.76%) and most often to very often for just under one in five (18.3%; N=82).

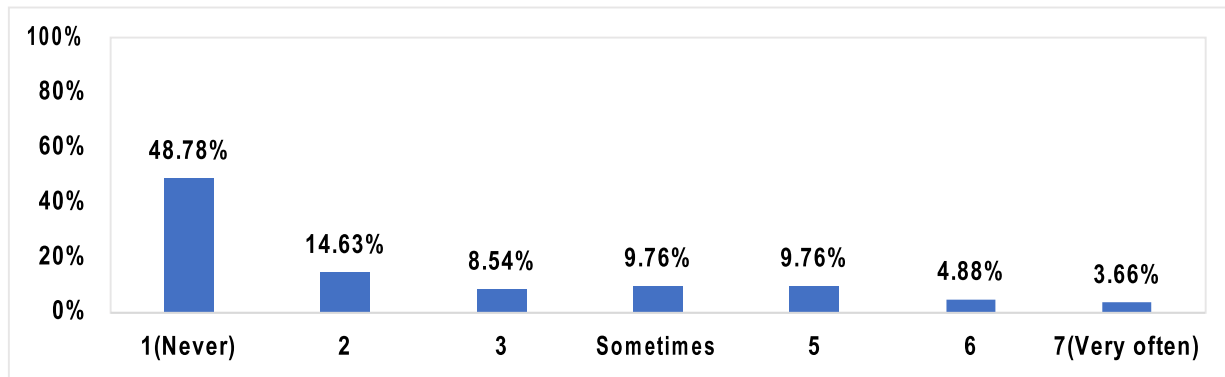


Figure 14. The proportion of Indigenous participants that reported someone's body language showed people feared them because of Indigenous heritage.

Almost eight in 10 Indigenous participants reported they have been told not to complain about racism/discrimination (80.0%). Over one in four participants indicated this had occurred sometimes (28.1%) or very often (24.4%), while just under half (48.8%) endorsed that this had never occurred (N=82) (Figure 15). The majority of Indigenous participants (58.6%) reported they had been told that they complained too much of racism (41.5%). About 1 in 5 (19.5%) were told that they sometimes complained, while about 1 in 6 (17.1%) have been told very often that they complained too much of racism (N=82) (Figure 16).

Almost sixty percent (57.3%) of Indigenous participants reported they were never avoided by someone on the street because of Indigenous heritage, but this left thirteen percent (13.4%) who reported that this sometimes occurred, with about four percent (3.7%) who said that this occurred often or very often (N=82) (Figure 17). Similarly, almost sixty percent (57.3%) of Indigenous participants reported they were never avoided in a public space (e.g., restaurant, movie theater, bus) because of their Indigenous heritage. However, almost one in five (18.3%) reported they were sometimes to somewhat often avoided in a public space because of Indigenous heritage, with less than one in 10 (6.1%) having experienced this often to very often (N=82) (Figure 18).

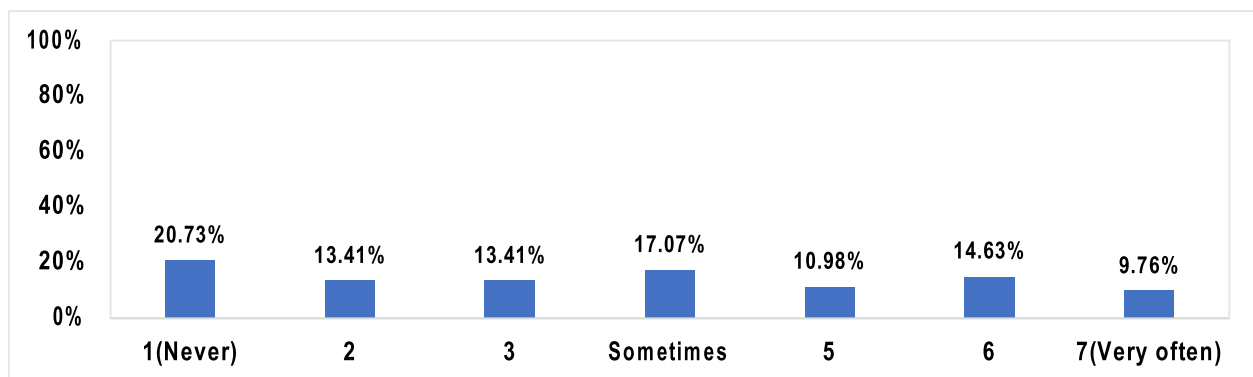


Figure 15. The proportion of Indigenous participants who were told not to complain about racism/discrimination.

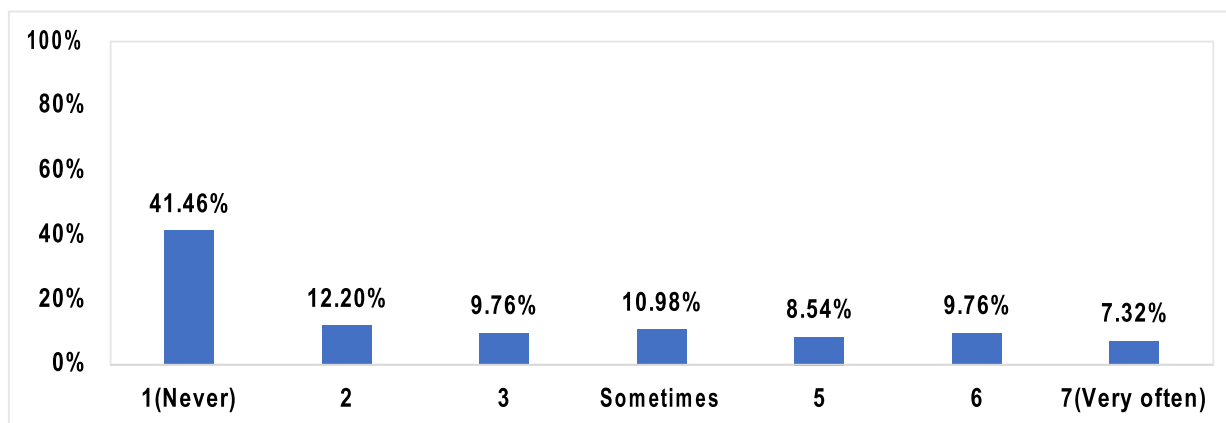


Figure 16. The proportion of Indigenous participants that reported they were told they complained of racism too much.

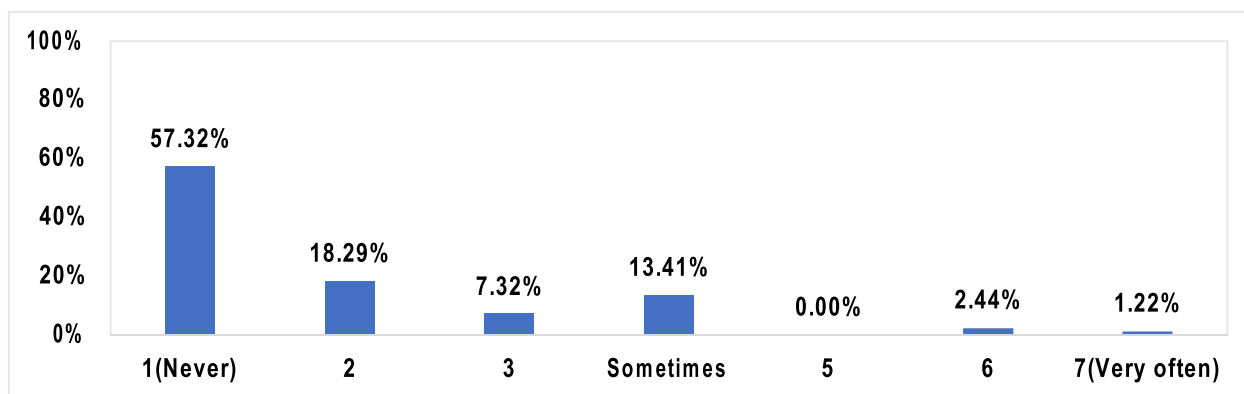


Figure 17. The proportion of Indigenous participants who were avoided by someone on street because of Indigenous heritage.

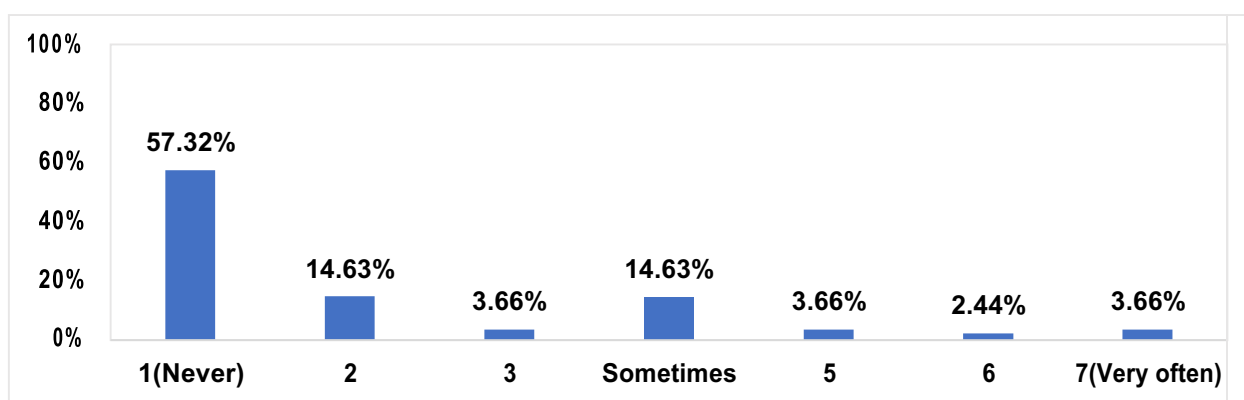


Figure 18. The proportion of Indigenous participants who were avoided in public space (e.g., restaurant, movie theater, bus) because of Indigenous heritage.

Over two thirds (68.3%) of Indigenous participants reported that they had experienced someone assuming that they were not intelligent because of Indigenous inheritance. One in 10 had experienced this mostly never (10.98%) or somewhat never (9.8%). Over one in four (29.3%) had experienced this sometimes to somewhat often, while approximately one in five reported experiencing this most often to very often (18.3%; N=82) (Figure 19).

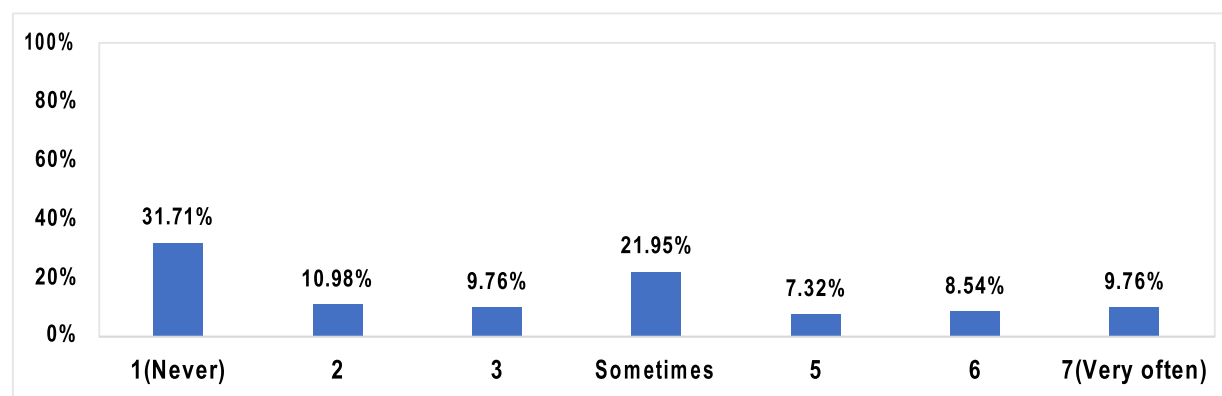


Figure 19. The proportion of Indigenous participants who reported someone assumed they were not intelligent because of Indigenous inheritance.

About seventy percent (71.95%) of Indigenous participants reported having experienced someone assuming they would not be educated because of their Indigenous heritage. Just over one-quarter (26.8%) reported experiencing this sometimes to somewhat often, with over one in five (23.2%) indicating this had occurred often to very often (N=82) (Figure 20). Comparably, over three in five (62.2%) Indigenous participants reported sometimes to very often experiencing someone acting surprised at scholastic or professional success because of their Indigenous heritage, with about one-quarter (24.4%) having experienced this sometimes to somewhat often, and over one-third who reported experiencing this often to very often (37.8%). Only twenty percent (19.5%) indicated that they had never experienced this (N=82) (Figure 21).

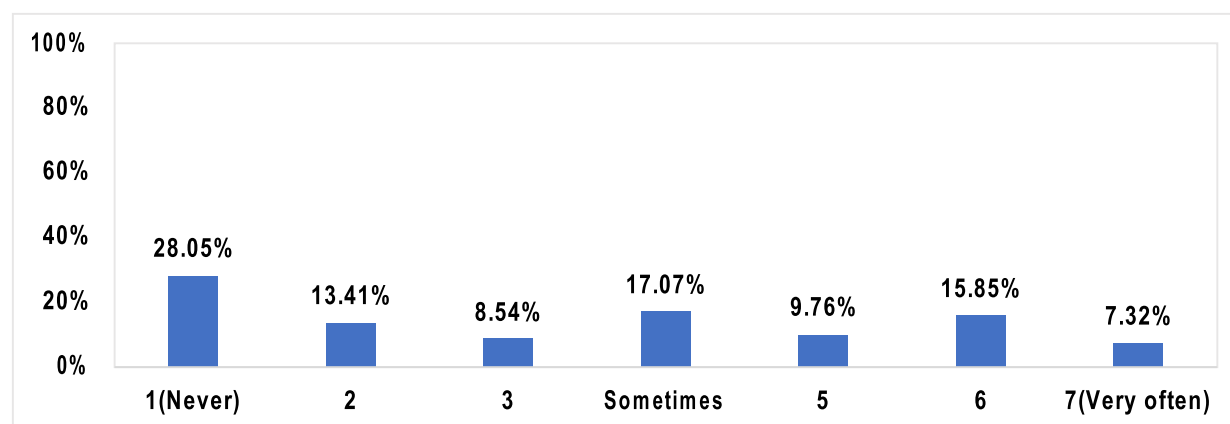


Figure 20. The proportion of Indigenous participants who reported someone assumed they would not be educated because of heritage.

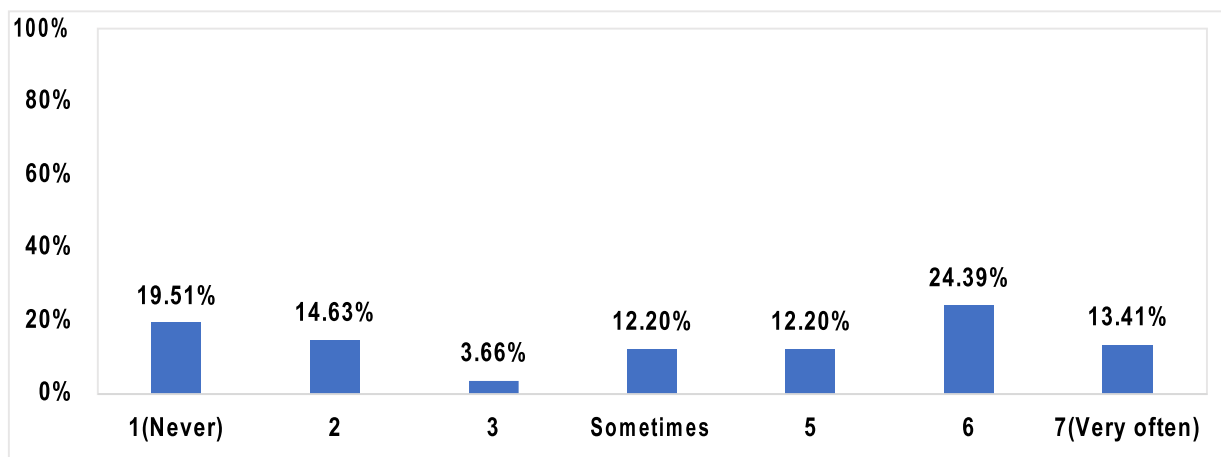


Figure 21. The proportion of Indigenous participants that reported someone acted surprised at scholastic or professional success because of heritage.

