THE ROLE OF ABORIGINALITY IN REVERSING STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN CANADIAN CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Canada's Prairie cities are an exciting context for understanding cultural growth and diversification of urban spaces because more and more Aboriginal peoples are identifying and experiencing their lives in the urban realm. At the same time though, urban spaces are also a source for serious cultural and socio-economic challenges for Aboriginal peoples. With the sustained pattern of growth in the urban Aboriginal population experienced in Canada's Prairie cities today, there is a need for Aboriginal involvement and participation in creating policies and programs for urban Aboriginal peoples.

I explore how the city of Edmonton is engaging with Aboriginal peoples and organizations in the city to enable their rights, needs and aspirations in city planning processes. The thesis engages the concept of "Aboriginality" to explore how Aboriginal cultures can be enabled by urban planning processes to develop and manifest their values and identities in the city so that urban spaces can shift toward decolonized places. Knowledge learned from the research can be used to inform municipalities across Canada on how they can emphasise their Aboriginal heritage as a civic strength for inclusive urban planning in Canada. Engaging Aboriginal peoples and their perspectives in ideas of place-making and civic future seeking will also add more depth to the diversity discourse in mainstream Canada. To explore the research questions, the thesis uses Edmonton as a case study. Interviews involving Aboriginal citizens, Aboriginal organizations, and municipal officials are used as a method for collecting the data needed for the research.

Findings reveal that the City of Edmonton is willing to engage with Aboriginal peoples to integrate their perspectives and cultures in the mainstream of urban life. However, the process is still developing and much more complicated in terms of how different Aboriginal peoples want

to be engaged in city planning and associated policy. Citizens express a general fondness for Edmonton and its many opportunities that can improve people's lives. However, though on the surface the city overflows with promises for opportunity and success, underneath the surface, some Aboriginal peoples experience subtle barriers that diminish their capacity to engage and succeed in the socio-economic spheres of the life in Edmonton. Negative stereotypes persist to discriminate against and exclude Aboriginal peoples as viable constituents of the citizenry of Edmonton. Aboriginal organizations in the city are playing a fundamental role in addressing the acute social pressures that Aboriginals face. These organizations also serve to create a collective Aboriginal voice that stands to challenge the negative stereotypes in addition to fostering a non-judgmental space for healing from the impacts of intergenerational trauma.

The thesis concludes with the point that Aboriginal engagement is an important platform for raising civic literacy on Aboriginal history and its intersection with city planning and development processes in Edmonton. It engages notions of the city's identity and begins a transformation of the systemic bureaucracies that presume universal citizenship in the public domain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my brother and sister both whom I wish tremendous success in all their aspirations and goals in this life.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Colonialism is innately violent. In the Canadian context, colonialism is for the most part about the invasion, dispossession and oppression of Aboriginal[1] peoples. Violence in colonialism embodies itself through the "disconnection of Aboriginal peoples from their land, their history, and their identity, and their rights so that others can benefit" (Alfred, 2015). Through colonialism, Aboriginal peoples' cultures and social structures have been broken down leading to oppression and disempowerment within the community (Boyer, 2006). The disintegration of Aboriginal cultures and social structures together with effects of dispossession and historical trauma embody a form of structural violence among the Aboriginal community, which according to Alfred (2009), creates almost total psychological, physical and financial dependency on the state. "Structural violence" refers to ways that some social structure or social institution may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs (Galtung, 1969). Structural violence can be understood as another outcome of colonization because of the historical economic and political oppression and social inequalities experienced by the Aboriginal community in Canada. It manifests itself through unequal power relations that create an environment in which a regime is able to prevent individuals from realizing their full potential (Galtung, 1969). Therefore, an important aspect of Aboriginal peoples' struggle against colonialism today includes conversations about ways of breaking the entrenched dependencies

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[1] Aboriginal peoples is a collective name for the original peoples of Canada and their descendants. The Constitution Act, 1982, of Canada, recognizes Aboriginal peoples as comprising First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Subsection 35(2) of the Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982 (UK), 1982, c 11 recognizes Aboriginal peoples as comprising the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada.

on the state and making opportunities for self-sufficient, healthy and self-deterministic life for Aboriginal peoples as individuals and communities (Alfred, 2009).

The thesis explores Aboriginal engagement in city planning and associated policy as a mechanism for preventing structural violence on urban Aboriginal peoples. The thesis argues that the city is both a physical structure and a social institution can limit or enhance people's potential to meet their needs and improve the quality of their lives. City planning in particular has the potential to be one venue for people, through the civic engagement processes, to determine the future of their city and therefore of their own quality of life, by improving upon present circumstances. Since Aboriginal peoples have been kept mostly invisible from contributing and participating in the cultural and socio-economic spheres of urban life, this research explores a promising case of Aboriginal engagement in civic place-making processes in the City of Edmonton as a place that well-positioned to engage explicitly with Aboriginal cultures and materiality in the urban landscape. Today, large and mid-sized cities in Canada have a permanent and growing Aboriginal population (Belanger et al, 2013). As the number of people who identified as Aboriginal surpassed the one million point (Statistics Canada, 2006), more than half (600,000) are now living in cities. The 2011 National Household Survey reported Aboriginal peoples at 1.4 million with nearly six in ten (57.6%) of Aboriginal peoples in Canada living in one of the four western provinces (see Figure 1.1). Canada's Prairie cities (e.g., Winnipeg, Edmonton) are home to a growing number of Aboriginal peoples (FitzMaurice, 2012). Consequently, the number of Aboriginal peoples living in urban centres throughout Canada at present exceeds those living in Aboriginal territories and communities on reserves (Environics, 2010).

The chart's side panel reads: Off-reserve Aboriginal people constitute the fastest growing segment of Canadian society. In 2011, nearly 60% of Aboriginal people lived in urban areas, compared to 49% in 1996.
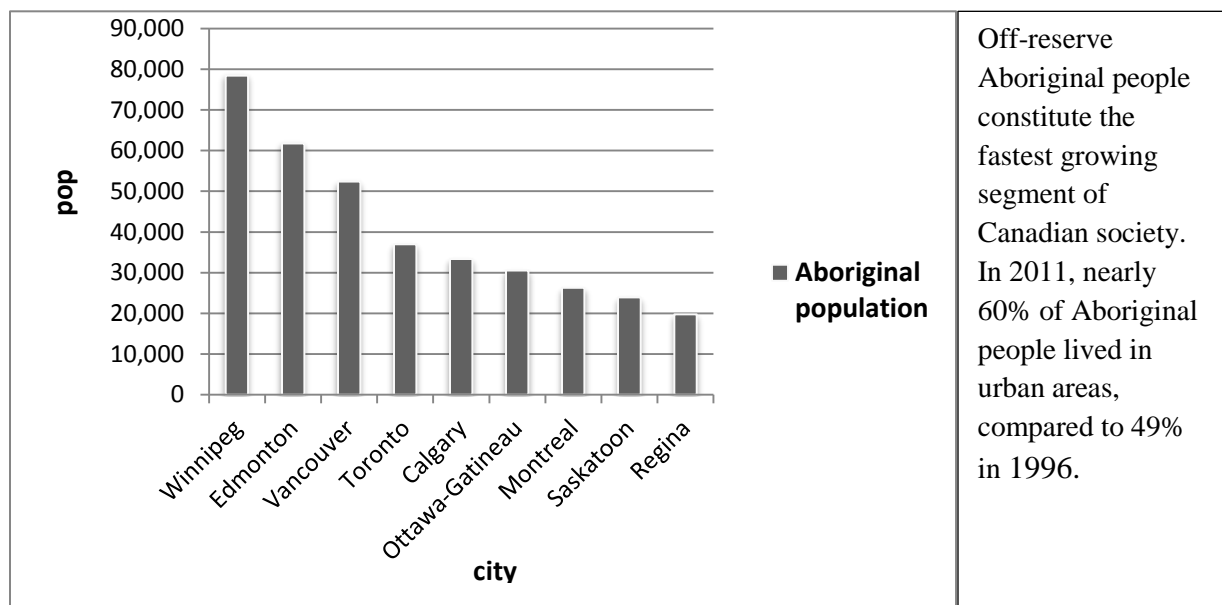
Figure 1.1: Canadian Cities with Largest Aboriginal Population, 2011
Source: Author, using Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada National Household Survey, 2011

The increasing urban Aboriginal population creates an opportunity for Canadian cities (both residents and city administrators) to explore and engage with their Aboriginal heritage as part of the cultural growth and diversity experienced in Canada's cities today (Walker, 2003). Unlike Canada's newcomer immigrant populations who often make their lives in the city, not much research has been dedicated in the same way to give account of Aboriginal peoples making their lives in the city. Yet, and possibly contrary to popular belief, Aboriginal peoples are not new to the city. A major survey on urban Aboriginal peoples by Environics (2010) reveals that Aboriginal peoples speak of the city as being their "home" even though many may continue to maintain relationships with home reserves or rural communities. Similarly, a study by FitzMaurice (2012) reports that more and more Aboriginal peoples are identifying and experiencing their lives in urban spaces. It indicates that Aboriginal peoples are and will continue to be part of the social fabric of urban centres in Canada. Instead of being clustered as

part of larger planning programs for "diversity" and "multiculturalism" aimed at retaining immigrant newcomer populations in Canada, municipalities in their urban and social planning processes can engage Aboriginal peoples in ways that are specific to their rights, needs and histories as Indigenous[2] peoples of Canada.

Aboriginal peoples are arguably not just another "ethnic" or "minority" group (Peters, 2005; Walker, 2003); their relationship with Canada is unique and of significant importance to the whole nation, different from the relationship Canada has with its immigrant newcomer populations (Peters, 2005). The difference, as Peters explains, is that Aboriginal peoples do not

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[2] According to the United Nations, it is unnecessary and unproductive to adopt a strict and formal definition for "Indigenous peoples." The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) puts emphasis on the need for flexibility and for respecting the desire and right of each Indigenous people to define themselves because many Indigenous peoples have suffered from definitions imposed on them by others. With this information in mind, the United Nations uses the following "working definition" of Indigenous peoples:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system.

(United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2013: 3)
Article 8 on the UNDRIP emphasises that;

Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture.

The Declaration outlines the role of States in preventing the destruction of Indigenous peoples' identities and cultures as follows;

States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for: (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources; (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights; (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration; (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

(The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples GA Res 61/295, UN GAOR, 61st Sess, UN Doc A/61/L.67 (2007)

come from afar as do immigrant populations (Peters, 2005). In this sense, Aboriginal peoples are not merely fighting for their ethnic or cultural preservation when faced with processes of integrating into Canada's mainstream society (Walker, 2003). Rather, Aboriginal peoples form a "collective national minority group" reclaiming their fundamental rights as original inhabitants of the land which is now Canada (Kymlicka, 1998). Though other ethnic minority groups making their lives in Canadian cities may undergo a certain level of cultural change, Aboriginal peoples were living here prior to the Canadian idea and had the Canadian state imposed upon them in their self-determining societies (Kymlicka, 1998; Walker, 2003). Furthermore, when Aboriginal peoples migrate to cities they may still be in their traditional territory or that of other First Nation communities (Manjit, 2013: Peters, 2005). Hence, Aboriginal peoples form an integral part of the history and development of Canada's cities (Cardinal, 2006). Canadian urban history indicates that many Canadian cities developed in Aboriginal gathering spots and settlement places (Ponting, 2005). Therefore, Aboriginal peoples are a key component of the cultural heritage and diversity that Canadian cities offer.

