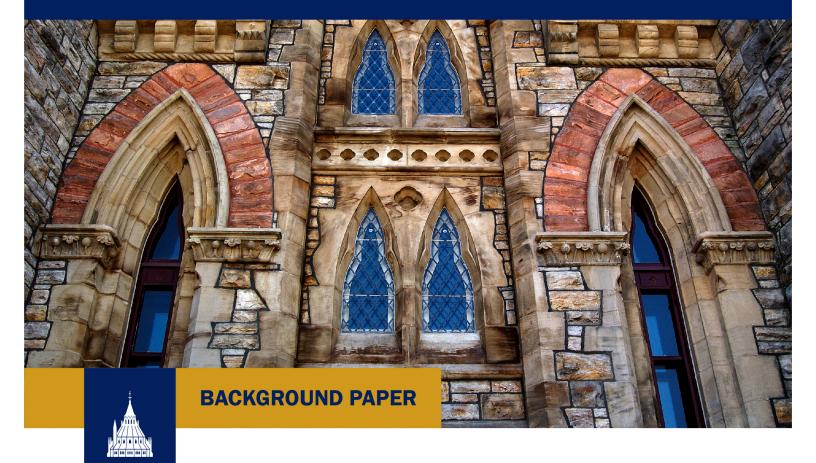
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SERVICES FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE LIVING IN URBAN AREAS

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Services for Indigenous People Living in Urban Areas (Background Paper)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past 70 years, growing numbers of Indigenous people in Canada have moved to urban centres. Today, more than half of the Indigenous population live in urban areas. Indigenous people may move permanently or temporarily to the city to access employment, educational opportunities or services that are not available in their communities.

Indigenous people have built vibrant communities and developed organizations to provide essential services that support their transition to the city. However, a number of reports and stakeholders have identified gaps in services for urban Indigenous populations. These gaps may lead Indigenous people to access general provincial programming, which may not be culturally appropriate. Indigenous people may also experience racism and discrimination when accessing services, which can have negative effects on their well-being.

Factors that may contribute to gaps in services for urban Indigenous people include jurisdictional disputes between federal and provincial governments and inadequate funding. Accurate data is necessary to identify existing needs and allocate funding accordingly. However, Indigenous organizations have concerns about the accuracy of existing population data on urban Indigenous people.

SERVICES FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLE LIVING IN URBAN AREAS

INTRODUCTION

Like other Canadians, many Indigenous people¹ have moved to urban centres over the past 70 years. Today, more than half of the Indigenous population live in cities across Canada. Indigenous people build communities in cities, or "spaces of Indigenous resilience and cultural innovation." As a result, Indigenous artists, art galleries, businesses, cultural spaces and festivals have become an integral part of many Canadian cities.

Despite the significant proportion of the Indigenous population that lives in urban areas, there is limited research and data focusing on these individuals.³ This Background Paper provides demographic information about the urban Indigenous population and explains some of the reasons why Indigenous people move to cities. It also identifies services provided by Indigenous organizations to support Indigenous people who are transitioning to life in the city.

Given the large urban Indigenous population, there is growing demand for culturally appropriate services. However, gaps in programs and services caused by jurisdictional disputes, among other factors, may prevent Indigenous people from receiving much-needed support.

2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE URBAN INDIGENOUS POPULATION

2.1 MOVEMENT OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLE TO URBAN CENTRES.

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada are increasingly moving to cities. In 2016, 83% of the total Canadian population of about 35 million lived in a city. This trend is also seen in the Indigenous population, since more than half (51.8%) of the total Indigenous population of approximately 1.7 million people were living in a metropolitan area in 2016. Based on data obtained from the 2016 census, Figure 1 shows the Indigenous population of selected census subdivisions across Canada, with the darker shaded circles representing subdivisions with larger Indigenous populations and the larger circles representing subdivisions with higher concentrations of Indigenous people.