Close to half (46.4%) of Indigenous participants reported that sometimes to very often someone had told them they were “articulate” after she/he assumed they wouldn’t be. For approximately one in five participants, this had occurred often to very often (N=82) (Figure 22).

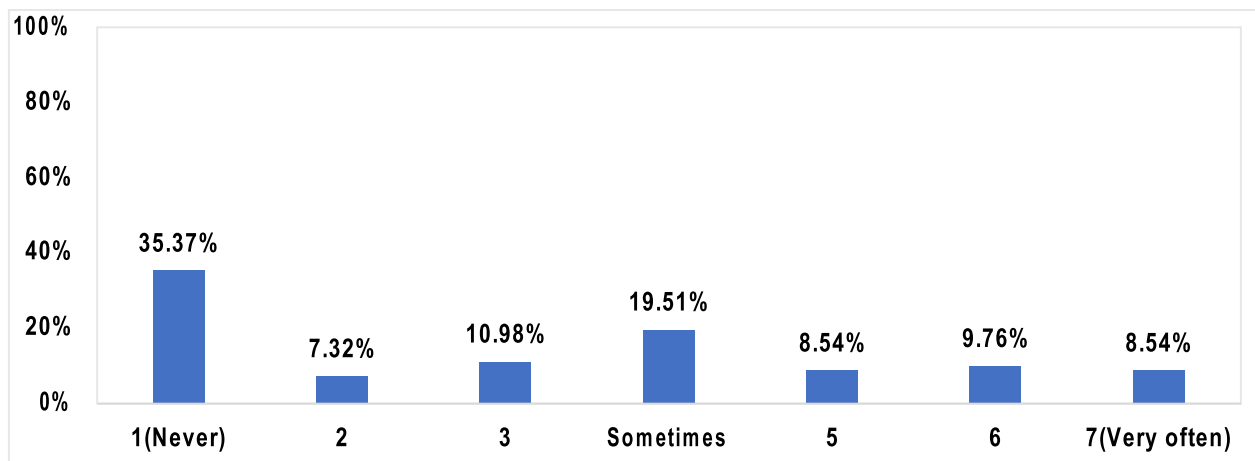


Figure 22. The proportion of Indigenous participants who reported someone told them they were “articulate” after she/he assumed they wouldn’t be.

Well over a third (36.6%) of Indigenous participants reported someone had sometimes to very often assumed they had a lower paying job because of heritage, with about one in seven (13.4%) indicating this had occurred often to very often. However, for about a third this had never occurred (29.3%) or mostly to somewhat never occurred (34.1%) (N=82) (Figure 23).

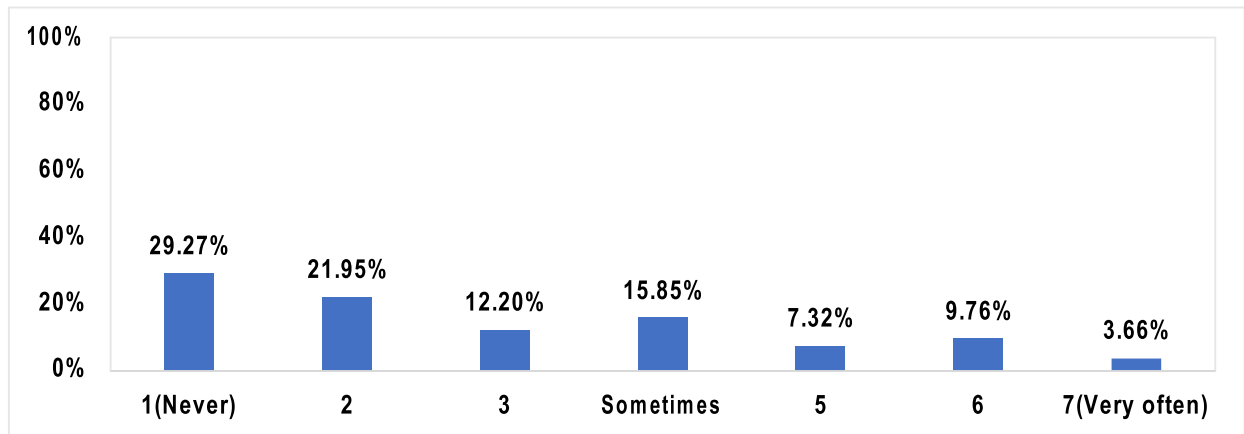


Figure 23. The proportion of Indigenous participants who reported someone assumed they had a lower paying job because of heritage.

In terms of positive portrayals of Indigenous peoples in the media (television, magazines), one in two (54.9%) Indigenous participants reported sometimes to very often observing people of their own heritage portrayed positively, with one in 10 (9.8%) reporting that had noticed this often to very often. On the other hand, over one in four (26.8%) had never or mostly never observed positive Indigenous portrayals in the media (N=82) (Figure 24).

Participants indicated an even worse view of Indigenous portrayals in movies. Two in five (60.2%) Indigenous participants reported that they never to somewhat never observed other Indigenous peoples portrayed positively in movies, with approaching one in five (18.3%) reporting that they never observed positive portrayals. Close to a third (29.3%) reported sometimes seeing positive portrayals, but less than one in 10 (7.3%) had seen positive Indigenous portrayals in movies somewhat often, with only very few (3.6%) reporting this often to very often (N=82) (Figure 25).

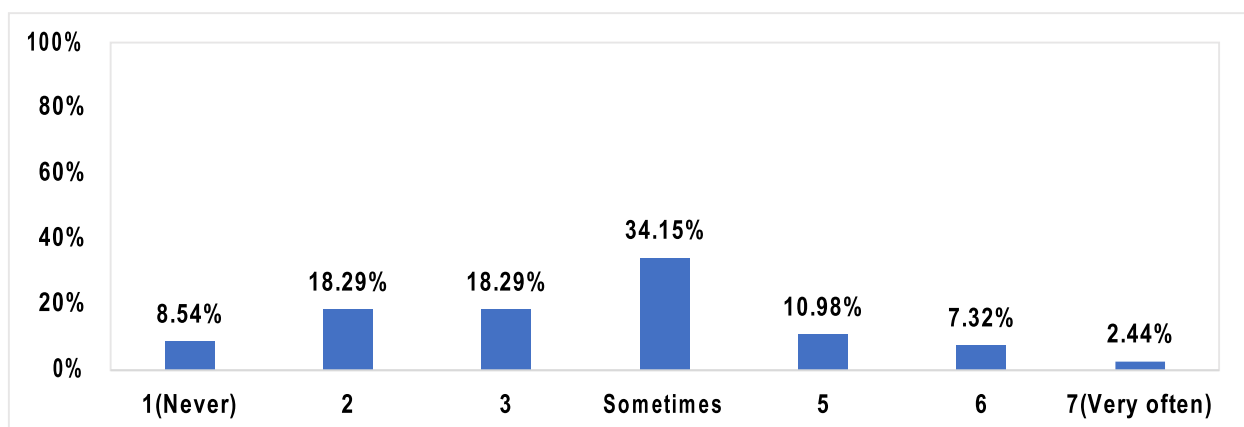


Figure 24. The proportion of Indigenous participants who observed people of own heritage portrayed positively on television and/or in magazines.

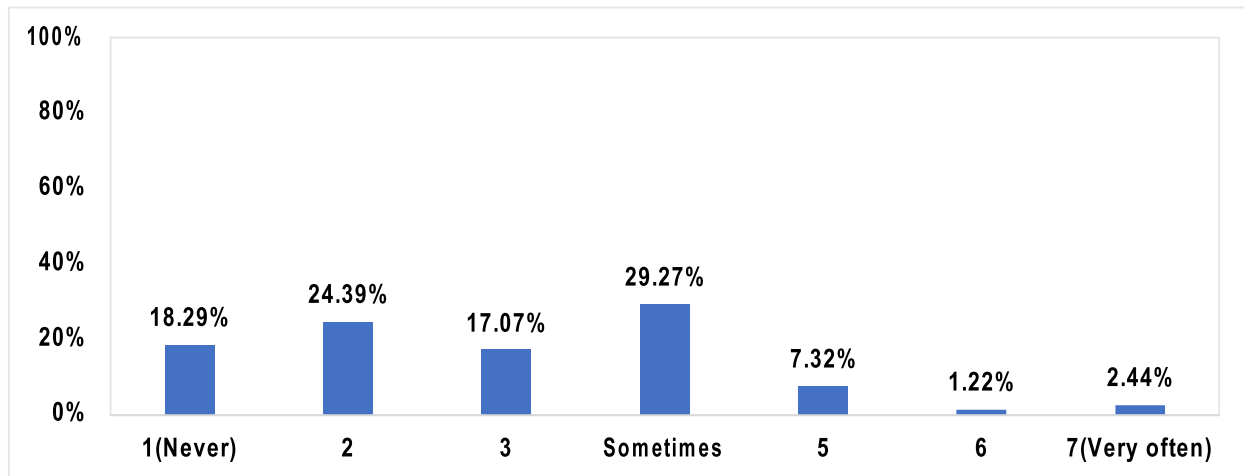


Figure 25. The proportion of Indigenous participants who observed people of own heritage portrayed positively in movies.

Almost three quarters (73.2%) of Indigenous participants reported that sometimes to very often someone made assumptions about them because of heritage that was untrue (e.g., spirituality, drinking problem, enjoyment of outdoors). Well over a third (37.8%) of participants indicated that this had occurred often to very often. Only one in eight participants reported that this had never happened (N=82) (Figure 26).

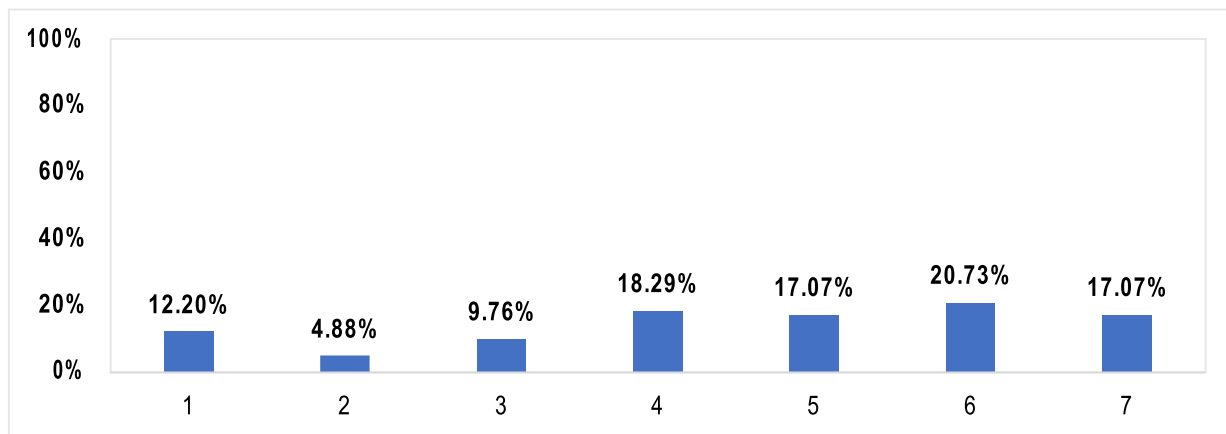


Figure 26. The proportion of Indigenous participants who reported someone made assumptions about them because of heritage that was untrue (e.g., spirituality, drinking problem, enjoyment of outdoors).

Over two in five (43.92%) participants reported they have been sometimes to very often been told not to think or talk about race or culture anymore (N=82) (Figure 27). Approaching three quarters (73.17%) of Indigenous participants reported at least sometimes to very often being told that people of all racial/cultural groups experience the same obstacles. Only about one in eight had never been told this (N=82) (Figure 28).

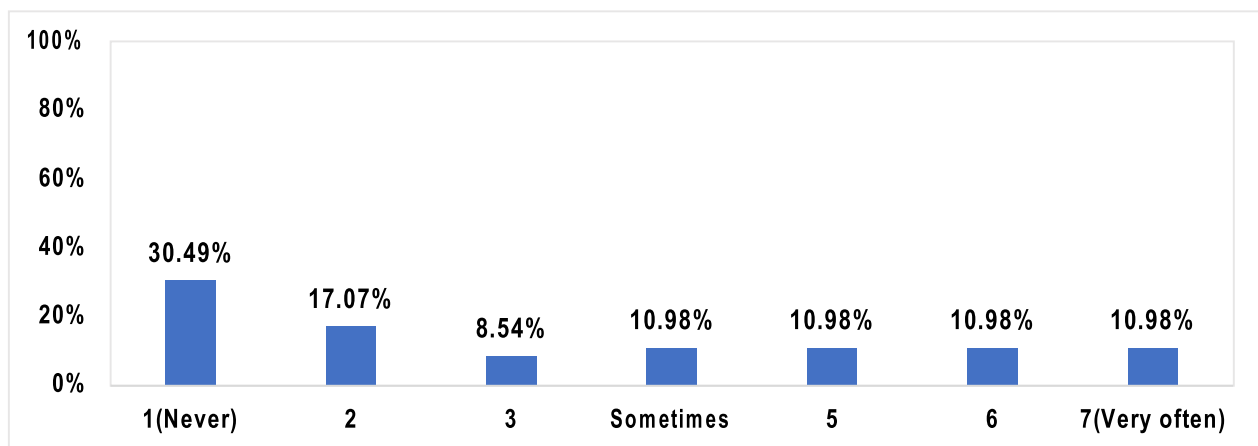


Figure 27. The proportion of Indigenous participants who were told not to think or talk about race or culture anymore.

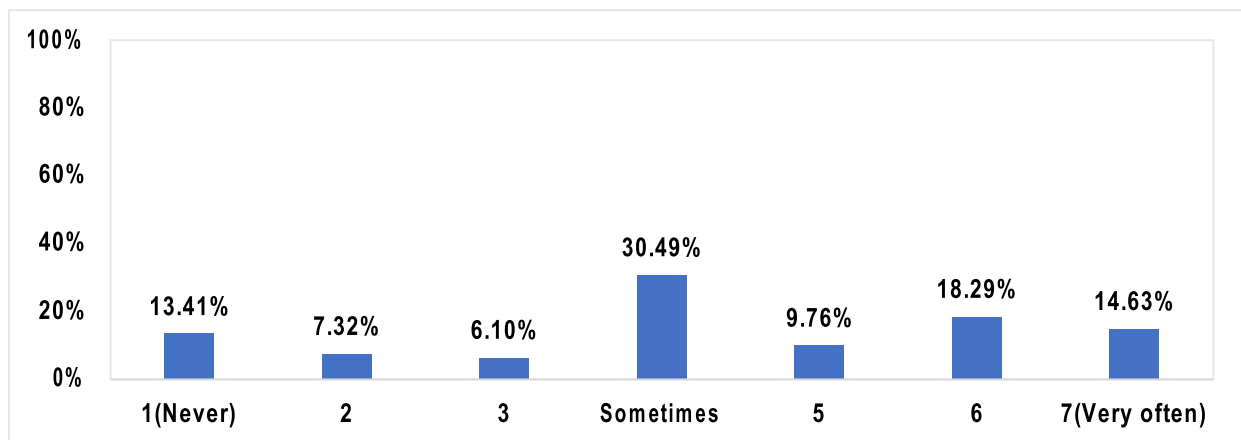


Figure 28. The proportion of Indigenous participants who were told that people of all racial/cultural groups experience same obstacles.

Intra-group relations among Indigenous peoples in the HRM

Indigenous participants were also asked a series of questions in relation to their experiences with members of the Indigenous community within the HRM. The experiences described by participants, including community infighting, shaming and bullying are examples of lateral violence (Bombay et al., 2014b). Lateral violence is a term which is used to describe situations in which “powerless people covertly and overtly direct their dissatisfaction” towards each other and themselves (Clark & Augoustinos, 2015, p. 19). Lateral violence is a form of “internalized colonialism” that results from individual and community exposure to disadvantage, discrimination and oppression (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011).