Even though Aboriginal peoples have a potential to significantly contribute towards the cultural growth and diversification of Canada's urban life, urban spaces still pose to them serious cultural and socioeconomic challenges (Walker, 2003). For example, Winnipeg, the city with the largest urban Aboriginal population (78,420 according to 2011 National Household Survey), the Aboriginal youth in the inner city face poverty and unemployment compounded by effects of colonization, racism, and alienation (Brown et al, 2005). Nevertheless, many Aboriginal peoples migrate from rural areas and reserves into the city in search of socioeconomic opportunities and to be connected with families (Norris and Clatworthy, 2003). The socioeconomic challenges that exist for Aboriginal peoples in the city create barriers that restrict their integration in the cultural

and socio-economic spheres of urban life. Consequently, as Aboriginal peoples are pushed into the margins of urban life, their hopes for a better life in the city are diminished as disempowerment and hopelessness prevail (Sena, 2013).

Indigenous peoples still make up the most vulnerable, disadvantaged and marginalized people in the world (UNDRIP, 2013). Even though Indigenous peoples constitute only five percent of the world's population, they make up 15 percent of the world's poor and one-third of the world's extremely poor (Cardinal, 2006; UNDRIP, 2013). This over-representation of Indigenous peoples as the most poor, illiterate and most unemployed in statistics is due to the fact that they continue to suffer from the consequences of historic injustices such as colonization, dispossession of their lands, oppression and discrimination and from the overall lack of control over their ways of life (United Nations Department on Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), 2009). The United Nations' report on the *State of The World's Indigenous People* explains this as a result of the right of Indigenous people to development being largely denied by the colonial and modern states in pursuit of economic growth (2009). Subsequently, Indigenous peoples have lost out to more powerful actors leaving them among the most impoverished groups in their respective countries (DESA, 2009). Not only is poverty and general well-being of Indigenous people a serious issue in developing countries, in the developed world such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States, Indigenous people still come well behind the non-indigenous population in socio-economic indicators of well-being (DESA, 2009). In Australia, an Indigenous child can expect to die 20 years earlier than a non-Indigenous child (DESA, 2009). Other common issues more pronounced within Indigenous communities include substance abuse and significantly higher suicide and incarceration rates (DESA, 2009). In Canada, though Aboriginal peoples' living standards have improved in the past 50 years,

Aboriginal peoples still enjoy a lower standard of living than non-Aboriginal people (DESA, 2009). Most importantly, these problems seem to be more acute in urban areas; according to the United Nations Department on Economic and Social Affairs, Indigenous peoples who reside in urban areas are detached from their traditional communities and cultures whilst at the same time they are never fully embraced as equal members of the dominant urbanite community.

Canada's urban Aboriginal peoples are disproportionately poor with more than 25 percent of urban Aboriginal families living under the low income cut-off compared to 14 percent in non-Aboriginal urban families (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010c). Thirteen percent of the urban Aboriginal population is unemployed in comparison to only six percent unemployment rate in the non-Aboriginal urban population (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010c). Furthermore, 17 percent of the urban Aboriginal population receives government transfer payments while less than 10 percent of non-Aboriginal urban people do. With these statistics, a greater percentage of urban Aboriginal peoples when compared to urban non-Aboriginal depend on government support (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010c). The dependency on government support may not necessarily address Aboriginal needs, priorities and aspirations as would socio-economic initiatives that would be wholly dependent on Aboriginal peoples and their communities.

In Canadian Prairie cities, Aboriginal peoples form the largest minority group and also experience high poverty levels (Peters and Walker, 2005). Aboriginal peoples move into the city with the expectation that their identities and history in Canadian cities and their status as Aboriginal people will provide a stepping stone for the ways they organize their lives and access services in the city (Newhouse and Peters, 2003; Peters, 2005). Even though there are some semi-autonomous urban Aboriginal organizations that exist to represent urban Aboriginal

communities and their interests, the "clarification" and practicalities of Aboriginal rights in urban areas still remains a challenge for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal governments (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). Even with the increasing and permanent Aboriginal presence in the past 50 years, many municipalities have yet to design services and programs specifically to address Aboriginal people's unique social and cultural needs (DeVerteuil and Wilson, 2010). With limited Aboriginal-specific programming, urban Aboriginal peoples then often have to rely on non-Aboriginal social service systems which may not necessarily acknowledge Aboriginal peoples' special status including their systems of cultural beliefs and traditions (DeVerteuil and Wilson, 2010).

Yet, accommodation of cultural diversity has been a recurring issue in Canada's history (Kymlicka, 2007). Diversity has manifest as a central issue in Canadian history due to the historical processes of colonization and decolonization as well as immigration and expansive economic globalization (Bonifacio, 2008). Despite forming a significant part of many Canadian cities' histories, cultural heritage and diversity, Aboriginal peoples in particular are often overlooked in conversations of urban ethnic and cultural groups (Norris and Clatworthy, 2003). Peters (2007) asserts that Aboriginal peoples are "economically and spatially marginalized" and "have been unable to establish an urban culture" which has created a growing social divide that has worked to exclude them from the rest of urban society. It explains why Aboriginal peoples are often forgotten when discussing issues of cultural diversity in cities, and has to some level, impeded positive policy responses in addressing the unique social issues faced by urban Aboriginal peoples (Peters, 2007). As a result, urban Aboriginal peoples are viewed as being disconnected from community, both mainstream and Aboriginal, a crippling situation that robs them of the power of organization and supports that community has to offer, and from which

positive change could emerge (Peters, 2007). Kymlicka argues that the sustainability of Canada's diversity policies depends on dismantling the ethnic silos and racial hierarchies which is a process that involves creating an atmosphere of "pan-ethnic solidarity and responsibility, which in turn depends on community and shared citizenship" (Kymlicka, 2007: 33). Successful diversity policies focus on nation-building in the public sphere to "ensure that all citizens, regardless of where they live, have certain identical experiences and expectations of national citizenship, and that these would be the source of solidarity, trust, democratic responsibility and community of fate" (Kymlicka, 2007: 33). Aboriginal peoples have suffered from colonization in the creation of the Canadian state which was imposed upon them and still continue to be among the worst economically and spatially marginalized group in Canada.

In the context of this thesis, the term "Aboriginality" is used distinguish Aboriginal peoples as the Indigenous or original inhabitants of Canada and to emphasise the need to develop an Aboriginal-inclusive citizenship that engages with Aboriginal peoples as sovereign partners in the development of Canada's cities by embracing Aboriginal cultures and their viewpoints in formation of Canadian cities. Most importantly, "Aboriginality" not only refers to Aboriginal peoples' cultures, and their worldviews, but also the exchanges of the relations between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal peoples. It is important to recognize that Aboriginal issues involve non-Aboriginal people too. Both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people have to work together to negotiate their relations in order to understand, support and respect each other for reconciliation to occur. For planners and planning processes, engaging "Aboriginality" is about addressing the limitations of universal citizenship and cultural neutrality entrenched in the Western ideas of urban planning by raising and legitimizing Aboriginal cultural issues in the mainstream public forum. For both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginality is

about creating, reproducing and mutually reinforcing a shared civic identity. Hence, "Aboriginality" serves as a necessary pre-cursor to sharing the traits of a shared Canadian citizenship because it provides the historical links to how Canada came to be and begins a decolonizing process that acknowledges and includes Indigenous peoples and their heritage in the diversity that makes up the citizenry in Canada cities. Aboriginality re-orients both non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal citizens to recognize and acknowledge the political, economic and social structures that supressed and disregarded Aboriginal identities, values and belief systems for the benefit of Settlers and other immigrants in the formation of the Canadian state.

The research interests of this thesis draw upon these ideas of nation-building and shared citizenship to examine the role of "Aboriginality" in breaking down the silos and racial hierarchies that exist between the diversity of individuals and communities living in Canada's cities. In spite of the dominant English-French universal value system that forms the foundation for urban planning and associated policy (Qadeer, 1997; Walker, 2013), this research seeks to specify how engagement with "Aboriginality" in urban and social planning can be a civic strength for inclusive place-making in Canada's cities for building an inclusive "heterogeneous public or multiple public that accommodates rather than eradicates difference" (Sandercock, 1998), particularly, in addressing the unique needs of urban Aboriginal peoples.

1.1.   Research questions and purpose

This research starts from an argument that the various challenges and inequities noted above for Aboriginal peoples represent a form of structural violence. As cities increasingly become spaces of mixed ethnicities, cultures and generations, the question of interest is whether and how are municipalities framing and carrying out their engagement processes with Aboriginal peoples to

recognize the Indigenous inhabitants of Canada and part of the diversity experienced in Canadian cities and to dismantle, as a result, these structural violences. With quickly rising Aboriginal populations among Canada's large cities, Aboriginal peoples are still characterized in terms of socio-economic disparity despite their strong as well as highly diverse cultures and identities that represent a tremendous but under recognized civic strength. With reconciliation between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples being a central focus of Canadian public discourse (Walker, 2013; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015), this research seeks to determine what constitutes appropriate civic engagement processes between Aboriginal peoples, including their organizations, and municipal non-Aboriginal governments to encourage Aboriginal participation in city policies and place-making processes. This research explores the role of Aboriginal engagement in city planning and associated policy to prevent structural violence, break entrenched dependencies, and encourage self-sufficient, healthy and self-deterministic life for urban Aboriginal peoples.

The key questions to be explored in this thesis are:

i.   What is the general nature of Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Edmonton?

ii.   To what extent is the City of Edmonton and its engagement process an example of structural violence on the lives of Aboriginal peoples? Which of Galtung's basic human needs does this structure (the city) violate, if at all?

iii. How can the City of Edmonton emphasise its Aboriginal heritage as a civic strength to enhance inclusive place-making in Canada?

By determining what constitutes appropriate processes of Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Canada, this research highlights the key features that promote or hinder

inclusive urban planning for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. Overall, the purpose of the research is to examine how engagement processes between Prairie city planners and administrators together with Aboriginal peoples and their communities can enhance planning in cosmopolitan cities. Knowledge from this thesis can identify ways to address common public interests while also enabling the rights, needs and aspirations of its urban Aboriginal populations. By emphasising Aboriginal heritage as an under-utilized civic strength, the thesis suggests ways Aboriginality can be used as a decolonizing mechanism to prevent structural violence, break embedded dependencies and create positive outcomes for self-sustaining, healthy and self-deterministic lives for urban Aboriginal peoples.

1.2.   Central Argument

The thesis argues that the city itself and the planning processes are both mechanisms of structural violence, both capable of creating direct and indirect harm that creates harm for Aboriginal peoples, for example through cultural marginalization that limits how Aboriginal peoples and their communities develop and express their identity. At the same time though, depending on the engagement processes that the city adopts, the city can also be a venue for reversing structural violence to solve the socio-economic disparities in Aboriginal communities as well as enable Aboriginal identity and expression to thrive as part of the mainstream values of the Canadian cosmopolis. Thriving in comparison to mere surviving can emphasize this violence is not just injury but more about limiting potential to thrive. The concept of structural violence is the work of Peace studies scholar Johan Galtung (1969). Hence, embracing Aboriginality in the ideas and materiality of the urban landscape including its citizenry is a precursor not just for undoing structural violence on Aboriginal peoples but also for pursuing a more peaceful just society. Engaging with Aboriginality begins a co-production process that positions Aboriginal peoples as

civic partners in city planning and associated policy. When planning and the city reflect Aboriginal input and participation, more and more Aboriginal peoples develop a sense of ownership and self-identity with the city which in turn increase the extent to which they can realize their full potential as citizens in the city.