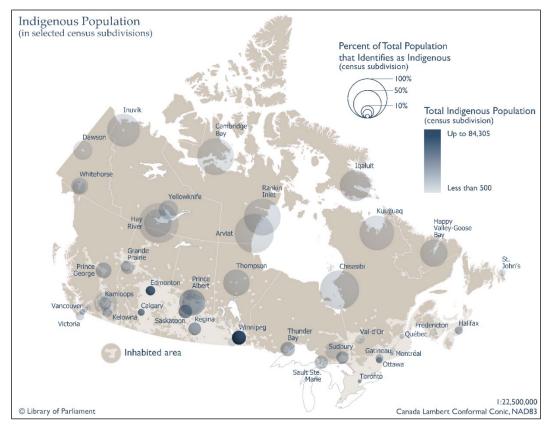


Figure 1 – Indigenous Population in Selected Census Subdivisions in Canada

Sources:

Map prepared by Library of Parliament, Ottawa, 2020, using data from Statistics Canada, "Census Profile Tables," Census of Population, 2016 (database), accessed February 2020 through University of Toronto, CHASS [Computing in the Humanities and Social Sciences]; Statistics Canada, "2016 Census - Boundary files"; Natural Resources Canada [NRCan], "Administrative Boundaries in Canada - CanVec Series - Administrative Features," Federal Geospatial Platform, March 2019; and NRCan, "Lakes, Rivers and Glaciers in Canada - CanVec Series - Hydrographic Features," Federal Geospatial Platform, March 2019. The following software was used: Esri, ArcGIS Pro, version 2.4.3. Contains information licensed under Statistics Canada Open Licence; and Open Government Licence - Canada; © 2020 Esri and its licensors.

Indigenous people began migrating to cities in large numbers in the 1950s. Today, the urban Indigenous population continues to grow. Between 2006 and 2016, the number of Indigenous people living in metropolitan areas increased by nearly 60%. 6

While both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are moving to cities, the migration of Indigenous people is unique because past Canadian policies contributed to an increase in the number of First Nations, Inuit and Métis people living in urban centres. For example, the *Indian Act* discriminated against First Nations women who lost their Indian status and were unable to pass it on to their children if they married non-status men. When they lost their status, First Nations women were forced to leave their communities and often relocated to cities.

Inuit also ended up in cities in southern Canada and hamlets in the territories due to federal government policies. In the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government sent Inuit with tuberculosis to southern Canada for medical treatment, separating them from their families and communities. Many Inuit died far from their homes. Some Inuit who recovered after many years in hospital chose to remain in the South. Furthermore, in the territories, the federal government provided some social programs and services to encourage Inuit to move off the land and into permanent communities. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, most Inuit lived in northern hamlets. 11

The federal government's allocation of land (known as "scrip") to Métis individuals between 1885 and 1923 led many Métis to lose their land. ¹² With few options to acquire land, some Métis rented land or moved onto road allowances, ¹³ while others moved to and worked in towns and cities. ¹⁴

Today, Indigenous people may move to cities permanently or temporarily to access services, ¹⁵ or to pursue educational opportunities unavailable in their home communities. Communities such as Happy Valley–Goose Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador or Winnipeg, Manitoba are hubs where northern Indigenous people can access services. ¹⁶ For example, without high schools in their communities, youth from remote First Nations communities in northern Ontario must travel to Thunder Bay to complete secondary school. ¹⁷ Additionally, Indigenous people living in remote or northern communities may leave to pursue most forms of post-secondary education.

Some Indigenous women living in remote and northern communities travel to southern urban centres to give birth if such services are unavailable locally or if they have a high-risk pregnancy. ¹⁸ As well, Indigenous people may move to the city to be closer to their children in care; for example, in Manitoba, Inuit children with special needs may in some cases be placed in care due to a lack services and facilities in the North. ¹⁹

Indigenous people may also relocate to urban centres to pursue employment opportunities and escape situations such as domestic violence or a lack of housing in their communities. Some Indigenous 2SLGBTQQIA²⁰ people feel unsafe and unwelcome in their communities and choose to move to urban centres.²¹

While they may intend to stay temporarily, some Inuit remain in the city because of their ongoing needs or due to high travel costs that prevent them from returning to their communities.²²