A high number of Indigenous participants reported sometimes feeling rejected by other Indigenous people. Over half of Indigenous participants also reported feeling at times like they were treated like an outsider, hearing that they were not an ‘authentic’ Indigenous person, or being worried that other Indigenous people think they either act “too Indigenous” or “not Indigenous enough.” Somewhat less frequent intragroup experiences include: feeling resented by Indigenous peers or having their identity as an Indigenous person criticised or challenged by another Indigenous person (five in 10), being better treated by non-Indigenous Canadians or experiencing negativity from another Indigenous person because of self-expression as an Indigenous person (four in 10).

Six out of 10 (59.8%) of Indigenous participants reported that they sometimes to very often feel rejected by other Indigenous people. One in five (19.51%) participants often to very often feel rejected, while the same number (19.51%) never feel rejected by other Indigenous people (N=82) (Figure 29). Similarly, six in 10 (59.9%) participants also reported sometimes to very often feeling like they were treated like an outsider by other Indigenous people. Just over 1 in 4 (26.9%) endorsed having felt like they were treated like an outsider by other Indigenous people mostly never to never (N=82) (Figure 30). In the same way, six in 10 (56.1%) participants reported sometimes to often experiencing other Indigenous people suggest they are not being an ‘authentic’ Indigenous person, with just under one in four (24.4%) endorsing that they often to very often experience this. Just over one in four (26.8%) reported that they mostly never to never experience this (N=82) (Figure 31).

As many as seven in 10 (67.07%) of Indigenous participants sometimes to very often were worried other Indigenous people think they act “too Indigenous” or “not Indigenous enough,” indicating this appears to be a common experience amongst participants. That said, just over one in five (21.95%) reported that they had never experienced this (N=82) (Figure 32).

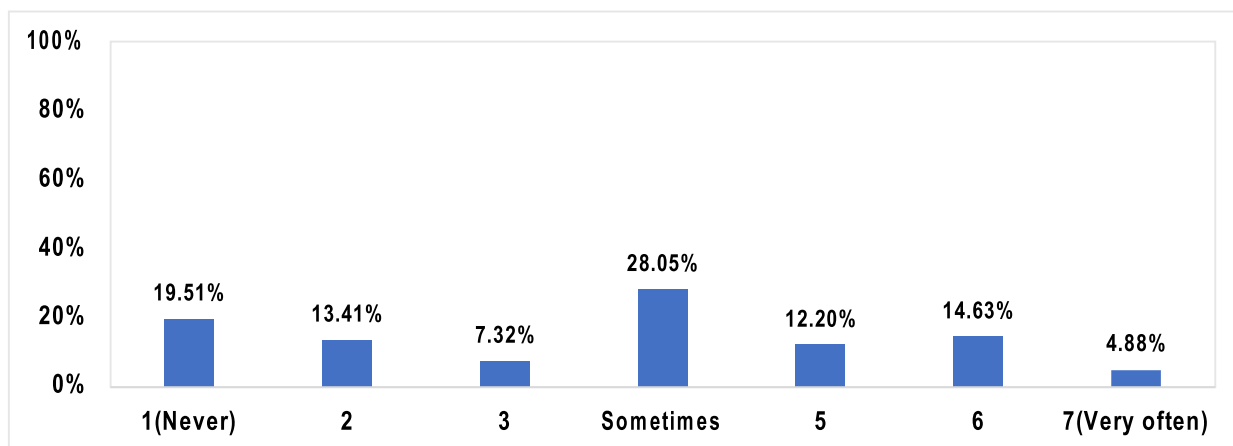


Figure 29. The proportion of Indigenous participants that sometimes feel rejected by other Indigenous people.

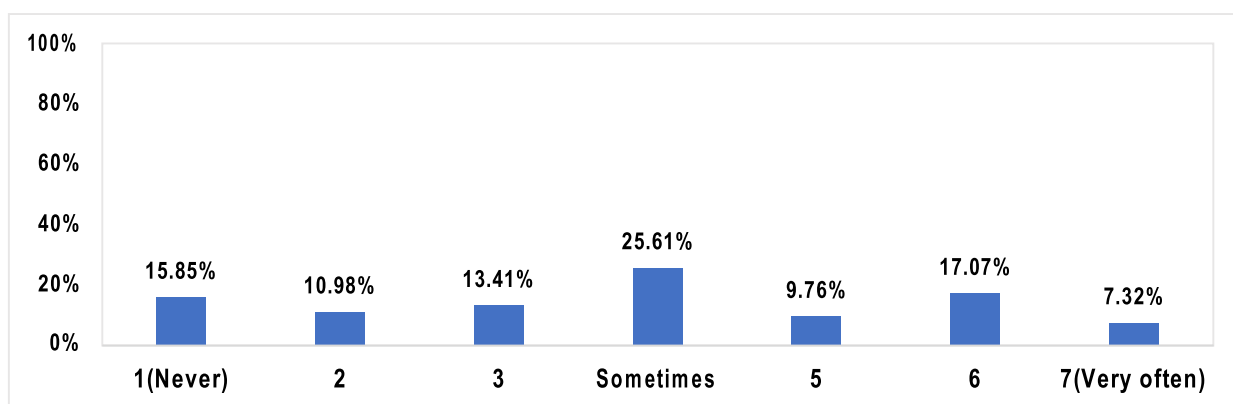


Figure 30. The proportion of Indigenous participants who feel treated like an outsider by other Indigenous people sometimes.

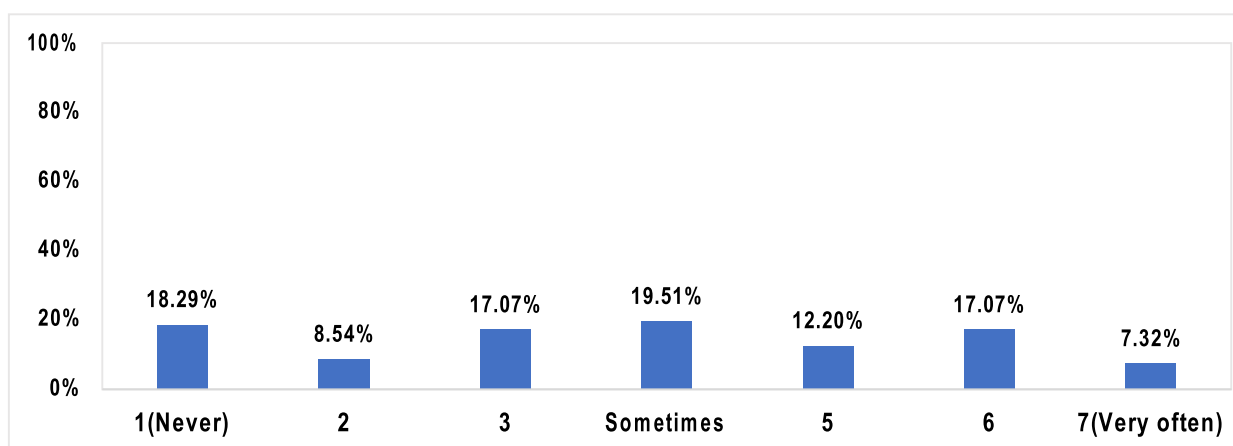


Figure 31. How often other Indigenous people suggest participant not being an 'authentic' Indigenous person.

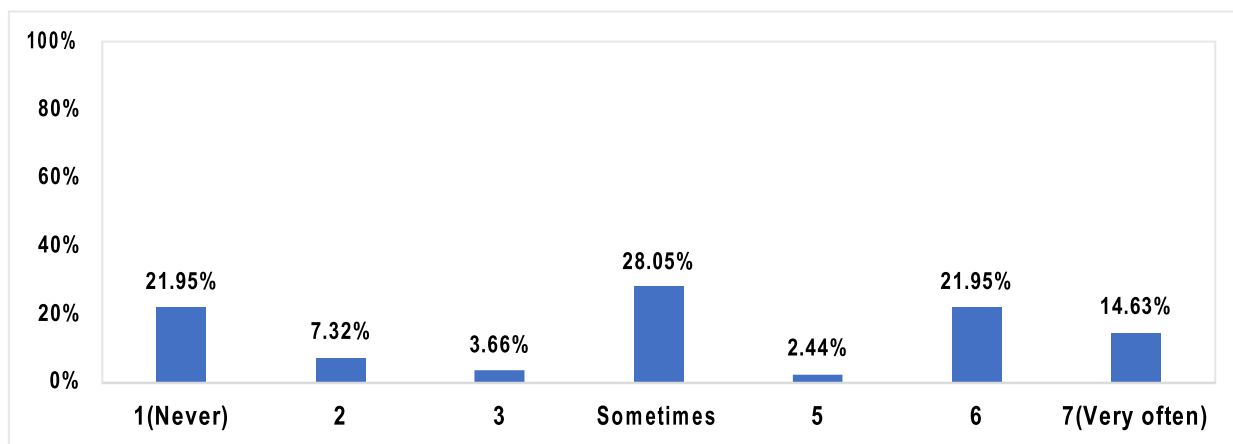


Figure 32. How often participants worried other Indigenous people think they act “too Indigenous” or “not Indigenous enough”.

Almost one in two (47.6%) Indigenous participants reported that they sometimes or often have felt resented by some Indigenous peers because of achievements. That said, over two in five participants have mostly never to never felt this way (N=82) (Figure 33). Relatedly, the majority of Indigenous participants endorsed that they have not felt treated better by non-Indigenous Canadians than by Indigenous people. For close to three in five (59.8%) participants, they had somewhat never to never experienced this. Only one in 10 (11.0%) often to very often experienced being treated better by non-Indigenous Canadians (N=82) (Figure 34).

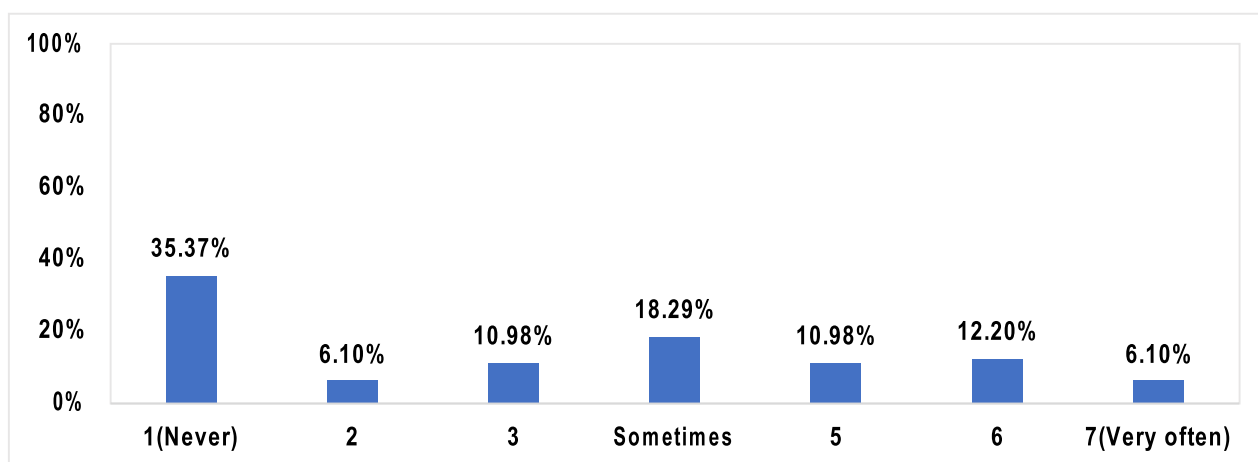


Figure 33. The proportion of Indigenous participants who feel resented by some of Indigenous peers because of achievements.

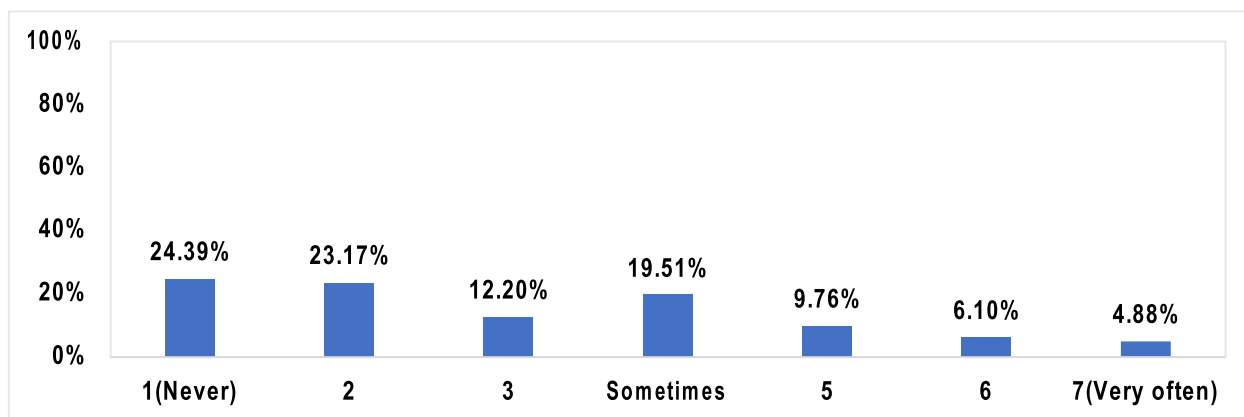


Figure 34. The proportion of Indigenous participants who sometimes feel treated better by non-Indigenous Canadians than by Indigenous people.

Experiencing negativity from another Indigenous person because of self-expression as an Indigenous person has occurred sometimes to very often for three in seven (43.9%) Indigenous participants (Figure 35).

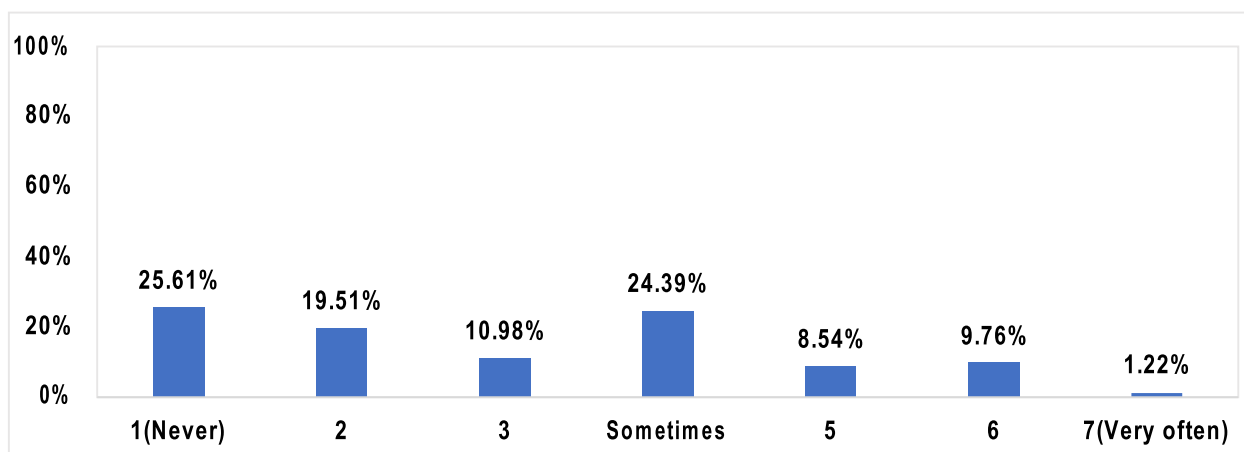


Figure 35. How often participants experienced negativity from another Indigenous person because of self-expression as an Indigenous person.

Feeling discouraged, excluded, or unfairly treated by other Indigenous people when trying to access services or attend events meant specifically for Indigenous people was reported somewhat more often, by almost one in two (48.8%) participants (N=82) (Figure 36).

Similarly, over half (52.5%) of Indigenous participants reported they have sometimes to very often, as an Indigenous person, been criticized or challenged by another Indigenous person. However, for a third of participants being criticized in this manner is rare, occurring mostly never to never (N=82) (Figure 37).