1.3.   Organization of Chapters

Chapter Two is a review of the significant scholarly literature which contextualizes the relevant issues of Aboriginal engagement in Canadian cities today and builds a conceptual framework for the empirical work. Chapter Three discusses the research methods used to conduct the research study. It provides a justification for the methods chosen, an overview of the analysis process, and discusses how the research meets the standards of credibility. Chapter Four presents the research findings focusing on the nature of Aboriginal civic engagement processes in Edmonton. Chapter Five provides an overall thematic interpretation of the findings, connecting them with the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two. Chapter Six, the final chapter, provides a conclusion to the thesis and makes recommendations to the City of Edmonton and for further research.

CONCEPTUALIZING ABORIGINALITY AND ITS ROLE IN PLANNING FOR DIVERSITY IN POST-COLONIAL CANADIAN CITIES

2.1. Introduction

In order to understand this complex problem of positioning Aboriginal peoples and their cultures in post-colonial Canadian urban spaces, the thesis addresses three themes in the literature on Aboriginal peoples and city planning:

a)   The city as a physical embodiment of structural violence, and urban planning as a way to either reproduce or deconstruct structural violence

b)   Decolonizing the city: Aboriginality as a fundamental ingredient in planning for inclusive and diverse Canadian cities

c)   Embracing the cultural project of Aboriginality as a mechanism for resisting and undoing structural violence

The literature review in this chapter which is divided into the three themes above forms a foundation for understanding the challenges that municipalities face in planning for diversity without overlooking the unique rights and needs of urban Aboriginal peoples. It establishes how Aboriginal engagement positions Aboriginality in the public sphere to begin a process of decolonizing the city by challenging "Western" authority and its dominating values of cultural neutrality over city planning processes. It is important to note that the main fiduciary responsibility for Aboriginal peoples in Canada resides with the Government of Canada. Municipal governments are created by provincial legislation; hence, the relationship between the federal government and municipalities is indirect. Municipal planners play a role in practising and implementing the duty to consult and recognizing the history and rights of First Nations in

Canada (Fraser MacCallum and Viswanathan, 2013). Since Aboriginal peoples are increasingly living in cities, municipalities are recognized through each province's *Municipal Act[3]*, as responsible and accountable government entities that have the ability to deliver appropriate services to their urban communities which are now increasingly including Aboriginal peoples (Fraser MacCallum and Viswanathan, 2013). Furthermore, municipal land use activities often involve processes that involve the provincial and federal governments and eventually include the Crown. The duty to consult with Aboriginal peoples comes into play regarding their distinct, constitutional rights requiring unique acknowledgements that cannot be conflated with general "public interest" consultations (Fraser MacCallum and Viswanathan, 2013; Newman, 2010).

2.2.   The city as a physical embodiment of structural violence, and urban planning as a way to either reproduce or deconstruct structural violence

Urban planning is focused on civic future-seeking whereby communities are empowered by urban planning policy to achieve future scenarios that improve upon the present (Walker, 2008). Literature on Aboriginal peoples and their movement into Canada's cities has been centred on the mechanisms through which cities and city policies are structured to view Aboriginal cultures and identities as either incompatible or compatible with city life. Earlier literature which overlapped with the increased migration of Aboriginal peoples to cities in the 1940s and 1950s viewed Aboriginal peoples' movement into the city as a conscious decision to abandon their Aboriginal identities and assimilate into mainstream society (Peters, 1996; Peters 2011; Anderson and Denis, 2003). Peters (2011) further explains that those Aboriginal peoples who

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[3] The Municipal Act is a consolidated statute governing the extent of powers and duties, internal organization and structure of municipalities in each province. The *Municipal Government Act* of Alberta describes the purpose of the municipalities in that province as entities that should provide good government, services, facilities or other things that, in the opinion of council, are necessary or desirable for all or a part of the municipality, as well as develop and maintain safe and viable communities (Revised Statutes of Alberta 2000, Chapter M-26: 35).

returned to the reserves or other rural communities were marked as the failures within Aboriginal cultures that could not adapt to urban life. However, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People (RCAP) later in the 1990s became instrumental in changing these views on urban Aboriginal peoples and cultures by emphasizing that Aboriginal peoples who crossed the city limits did not transform into non-Aboriginal people (RCAP, 1996). Following the establishment of RCAP in 1991 to address and formulate policy recommendations on issues of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, studies started to reflect this shift in perspectives on Aboriginal peoples. For example, Warry (2007) in his study explains the misunderstanding of urban Aboriginal peoples as stemming from the misconception that when Aboriginal peoples move to the city they abandon their culture. Similarly, Restoule (2005) deduced from his learning circles with Aboriginal men that living in urban areas does not necessitate giving up Aboriginal identity. Fixing Aboriginal peoples in space and in terms of their cultural distinctness constructs a poor foundation for Aboriginal participation in civic engagement processes and associated public policy. These misconceptions and stereotypes about Aboriginal peoples and their cultures tend to focus on assimilation and upward mobility, as Culhane (2009) points out, without recognizing the impacts of racism and colonial domination on Aboriginal peoples' lives and their well-being.

Certainly, urban planning has been criticized as a scholarly discipline for its complicity in the production and reproduction of colonial Settler cities and keeping Aboriginal peoples mostly invisible from urban life (Matunga, 2013; Sandercock and Attili, 2013; Walker, 2008). The problems that arise from planning as understood in human terms are that it is ultimately about the future, but discounts the need to consider the future in the context of the past. Much of the practice in planning has been a product of the "West" around which most of the theoretical frameworks have developed (Matunga, 2013). Aboriginal peoples in Canada, and Indigenous

people around the world such as in Australia and New Zealand, have had to respond or react to the systemic and institutionalized application of colonial practices whose primary goal was to eradicate them (Matunga, 2013).

On the other hand, the inherent nature of conventional urban planning to serve a universal public interest as its guiding principle for service delivery is problematic in urban spaces with different group values and trajectories (Bollens, 2002). The idea is that there is no homogenous public, especially in the urban area and even within Aboriginal groups; hence trying to deliver services driven by a universal public interest is often a misguided approach that tends to overlook the needs of minority groups. This approach assumes that everyone is the same and aspires to the same future, and therefore, implements neutral "colour blind" planning objectives that do not take into account the quantitative and qualitative needs of each group (Bollens 2002). Peters and Walker (2005); and Sandercock (2004) make the point that planning practice is not value-neutral and it privileges the western place conceptions and processes over others such as those of Aboriginal peoples. Thus, in the urban planning realm, the public interest is considered a value-free and unitary concept which ultimately requires minority groups to assimilate into the dominant interests and shed their unique values or cultures. When colour blind or neutral values dominate in urban policy, urban planners act as benign outsiders to the racial and ethnic conflicts that urban planning processes tend to produce (Bollens, 2002). Planners generally also miss out on the opportunity to be sensitive to the unique needs of each community while keeping in mind the overall good of the city (Bollens, 2002). Though it is true that planning cannot accommodate every cultural facet deliberately, the Aboriginal situation isdifferent and worthy of a different level of recognition and engagement because minimally, city planning in the Canadian context should have recognition of the Aboriginal peoples in whose territory the cities have developed.

In the creation of the Canadian state, Aboriginal peoples including their identities and cultures were something to be eradicated rather than celebrated and many of the Aboriginal nations who occupied land prior to the establishment of Canada are still alive (Alfred, 2015). As Alfred explains, even though many non-Aboriginal Canadian may be aware that Aboriginal peoples lived in Canada way before the arrival of Europeans and other settlers as well as later immigrants, still Aboriginal peoples remain in peoples' minds only in Canada's past and not its present. Therefore, planning has to engage the citizenry in Canadian cities to raise their consciousness to the realities of Aboriginal peoples today as a direct outcome of the history and relationship between Aboriginal peoples, European and other settlers. It prevents the distrust and racism that can grow from the ignorance of prior occupancy and paves a way forward for both Aboriginal peoples and newcomers to respect and support each other living in the contemporary Canadian cities.

Similarly, the tendency of urban planners to focus on serving a 'universal' public interest can also be understood in contemporary social science as a product of Western civilization using Weber's theoretical framework in his writing on *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1992). Weber argues that only in Western civilization have cultural phenomena appeared which are grounded in development having universal significance and value. Specifically, Weber's theoretical framework on the development of modern capitalism as a larger "rationalization" of the Western world can be paralleled to the urban planning practice as a cultural phenomenon of Western civilization which tends to attribute universal value. Urban planning is an example of the development of bureaucracy requiring the "trained official" or "specialized personnel" as a unique component of the West and its modern rational state (Weber, 1992). Urban planning as a practice represents the values like universality that have been

embraced and internalized by society allowing the "modern rational state" to prosper to the detriment of subsistence or traditional ways of life. The urban centres are an acute source of social and cultural challenges for Aboriginal peoples because urban planning is a rationalized institution with centralized powers imposing elements of the Eurocentric Canadian state on Aboriginal peoples, ultimately breaking up traditional systems of community and kinship. Jojola (2013) shares the same views on the Euro-Western practices as something intended to forcibly remove Indigenous communities from their territories, culture and children and disrupt the linkages that bonded their generations.

For this thesis, the Euro-Western and Aboriginality relationship is examined in practice through an analysis of the current engagement processes the City of Edmonton is using for place-making. Building on Belanger and Walker's (2009) concept of "interest convergence and co-production" to improve planning with Aboriginal communities as civic partners, this research attempts to determine which of the engagement processes exhibit cases of co-production between municipalities and Aboriginal peoples for future urban spaces. Belanger and Walker (2009) explain that the concept of policy co-production is a method governments can use to work together and share responsibility with actors outside of government in generating and implementing policy. In this process, the government works together with communities in a much more involved process of problem solving from issue identification, to priority setting right through to programs, services and beyond (Belanger and Walker, 2009). In light of engaging urban Aboriginal peoples in city planning and associated policy, Belanger and Walker (2009) argue that there is value in investing in good process like co-production for engaging Aboriginal communities because this process "will have longevity beyond any single civic executive, administration or budget year" (121). When municipal administrators and Aboriginal peoples

share responsibilities for defining issues and priorities in a co-produced process, the likelihood for positive policy outcomes increases because the players outside of government affected by the policies get an opportunity to participate fully in articulating issues that concern them and approaches to addressing and monitoring them. The significance of co-production in these terms is that it becomes a tool for creating and implementing Aboriginal policies and plans based on the right of self-determination (Belanger and Walker, 2009). Walker (2013) explains the right for self-determination in Aboriginal communities as stemming from group rights and associated jurisdiction originating from prior occupancy, treaties and associated constitutional arrangements made between settlers and Aboriginal peoples to create the current settler state of Canada. To address these issues between urban planning and integration of Aboriginal peoples in urban places, a large body of literature exists in planning for and with urban Aboriginal communities in Canada (for example, Abele and Graham, 2011; Cardinal, 2006; Peters, 2005; Sandercock, 2013; Walker, 2008).

A gap in the literature that still has to be addressed is to what extent are the existing policies and programs designed for urban Aboriginal peoples appropriate and effective in improving their welfare and integration into urban life. Research on urban Aboriginal peoples has to shift from the "study of lack" which views the urban lives of Aboriginal peoples through the deficit lens (Newhouse and FitzMaurice, 2012). It has to include the fact that Aboriginal communities have increased and changed substantially over the past fifty years and the fact that the idea of the urban is not lacking in Aboriginal thought or history but only in European ideas about Aboriginal peoples (Newhouse and FitzMaurice, 2012). A consolidated, co-produced planning framework that involves Aboriginal input and participation still needs to be developed to guide cities acknowledge Aboriginal cultures in the urban landscape and articulate which

aspects of urban life need differentiated policy and programs for urban Aboriginal peoples. By identifying situations in which Aboriginal policy and programing is needed, cases where general universalistic engagement approaches are inappropriate for urban Aboriginal peoples can be pointed out. This way, urban planning processes can be transformed to plan for and with Aboriginal peoples, and as FitzMaurice (2012) explains, to support urban Aboriginal quality of life, self-determination, cultural distinctiveness and participation in Canadian society. As it has been discussed in this section, there is a tendency in planning to privilege notions of universal public interest that is value free targeting a unitary public. Planning for and with Aboriginal communities requires unique planning methods that recognize Aboriginal people's rights to self-determination. Aboriginal engagement through co-production methods encourages Aboriginal peoples to be civic partners in creating city policy for their future seeking processes rather than being benign objects of those policies. Their participation in the generation and implementation of city policy begins the process of decolonizing ideas of place and space production in the development of the city.