Indigenous people experience inequities when transitioning to life in urban centres. Historic trauma passed down between generations and factors such as the legacy of residential schools contribute to inequities in education and health outcomes between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada. For example, in 2017, 38% of urban Indigenous peoples aged 18 and over lived in a household experiencing food insecurity.²³ Further, in 2015, 24% of urban Indigenous peoples in the provinces were living in poverty.²⁴

2.2 THE URBAN INDIGENOUS POPULATION IS DIVERSE

Urban centres are home to Indigenous people representing different nations, cultures and language groups, many of whom have recently moved to the city. In 2009, researchers interviewed 2,614 Indigenous people living in Canadian cities and found that 68% were the first generation to live in the city. ²⁵

Indigenous people have varying degrees of connection to their home communities. Those who were the first or second generation living in the city were more likely to maintain a connection to their own community or that of their parents and grandparents.²⁶ Inuit were more likely (43%) than First Nations (32%) or Métis (28%) to report a very close connection with their communities of origin.²⁷ Indigenous people have maintained their connection to their home communities in different ways; those individuals with higher incomes have been able to do so by visiting their home communities.²⁸

Festivals celebrating Indigenous culture, art and music take place each year in cities across Canada. Indigenous artists, galleries, businesses and cultural spaces are an integral part of many Canadian cities. For example, Miqmak Catering Indigenous Kitchen in Montréal is owned by Mi'kmaw chef Norma Condo. The Urban Shaman Contemporary Aboriginal Art Gallery in Winnipeg is an Indigenous artist—run centre showcasing Indigenous art. Indigenous people are also working to restore Indigenous language names to cities through initiatives such as the Ogimaa Mikana Project.²⁹

3 SERVICES FOR URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, as growing numbers of Indigenous people moved to urban centres, they found gaps in culturally appropriate services to support them in the city. In response, they created service organizations to address this problem.³⁰

Today, Indigenous organizations provide essential supports to help people transition to life in the city. In some cases, programs are delivered to First Nations, Inuit or Métis only, while others are provided to Indigenous people more generally.

Friendship centres offer culturally based programs and services to all Indigenous people. Friendship centres were established beginning in the 1950s, and over time, the number of centres increased due to demand.³¹ Today, there are over 100 of them located in communities across Canada, offering a variety of programs and services, including shelters, food banks, child care, cultural and language programming, education and training programs, and public health programs. Some centres have social enterprises; for example, the First Light St. John's Friendship Centre in Newfoundland and Labrador manages the operations of ten affordable housing units and operates an Indigenous-run child care centre and an Indigenous-led professional arts centre.³²

In other cases, Indigenous organizations provide services to specific groups. For instance, Tungasuvvingat Inuit provides cultural activities, counselling intervention and social supports to Inuit in Ontario.³³ The Métis Nation of Ontario provides programs and services to Métis in the province in areas such as employment and skills training.³⁴

Some Indigenous service providers have also developed service delivery models that integrate culture. For example, the Sioux Lookout First Nations Health Authority, established in 1990, serves 33 First Nations in northern Ontario by providing health care services grounded in Anishinabe culture. Native Child and Family Services of Toronto, established in 1986, provides culture-based, holistic services for Indigenous children and families based on a service delivery model developed by Indigenous Elders, knowledge keepers and community leaders.

The work of Indigenous organizations often intersects with municipal services or those offered by provincial, territorial or federal governments. The federal government provides funding for services through Urban Programming for Indigenous Peoples, among other programs.³⁷ As this funding is limited, provincial governments have become increasingly involved in the delivery of programs and services to urban Indigenous people.