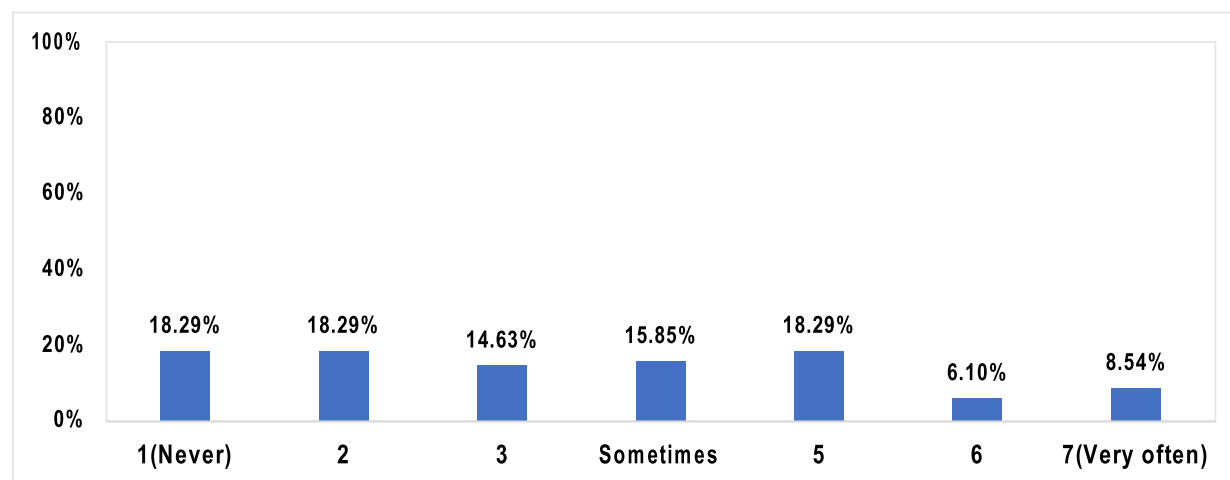


Figure 36. How often participants felt discouraged, excluded, or unfairly treated by other Indigenous people when trying to access services or attend events meant specifically for Indigenous people.

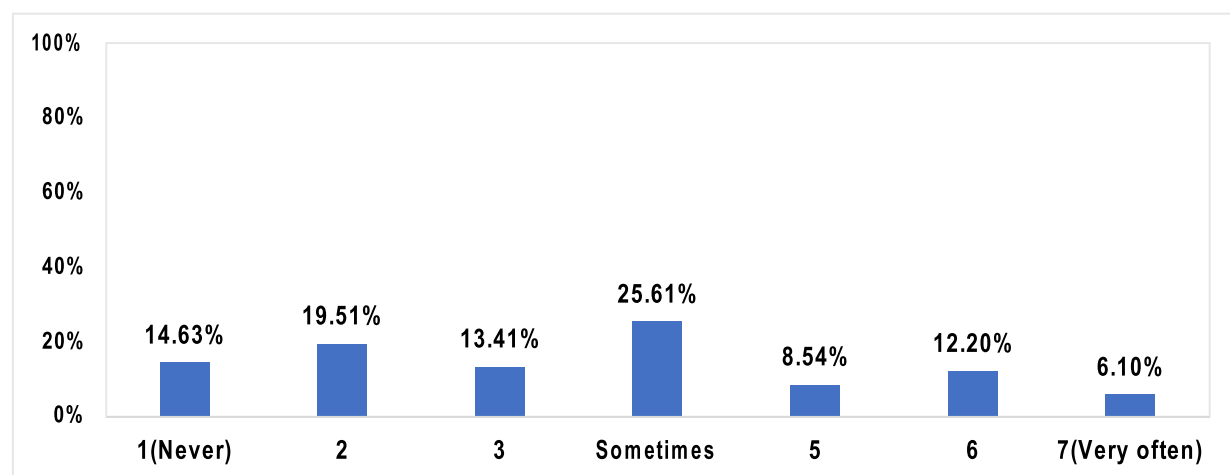


Figure 37. How often participants' identity as an Indigenous person has been criticized or challenged by another Indigenous person.

Focus groups: Themes related to Indigenous cultural identities in the city

This section reports on the key findings of the focus group held with Indigenous community members (N=7) in relation to urban cultural identities. The perspectives of focus group participants were consistent with the survey findings in that they emphasized the diversity within the Indigenous community in Halifax. Participants were comprised of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples from across Canada. As described by one participant:

“...there are so many people from so many different places that maybe it will bring our communities together a little more...we have to come together as people and realize that there are so many of us from so many different places and we have to help each other find a place to be together.”

Sense of belonging

Although, participants were aware of the complexities of urban Indigenous identities, they also spoke to the collective experiences shared by Indigenous peoples across various nations within the city, as exemplified by this participant's response:

“as Indigenous peoples, we are such a collective group... we did a Métis ceremony and we asked for a sweat lodge and the first thing we realized is that if we are going to pray in a Métis way it has to be a collective way because there is Cree, there is Ojibway, there is Inuit, and there is Mi'kmaq...”

While some people described being part of the urban Indigenous population in Halifax, gaining support and belonging from the MNFC or other Indigenous community programs, others described having difficulty finding such sources of cultural engagement and community ties. In this regard, one person described:

“When I came to Halifax I knew very few people in the Mi'kmaq community and I still know very little... and you feel so disjointed in this city. I never felt welcome...and I don't know if it's just I am not Mi'kmaq, I don't know the community, I don't identify with that and that's still a struggle for me.”

Recognition of cultural diversity within the urban Indigenous community was an area of concern for multiple participants. For example, individuals spoke about the challenges faced by Indigenous youth in the HRM who are not Mi'kmaq and are dealing with the same issues of trying to understand who they are and where they fit in. One participant who worked in the school system described that:

“I went to the school and I found all these kids who are not Mi'kmaq, and I am like, where do you guys fit in if I am the teacher and I still don't know where I am supposed to be. Let's try to be a teenager in the city who has an Indigenous parent.”

Likewise, an Inuit participant shared that there is an Indigenous Early Learning and Child Care component that is going in to child care centres, but expressed concerns that:

“there is nothing Inuit focused.... despite there being a large chunk of Inuit people that we don’t even know exist out here... my son is good at languages and knows some Mi’kmaq but he knows none of his own historic language.”

The role of culture in shaping identity

Many participants reported drawing strength and resilience from their traditional practices and teachings. In the following quotation, an individual reflects upon the importance of these teachings:

“the only thing that I do know is that...is that the ancestors are there for us to help us try to try and pull as together and the prophecy it’s an old Mohawk prophecy actually...the Seventh Generation and the Seventh Generation we are going to be stronger than we have ever been...as Indigenous people...you know, we’re three-quarters of the way there you know we’ve got four generations to go, at least in the east...you know, and maybe it will become clearer over the next four generations.”

Another important theme related to Indigenous identities was the rejection of state policies of identification prescribed in the *Indian Act (1876)*, as exemplified in the following participant’s statement:

“this is what for me that is what Indigeneity is...grounded to the earth, grounded to our spiritual ways, grounded to our ancestors, grounded to the creator... to me, that is Indigeneity and again I don’t think it matters if it is one or 100 percent....if a person is called by the ancestors to follow in these ways in a good way I don’t think it matters a damn what the blood quantum is or anything else because the ancestors aren’t looking oh well he doesn’t count because he’s only so much and she doesn’t count because she counts more because she is so much more of a blood quantum...I don’t think they see that...”

There is a diversity of Indigenous peoples and identities in the city. Many view themselves as being members of their home communities and the urban Indigenous community. While the MNFC provides many in Halifax with a supportive place to engage with their culture, there are still many Indigenous peoples who report struggling for belonging while living in the city. This speaks to the need for more MNFC resources for programming, and for additional spaces for Indigenous peoples in Halifax to engage and learn about with their own Indigenous cultures and the cultures of others.

Focus Groups: Themes related to Indigenous experiences in the HRM

The city as a ‘safe space’

Respondents spoke of the city as offering respite from the challenges of they faced living within Indigenous communities. Individuals reported similar experiences of lateral violence within their home communities and the opportunity to be away from home as a positive aspect of city life:

“...the one thing that I like about living in Halifax is that you don’t hear that...you know and maybe it is just an Urban perspective, but you don’t hear that...and when I went home you heard it...like on the lawns on the streets, people talking to each other...you know like uhhh I went for language classes when I was home and the three of us that were sitting, two I went to school with, and the three of us joked the three of little blonde Indians learning Mohawk...literally it was...but like where does that leave us, what place to we have in our very own community...do I have to even go to a city so I can be comfortable...”

At the same time, other respondents noted that negativity and fighting also existed within the urban community which is consistent with the findings of the quantitative data. One participant noted the complexities of being an urban dweller and an Indigenous person: *“and so even within our own selves there is always fighting and you’re not brown enough or you’re too white or everything”*.

Negative experiences with the settler community

Respondents noted a number of negative experiences with the non-Indigenous HRM community. One example provided by a respondent was related to cultural appropriation and highlights the complexities one faces when deciding whether or not to intervene:

“I’m currently fighting with someone on Facebook because she makes Bohemian dream catchers, and sells them and so she’s kind of...and it’s just...I feel like it’s constant... because there is also something recently on CBC that was like it’s not my job to educate you, I am Canada’s history, centered around Indigenous peoples, and I felt the same way.”

Community Solidarity

Despite the successes and challenges of urban life for Indigenous peoples, respondents were overwhelmingly positive regarding the future of their community. Collectivity and solidarity were seen as critical for ensuring improved individual and community wellbeing as evidenced by this participant’s perspective:

“Be proud of who you are and go ahead search for whatever got missing, because some of our stories were lost, and they got to be brought back, but it doesn’t mean that we turn on each other...if we do that we ain’t going to make it. So, I think we need to stick together, not because we’re all the same but because we’re different and to accept those differences.”

Participants challenged the dominant discourse surrounding reconciliation that is focused on Indigenous-settler relations, pointing out that reconciliation was also needed within communities to deal with the impacts of colonialism:

“I feel like I’ve had this conversation many times before...how should we reconcile with non-Indigenous Canadians...but I’ve never had the conversation how do we reconcile with ourselves as a whole...”

Participants discussed possible strategies for fostering a sense of togetherness and improving the wellbeing of the Indigenous community. Ceremony and spirituality were thought to be important components, but individuals also noted the need to ensure that community members who are not interested in practicing spirituality were included.

SECTION 2: AWARENESS OF INDIGENOUS EXPERIENCES AND VIEWS TOWARDS RECONCILIATION AMONG INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE HRM

Awareness of history of colonization in Canada

Although equal numbers of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants reported they were aware of some of the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada, a large proportion of Indigenous participants knew a lot compared to greater numbers of non-Indigenous participants who said they knew little to nothing of this history. This trend in differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous knowledge and awareness of Indigenous history, rights, and well-being within Canadian society is most striking in the extreme positions of opinion, that is either strongly agreeing or disagreeing or knowing nothing or a lot about a statement or topic. For example, two fifths of Indigenous participants strongly agree that they talk with family and friends about the importance of enhancing the position of Indigenous peoples, while about one in 10 of non-Indigenous participants strongly agree with this statement. In contrast, over a fifth of non-Indigenous participants strongly disagree with this statement compared to very few Indigenous participants.

About half of Indigenous (49.4%) and non-Indigenous (49.2%) participants reported they knew some history of Indigenous peoples in Canada. In contrast, over one-third (37.9%) of Indigenous peoples reported that they knew a lot compared to only one-tenth (10.1%) of non-Indigenous participants (N=266) (Figure 38).

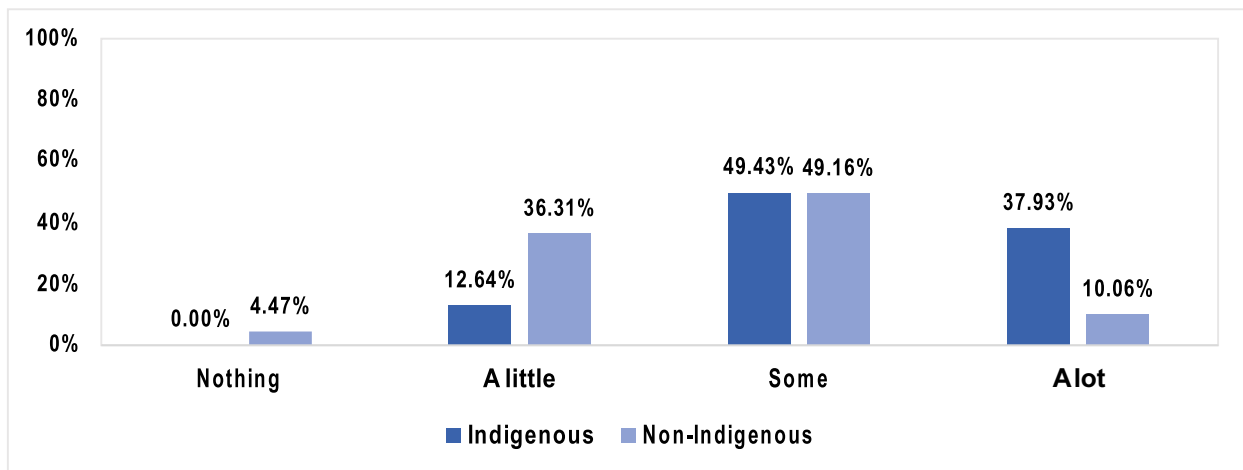


Figure 38. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who know about history of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Fewer non-Indigenous participants knew some to a lot about inherent Indigenous rights. Over a third (36.0%) knew some of Indigenous rights while under one in 10 (9.0%) knew a lot. The opposite was true for Indigenous participants: Over a quarter knew a little while none of the Indigenous participants reported knowing nothing (N=265) (Figure 39).

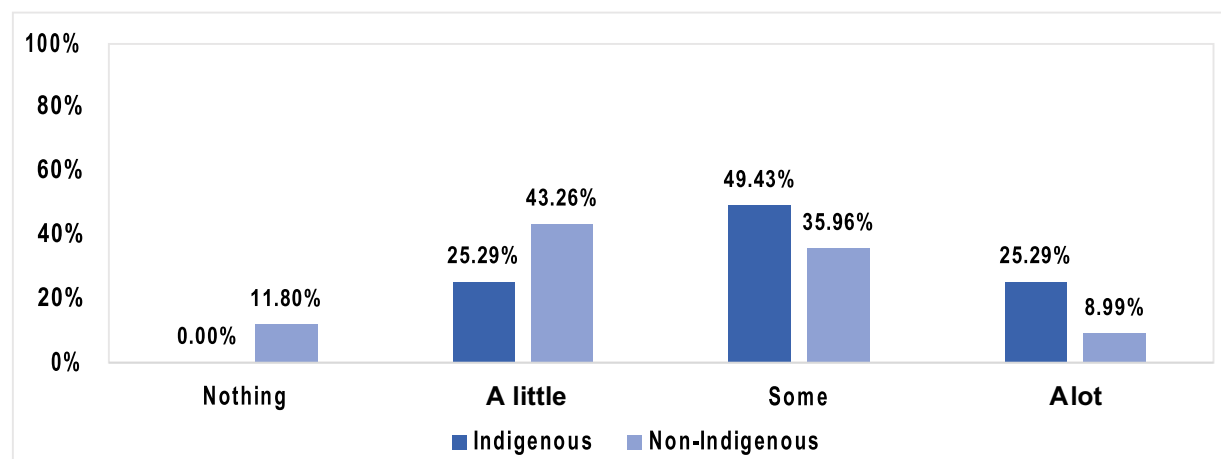


Figure 39. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who know about inherent rights of Indigenous peoples in Canada (e.g., territory rights, treaty rights, etc.).

There was a substantial difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who reported knowing a lot about the history of Indian residential schools. One in two Indigenous participants knew a lot about the history of IRS, whereas under one in seven non-Indigenous participants knew a lot about the IRS system. It was notable that, considering the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission, about one in six (16.2%) of non-Indigenous participants reported they knew nothing about the IRS system whereas for Indigenous participants, very few (1.2%) reported knowing nothing about this topic (N=266) (Figure 40).