2.3. Decolonizing the city: Aboriginality as a fundamental ingredient in planning for inclusive and diverse Canadian cities

Urban Aboriginal populations including First Nations and Métis peoples, as well as many who identify simply as (Urban) Aboriginal, are vastly diverse (Walker, 2008). The populations have strong Aboriginal cultures and identities which Walker (2008) characterizes as a strong but overlooked civic strength. As cities progress further into the twenty-first century, creating diverse inclusive cities is already becoming an issue. First though, in the Canadian context, in cities where the ideas of culturally neutral public spheres still persist among the public and urban planners, Aboriginal-inclusive citizenship will have to be resolved by both Aboriginal and non-

Aboriginal peoples if advancements are to be made in planning for diverse cities (Shaw, 2006). Overall, Sandercock (2003) sees twenty-first century cities as the social experiments that will re-write the Canadian modern mytho-poetic story to be inclusive of Aboriginal cultures and viewpoints. Walker and Barcham (2010) develop the notion of Indigenous-inclusive citizenship as being based upon recognizing self-determination with serious implications in statute, policy and practice. It expresses a fundamental shift away from the attributes of universal citizenship with the idea that "one size fits all" (Walker and Barcham, 2010). Within the nation-state context, the collective right of self-determination constitutes cultural, political, economic, social and legal content (Walker and Barcham 2010).

As a concept, the term "Aboriginality" is used to distinguish people already established in a place from those who came later as colonists (Schouls, 2003). This way the Aboriginal experience is understood as a product of the relations that exist between the colonizing and colonized groups (Schouls, 2003). Aboriginal peoples bond with the identity of being Aboriginal because it gives them a shared connection through ancestry to the original occupants of the land, in addition to the shared history of having to deal with the effects of colonization (Schouls, 2003). Similarly, Denis (1997) applies the same understanding when analyzing the concept of Aboriginality as he defines it as "a comprehensive cultural project that brings the inherency of Aboriginal ways of life and the right of self-determination to give insights on the relationship between Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal peoples." Equally, Aboriginal peoples in Australia exhibit similar social mechanisms to deal with colonization because they "embrace traditional symbols of their collective selves" as well as "make sense of their lives through reference to traditional social arrangement, and to the nurturing and guiding properties of traditional lands and kinship ties" (Morgan, 2006: 145).

Research is also being directed to further understand Aboriginal peoples in terms of their relations with other immigrant newcomers in urban spaces (Ghorayshi, 2010; Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker and Garcea, 2013; Maaka and Fleras, 2005). The challenge as cities progress will be dealing with the common views that Aboriginal and mainstream Canadian cultures are separate entities headed on separate paths to the future (Maaka and Fleras, 2005). This is a critical concept that must be resolved because, as Maaka and Fleras (2005) explain, the civic futures of Prairie cities will depend on Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people discovering ways of coexisting without drifting apart. This serves as a starting point for decolonizing processes like urban planning in Settler societies like Canada that engage in "whitestreaming" of services, (Ghorayashi, 2010).

Peters (2005) demonstrates that Canadian municipalities' strategies for providing services tend to have a preference for "whitestreaming" of services, that is, delivering uniform services to all residents inclusive of Aboriginal peoples. The assumption is that delivering the same services to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal residents meet their needs equally (Peters, 2005). Comparable to the Canadian situation, "whitestreaming" in Australia is used as a process of privilege-making that works to supress and displace Aboriginal people and culture (Shaw, 2007). She establishes the idea of whiteness in reference to Indigeneity and argues that whiteness is a result of processes that privilege and dominate (Shaw, 2007). Her argument is built on accounts of processes that lead to urban transformation focusing on "The Block," an Aboriginal settlement in Sydney's core. She describes white entitlement and privilege as something that produces colonial formations that exclude, displace and impoverish indigenous peoples. This is because the non-Aboriginal people living in neighbourhoods surrounding The Block express fear by Aboriginal poverty, unemployment stemming from colonial ideologies that Aboriginal peoples

are incompatible with city life. The colonial formations come about as the resident action groups carry out fantasies of Manhattanization by preserving Victorian terrace houses which ultimately led to gentrification problematized the Aboriginal peoples as a people that would be better served by moving them elsewhere.

By understanding the identity of Aboriginal peoples and their struggle with urban planning processes and how they often displace them from mainstream Canadian life, cities can only then equip themselves to address the unique needs of Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian urban context. In this case Aboriginality stands to challenge the monopoly of power that "whitestreaming" affords Euro-Western / English-French practices. Aboriginality also stands to contrast "whitestreaming" by challenging the notions of cultural neutrality, color blindness and universal citizenship (Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker and Garcea, 2014). When including an Aboriginal lens in civic place-making processes, the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations can be negotiated by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to formulate sustainable ways of living and service delivery that are sensitive to the differentiated needs of the multiple groups of people in their communities that make up a diverse city. Furthermore, "Aboriginality" calls for respecting the Aboriginal ways of life and the international right of Indigenous self-determination to inform and direct the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian mainstream society (Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker, Garcea, 2014).

Altogether, "Aboriginality" becomes the key feature for decolonizing the city or urban spaces because it acts as the social entity that decentralizes "Western" authority over processes and fundamental knowledge that dominate and presume cultural neutrality in the physical, social, cultural, economic and political production of the urban spaces (Walker and Belanger, 2013). Without meaningful engagement with Aboriginal peoples, planning most likely will continue to

form and shape cities in the twenty-first century as a colonial cultural practice (Walker and Belanger, 2013). Hence, by encouraging and strengthening Aboriginal engagement and participation in planning processes, the formation of contemporary cities may, according to Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker and Garcea (2014), permit modern cultural hybridity to shape urban spaces. Moreover, these contemporary cities can be led into their future scenarios through an Aboriginality lens that allows civic engagement processes that are not fixed to a colonial past or in modern understandings of what is a negative "whitestream" society. The purpose of this research is to understand how cities, like Edmonton, are enabling Aboriginal participation in city planning processes to integrate Aboriginal heritage as part of the diversity that Edmonton citizens value and enjoy. In engaging with "Aboriginality," in a way, the City of Edmonton will be forcing itself to question its identity and dominant values. Consequently, allowing for Aboriginal perspectives to shape place-making processes, the city can begin to transform the systemic bureaucracies like city planning that privilege Eurocentric ideologies while keeping Aboriginal peoples mainly invisible from urban life.

Planning with and for Aboriginal peoples needs processes that facilitate the expression of cultural difference in the public domain but also recognize the local institutional histories and inherent competing interests that collaborative planning processes for diverse/ multicultural urban societies may not necessarily pay attention to (Peters, 2005; Walker, 2003). In the context of Canada and other Settler countries like USA, Australia and New Zealand, it is imperative to acknowledge the unique rights of their Indigenous peoples before engaging in wider planning processes for diverse communities. Though Aboriginal communities and other ethno-minority groups all experience marginalization in urban centres, the unique situation for Aboriginal peoples is that Indigenous difference has long been placed as something to be overcome or

eliminated rather than being celebrated (Andersen, 2013). There is also a difference between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal people demonstrated by the gap in quality of life between these two groups (Andersen, 2013). Undoubtedly, Canadian cities will continue to have a mix of multicultural groups; research should therefore go beyond understanding the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and urban planning processes but also include an understanding of Aboriginal peoples and immigrant populations. The key is to approach urban Aboriginal issues differently than those of newcomer populations so that cosmopolitan cities can recognize and enhance their place in Indigenous traditional territory, among original occupants, Aboriginal peoples, who are now largely urban. Lumping Aboriginal peoples and ethnic minorities into the same policy basket of issues tends to overlook prior occupancy/ownership (Andersen, 2013). Instead, the urban planning between Aboriginal communities and municipalities should occur in a context of respect acknowledging prior presence as the starting point for creating these relationships (Andersen, 2013).

Moreover, Andersen (2013) emphasises that Indigeneity is far "denser" than the mere focus on "difference" can allow. "Difference", he explains, should not be used to perpetuate stereotypes to fix Indigeneity in both space and time but rather be used as a starting point to delve into the complex and historical positioning of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. When Aboriginal cultures are enabled by urban planning processes to develop and manifest their values and identities, the urban space will then be transformed into a cosmopolis. "Cosmopolis" is a construct developed by Leonie Sandercock (1998) and means the ideal twenty-first century city that recognizes and cultivates a diversity of cultures allowing for creative collisions and interactions between them. As cities become more diverse, urban planning practices and theories will have to evolve to reflect the society they serve. In general, diversity has been acknowledged

as an important attribute for the well-being and functioning of human communities (Sandercock, 1998; Talen, 2005: 215; Walker, 2008). Hilda et al (2009) further underscore a widespread view on diversity and multicultural urban spaces as essential for productivity and social wellbeing, fostering economic growth and development. There tends to be agreement among scholars about Sandercock's idea of a cosmopolis "as a construction site of the mind, a city/ region which has a genuine connection with respect and space for the cultural other and the possibility of working together on matters of common destiny with recognition of intertwined fates" (Sandercock, 1998: 125). However, other scholars in the social sciences have recognized and highlighted conflicts in sustaining multicultural or diverse neighbourhoods (Hilda et al, 2009; Putman, 2007; Wilson and Taub, 2006). Putman (2007) has found that even though diversity is valuable for productivity and social well-being, people in diverse communities usually become more socially isolated. Wilson and Taub (2006), on the other hand, concluded that the ability of urban areas to be both compact and diverse is going to be difficult because the worst sorts of racial prejudices are most prevalent in the urban area. When Aboriginal heritage becomes part of the diversity conversation in Sandercock's cosmopolis, issues of "difference" present an opportunity to have enriched conversations that acknowledge the context with which each group (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) comes to contribute in the place-making project of the city. In this case, "difference" is not used as a mechanism to discriminate or reduce a particular group or culture into a particular space and time requiring assimilation into the mainstream urban life. Hence, Aboriginal participation in civic engagement creates a path for urban planners to create urban spaces that acknowledge as well as are sensitive to the differentiated needs and aspirations of the various urban groups that make their lives in the city.

Despite the highly urbanized Aboriginal peoples in Canada, USA, New Zealand and Australia, urban Aboriginal communities have a difficult time exercising self-determining autonomy in the same way that reserve or rural counterpart communities do (Walker and Barcham, 2010). The problem with implementing self-determining future-seeking processes in the urban sphere is that Indigeneity in the public perception continues to be a concept outside of urban areas that is fixed on reserves or rural Aboriginal communities (Walker and Barcham, 2010). However, the recognition of the contribution of Aboriginal peoples in the social and economic futures of Canadian cities in on the rise (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). Likewise, there are an increasing number of semi-autonomous Aboriginal organizations representing urban Aboriginal communities (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). In this same light, it is important that research begins to recognize urban Aboriginal peoples as individuals and communities with legitimate interests and aspirations instead of victims of colonization making them worthy objects of public policy (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). Moreover, it is crucial to recognize that colonization is not the only story of Aboriginal lives (Alfred, 2013). Though it might be an effective lens to analyse issues in Aboriginal communities, it does not capture a complete picture of the whole story (Alfred, 2013). Co-production with Aboriginal peoples in planning and associated policy should allow for Aboriginal peoples' ideas of their own agency in the development of their own people and not be limited to outcomes of settler power.