All provincial governments have a ministry or portion of a ministry, a secretariat or an office dedicated to Indigenous affairs, but not all provinces provide funding for urban Indigenous people. The Government of British Columbia provides funding to 25 friendship centres and works with the British Columbia Association of Aboriginal Friendship Centres on an Elders' transportation program and a student bursary program, among other initiatives.³⁸

Urban Indigenous people sometimes work with other levels of government through municipal committees. The City of Vancouver's Urban Indigenous Peoples' Advisory Committee provides input to city council and staff on issues of concern to Indigenous people living in Vancouver.³⁹

4 GAPS IN SERVICES FOR URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Despite the work of Indigenous organizations and various levels of government, service gaps remain. For instance, a 2016 report found gaps in mental health and housing services for urban Indigenous people across Canada. ⁴⁰ Participants in an engagement session on federal reforms to urban Indigenous programming identified a need for services in areas such as cultural programming for Indigenous youth in foster care; programs for Indigenous Elders and seniors; support for Indigenous students studying in cities; culturally sensitive/safe mental health and addiction services; and apprenticeship and training programs for Indigenous people living off reserve. ⁴¹

Other observers have identified gaps in culturally specific programming for Métis and Inuit. 42 Inuit may travel for the first time outside their remote communities to access health care in southern cities such as Winnipeg. To transition to urban life, Inuit may prefer to access Inuit-specific programming rather than services for all Indigenous people. 43

Gaps in services may lead Indigenous people to access general provincial programming, which may not be culturally appropriate. Further, Indigenous people may face obstacles when accessing provincial services, such as discrimination and racism due to factors like an employee's limited understanding of the realities of Indigenous people. ⁴⁴ As a result, Indigenous people may be discouraged from using provincial services, which can have negative consequences for their employment, education, health and well-being. Moreover, such barriers can put pressure on other provincial services, as Indigenous people reluctant to use provincial health services, may, for example, rely instead on emergency services. ⁴⁵

4.1 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SERVICE GAPS

There are several factors that may explain the service gaps for Indigenous people living in urban areas: jurisdictional disputes, inadequate funding and the accuracy of data and representation.

4.1.1 Jurisdiction

Jurisdictional disputes between federal and provincial governments contribute to gaps in services for First Nations living off reserve and urban Indigenous people. 46 The federal government provides services primarily to status First Nations on reserve and, in some cases, to Inuit. For example, in the case of First Nations living off reserve, the federal government maintains that they are eligible for provincial services of general application. However, provincial governments may disagree, arguing that First Nations are the responsibility of the federal government. 47

4.1.2 Funding

Inadequate funding contributes to gaps in programs and services for urban Indigenous people. For example, demand for Indigenous Services Canada's (ISC) Urban Programming for Indigenous Peoples may exceed the program's \$53-million annual budget. For some streams of the program, funding is allocated based on project proposals submitted by Indigenous organizations and others. In 2017–2018, ISC received an "overwhelming demand for funding to address urban Indigenous issues" and decided not to issue a new call for proposals while it worked with partners to focus on community priorities and "how to best meet the needs of urban Indigenous peoples." ⁴⁹

A 2016 report found that urban Indigenous organizations in all provinces are underfunded. Demand for services is growing, yet "there has been little or no increase in government funding to organizations." Funding for urban Indigenous organizations is often short term, provided annually or based on project proposals. Urban Indigenous organizations spend a lot of time working to secure funding when they could be focusing on service delivery. Secure funding when they could be focusing on service delivery.

Demand has also exceeded available funding to support urban Indigenous people during the COVID-19 pandemic. ISC received a substantial number of proposals for the \$15-million portion of the Indigenous Community Support Fund⁵³ initially allocated to Indigenous organizations providing services to urban and off-reserve Indigenous people. Several Indigenous organizations found that this funding was inadequate to meet the needs of urban Indigenous people. ⁵⁴ On 21 May 2020, the Prime Minister announced an additional \$75 million for these organizations, for a total of \$90 million. ⁵⁵

On 12 August 2020, the Minister of Indigenous Services announced \$305 million to support Indigenous people during the pandemic through the Indigenous Community Support Fund. ⁵⁶ None of this funding was specifically allocated to Indigenous organizations providing services to urban and off-reserve Indigenous people. However, these organizations are eligible to apply for the portion of the \$305 million dedicated to needs-based funding (\$159.8 million). ⁵⁷