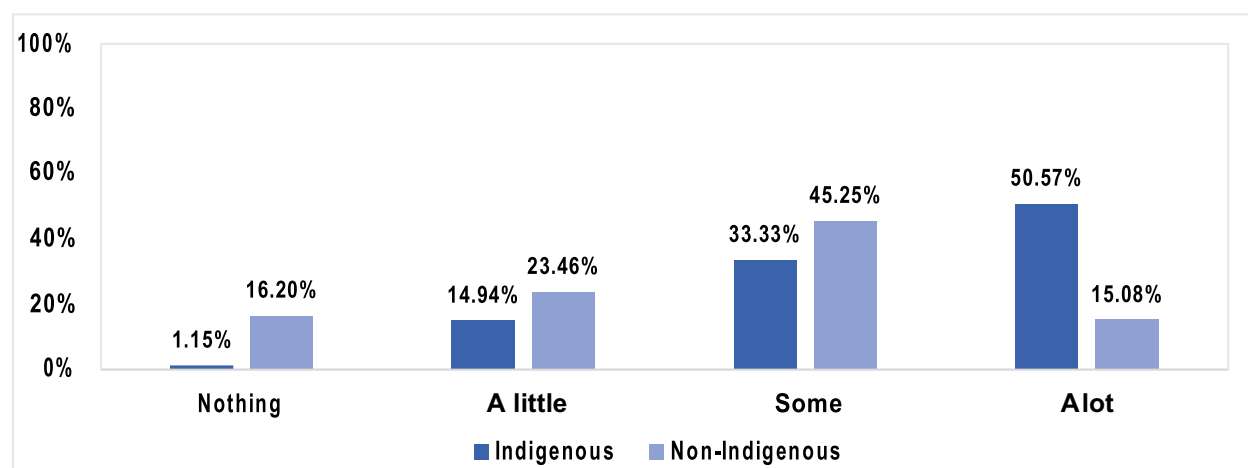


Figure 40. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who know about history of Indian Residential Schools.

A comparison between non-Indigenous and Indigenous knowledge of the colonial history was more similar. Over a third (37.9%) of Indigenous participants knew a lot of colonial Canadian history versus just under a quarter (24.0%) of non-Indigenous participants knew a lot about this history. Just over one in five Indigenous (41.4%) and non-Indigenous (45.3%) participants knew some of Canada's colonial history; only one in 20 (approximately 5.0%) claimed to know nothing of this history (N=266) (Figure 41).

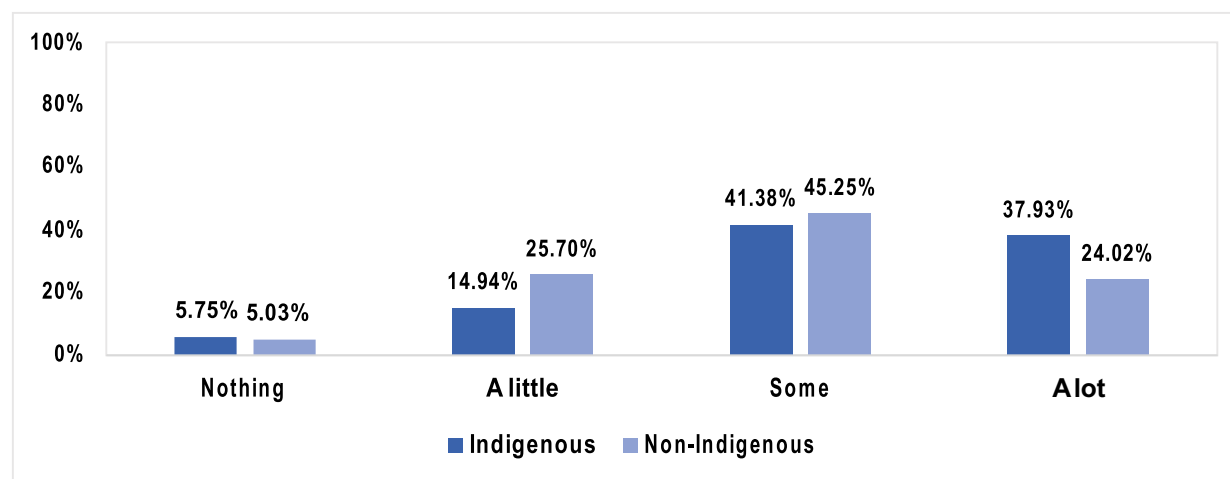


Figure 41. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who know about colonial history of Canada.

Awareness of contemporary adversities faced by Indigenous peoples in Canada

Nine in 10 (90.8%) of Indigenous participants reported that government policies somewhat to extremely negatively impact Indigenous peoples today, with a third (37.9%) indicating that current policies are extremely negative for Indigenous peoples. About one in 10 (9.2%) Indigenous participants gave a neutral response while no Indigenous participants felt that governmental policies had no negative impact. On the other hand, just under one in two (48.05%) non-Indigenous participants endorsed that government policies somewhat to extremely negatively impact Indigenous peoples today, one in five (22.9%) were neutral, and a third (37.9%) disagreed with this statement, showing divergent opinions on the impact of current government policies in relation to Indigenous or non-Indigenous self-identification (N=266) (Figure 42). In keeping with these views, approaching three quarters (72.4%) of Indigenous participants felt that IRS and past policies contribute to health and social inequalities for Indigenous peoples. Only just over a third (35.8%) of non-Indigenous peoples indicated they felt similarly (N=266) (Figure 43).

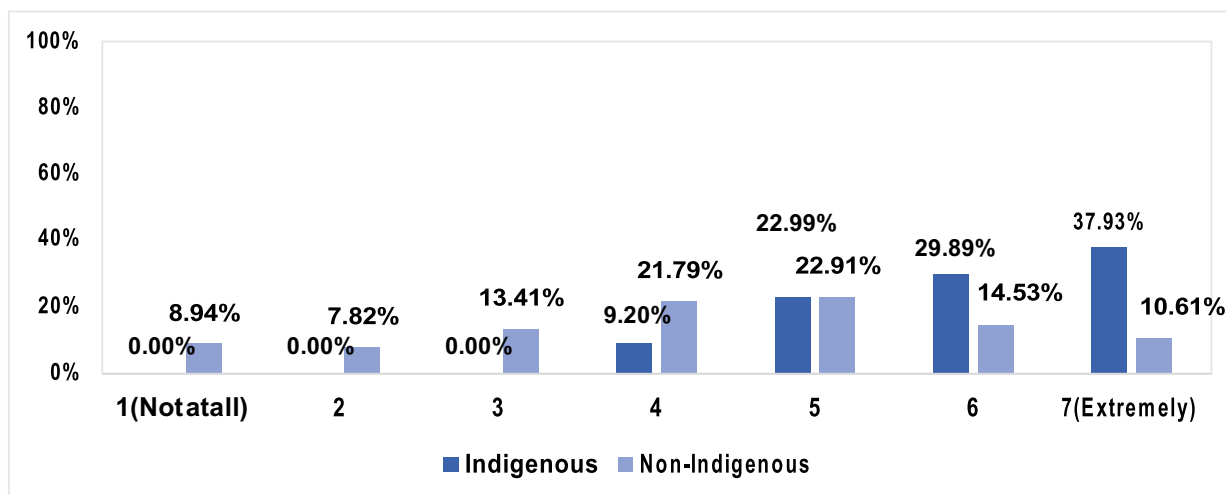


Figure 42. The proportions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who believed that government policies negatively impact Indigenous peoples today “not at all” or extremely.

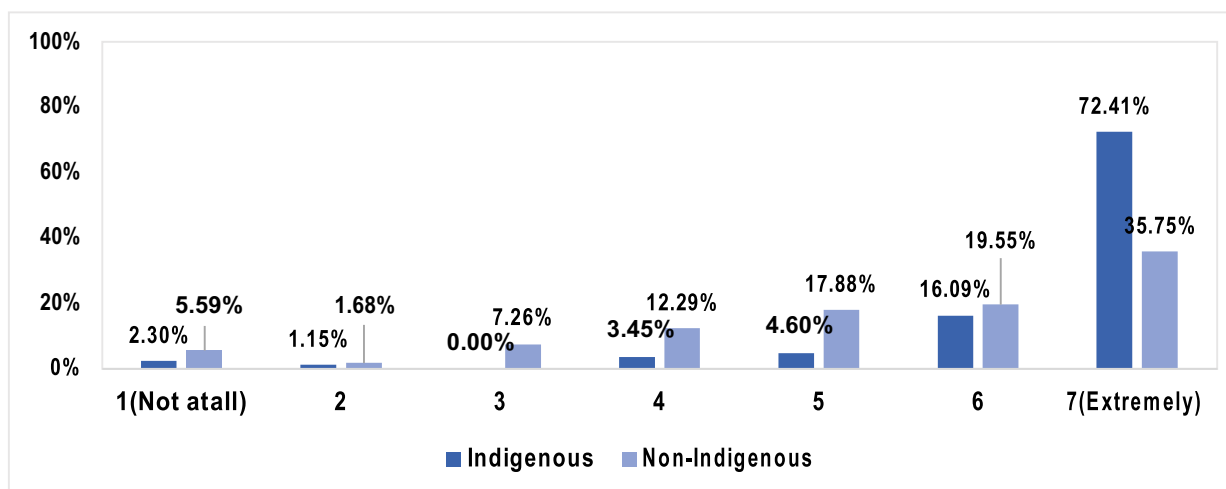


Figure 43. The proportions of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who felt that residential schools and other past government policies contribute to the health and social challenges experienced by Indigenous peoples today “not at all” to “extremely”.

Two thirds (62.79%) of Indigenous participants agreed to strongly agreed that discrimination against Indigenous peoples is pervasive. Less than half (45.5%) of non-Indigenous participants held similar views. 1 in 8 (13.1%) non-Indigenous participants somewhat to strongly disagreed while very few (4.7%) of Indigenous participants similarly disagreed with the statement (N=262) (Figure 44). Comparably, seven in 10 (70.1%) Indigenous participants strongly disagree that discrimination towards Indigenous peoples is not a significant problem in Canada compared to four in 10 (42.5%) non-Indigenous participants. Just under one in 10 (7.8%) of non-Indigenous participants strongly agree with this position, while very few (1.2%) of Indigenous participants likewise strongly disagree (N=266) (Figure 45).

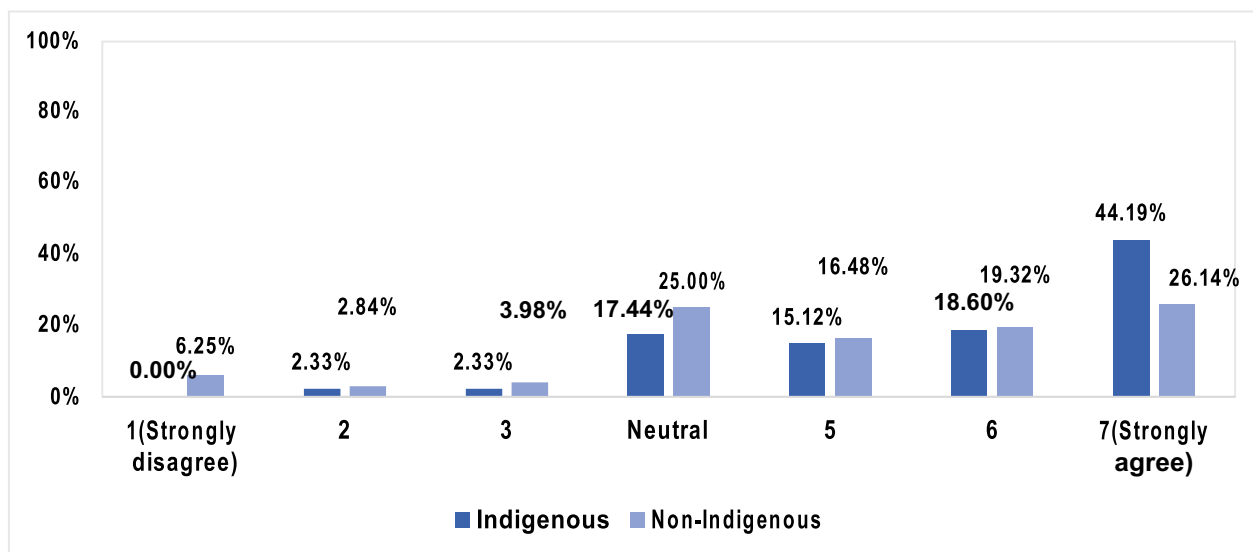


Figure 44. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants that agree or disagree discrimination against Indigenous peoples is pervasive.

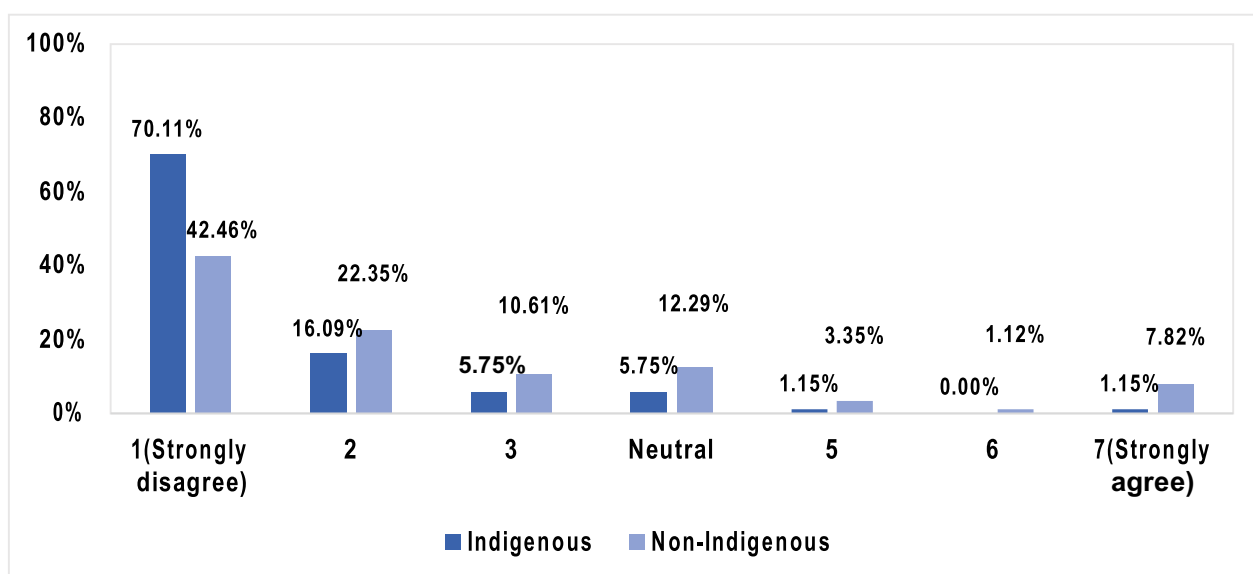


Figure 45. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants that agree or disagree discrimination towards Indigenous peoples is not a significant problem in Canada.

Over half (56.3%) of Indigenous participants reported that they strongly agreed that Indigenous peoples experience discrimination on a daily basis, while only a quarter (26.6%) of non-Indigenous participants endorsed this view. Around a quarter of Indigenous (28.7%) and non-Indigenous (23.7%) agreed with this position. Just over one in 10 (11.29%) of non-Indigenous participants disagreed to strongly disagreed that Indigenous peoples face daily discrimination, with only very few (3.5%) Indigenous participants similarly disagreeing (N=264) (Figure 46).

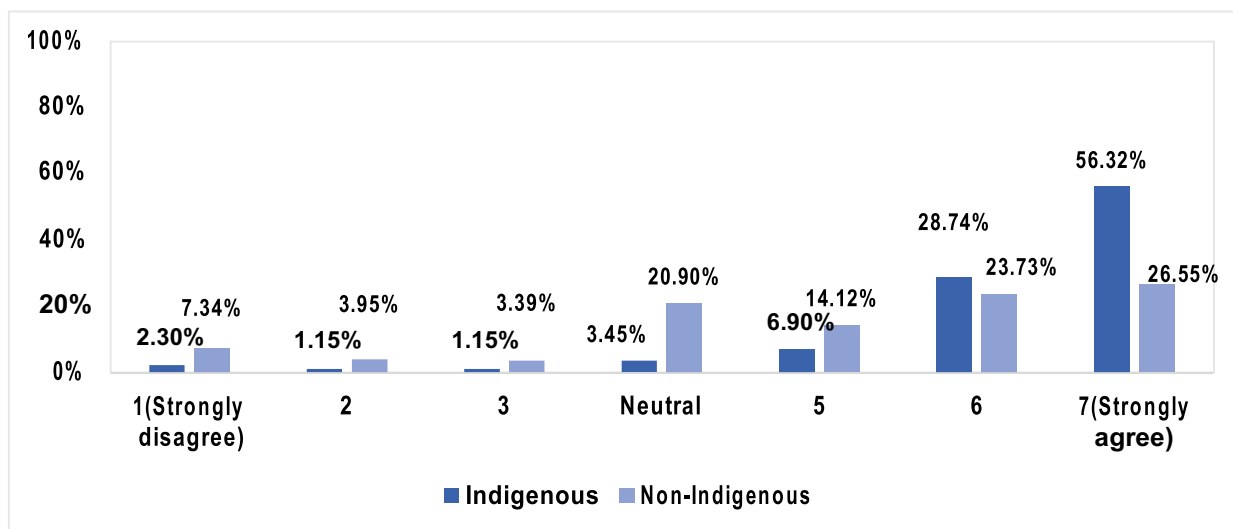


Figure 46. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants that agree or disagree that Indigenous peoples experience discrimination on a daily basis.