2.4. Embracing the "cultural project of Aboriginality" a mechanism for resisting and undoing structural violence

Through planning, the city has institutional arrangements that exist to maintain society as a cohesive unit. The city is an expression of different political and social values and has power to design and transform urban life. Bell and de-Shalit (2011) compare different cities and the values

they project. An interesting idea that materializes from their comparison of different cities is what they call "ethos" or "spirit" of a city defined as the characteristic set of values and outlooks that are generally acknowledged by people living in a city. They explain that cities reflect and mould their citizens' values and outlooks in a variety of ways such as through urban design and symbolism (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011). The dominant values emerge from the arrangement of resources and people within the city and how they interact with one another. For example, the design and architecture of prominent buildings in the city, can to a large extent, reflect the different dominating social and cultural values of the city (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011). Furthermore, public monuments are often indicators of politically important events and a way of honouring a particular history, whilst street signage and the languages it uses can often signify the degrees of multiculturalism and minority rights in the city (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011). Therefore, the design of the city, be it streets, buildings, monuments or symbolism, are all markers that exhibit the different dominant values of the city's inhabitants. The overall symbolism becomes a mechanism of honouring the past as well as a way of passing on current heritage to future generations. With these different expressions of social and political values, cities can be a platform to articulate the roles of particular cultures, values and ways of life that the city favours as its civic strength. If Aboriginal peoples are seen as civic partners in future seeking processes, the planning and design of the city can be a powerful tool for reflecting urban diversity and Aboriginality specifically.

A societal structure, which in this case is both the city itself and the planning process, creates indirect harm in the form structural violence that limits on how people and communities develop and express identity. Galtung (1980) offers a typology of violence, both direct and structural (see Table 2.1). The conceptual model of structural violence was developed on a wider

definition of violence based on a conflict model triangle that includes direct violence, structural violence and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990). An important aspect of structural violence is the absence of an actor who acts out violence. Rather, it emphasises the role institutions and social practices play in preventing people from having an equal chance by preventing them from meeting their basic needs so that they may realize their full potential (Galtung, 1969). Galtung describes basic human rights or needs to include four tenets: survival, wellbeing, identity and freedom needs (1980).

Table 2.1: Typology of Violence

	Survival needs	*Well-being needs*	*Identity needs*	*Freedom needs*
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming, torture, misery	De-socialization, re-socialization	Detention, repression
Structural Violence	Exploitation leading to death	Exploitation leading to misery	"Penetration," meaning convincing the oppressed that they deserve it; and "segmentation," in keeping the oppressed from knowing what they are being deprived of.	Marginalization, or keeping the oppressed on the periphery of society or in "sanctioned" areas for "their kind," and "fragmentation," or keeping the oppressed from one another.

Source: Author, using Galtung, 1980.

Hence, structural violence emerges from the unequal distribution of power and resources which is systematically built into the structure and enables a regime to marginalize and oppress individuals and communities by keeping them on the periphery of society. The thesis argues that colonialism and its impacts on Aboriginal peoples in Canada exhibit elements of Galtung's structural violence model. Specifically, the thesis explores the extent to which the City of Edmonton and its planning process is an example of structural violence on the lives of Aboriginal peoples in that city. In exploring the manifestation of structural violence in the city the research seeks to highlight which of Galtung's four basic human needs described above are

violated, if at all. Most importantly, the thesis takes a step further to articulate how embracing the cultural project of Aboriginality in both future seeking and place-making can prevent violence on these human needs, especially the well-being, identity and freedom needs.

Structural violence provides a lens to understand the inherent violent nature of colonialism in order to reveal its insidious impacts on the dehumanization and destruction of Aboriginal peoples' identities, cultures and human freedoms and the reality of their lives today. It highlights the violence of the socio-economic and political institutions that unceasingly deprive Aboriginal peoples the resources they need to meet their basic needs to live dignified and enjoyable lives. The keen interest in structural violence (not to minimize direct violence) is that it more subtle and can be easily overlooked. When thinking of violence, the mind is quick to assume direct violence or physical harm and cruelty. In the process, the extent inequalities and power relations can reap devastating intergenerational impacts or trauma on an oppressed people can easily go unnoticed. Galtung's structural violence model and its application on Aboriginal issues in the Canadian urban context is important because it reveals invisible violence that is part of everyday life, a violence that is often not disapproved of, but instead encouraged to maintain conventional social, economic and political norms (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois, 2004).

Galtung in a later work also introduces what he calls a "conflict of interest" (1971) which is similar to what Bateson described as a "double bind" (Bateson et al, 1956). Though Galtung was referring to nation-to-nation issues, the thesis argues that the notion is useful for understanding Aboriginal experiences with the city as well. Effectively, what Galtung is saying is that structural violence also includes lose-lose scenarios where the oppressed must accept marginalization in order to be part of society. Either they lose out because they cannot be a part of the city, or they lose out because they much accept the impact of their minority status in the

city. Structural violence thus puts Aboriginal peoples in a dilemma because even though they want to be part of the mainstream city in healthy self-sufficient communities, how do they do so if the non-Aboriginal citizenry in the city does not recognize and acknowledge the devastating impacts colonialism has had on Aboriginal lives? How do you foster a sense of community between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples living in the city when many of the non-Aboriginal peoples do not identify with the Aboriginal daily struggles because of the history and relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the colonizing groups?

Allowing for Aboriginality to inform the history and be part of the present identity and expression of the cultural values of the city begins a decolonizing process that includes Aboriginal peoples and the complexities of their realities into the mainstream for all citizens to identify with. It begins to undo and prevent further maintenance of structural violence by relieving Aboriginal peoples from the "double bind" because with Aboriginal inclusive diversity and citizenship "ethos," Aboriginal peoples no longer have to accept marginalization in order to be part of society or accept the impact of their status in the city. Embracing Aboriginality into the "ethos" of the city erodes the "double bind" that is created by structural violence and positions the city to foster meaningful and supportive relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples as they make their lives in the city.

Thinking back to Bell and de-Shalit's ideas of how different cities project a particular "ethos" as the characteristic set of values and outlooks that are generally shared by people living there, a contemporary collective conscience can be explored in terms of the city's cultural identity and the social and political movements that the general citizens adhere to and as well as promote. Bell and de-Shalit (2011:5) explain that in the face of globalization, "many cities invest thought, time, and money in protecting their unique ethos and preserving [them] through policies

of design and architecture and through the way people use the cities and interact with them."
Walker (2013) argues that embracing the cultural project of Aboriginality in both future seeking
and place-making would articulate and share Aboriginal identities in a far denser and meaningful
way that would affect both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens. Aboriginal engagement in
city planning creates opportunities to rewrite the Canadian story so that it reflects the depth of
diversity that its citizens represent. Miller (2011) explores an example about how Aboriginal
communities like the Papaschase Band are actively reclaiming their history, culture and identity
in the urban context despite their dispersion through colonial identity policies and land
surrenders during the formation of the Canadian state. Miller emphasizes the point that
Aboriginal identities have a history and have been subjected to transformations through the
Canadian government's notions of identity. These notions of identity have been responsible for a
significant part of the lived experiences of Aboriginal peoples while the history involving the
dispersion and transformation of the Aboriginal identities and cultures has been silenced (Miller,
2011). Miller (2011) argues that the very presence of the Papaschase Band in Edmonton and its
active involvement in political issues in the city of Edmonton denies any attempts at silencing
their history. The Papaschase Band's presence in the mainstream public space in Edmonton
demonstrates an opportunity to rewrite the Canadian story to be inclusive of Aboriginal
experiences based on the colonization of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. It is important that this
history is told because as Miller argues, it facilitates an understanding of Aboriginal identities
based on the transformations they have been subjected to through colonization. Additionally, the
history emphasises the important point that Aboriginal identities are in "a constant process of
negotiation; negotiations within selves, with settler societies, and with nation-states that can
grant rights and take them away" (Miller, 2011: 54). When Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal

identities engage as partners, Walker (2013) argues that the city evokes a unique sense of place for the citizenry as both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal identities create, reproduce and mutually reinforce a shared civic identity. This shared civic identity and reconciliation in Canada will come as a process of negotiation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples and within Aboriginal communities themselves as they make sense of their lives through the transformations they have had to go through. Walker (2008) recognizes that municipalities have room to improve their relationships with Aboriginal communities because the ways in which the municipalities engage with Aboriginal communities will affect the quality of future urban development. Municipalities cannot ignore their role in shaping needs and future aspirations of Aboriginal communities because urban planning is at the heart of shaping the institutional arrangements that actualize those aspirations (Walker, 2008).

Newhouse and Peters (2003) acknowledge the growing recognition of Aboriginal peoples' contribution to the socio-economic futures of Canadian cities. Even though some Aboriginal peoples may experience acute socio-economic challenges in urban areas, others experience positive outcomes (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). It is important to start seeing urban Aboriginal peoples as legitimate players in the development of Canada's cities and embrace Aboriginal cultures and viewpoints in forming the city's "ethos." As Newhouse and FitzMaurice (2012) call for an acknowledgement of the positive aspects of Aboriginal lives rather than a focus on viewing Aboriginal issues on a deficit lens, the engagement of Aboriginality in city life is a civic strength that can used to re-invigorate a more inclusive city identity. Bringing the positive urban Aboriginal experiences to light creates an opportunity to re-orient the general non-Aboriginal citizenry about the value of Aboriginal heritage in creating a strong sense of place. It begins to

cultivate a new "collective conscience" that embraces Aboriginal-inclusive citizenship in urban spaces where the public sphere is considered culturally neutral (Walker and Barcham, 2010).

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a conceptual framework for understanding how Aboriginal engagement can enhance planning for diverse cities that have a colonial history. The treatment of Aboriginal people by general urban planning processes was discussed to highlight how urban planning tends to focus on ideas of universal citizenship. Over-reliance on unitary public interests for an imagined universal citizenship fails to recognize the differentiated needs and right claims of citizens especially marginalized groups like Aboriginal citizens. When the city embraces Aboriginality it allows Aboriginal experiences and perspectives to challenge universal citizenship and cultural neutrality in the mainstream and develops a broader and denser identity of the city that incorporates the multiple realities of its citizens. The conceptual framework established the role of Aboriginality as a key ingredient in planning for diversity. Cities have not developed in a vacuum. Aboriginal peoples were already existing in their self-determining societies prior to the idea of the Canadian state, and so, engaging with Aboriginality creates a platform to understand the Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal relationship in order to develop unique city identities that pivot on the Aboriginal-settler relationship to enhance place-making and future seeking processes. The next chapter discusses the research methods employed to examine Aboriginal engagement in in the City of Edmonton.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology used to produce this thesis. It discusses the

research design, methods of data collection, data analysis, and overall limitations for the research

undertaking. The thesis engages a qualitative method of research inquiry in the form of a case

study. The chapter discusses in detail how a case study approach allows for the issue of

Aboriginal engagement to be explored in a bounded context, that is, the City of Edmonton.

Through this approach, data are collected through semi-structured interviews and published

public documents from the City of Edmonton. The public documents from the City of Edmonton

are used to ascertain the city's vision and level of commitment to Aboriginal engagement in city

planning and policy. The interviews are analyzed to allow for concepts and themes to be

compared and develop a coherent narrative addressing the research questions on what supports

or impedes Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Edmonton.