Given the large urban Indigenous population, Indigenous people and organizations such as the National Association of Friendship Centres have called for more funding for services to meet the needs of Indigenous people living in cities.⁵⁸ Indigenous people have clearly noted that high-quality services are those that are culturally appropriate and respond to the distinct needs of specific Indigenous groups.⁵⁹

4.1.3 Accurate Data and Representation

Accurate data are essential to identify existing needs and service gaps to ensure that funding is allocated accordingly. However, Indigenous organizations have raised concerns about the accuracy of population data on urban Indigenous people. Indigenous people who are homeless or living in non-permanent dwellings may not be enumerated in the census. ⁶⁰ Some observers contend that the number of Inuit living outside of Inuit Nunangat⁶¹ is much higher than the census depicts. ⁶² For instance, the 2016 census counted 1,280 Inuit living in the Ottawa–Gatineau area, whereas organizations providing services to Inuit estimate that there are at least 3,700 Inuit and possibly as many as 6,000. ⁶³ Given that available funding is often distributed on a per capita basis, Inuit in Ottawa–Gatineau only receive a small portion of funding, which may contribute to gaps in much-needed programs and services. ⁶⁴

With few political organizations representing them, Indigenous people living in urban centres may find it challenging to have their concerns over funding addressed or to ensure that they are not overlooked in federal or provincial program and policy development. ⁶⁵

5 CONCLUSION

Beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, Indigenous people created their own service organizations to address gaps in the availability of culturally appropriate services in urban centres. Today, Indigenous organizations offer an array of programming, often with limited budgets, to support Indigenous people as they transition to life in the city. By providing culturally appropriate services, these organizations are filling critical gaps in programming, enabling many Indigenous people living in urban environments to access the essential services they need.

While gaps in services remain, urban Indigenous people are collaborating to find solutions. Inuit living in several Canadian cities are developing a national Urban Inuit Network to identify resources for local Inuit to gather and support one another. ⁶⁶ Urban Indigenous communities, policy makers and academic researchers are working to fill information gaps and improve the quality of life for urban Indigenous people. Organizations like the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network, a community-driven research network, are producing publications and research on urban Indigenous people. Ongoing research may ensure that funding for programs and services is allocated to meet the needs of growing and vibrant urban Indigenous communities.

NOTES

- The term "Indigenous people" refers to First Nations, Inuit and Métis people in Canada. For more information about terminology, please see Olivier Leblanc-Laurendeau and Tonina Simeone, <u>Indigenous</u> <u>Peoples: Terminology Guide</u>, HillNotes, Library of Parliament, 20 May 2020.
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- 3. Ibid., pp. 1–2; and Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network [UAKN], *About Us*.
- 4. This includes people living in a census metropolitan area or census agglomeration. Statistics Canada, <u>2016 Census: 150 years of urbanization in Canada</u>, Video, Catalogue No. 11-629-x, Issue No. 2017003, 8 February 2017. "A census metropolitan area (CMA) or a census agglomeration (CA) is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a population centre." Statistics Canada, "<u>Census metropolitan area (CMA) and census agglomeration (CA)</u>," *Dictionary, Census of Population, 2016*, 16 November 2016.
- 5. Statistics Canada, "Aboriginal peoples in Canada: Key results from the 2016 Census," The Daily, 25 October 2017. Statistics Canada considers a "metropolitan area" to have a population of at least 30,000 people. It is important to note that these figures do not indicate whether Indigenous people intend to live temporarily or permanently in the area.
- 6. Ibid. It is important to note that this growth is not a result of a mass departure of Indigenous people from their home communities; in fact, the First Nations population continues to grow both on and off reserve. However, there are numerous factors that could explain this increase, such as growth in the number of people self-identifying as Métis and changes to the registration provisions for status Indians under the Indian Act.
- 7. For more information on the history of Indian status and current registration provisions under the *Indian Act*, see Norah Kielland and Marlisa Tiedemann, <u>Legislative Summary of Bill S-3: An Act to amend the Indian Act (elimination of sex based inequities in registration)</u>, Publication no. 42-1-S3-E, Parliamentary Information and Research Service, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, 12 March 2018; and Government of Canada, <u>Are you applying for Indian Status?</u>
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- 9. Sarah Bonesteel, <u>Canada's Relationship with Inuit: A History of Policy and Program Development,</u>
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 Resources and Services: History of Public Health; and Government of Canada, <u>Inuit and the past tuberculosis epidemic.</u>
- Ebba Olofsson, Tara L. Holton and Imaapik "Jacob" Partridge, "Negotiating identities: Inuit tuberculosis evacuees in the 1940s–1950s," Études/Inuit/Studies, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2008, p. 128.
- 11. Bonesteel (2006).
- 12. Canadian Geographic, "Aftermath of 1885," Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada; and APPA (2019), p. 31.
- 13. A road allowance is Crown land used or intended to be used for roads.
- 14. Canadian Geographic, "Aftermath of 1885," *Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada*.
- See, for example, Office of the Auditor General of Canada, <u>Access to Health Services for Remote</u> <u>First Nations Communities</u>, Report 4 in Reports of the Auditor General of Canada – Spring 2015, 2015.
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- Paul W. Bennett, <u>After the Healing: Safeguarding Northern Nishnawbe First Nations High School Education</u>, Northern Policy Institute, Commentary No. 16, November 2016, pp. 11, 14–15.
- See Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, "Inuit Medical Travel Map," <u>Social Determinants of Inuit Health in Canada</u>, September 2014, p. 32; and Zoua M. Vang et al., "<u>Interactions Between Indigenous Women Awaiting Childbirth Away From Home and Their Southern, Non-Indigenous Health Care Providers,</u>" *Qualitative Health Research*, Vol. 28, No. 12, 2018, p. 1858.