Views related to reconciliation in Canada

A robust majority (70.1%) of Indigenous participants strongly agree it is important for all Canadians to recognize the harms that colonization and the Canadian government has done to Indigenous peoples juxtaposed with well below half (39.7%) of non-Indigenous participants. A further one in five Indigenous (19.5%) and non-Indigenous (22.4%) participants agree with this statement with one in eight (12.9%) non-Indigenous and one in 20 (19.5%) Indigenous participants somewhat agreeing. One in 10 (9.5%) non-Indigenous participants strongly disagree, in contrast with very few (1.2%) Indigenous participants (Figure 47).

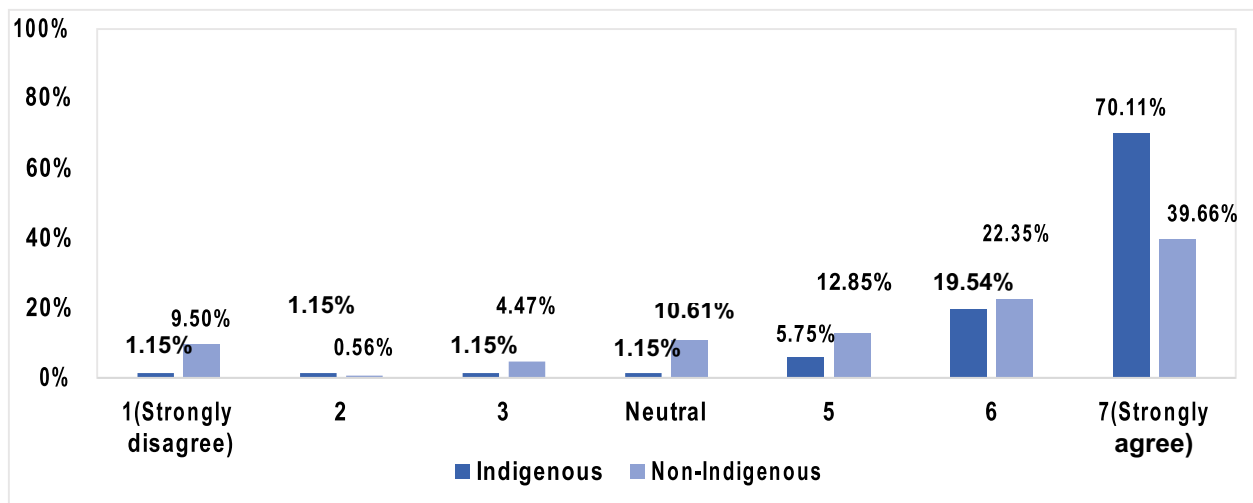


Figure 47. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it is important for all Canadians to recognize the harms that colonization and Canadian government has done to Indigenous peoples.

A similar trend was found when participants were asked if they thought that Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to learn about the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Over two thirds (66.7%) of Indigenous participants strongly disagreed with this statement compared to only a third (32.6%) of non-Indigenous participants. An eighth of Indigenous participants (12.6%) and a quarter of non-Indigenous participants (25.8%) disagreed. Under one in 10 (7.3%) non-Indigenous participants and very few (2.3%) Indigenous participants agreed that Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to learn Indigenous Canadian history (N=265) (Figure 48).

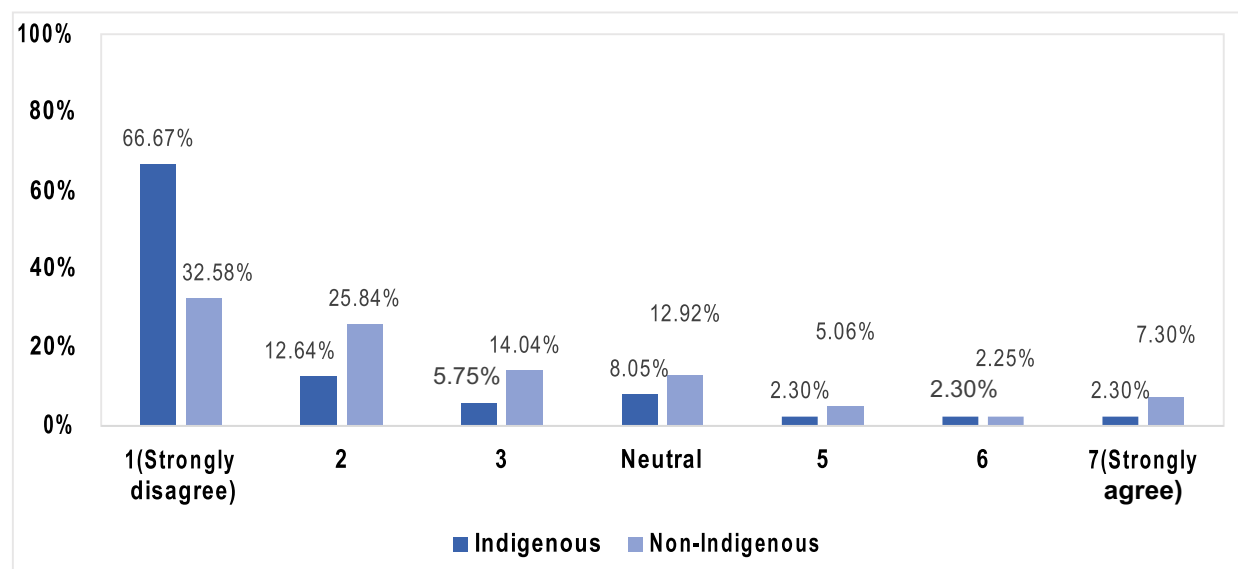


Figure 48. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to learn about the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

Further, four in five Indigenous participants strongly agree (81.6%) that Canadians need to be aware of its colonial history and acknowledge the ongoing negative effects on the health and social status of Indigenous peoples, in contrast with two in five (41.3%) non-Indigenous participants. Under one in 10 (7.3%) of non-Indigenous participants and no (0%) Indigenous participants strongly disagreed with this statement (N=265) (Figure 49). In keeping with this tendency, 70.1% of Indigenous participants strongly disagree that it is not important for Canadians to learn about colonization and how it has affected the well-being of Indigenous peoples in Canada, compared to 43.26% of non-Indigenous participants. One in 10 Indigenous (9.2%) and non-Indigenous (10.7%) strongly agreed (N=265) (Figure 50). Likewise, four in five (79.3%) Indigenous participants and under half (48.60%) of non-Indigenous participants strongly disagreed that it is not important for Canadians to take the time to learn about how colonization has influenced Indigenous peoples because it is in the past (N=266) (Figure 51).

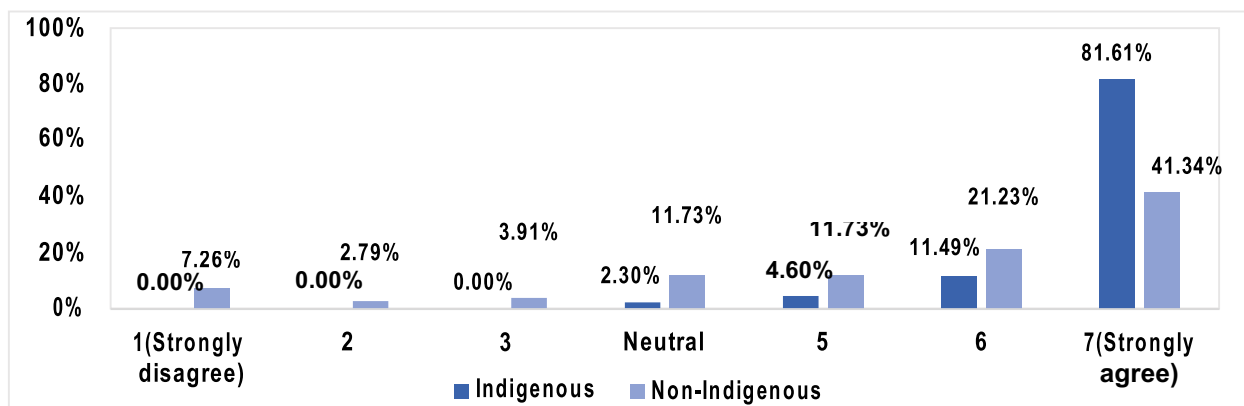


Figure 49. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think Canadians need to be aware of its colonial history and acknowledge the ongoing negative effects on the health and social status of Indigenous peoples.

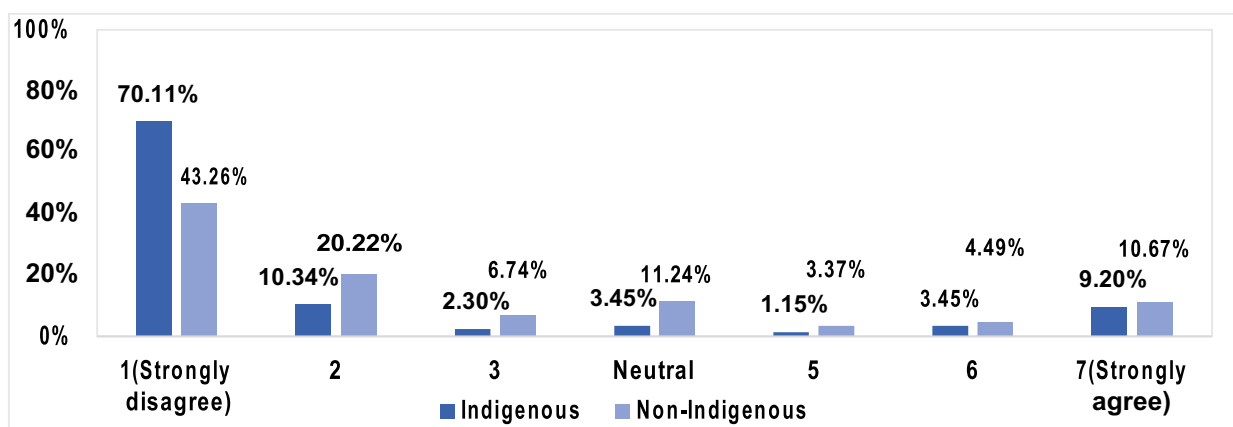


Figure 50. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it is not important for Canadians to learn about colonization and how it has affected the well-being of Indigenous peoples in Canada.

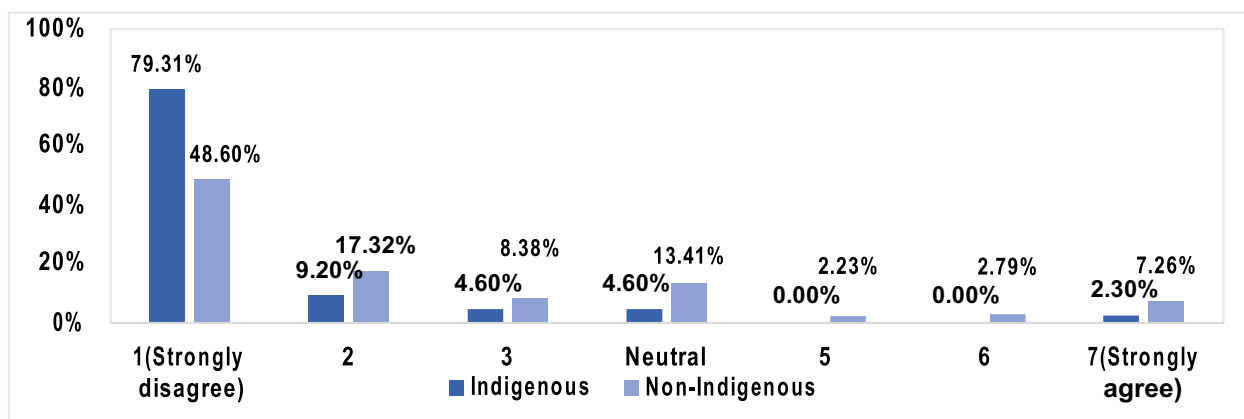


Figure 51. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it is not important for Canadians to take the time to learn about how colonization has influenced Indigenous peoples because it is in the past.

Close to nine in 10 (87.4%) of Indigenous participants endorsed (agreed to strongly agreed) that it is important for the colonial history of Canada and its harmful legacy on Indigenous peoples to be recognised by all Canadians. In contrast, only six in ten (60.3%) of non-Indigenous Canadians agreed to strongly agreed about the importance of recognising the effects of colonization. One in 10 (9.5%) non-Indigenous participants and next to none (1.2%) of Indigenous participants somewhat disagreed to strongly disagreed (N=266) (Figure 52).

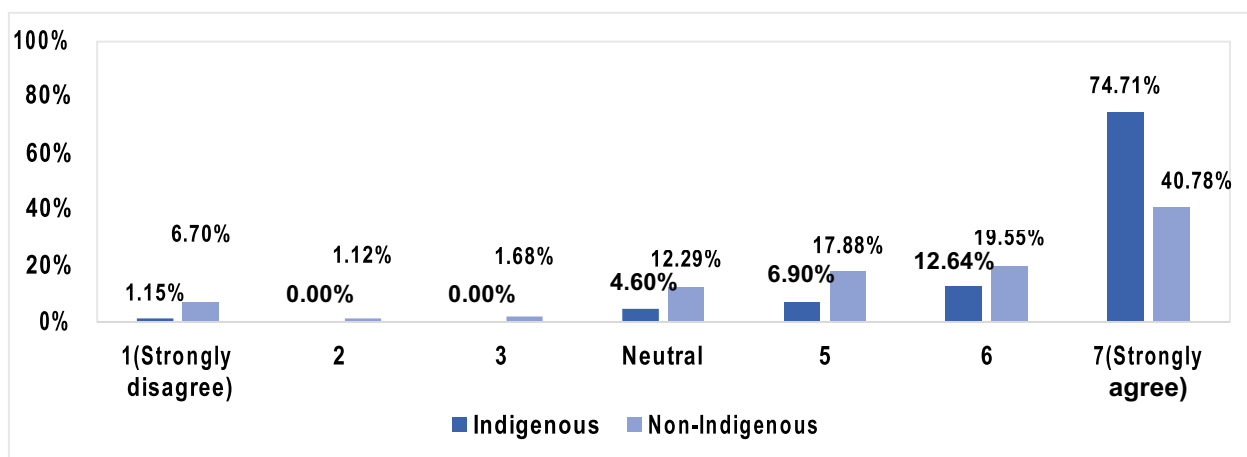


Figure 52. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it is important that the colonial history of Canada and its harmful legacy on Indigenous peoples be recognized by all Canadians.

Four in five (79.3%) Indigenous participants and one in five non-Indigenous participants strongly agreed that it is the responsibility of all Canadians to support initiatives aimed at achieving equity for Indigenous peoples. Over one in seven (15.1%) of non-Indigenous participants and next to no (1.2%) Indigenous participants somewhat disagreed to strongly disagreed, with just under one in 10 (8.4%) of non-Indigenous participants strongly disagreeing that supporting initiatives for achieving equity for Indigenous peoples is the responsibility of all Canadians (N=266) (Figure 53).