3.2. Research Design

a) Case Study Approach

This thesis employs a case study research design. A case study allows for the research

phenomenon to be explored in much detail within a context using various sources of data (Baxter

and Jack, 2008). Stake (1995), defines a case study as the study of particularity and complexity

of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances. By using a

case study, Stake explains, the researcher can expect to catch the complexity of a single case in a

bounded system (1995). Furthermore, what is more enticing about case study research is that this

type of research is not sampling research that is interested in making generalizations, but rather focuses more on particularization (Stake, 1995). Similar to Stake's idea of catching the complexity of a single case, Yin (2003) describes the value of using case study research as a preferred approach when dealing with technically distinctive situations and when the focus is on contemporary phenomena with some real life context where "how" and why questions are being posed. In Yin's (2003) view, the theoretical propositions that are constructed as part of the case study can be used to make analytical generalizations from case study to theory rather than statistical generalizations.

In this thesis, a case study is used to examine and determine the key features that promote or hinder Aboriginal engagement in urban processes. It uses the City of Edmonton as the case to examine what constitutes appropriate engagement processes between Prairie city planners and urban Aboriginal peoples. The in-depth analysis of the engagement processes that urban planners in Edmonton use or choose not to use will highlight the key features of engagement that promote or hinder planning for and with Aboriginal peoples in the Prairie urban context. This way, the case study becomes what Stake would call an "instrumental case study" because it not only helps to understand the particular case study, but can also be used to provide insight into an issue and help refine theory (Stake, 1995). Hence, by providing a detailed analysis of the nature of Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Edmonton, the case study can highlight why and how the particularities of the processes in Edmonton enable, if at all, the rights, needs and aspirations of urban Aboriginal peoples. Overall, the lessons learned from the Edmonton case study can inform how municipalities across Canada can emphasise their Aboriginal heritage as a civic strength for planning for inclusive cities in Canada.

b) *The Edmonton Case*

Edmonton has one of the largest and most quickly rising Aboriginal populations among Canada's large cities. According to Canada's National Household Survey 2011 (NHS 2011), the city of Edmonton has the second largest number of Aboriginal peoples in Canada, 52,300 (following Winnipeg at 75,335). The Aboriginal population in Edmonton represents six percent of the total population. A breakdown of the statistic shows that of the Edmonton Aboriginal population, 70 percent is First Nations, at 32,005, the largest group; Métis account for almost 40 percent, at 19,925; and Inuit are the smallest population accounting for approximately two percent or 965 people (NHS, 2011). The years 2001 to 2006 saw the greatest increase in Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton by 26 percent which was substantially faster than that of the non-Aboriginal population, at nine percent (Quinless, 2012). In comparison to the non-Aboriginal population of Edmonton, the age structure of Aboriginal peoples is much younger with almost half of the Aboriginal population aged 25 years or younger (Quinless, 2012). Besides being younger, the Aboriginal population in Edmonton, when compared to non-Aboriginal, is less likely to hold a post-secondary education, has higher unemployment accompanied by lower income levels, and is most likely to be living in a single-parent household (Environics, 2010).

Reconciliation between non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal peoples is a central focus of Canadian public discourse (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). In 2004, the Edmonton Urban Aboriginal Accord Initiative was established to improve the relationship between the City and its Aboriginal peoples as well as support an inclusive process for working on community identified priorities (City of Edmonton, 2014). Though social, economic and cultural hardships

still exist within the city, many Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton view the city as their home and with a strong sense of empowerment to make a difference (Environics, 2010).

On the other hand, more than any other cities, according to the Environics study (2010), Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton believe they are viewed negatively by non-Aboriginal peoples which encourages widespread discrimination that negatively impacts their lives (2010). Yet the City of Edmonton and Aboriginal organizations in the city have employed some innovative processes of civic engagement, distinguishing Edmonton as a place that is willing to engage explicitly with Aboriginal cultures and materiality in the urban landscape. The City of Edmonton is an appropriate instrumental case because it has a high Aboriginal population as well as been a leader among Prairie Canadian cities in trying new ways to think about its relationship with Aboriginal peoples such as the *Edmonton Urban Aboriginal Accord Initiative* and *Your City, Your Voice* among others listed in Table 3.1. In this thesis, the Edmonton case study examines the successes and failures, and what the future might hold for enhancing processes of civic engagement between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens, City Hall, and Aboriginal organizations in Edmonton to prevent further structural violence and the lessons for cities across Canada. Since many of the other Prairie cities e.g., Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina, are experiencing similar population demographic changes, Edmonton is an appropriate case from which to learn lessons in the field of planning with Aboriginal people that would be transferrable to other Prairie cities.

c) *A Qualitative Case Study*

The knowledge claims developed through this Edmonton case study are primarily built from constructivist perspectives. Constructivist, in the sense that the Edmonton case study is an

attempt to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it (Schwandt, 2000). Since Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes is a multi-faceted and complex issue, the qualitative research approach allows the case to capture detailed descriptions and information-rich personal perspectives and experiences on the issues of Aboriginal engagement in city planning in Edmonton (Stake, 1995). The aim of the qualitative study is to capture the multiple meanings of individual experiences which are socially and historically constructed in order to develop patterns, themes and theories (Creswell, 2003). Since reality is subjective and experiential, the reality of Aboriginal engagement in planning processes in Edmonton is also a sum of multiple realities.

The qualitative case study approach facilitates understanding of the multi-dimensional issues within Aboriginal engagement by seeking unanticipated and expected relationships, by finding meaning from single instances and by engaging experiential understanding using "thick" descriptions (Stake, 1995). In this case, understanding the "why" and "how" becomes the priority over trying to predict the prevalence of the phenomenon or issues being studied.

d) *Unit of Analysis*

Qualitative research seeks to understand how people make sense of their world through the meanings they construct from the experiences they have in the world (Merriam, 2009). It is about studying people in places where every day experiences occur (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). As a researcher trying to understand the reality of Aboriginal engagement in city planning processes in Edmonton, my goal is to examine these experiences and interpret them in terms of the meanings people construct and associate with those experiences (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). In the process of finding out how the social experience is created and given meaning, the unit of

analysis in the research is the level of abstraction at which variability is sought (Guest, Namely and Mitchell, 2013). It is the level at which the data is synthesized and compared (Guest, Namely and Mitchell, 2013). Since the case is understood as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context, in effect, the case becomes the unit of analysis (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Hence, the unit of analysis for the purposes of this thesis is the experience of Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Edmonton within three sub-units. The global unit of analysis is the experience of being Aboriginal in Edmonton divided into sub-units that consist of individual Aboriginal citizens,[4] individuals from Aboriginal organizations, and finally individuals representing Edmonton City administration. By comparing the experiences of individuals at the different levels of Aboriginal representation within the city, this type of analysis can better illuminate the case and highlight points of issue convergence and divergence.

3.3. Data Collection Methods

Data collection for the study consists of document analysis and semi-structured interviews.

- ***Phase One – Document analysis***

This phase consists of review of public documents published by the City of Edmonton. Some of the key resources reviewed include publicly available documents on the City of Edmonton's website such as policies, strategies and visions for their Aboriginal communities and participation within civic processes. These documents are critical in assessing the initial level of commitment and vision the City of Edmonton has regarding its Aboriginal communities. Furthermore, any policies and community plans embedded in these documents indicate the

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[4] Citizenship - for the purposes of this research - is used to indicate inhabitants of a particular city. Hence, Aboriginal citizens in the context of this thesis refer to Aboriginal peoples living within the City of Edmonton. The research questions focus on issues of Aboriginal engagement within the urban context, specifically, in the City of Edmonton.

direction in which the City of Edmonton wishes to take its involvement with Aboriginal communities and how it plans to achieve those goals. Overall, the review of the publicly available documents is useful for gauging how the City of Edmonton frames its issues with Aboriginal communities as well as get a "temperature feel" of whether they see them as an important part of Edmonton's economic, cultural, social and environmental landscape. What will be publicized and easily accessible to the general public contributes to the narrative of Aboriginal relations within the City of Edmonton and also indicates the socioeconomic, cultural and political issues that are priority and unique to Edmonton. The review of the documents; therefore, reveals whether the City of Edmonton is committed to Aboriginal engagement in its urban planning processes, the unique or creative engagement methods including successes and challenges if any.

Table 3.1 below provides a list of the important documents available from the City of Edmonton's website that summarize the city's official stance on Aboriginality and Aboriginal engagement in city planning goals. Edmonton's City Council made a declaration in 2005 to work with their administration, citizens, and Aboriginal peoples to create a more Indigenous-inclusive city (City of Edmonton, 2005-2006). The Declaration, supported unanimously by City Council, celebrated the past and present contributions and those yet to come in the city's future from Aboriginal peoples. It recognized past injustices that have impacted upon Aboriginal society (e.g., paternalism, colonialism, and bureaucracy that has made it difficult for Aboriginal communities to sustain traditional ways of life and assure a positive urban future) and the unique challenges that are endured as a result (e.g., socio-economic disparities in education, health, justice, income, employment, racism) (Walker and Belanger, 2013). Crucially, the Declaration recognized the legitimacy of Aboriginal self-determining autonomy. Edmonton City Council's

declaration was developed operationally the following year into an Urban Aboriginal Accord (City of Edmonton, 2005-2006), which aimed to infuse four community-identified guiding principles throughout the work carried out by municipal departments: (1) Relationships, (2) Agreements, (3) Celebrations, and (4) Renewal (Walker and Belanger, 2013).

Table 3.1: Platforms for Strengthening Aboriginal Engagement in The City Of Edmonton

DOCUMENT	DATA SOURCE	PURPOSE
1. **Memorandum of Cooperation & Dialogue between Confederacy of Treaty No.6 Nations & City of Edmonton**	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ To acknowledge each other in shared place, and embark upon a renewed relationship of honour, respect and sharing of their histories cultures and unique contributions today for the future
2. **Memorandum of Shared Recognition and Cooperation between Métis Nation of Alberta and City of Edmonton**	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ Agree to collaborate and share common values; and to celebrate the history culture, and contributions of Métis people of Edmonton with her citizens so they may work together in peace and the spirit of unity and harmony
3. **Community Strategies and Development – Aboriginal Relations website**	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ One-stop-shop website for information on Aboriginal affairs in Edmonton. A platform to connect and access programs and services. ✓ Build and support good relations between the City of Edmonton, Aboriginal people and organizations that serve Aboriginal people.
4. **Edmonton Urban Aboriginal Accord Initiative Project 2005- 2006**	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ Created by the City of Edmonton and the Edmonton Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee in response to the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal peoples

		residing in Edmonton.
4.1. Urban Aboriginal Accord	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ Principle-based relationship agreement between the Aboriginal communities in Edmonton and the City of Edmonton administration to put into action commitments established by Edmonton City Council's Declaration "Strengthening Relationships between the City of Edmonton and Urban Aboriginal People"
4.2. Edmonton City Council's Aboriginal Declaration	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ Belief statements offered as foundation for the building of stronger relationships between the City of Edmonton and Aboriginal people who make Edmonton their home.
5. Aboriginal Edmonton Welcome Guide	*City of Edmonton website*	✓ Provides an overview of information to help Aboriginal peoples who are new to Edmonton.

Source: Author, using City of Edmonton website.

The City also has an Aboriginal Relations Office, with a staff that actively bridges the distance between municipal departments and Aboriginal communities, helping to operationalize the relationship in tangible ways. Altogether, the efforts or non-efforts demonstrated by Edmonton's engagement processes can be examined in relation to the perspectives of the urban Aboriginal citizens interviewed in phase two.