- APPA, <u>Evidence</u>, 1st Session, 42nd Parliament, 23 March 2018 (Mr. Fred Ford, President and Board Chair, Manitoba Inuit Association; and Ms. Rachel Dutton, Executive Director, Manitoba Inuit Association).
- 20. "2SLGBTQQIA" refers to Two-Spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer questioning, intersex and asexual people, as well as people who are non-binary or gender nonconforming. For further information, see National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls [NIMMIWG], <u>Lexicon of Terminology</u>, 1 June 2019.
- 21. NIMMIWG, <u>Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls</u>, Vol. 1a, 2019, p. 543.
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- 25. In 2010, 87% of Inuit, 75% of status First Nations, 58% of non-status First Nations, and 62% of Métis surveyed were the first generation living in urban centres. For more details, see Environics Institute, <u>Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study</u>, Main Report, 2010, p. 30.
- 26. Ibid., p. 28.
- 27. Ibid., p. 33.
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- 37. Indigenous Services Canada [ISC], <u>Urban Programming for Indigenous Peoples</u>.
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- 39. City of Vancouver, <u>Urban Indigenous Peoples' Advisory Committee</u>.
- 40. UAKN Secretariat, <u>Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network's (UAKN) National Project: Phase 2: The Urban Aboriginal Service Delivery Landscape: Themes, Trends, Gaps and Prospects Final Report: Key uaFindings and Regional Summaries, 31 March 2016, p. 7.</u>
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- Ibid.; and Donna Patrick and Julie-Ann Tomiak, "<u>Language, culture and community among urban Inuit</u> in Ottawa," Études/Inuit/Studies, Vol. 32, No. 1, 2008, pp. 64–65.
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 See Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, <u>Maps Of Inuit Nunangat (Inuit Regions Of Canada)</u>.
- 62. Canadian Geographic, "Urban Inuit," *Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada*; and NIMMIWG, *Reclaiming Power and Place: The Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls*, Vol. 1a, 2019, p. 486.
- 63. Canadian Geographic, "Urban Inuit," Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada.
- 64. Ibid.
- 65. APPA (23 March 2018) (Mr. Ryan Paradis; and Mr. Damon Johnston, Board member, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre); and Evelyn J. Peters, "Aboriginal Public Policy in Urban Areas: An Introduction," in Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities, ed. Evelyn J. Peters, McGill–Queen's University Press, Montréal, 2011, p. 17.
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