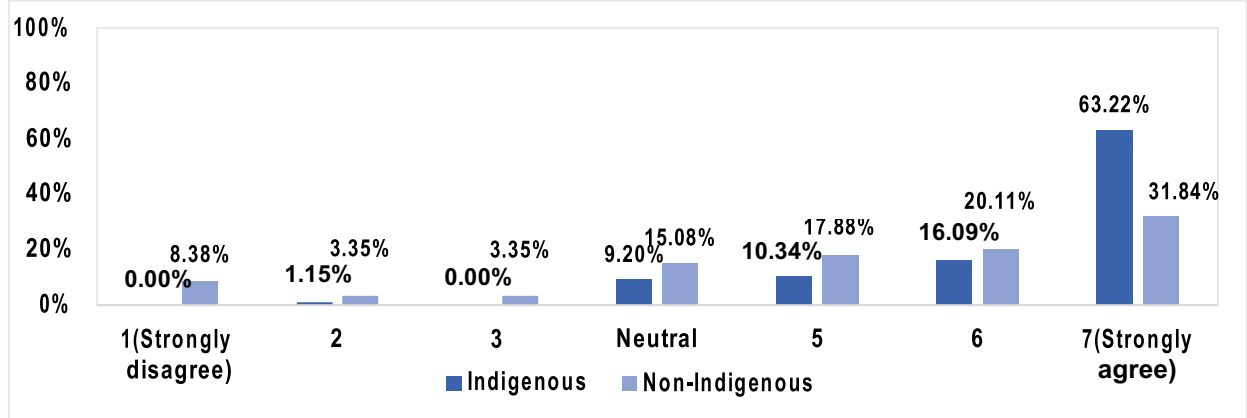


Figure 53. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it the responsibility of all Canadians to support initiatives aimed at achieving equity for Indigenous peoples.

Approaching three quarters (72.4%) of Indigenous participants disagree to strongly disagree that it should not be the responsibility of Canadians to support initiatives to improve the well-being of Indigenous peoples compared to half (49.16%) of non-Indigenous Canadians. Over one in 10 (11.2%) of non-Indigenous participants contrasted by only one in 20 (4.6%) of Indigenous participants who strongly agree that supporting initiatives to support Indigenous peoples well-being should not be a Canadian responsibility (N=266) (Figure 54).

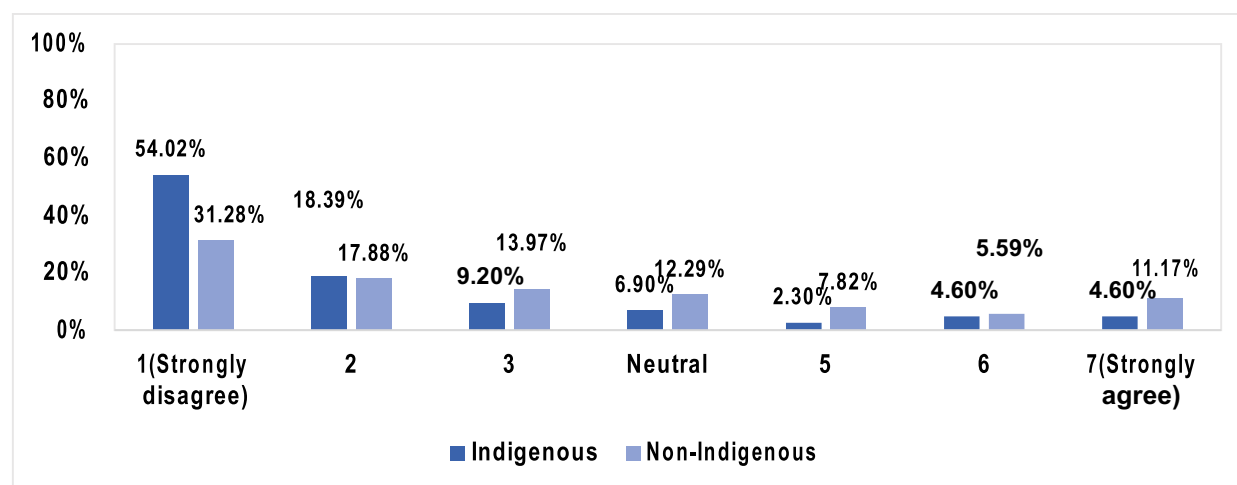


Figure 54. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think it should not be the responsibility of current Canadians to support initiatives to improve the well-being of Indigenous peoples.

Seven in 10 (70.66%) Indigenous participants and less than half (47.8%) of non-Indigenous participants agree to strongly agree that all Canadians should strive to be engaged in supporting initiatives that repair the damage done by colonization to Indigenous peoples. Conversely, over one in 10 (11.2%) of non-Indigenous participants and almost no (1.2%) Indigenous participants strongly disagree (N=264) (Figure 55).

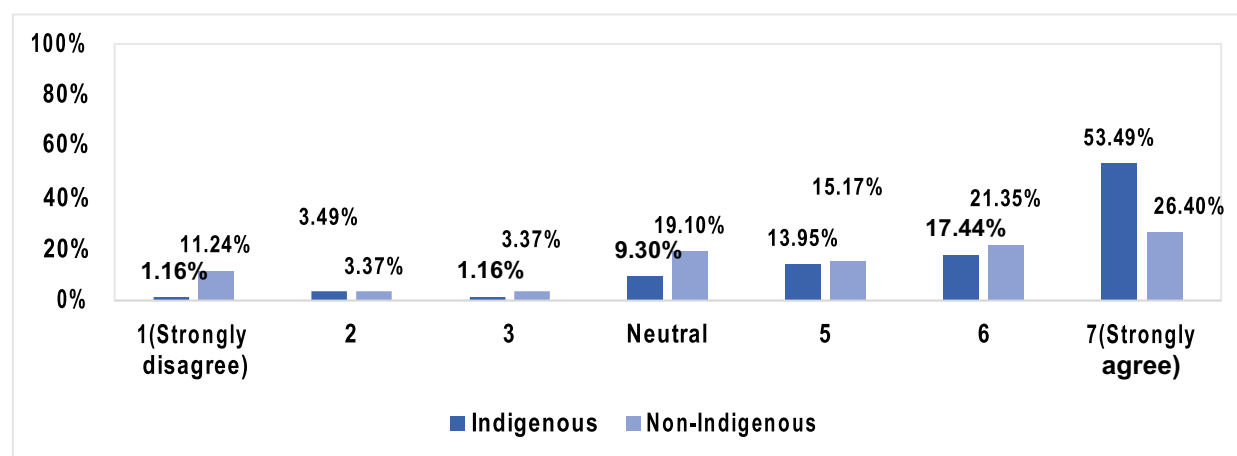


Figure 55. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think all Canadians should strive to be engaged in supporting initiatives that repair the damage done by colonization to Indigenous peoples.

Similar trends were found for the statement *Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to support Indigenous peoples in Canada*. Approaching three quarters (72.71%) of Indigenous participants and about half (51.98%) of non-Indigenous participants strongly disagreed with this statement. Among non-Indigenous participants towards one in 10 (7.9%) strongly agreed that Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to support Indigenous peoples. Very few (3.5%) Indigenous participants strongly agreed with that statement (N=264) (Figure 56). Comparably, about seven in 10 (71.3%) Indigenous participants agreed to strongly agreed that Canadians should feel a sense of responsibility to support initiatives that seek to reduce the bad outcomes faced by Indigenous peoples brought about by colonization, whereas only about half (51.1%) of non-Indigenous participants similarly supported (agree to strongly agree) this sense of responsibility. Almost one in 10 (9.0%) non-Indigenous participants and virtually no (1.2%) Indigenous participants strongly disagreed (N=265) (Figure 57).

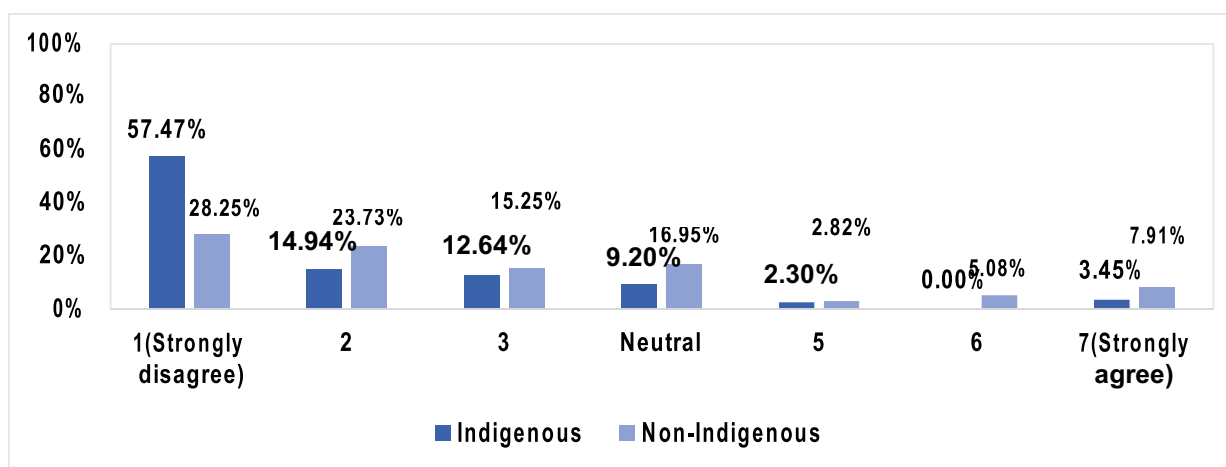


Figure 56. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think Canadians should not be expected to go out of their way to support Indigenous peoples in Canada.

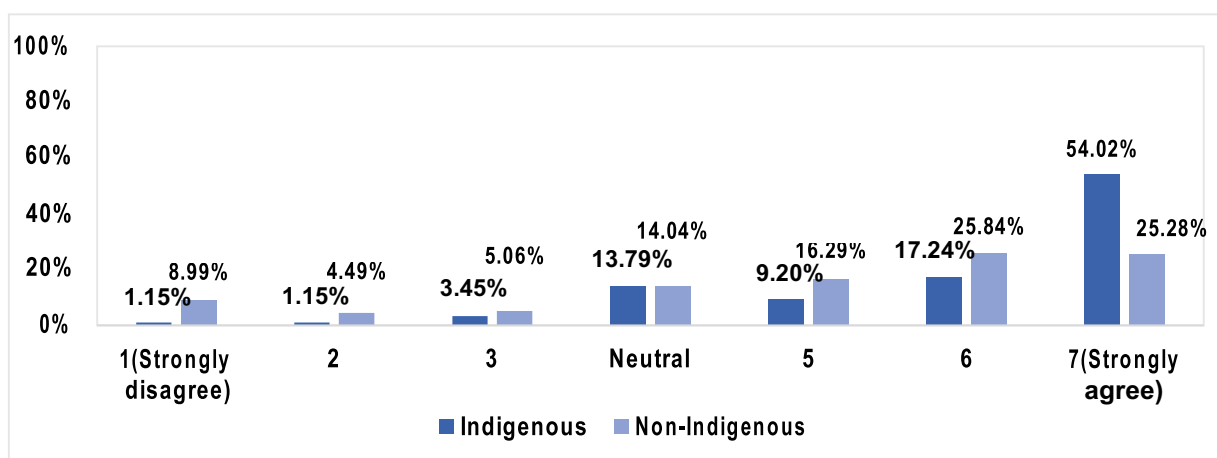


Figure 57. The proportion of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants who think Canadians should feel a sense of responsibility to support initiatives that seek to reduce the bad outcomes faced by Indigenous peoples brought about by colonization.

Focus groups: Themes related to reconciliation

This section presents the perspectives of Indigenous and non-Indigenous focus group participants regarding reconciliation. Importantly, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents discussed the gaps in knowledge among dominant society related to the history of colonization and its impacts upon Indigenous communities. The findings of the focus groups indicate that there is a continued need for education and truth-telling related to the history of colonization and its impacts within Canada.

Focus Group – Indigenous Perspectives on History and Reconciliation

Indigenous participants felt strongly that increasing knowledge of Canada's colonial history and how it has impacted upon Indigenous communities among settlers was critical to achieving reconciliation:

“Where I think there are two parts of the TRC: truth AND reconciliation. You ain't going to get reconciliation if you don't face up to the truth with the past...and that seems to be the key thing here...”

Another participant noted that this issue was a structural one related to educational systems in Canada, rather than simply symptomatic of a lack of individual knowledge among settlers:

“you know like the TRC talks a lot about how education is so important, how to bring it into the classroom...it's not going to happen if you don't even have teachers who are willing to consider it and are even willing to consider that their views and what they learned might not be...that they need to learn more that it is more...”

For the Indigenous participants, viewing the videos and artwork created by other members of the Indigenous community in Halifax highlighted commonalities in experiences between themselves and the artist, as well as with other communities who face racism and discrimination:

“it helps to realize that there are hidden institutional things that are putting people at a disadvantage right from birth and whether or not your family went to Residential School, or I don't know...didn't get jobs because they were African descent or you know the same things are happening everywhere to this day still, like environmental racism...resource extraction racism or all that kind of stuff...and for me, these videos are just kind of I'm hoping...I want there is a lot of allyship.”

Participants also shared how it helped them to realize that other Indigenous peoples were dealing with the same struggles they were, and that they were not alone. Participants were also hopeful that such initiatives can be useful for educating settlers:

“for me it just serves to help connect us all... there was always this kind of hierarchy is what I grew up knowing so I grew up knowing I was the bottom of the run or thinking I was the bottom of the rung and still at the same time being connected to

people and being connected to the struggle I guess and like I just...I hope it helps people - non-Indigenous or Indigenous - just to understand and be an ally... just to get it I guess you know."

Focus Group – Non-Indigenous Perspectives on History and Reconciliation

Knowledge of Canada's history toward Indigenous people was generally acknowledged as important, but the majority of non-Indigenous participants reported that they knew very little about Indigenous history. Here is an example of an older White male's perspective on this:

"we're trying to understand history, we can't change it, it's the past but we're trying to understand it better and that goes back to our education system, our preferences that we get here. I'm sure my education, which was a lot longer ago than most of yours, had very different slants on things. We got very little education on Indigenous people but we got a lot of education on the North West Mounted Police so I'm mean like now, that's coming around more completely. The education is more complete now for young people. That's a good thing."

Although the Indigenous participants tended to know more about Indigenous history and issues, the idea that this awareness of the 'dark' Canadian history was growing was shared by a non-Indigenous participant:

"I think it also that as time goes on I think if you were to ask that same question to someone 20 years ago, you would have got a different answer then asking it today with all the controversy around is it 150 years old or are there a couple more zeros on the end of that (laughs) so the real history is Canada is only now starting to be told and I think that makes quite a difference to that question."

For the non-Indigenous focus group participants, viewing the short films and artwork done by their Indigenous neighbors in Halifax seemed to have an impact on their perceived responsibility to learn and act for Indigenous social justice. After showing the two pieces of art and films from the project, *This is What I Wish You Knew*, the tenure of the discussion changed. The non-Indigenous participants were visibly moved by what they had learned through the first-person accounts. The first comment made after the screening was:

"they [the art and films] evoke a lot of anger because it's a history that – 1 - I didn't know too much about until the last few years, certainly not a part of my education, and – 2 - the impact it had on them as individuals. I wouldn't want anywhere near to have happen to my kids or my grandkids."

As the discussion continued with non-Indigenous participants, ideas reflecting a sense of responsibility to learn and to take action became dominant. A participant told a story from his daily life and concluded:

“unless you get out of your comfort zone and start doing things like this or going to a protest to support their cause then you can really start to appreciate that there are significant differences and there are things I can do to support that.”

The connection between knowledge of colonialism, acknowledgement of discrimination and perceived responsibility to learn more about this ‘dark history’ and to respond is clear in the focus group transcripts and in the survey results.

DISCUSSION

It has long been argued that Indigenous peoples are not adequately represented across the political, social and cultural institutions of cities (Bélanger, Barron, McKay-Turnbull, & Mills, 2003; Walker, 2013). As urban Indigenous communities across Canada continue to grow, there will be an ever increasing need to create programs and spaces where Indigenous knowledges and cultural practices are celebrated and strengthened (Porter, 2016). By turning attention to the micro-level relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous members of the HRM, this study sought to better understand the barriers and facilitators to reconciliation.

The visibility of Indigenous communities within Canada's urban landscapes, and knowledge among non-Indigenous Canadians about the issues impacting upon them remains relatively low. In the current study, Indigenous and non-Indigenous residents of the HRM were invited to participate in a survey about their views on culture, values, identity, inter and intra-group interactions, and knowledge and perceptions regarding injustices perpetrated through the process of colonization.

This report is limited by a relatively small self-selected sample within the HRM. That said, important differences in cultural values, knowledge and understanding of historical and current injustices and marginalisation experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canada were revealed among Indigenous and non-Indigenous participant groups which can be used to inform the selection of areas to educate people within mainstream institutions such as the public education system. Further analyses using this data will explore predictors of positive attitudes towards reconciliation and inform the development of educational and healing initiatives to address the continued health and social inequities among Indigenous peoples in Nova Scotia and in the rest of Canada.