- *Phase Two: Semi-structured interviews*

This section of data collection involves face-to-face semi-structured personal interviews. The different levels of city governance and engagement will be represented by the interviewees to compare the perspectives of Aboriginal issues on each level. Interviews are a good qualitative

tool to find out what people think and feel in order to understand experiences which the person doing the research did not participate in (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The information gathered from the interviews is particularly useful in describing social and political processes which can enable the researcher to infer how and why things change (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). The semi-structured interviews are preferred for this study because the interviewer has a checklist of topics or category of fields to be covered but also has the flexibility to follow the flow of the interview discussion and insert additional unplanned questions (Robson, 2011). Conducting these interviews face-to-face is advantageous because it offers an avenue for modifying the line of enquiry for the study, following up on interesting responses as well as investigating underlying motives (Robson, 2011).

The interview participants were selected by soliciting the help of a local research facilitator in the City of Edmonton. Notices were posted in places where Aboriginal peoples were likely to see them such as in reception or common areas of Aboriginal organizations operating in Edmonton. The "snowball"[5] sampling technique was also used to recruit participants by asking interview participants to recommend other people they would see fit to participate in this study. A total of 20 adult citizens were interviewed. Interviewing adult citizens provided information on how the general adult Aboriginal citizens engage with the City of Edmonton. What aspects of the city do they like the most and which aspects of the city nurtures or impedes their personal development and success? Four city officials and four Aboriginal officials representing the City of Edmonton and Aboriginal organizations were interviewed. The city officials were chosen to represent the different levels of city governance such as administrative. The Aboriginal officials

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[5]Snowball or chain referral sampling is a widely used method in qualitative research that uses referrals to obtain the study sample. Referrals are made among people who share or know others who have some common traits that are of research interest (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981).

were chosen to represent voices of different Aboriginal organizations operating within the City of Edmonton to discuss collective Aboriginal issues and aspirations. These interviews provide information on the institutional roles assumed by the City of Edmonton and Aboriginal political and service organizations to engage in future seeking-processes like urban planning at the municipal-Aboriginal level.

3.4. Analysis

According to Creswell (2013), analysis is about organizing data, doing a preliminary read-through, coding and generating themes, and reorganizing the data to present it in an interpretative form. Furthermore, analysis is not a single step but rather a process that connects all the activities in organization and representation of the data to create meaning (Creswell, 2013). Similarly, Stake (1995), describes analysis as a process consisting of a continuing effort to make sense of things by deconstructing data into individual parts and then making meaning out of those parts and their combinations. He further explains that making meaning often involves searching for patterns, consistency and for correspondence which are instances where these patterns remain consistent within certain conditions (Stake, 1995). To ensure that the analysis is of high quality, Yin stresses that researchers need to make sure the analysis relies on all relevant evidence, display and present the evidence while showing adequate concern for exploring alternative interpretations (2003: 109).

The analysis process for this thesis began by reading through the public documents, listening to recorded interviews and then reading and re-reading through the same interviews in transcribed form. Having collected data through official public documents and through the interviews, the data was analyzed using a strategy by Stake (1995) called categorical

aggregation. This strategy involves "reducing the data into a more manageable form by grouping

it into a collection of instances and using those instances as a class to look for emerging issues

and relevant meaning" (Stake, 1995: 74). With this strategy, the analysis process was selective

by focusing on the most important issues related to the research questions, and as Stake suggests,

allowed more time to be spent on the best data. The categories were topical issues related to the

research question and are shown in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2.: Topical Categories for Analyzing Interviews

Topical categories for analysing Aboriginal citizens interviews	Topical categories for analysing Aboriginal organizations and municipal officials interviews
1. Time lived in Edmonton	1. Employment history
2. Where and what is home	2. Relationship between Edmonton and Aboriginal peoples
3. Descriptions of Edmonton	3. Priority issue for Aboriginal peoples today
4. Reasons for neighbourhood choice	4. Is there difference of engagement between Aboriginal peoples and City Hall
5. Friendship networks	5. In what capacity does City Hall engage with Aboriginal organizations
6. Significance of Aboriginal services	6. Significance of Aboriginal services
7. Comparison of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal service delivery	7. Level of interest on Aboriginal affairs at City Hall
8. Perspectives on municipal politics	8. Significance of approach in engaging Aboriginality
9. Most important issue facing Aboriginal peoples today	9. How does city design and Edmonton cityscape represent Aboriginal peoples?
10. Perspectives on Aboriginal politics	10. Aboriginal culture in Edmonton
11. Employing different approaches of engagement	11. Engaging Aboriginal input in city developments
12. How does city design and Edmonton cityscape represent Aboriginal peoples?	12. Sharing Aboriginal culture with non-Aboriginal peoples

13. Culture and its role	13. Creation of a positive outlook on Aboriginal peoples and their affairs
14. What does a good life in the city look like?	
15. Creation of positive outlook on Aboriginal peoples and their affairs	
16. Respondent attributes – classification information	

Source: Author, using interview guiding questions.

Once the data were organized into these topical categories, the data were then coded to establish themes and patterns. To assist with coding and identifying recurrent themes and concepts NVivo 10 software was used. NVivo 10 is a comprehensive qualitative data analysis software package that can be used to organize and analyze the interviews. The data gathered through the interviews were analyzed to make interpretations from the viewpoints of interviewees. In the process of making interpretations for the thesis, data analysis involved classifying, comparing, and combining interview materials to extract meaning and implications to reveal patterns or to stitch together the descriptions of events into a coherent narrative (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). By coding and comparing concepts and themes within each category and across categories, a coherent narrative was developed from the data to answer the research questions on the nature of Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes in Edmonton.

The concepts and themes within each category and across categories were compared across interview groups, that is, Aboriginal citizens, municipal officials, and Aboriginal organizations to determine points of convergence and divergence between interviewed groups. The findings were then compared to published documents in phase one to figure out whether Aboriginal organizations and the municipal administration in Edmonton converge with the needs and aspirations of Aboriginal citizens in Edmonton. In a sense, the data were used to compare aspirations, experiences, and planning expectations of the Aboriginal peoples and their leaders

against those that have been officially adopted by the city of Edmonton. Essentially, the questions the analysis sought to answer were; what is the experience of City of Edmonton by Aboriginal citizens living in Edmonton? Are the ways in which Aboriginal peoples framing their interests and perspectives for their city's future the same as those shared by their Aboriginal leaders and city planners? Finally, beyond the codes and themes generated from the data, the analysis process had to conclude with making sense of the data in the form interpretations. Creswell (2013) explains interpretation in qualitative research as the process of abstracting out beyond the codes and themes to figure out the larger overall meaning of the data. At this stage of the analysis, the interpretations or larger implications of what the data are saying are made using a social science construct or idea, also involving the linking of interpretations to a larger research literature developed by others (Creswell, 2013).

3.5.   Validity and Credibility

Baxter and Eyles (1997) provide a foundation for thinking about validity and credibility in qualitative research focused on interview analysis. In order to assess the validity, reliability and objectivity of the thesis research, Baxter and Eyles' framework suggests four guiding principles to employ in order to establish whether research is trustworthy and worth taking account of; credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability (1997).

Credibility is about providing authentic representations of the experience (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 512). In order to ensure the credibility of the work I will position myself as best as I can to make sure that interviews measure what is actually intended by the study. By using interviews for my study as well as constantly checking my interpretations against the raw data I was able to improve credibility. Through the help of the local research facilitator in Edmonton, I

was able to get a sample of participants that was well-informed on the subject matter. I continuously debriefed with my supervisor and peers to incorporate a variety of perspectives and address deficiencies within the data. Basically, interviewing people that were well-informed about the research subject ensured that my interviews were collecting data centred on the intended purpose of the study and research questions, and checking my interpretations against the data with my supervisor and research peers (Ph.D. and Master's students) ensured that my descriptions of the experiences, positive or negative, could be easily recognized and matched from the data obtained.

Transferability – This criterion focuses on fit within the context outside of the study situation (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 512). By using Edmonton as a case study the thesis is not attempting to provide and index for transferability but rather to provide a 'thick description' that is rich enough to enable other researchers to make their own judgements on how the findings of this thesis can be applied to a different setting addressing similar issues.

Dependability is a concept that addresses the degree to which it is possible to deal with instability and design induced change or the consistency with which the same constructs may be matched with the same phenomena over space and time (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 516). The research was continuously checked for consistency, especially my interpretations, to make sure that the same phenomena are always matched with the same constructs.

Confirmability – This criterion addresses the extent to which biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the researcher influence the interpretations (Baxter and Eyles, 1997: 512). The data, findings, interpretations and recommendations are checked and compared for internal coherence so that they can be easily confirmed by other researchers who review the results. Triangulation is used as a strategy to improve the quality of the research by engaging different

perspectives to confirm the different aspects of the research enquiry and interpretations. My supervisor, thesis committee and the Master's and PhD students were involved in the discussion of the data interpretations. This ensured that my bias as the main researcher was kept to a minimum, the shortcomings of the research are recognized and multiple viewpoints converge to mutually confirm the research obtained.

CHAPTER FOUR

"WE ARE SO DEVALUED. WE ARE ALWAYS AN AFTERTHOUGHT."
– ABORIGINAL CITIZEN

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the case study focusing on the issues of Aboriginal engagement in city planning processes for the City of Edmonton. The purpose of the research as previously described in Chapter One is to examine the nature of Aboriginal engagement in city planning processes in order to identify the key features of engagement that are essential for enabling the rights, needs and aspirations of urban Aboriginal peoples. The research was also motivated by the Aboriginal policy and strategy objectives listed in Table 3.1 which showed Edmonton as one of the Prairie cities that is willing to explicitly engage with its Aboriginal heritage in the development of the city. Therefore, the research was also concerned with understanding the implementation of these policies and strategies to determine promising cases of co-production between the City and Aboriginal peoples. The central argument of the thesis is that the City sans Aboriginal voice is a physical representation of structural violence, and its planning process can either restrict or enable Aboriginal peoples to develop and express their identities to be part of the mainstream. The literature review laid out three themes for understanding how the City and urban planning presently limits the expression of Aboriginality in the materiality and production of Canadian urban spaces. The thematic discussion focused on the deficiencies of conventional urban planning practices to address some Aboriginal specific issues because planning practices are designed to serve a universal public interest. Aboriginality was then discussed as a starting point for decolonizing the city and its underlying colonial institutions to enable inclusive planning for the diversity of Canadian cities. Finally, embracing

the cultural project of Aboriginality is discussed as a mechanism for resisting and undoing structural violence. The discussion of the results in the next two chapters examines the extent of structural violence to qualify which of Galtung's basic human needs it violates, if at all. The discussion also looks for promising cases of co-production in engagement of Aboriginal peoples in the city because co-production embraces Aboriginality in city planning and associated policy to explicitly engage with Aboriginal perspectives in defining, setting and implementing priorities for Aboriginal issues in the city. Engaging with Aboriginality is a precursor for Aboriginal peoples to fully engage in the mainstream society. When the policies and strategies developed in city planning reflect Aboriginal input and participation, more and more Aboriginal peoples begin to see the city as their city too.