The TRC (2015) has argued that any meaningful reconciliation process requires Canadian educational systems to work in partnership with Indigenous peoples to develop curriculum on residential schools, Treaties, and Indigenous communities. Despite the widespread impact of this experience and in consideration of the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission, a large number of non-Indigenous participants reported they knew nothing about the Indian residential school system. Indeed, the low level of knowledge reported by non-Indigenous respondents reflects a wider societal tendency to conceptualize the IRS system as an 'Indigenous issue', with a recent study finding that one in five Canadians were unaware of the TRC process following the release of its final report in 2015 (Denis, 2016).

Although education cannot on its own fully redress the legacy of Indian residential schools, imbuing settler society with the skills and tools for thinking critically about Canada's history is essential for societal change (Freire, 1973; 1985). Philosopher Paulo Freire (1970) refers to this as an act of "conscientization" in which individuals gain an in-depth understanding of the world

which supports them to recognize and respond to social injustices (p. 499). This makes the implementation of the TRC's Calls to Action all the more urgent.

Based on responses to the survey, different values were placed on Euro-Canadian culture for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. Non-Indigenous participants endorsed the importance of engaging in Euro-Canadian cultural traditions and practices, including values and beliefs, and sense of humour, while Indigenous participants tended to either disagree with the stated importance of Euro-Canadian traditions or report neutrality. Views on Euro-Canadian entertainment and social activities and interactions were similar among groups. Indigenous participants endorsed the values, beliefs and engagement with their cultural traditions and practices as important to them, appreciating the sense of humour, entertainment, and social interactions with and from their own cultural group. A strong sense of cultural identity, pride, and belonging was also valued by the majority of Indigenous participants. The continued importance placed upon cultural identity and connection by respondents counters the common conception that Indigenous peoples in urban centres are not 'authentic' (Brand et al., 2016; Fredericks, 2013). Recognizing the existence and importance of urban Indigenous communities has important implications for funding and service delivery models. It provides further evidence of the need for an increased focus on culturally appropriate health and social services within urban areas.

An unexpectedly high number of Indigenous participants reported sometimes feeling rejected by other Indigenous people, such as feeling like they were treated like an outsider, hearing that they were not an 'authentic' Indigenous person, or being worried that other Indigenous people think they either act "too Indigenous" or "not Indigenous enough". Although it is unclear why as many as six in 10 Indigenous participants endorsed having these feelings, one interpretation is the effect of internalised cultural oppression and marginalisation on identity (Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo, 2003).

Moreover, Indigenous participants reported common experiences of stereotypes and negative interactions from non-Indigenous groups, such as experiencing someone acting surprised at scholastic or professional success because of Indigenous heritage or that they were not intelligent. Regardless of these negative inter-group experiences, about eight in 10 Indigenous participants reported they have been told not to complain about racism/discrimination. These acts can be defined as forms of racial microaggressions, where rather than being overt, discrimination is subtle, indirect and sometimes unintentional. Microaggressions often demean, minimize or invalidate the experiences of oppressed groups (Neville, Spanierman, & Lewis, 2012). Research indicates that racial microaggressions have similar long-term impacts on psychological well-being as more overt forms of racism (Sue et al., 2007). Although the available evidence demonstrates that Indigenous peoples report commonly experiencing acts of microaggressions, to date there is a dearth of literature exploring their experiences (Clark, Kleiman, Spanierman, Isaac, &

Poolokasingham, 2014). The present study provides further evidence of the pervasiveness of this problem in Canadian cities.

Overall, the study revealed that there are notable, but perhaps not surprising differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants concerning knowledge and awareness of Indigenous history, rights, and well-being within Canadian society, with both the survey and focus group data indicating that Indigenous participants reported greater knowledge and awareness than non-Indigenous participants. The study findings are evidence of the complexities involved in “unsettling” the dominant narrative surrounding colonization (Regan, 2010, p. 19). This ideological gulf between Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants is not unique to the HRM, as multiple studies have reported similar findings across Canada in relation to how people understand both history and Aboriginal rights, as well as ongoing treaty obligations (Denis, 2012; Environics Institute, 2016; Furniss, 1999).

There is an alarming gap in the recognition of harm to Indigenous peoples from colonization and the Canadian government and the responsibility of all Canadians to redress this harm, with non-Indigenous participants lagging in this respect. For example, whereas about 90.0% of Indigenous participants agree to strongly agree that it is important for all Canadians to recognise the harms that colonization and Canadian government has done to Indigenous peoples, only about 60.0% of non-Indigenous Canadians agree to strongly agree with this. The gap grows larger when examining the current impact of government policies on Indigenous peoples today. Nine in 10 Indigenous participants reported that government policies somewhat to extremely negatively impact Indigenous peoples today, with a third (37.9%) indicating that current policies are extremely negative for Indigenous peoples. In sharp contrast, under half of non-Indigenous participants agreed with this view, and a third disagreed with it.

Despite the challenge of transforming a tightly held narrative about the benevolent and peaceful nature of Canada’s founding, this study has highlighted the powerful role that education can play in disrupting these myths. As the focus group findings indicate, non-Indigenous participants felt a stronger sense of responsibility in advocating for social justice after hearing the stories of Indigenous community members through their artwork. This process of learning is an important component of what has been referred to as the transformation of “settler consciousness” wherein individuals recognize and reflect upon the history of colonialism and contemporary realities of Indigenous peoples (Davis et al., 2012, p. 1). At the same time, Indigenous scholars are critical of a focus on education, arguing that it does little to address the underlying ideologies and institutions that allow power to remain concentrated within the settler state (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2016). Substantive reconciliation must include true forms of power and land transference, alongside strategies for improving relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples at individual and community levels.

CONCLUSION

Reconciliation is a complicated process that involves iterative steps include an awareness of Canada's historic and ongoing role in colonialism, recognition of the experience of Indigenous peoples in Canada and increased responsibility of the citizenry for Indigenous social justice, alongside a substantive redistribution of power and land to Indigenous communities.

Although researchers have examined the structural, legal and political implications of reconciliation, to date there has been a dearth of literature examining reconciliation at individual and community levels (Davis, 2016; Denis, 2015; 2016). The purpose of the present study was to better understand the barriers and facilitators to individual and community-level reconciliation, which is defined as a process of building or restoring relationships, and developing mutual respect for different viewpoints.

The urban Indigenous community is diverse, comprising numerous nations and cultural groups. The findings of this report demonstrate that despite this diversity, Indigenous peoples in the city are strongly connected to their cultural traditions and practices (87.4%) and to other Indigenous peoples in Canada (39.0%).

The experiences of the urban Indigenous community provide a glimpse into the barriers to reconciliation, as participants continue to report acts of racism in their daily lives (as detailed in Section One). These findings provide further evidence of the need for education among dominant Canadian society. Restoring balance to fractured relationships requires a common ground to start from, this includes a shared understanding of Canada, the realities of its colonization and its continued impacts upon Indigenous peoples and communities.

The community arts project opened up opportunities for settler society to learn about and engage with the lived realities of the urban Indigenous community in Halifax (Section Two). Public art is a profound way to build understanding, relationships and engage the public in righting wrongs.

References

- Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. (2013). *Aboriginal demographics from the 2011 National Household Survey*. Retrieved from http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-INTER-HQ-AI/STAGING/texte-text/abo_demo2013_1370443844970_eng.pdf
- Alfred, T., & Corntassel, J. (2005). Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism. *Government and Opposition*, 40(4), 597-614.
- Allan, B., & Smylie, J. (2015). *First peoples, second class treatment: The role of racism in the health and well-being of Indigenous peoples in Canada*. Toronto: The Wellesley Institute.
- Andersen, C. (2014). *“Métis”: Race, recognition, and the struggle for Indigenous peoplehood*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Australian Human Rights Commission. (2011). *Social justice report 2011*. Retrieved from <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/chapter-2-lateral-violence-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-communities-social#fn2>
- Bélanger, Y., Barron, L., McKay-Turnbull, C., & Mills, M. (2003). *Urban Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg: Culture and identity formation in cities*. Winnipeg: Canadian Heritage.
- Brand, E., Bond, C., & Shannon, C. (2016). *Indigenous in the city: Urban Indigenous populations in local and global contexts*. Brisbane: UQ Poche Centre for Indigenous Health.
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2010). Decomposing identity: Differential relationships between several aspects of ethnic identity and the negative effects of perceived discrimination among First Nations adults in Canada. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 26(4), 507-516.
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2014a). The intergenerational effects of Indian Residential Schools: Implications for the concept of historical trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51(3), 320-338.
- Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2014b). *Origins of lateral violence in Aboriginal communities: A preliminary study of student-to-student abuse in residential schools*. Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation.
- Cardinal, N. (2006). The exclusive city: Identifying, measuring, and drawing attention to Aboriginal and Indigenous experiences in an urban context. *Cities*, 23(3), 217-228.
- Carli, V. (2013). The city as a “space of opportunity”: Urban Indigenous experiences and community safe partnerships. In D. Newhouse, K. FitzMaurice, T. McGuire-Adams

- & D. Jette (Eds.), *Well-being in the urban Aboriginal community: Fostering biimaadiziwin* (pp. 1-21). Toronto: Thompson.
- Clark, D.A., Kleiman, S., Spanierman, L.B., Isaac, P., & Poolokasingham, G. (2014). "Do you live in a teepee?" Aboriginal students' experiences with racial microaggressions in Canada. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 7(2), 112-125.
- Clark, Y., & Augoustinos, M. (2015). What's in a name? Lateral violence within the Aboriginal community in Adelaide, South Australia. *The Australian Community Psychologist*, 27(2), 19-34.
- Coombes, B., Johnson, J.T., & Howitt, R. (2012). Indigenous geographies II: The aspirational spaces in postcolonial politics- reconciliation, belonging and social provision. *Progress in Human Geography*, 37(5), 691-700.
- Coulthard, G. (2014). *Red skin, white masks: Rejecting the colonial politics of recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Culhane, D. (2003). Their spirits live within us: Aboriginal women in downtown eastside Vancouver emerging into visibility. *The American Indian Quarterly*, 27(3/4), 593-606.
- Davis, L., Hiller, C., James, C., Llyod, K., Nasca, T., & Taylor, S. (2016). Complicated pathways: settler Canadians learning to re/frame themselves and their relationships with Indigenous peoples. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 8. doi: 10.1080/2201473X.2016.1243086
- Denis, J. (2012). Transforming meanings and group positions: Tactics and framing in Anishinaabe-white relations in Northwestern Ontario, Canada. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(3), 453-470.
- Denis, J. (2015). Contact theory in a small-town settler-colonial context. *American Sociological Review*, 80(1), 218-242.
- Denis, J. (2016). 'You can't have reconciliation without justice': How non-Indigenous participants in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation process understand their roles and goals. In S. Maddison, T. Clark, & de Costa, R (Eds.), *The limits of settler of settler colonial reconciliation* (pp. 137-158). Singapore: Springer.
- Edmonds, P. (2010). Unpacking settler colonialism's urban strategies: Indigenous peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, Transition to a settler-colonial city. *Urban History Review*, 38(2), 4-20.
- Elias, B., Mignone, J., Hall, M., Hong, S.P., Hart, L., & Sareen, J. (2012). Trauma and suicide behaviour among a Canadian Indigenous population: An empirical exploration of the potential role of Canada's residential school system. *Social Science & Medicine*, 74(10), 1560-1569.

- Environics Institute. (2010). *Urban Aboriginal peoples study: Main report*. Ottawa: Author.
- Environics Institute. (2016). *Canadian public opinion on Aboriginal peoples: Final report*. Ottawa: Author.
- Fredericks, B. (2013). 'We don't leave our identities at the city limits': Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people living in urban localities. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1, 4-16.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing.
- Freire, P. (1998). Cultural action and conscientization. *Harvard Educational Review*, 68(4), 499-521.
- Furniss, E. (1999). *The burden of history: Colonialism and the frontier myth in a rural Canadian community*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Gaudry, A., & Leroux, D. (2017). White settler revisionism and making Métis everywhere: The evocation of Métissage in Quebec and Nova Scotia. *Critical Ethnic Studies*, 3(1), 116-142.
- Haig-Brown, C. (1988). *Resistance and renewal: Surviving the Indian residential school*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Howard, H.A., & Proulx, C. (2011). *Aboriginal peoples in Canadian cities: Transformations and continuities*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Kennedy, M. (2015, May 24). Teachings about aboriginal 'simply wrong', says Murray Sinclair. *Ottawa Citizen*. Retrieved from <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/politics/teachings-about-aboriginals-simply-wrong-says-murray-sinclair>
- King, M., Smith, A., & Gracey, M. (2009). Indigenous health part 2: The underlying causes of the health gap. *The Lancet*, 374(9683), 76-85.
- Kirmayer, L., Simpson, C., & Cargo, M. (2003). Healing traditions: Culture, community and mental health promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples. *Australasian Psychiatry*, 11(sup1), S15-S23.
- Lambert-Pennington, K. (2012). "Real Blackfellas": Constructions and meanings of urban Indigenous identity. *Transforming Anthropology*, 20(2), 131-145.
- Leroux, D.J., & Gaudry, A. (2017, October 26). Becoming Indigenous: The rise of Eastern Métis in Canada. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/becoming->

- Morrisette, P.J. (1994). The holocaust of First Nation people: Residual effects on parenting and treatment implications. *Contemporary Family Therapy*, 15(5), 381-392.
- McMillan, L.J., & Glode-Desorchers, P. (2014). *Urban Aboriginal wellbeing, wellness and justice: A Mi'kmaw Native Friendship Centre Needs Assessment for creating a collaborative Indigenous mental resilience, addictions and justice strategy*. Fredericton: Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network.
- Neville, H.A., Spanierman, L.B., & Lewis, J.A. (2012). The expanded psychosocial model of racism: A new model for understanding and disrupting racism and White privilege. In N.A Fouad, J.A Carter, & L.M Subich (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology, vol. 2: Practice, interventions, and applications* (pp. 333-360). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- Newhouse, D.R., & Peters, E.J. (2011). Introduction. In D. Newhouse & E. Peters (Eds.), *Not strangers in these parts: Urban Aboriginal peoples* (pp. 5-14). Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- Niezen, R. (2017). *Truth and indignation: Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Palmater, P. (2011). *Beyond blood: Rethinking Indigenous identity*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Porter, L. (2006, October 5). How can we meaningfully recognise cities as Indigenous places? *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/how-can-we-meaningfully-recognise-cities-as-indigenous-places-65561>
- Senese, L.C., & Wilson, K. (2013). Aboriginal urbanization and rights in Canada: Examining implications for health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 91, 219-228.
- Simpson, A. (2016). Whither settler colonialism? *Settler Colonial Studies*, 6(4), 438-445.
- St. Denis. (2007). Aboriginal education and anti-racist education: Building alliances across cultural and racial identity. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 30(4), 1068-1092.
- Statistics Canada. (2017a). *Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 Census*. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/171025/dq171025a-eng.htm>
- Statistics Canada. (2017b). *Census Profile, 2016 Census, Halifax*. Retrieved from <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=1209034&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&Data=Count&SearchText=halifax&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Aboriginal%20peoples&TABID=1>

- Sue, D.W., Capodilupo, C.M., Torino, G.C., Bucceri, J.M., Holder, A.M.B., Nadal, K.L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62, 271-286.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Calls to action*. Retrieved from http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf
- Walker, R. (2013). Increasing the depth of our civic identity: Future seeking and place making with Aboriginal communities. In E. Peters & C. Andersen (Eds.), *Indigenous in the city: Contemporary identities and cultural innovation* (pp. 151-166).
- Wall, K. (2016). Gathering place: Urban Indigeneity and the production of space in Edmonton, Canada. *Journal of Urban Cultural Studies*, 3(3), 301-325,
- Wendt, D.C., & Gone, J.P. (2012). Urban-indigenous therapeutic landscapes: A case study of an urban American Indian health organization. *Health & Place*, 18, 1025-1033.
- Wilson, K., & Peters, E.J. (2005). "You can make a place for it": Remapping urban First Nations spaces of identity. *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 23, 395-412.