4.2. Aboriginality a form of civic currency to strengthen Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal civic partnerships

Data from the interviews suggest that engaging Aboriginal input in the City of Edmonton is a complex but important issue that the City is committed to develop and strengthen. The city is displaying significant commitment to actively include Aboriginal input in its social planning and community development goals; however, this process is still in its early stages. An official from the City of Edmonton described Aboriginal engagement as a developing process in Edmonton as follows;

> We attempt to reflect Aboriginal history and culture through public art. We attempt to reflect Aboriginal culture and history in contributions through urban design projects. However, where things get tricky and where I think the community sees gaps or they see themselves not necessarily reflected is in our processes, so I would say that we don't currently as a municipality have a lot of structures or processes in place for adequately involving Aboriginal voices in planning processes for these types of projects. We don't have anything in place that we would call, I would say true co-production or co-management, you know, deep collaboration and I would say that's partly because internally as a City I don't know if we, have those structures or

processes but also we're still trying to figure out the relationships within Aboriginal communities themselves. (Interview 21: City of Edmonton)

Even though the city is still grappling with developing the appropriate structures and processes for involving its Aboriginal communities in city developments, an interview with an Aboriginal organization manager emphasised the growing commitment of the city to involve more Aboriginal peoples despite current challenges.

> Prior to our most recent involvement over the last two years I would say representation and acknowledgment was minimal. A lot of the history around the Fort, the Edmonton legislature, where the legislature is located now that whole area Rossdale Flats ,the Walterdale Bridge, to the large extent, that rich history of that area was largely ignored and it's reflected in the whole Rossdale Flats cemetery issue and the human remains that were found there and the process of recognizing that area following that. And it showed that the city was a little infantile in their association or their experience in dealing with Aboriginal issues in that area. But within the last two years I think it has grown a lot with the new Mayor coming in and some of the things that we have been involved in here from the Confederacy's level. (Interview 25: Aboriginal, Executive Assistant, Aboriginal Organization)

Aboriginal engagement is understood by City Administration in terms of the history of Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton and Canada in general. For the Aboriginal organisations, Aboriginal engagement involves the history as well as implementing processes to acknowledge that history with the whole citizenry in Edmonton. The city continuously attempts to reflect Aboriginal history in the public sphere through the arts and design of physical structures of the city. Issues of Aboriginal participation and representation become more of a priority for the city through city projects. The official from the City of Edmonton explained that this is a struggling area for the city because it has not formulated an appropriate and sufficient way to involve all the necessary voices where city projects are concerned. Therefore, Aboriginal engagement is more focused on the city's requirements to consult Aboriginal peoples in Aboriginal specific issues

with some limited effort concentrated on the general engagement of Aboriginality and in the materiality of the urban landscape.

Part of the struggle the City has with creating the right processes for Aboriginal engagement is that it involves having a comprehensive understanding of the different voices that make up the Aboriginal communities in Edmonton. The interviews suggest that appropriate engagement should have a deeper understanding of the different nations that form the Aboriginal community in Edmonton. It also requires nuanced interpretations about when and how different Aboriginal peoples desire to be consulted and participate in city development projects.

> So what are the relationships between treaty organizations, First Nation governments, Métis associations and urban Aboriginal people who live and work in the city of Edmonton and how do we involve the voices of all of those groups or those people or those governments in a way that respects and acknowledges their place in Canadian society, their relationship with the Canadian government through treaties and through legislation, and then also the political relationship between leaders in Aboriginal communities and leaders within the City of Edmonton in terms of politicians. So it gets really complicated really fast about who do we talk to, who do we collaborate with, and so I would say, you know, if you were to talk to most people on the street they would say that Aboriginal culture and history is not reflected in the city of Edmonton, you know? (Interview 21: City of Edmonton)

Similarly, a manager from an Aboriginal organization explained the same challenges of consulting different nations as follows:

> This especially has come up in the Walterdale bridge project where Alberta Culture gave the City of Edmonton and their private contractor a list of 21 nations to consult. And then the municipality went ahead and consulted with those 21 nations ignoring some of the other nations in the vicinity that probably have connections to the area, as well as nations in the north and the south that probably have connections somewhat to the area as well. That's all due process and things like that that have been imposed by Alberta and just the way that the municipality thinks they should be consulting are flawed. (Interview 25: Aboriginal, Executive Assistant, Aboriginal Organization)

The discussions of the Walterdale Bridge and Rossdale Flats and the historical depth it carries as a site for pre-Treaty Six Aboriginal settlements suggests that a lot more in-depth

Aboriginal participation is needed to recognize Aboriginal heritage in the City in a way that is respectful and acceptable to the Aboriginal community in Edmonton. Rossdale Flats is a traditional burial site for Aboriginal peoples and fur traders from the 1790s. The site became an area of controversy in 2000 when plans to expand a nearby power plant became a threat to disturb the graves. This is an example of differentiated needs that cannot necessarily be deciphered by unitary public interests that provide services through a "one size fits all" approach. Engaging Aboriginality in city planning processes offers an opportunity to address the limitations of universal citizenship and cultural neutrality entrenched in the Western ideas of urban planning by raising and legitimizing Aboriginal cultural issues in the mainstream public forum. Respondents feel that Aboriginal engagement, in the recent past, has been a difficult process because they have had to fight in order to have their voices heard. Ignoring and silencing Aboriginal voices especially in these issues that have cultural significance to their lives is an example of the City and the planning process exerting structural violence and thus creating indirect harm that limits how Aboriginal peoples can express and change the reality of their lives in the city. The planning process that overlooks and silences Aboriginal input becomes a systemic and institutionalized application of colonial practices whose goals eradicate Aboriginal presence in the materiality and lived experience of Edmonton. Embracing Aboriginal perspectives in the mainstream expands the ideas of place and space production that form the norm in the development of the city. As the Aboriginal perspectives filter through the mainstream, the general non-Aboriginal public develops a deeper understanding of place and space production and the historical and cultural implication it has had for Aboriginal peoples in forming the Canadian state. That deeper understanding becomes a catalyst for developing a new shared identity of the city that incorporates all the realities of the people living in it. The shared

identity that equally incorporates both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal realities addresses Galtung's "conflict of interest" or Bateson's "double bind" by including Aboriginal peoples as part of city without forcing them to accept marginalization because of the status they have gained and reality they experience today as a result of colonialism. An Aboriginal citizen expressed the level of energy and organization that has typically been required of the Aboriginal community to have their voices heard at city level.

> I know again from a heritage perspective, I know that the Rossdale Power Plant-many years ago, when that whole issue - when they were talking about refurbishing it or taking it down or doing whatever, and then of course they found, well they knew from historical records that there was a cemetery somewhere in there. I know that it took a lot of fight from a lot of Indigenous and Aboriginal groups, people, and individuals to be heard in that situation. And the outcome was that circular, memorial space with the placards that have the names of the people in the graves, which is I guess, it's something. But as far as city planning goes aside from perhaps honouring the past, I don't know how different Aboriginal people would expect for things to develop. I'm not sure. I don't have a handle on that. (Interview 8: Aboriginal, Female)

The challenging relationship between the City and Aboriginal communities has been what interview respondents explain as a history of failure to recognize the significance of place in the history of Edmonton. As the manager from the Aboriginal organization pointed out, some knowledge and history about place in Edmonton that is often readily available to developers has been typically ignored. Consequently, the ignorance of history or absence of adequate mechanisms to engage with Aboriginal history has created mistrust and apathy to participate in city development or place-making processes. Aboriginal peoples believe that their voices will not be heard anyway. Another manager from an Aboriginal organization providing services in the city offered her reasons why she thinks Aboriginal peoples in the city have generally been reluctant to engage with City Hall;

I think maybe just feeling like maybe they wouldn't be heard. I know just from past history around what's happened with, for instance, our Rossdale Flats area, which is you know a very spiritual area to our Aboriginal community; just has history of not being recognized. And our community having to really lobby and give the history, and look to them for having the understanding of the meaning of what our land means to us. So I think that all those historical things have really created a reluctance to create the relationship with the city. But again I say it's a changing experience and relationship. It's growing. (Interview 27: Aboriginal, Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

Without adequately engaging with Aboriginal peoples in city projects prevents recognition of the local institutional histories that are responsible for violating the health, well-being, identity and freedom needs of Aboriginal peoples. When the City ignores and silences Aboriginal voices, it harms them by preventing them from meeting their basic needs by isolating them from making input in the mainstream public forum. Moreover, putting Aboriginal peoples in a position where they have to fight in order for their voices to be heard creates a miserable urban experience that violates their well-being needs and diminished the quality of their lives in the city. Furthermore, being alienated from the mainstream urban sphere is a form of structural violence that infringes Aboriginal peoples' freedom needs by keeping them on the periphery of the mainstream life in Edmonton. This creates a relationship between Aboriginal peoples and city that highly limits the prospects for Aboriginal peoples to have their ideas, identities and cultures represented and reflected in the mainstream. The absence of references to traditional or cultural symbols to their collective selves in the mainstream also prevents Aboriginal peoples to meet their basic well-being needs by making sense of their lives through their cultural values and identities being included and reflected in the city.

Knowing that one's opinion matters and carries value to affect social change increases the likelihood of participation in civic processes. It builds a sense of belonging and ownership and responsibility for the place-making and future seeking processes. It builds solidarity between

urban community members to participate in each other's public interests. Though the City of Edmonton has expressed a commitment in its policies to increase Aboriginal representation and opinions in its city development processes, it still needs to demonstrate and convince its Aboriginal community that their opinions carry an important civic currency that is fundamental to strengthening the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations for this aspiring post-colonial Canadian city. The conviction will be more pronounced within the Aboriginal communities when the City establishes appropriate and sufficient mechanisms for engaging with Aboriginal peoples not only on Aboriginal specific issues but also on all other aspects of city life. These mechanisms should make it a lot easier for Aboriginal peoples to engage with the mainstream urban arena instead of having to mobilize a lot of resources and public attention before their voices can be heard. Aboriginal engagement forms a bridge to allow Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal players to find common interests as they both share Edmonton to live their lives.

4.3. The challenges of the Aboriginal engagement process in Edmonton – policy versus reality

To deal with the complex issue of Aboriginal engagement and consultation in big city projects, Aboriginal citizens interviewed have noticed a pattern of over-reliance on "cultural experts" aimed at simplifying an extensive and multifaceted issue of including representative Aboriginal input. Since the city is still trying to develop and establish its own engagement processes to enable genuine Aboriginal input, respondents have seen numerous instances where the same Aboriginal people have been sought out to provide input on behalf of a larger Aboriginal community in Edmonton which they may not necessarily represent. This is done as a shortcut to fulfill public consultation requirements within the Aboriginal specific issues.

I think they get caught up because they don't know what to do maybe. And they only ever relied on one person and that one person might tell them you have to do this all the time. If there's anything that I've noticed in Edmonton once an organization connects with one sort of cultural person then they go with whatever that person says and they stick with it all the time. Their one expert always uses their same one expert and I think that's where sometimes people get stuck because they just have their one expert and then this person tells them that they have to do this all the time. Same thing with cultural experts. (Interview 26: Aboriginal, General Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

Right now one of the problems is they will take an agency representative as a shortcut. And that's not necessarily representative of the people…They can't really speak for us, if they have been sitting in their office all the time. I always joke around that it is the same 10 people. It doesn't matter what the issue is, it's the same 10 people. (Interview 12: Aboriginal, Female)

Likewise, a city manager shared the same views about engagement being a process done to simply fulfil the planning process requirements rather than as an organic process that values and enhances Aboriginal participation and development. He recognized that sometimes the process of engagement needs to be sensitive to the needs of the community or groups it is designed for instead of being overly consumed by checking off the minimum standards or sticking by the rules of the process. Despite establishing an Aboriginal Relations Office and *Urban Aboriginal Accord* to direct and support engagement between the City and urban Aboriginal people, the practical implementation of these measures still have a long way to produce good outcomes. This is because the City has not adequately invested in a "good process" that has longevity beyond a single civic executive, or budget year (Walker and Belanger, 2009).

When deciding how to engage with anybody you should always understand the reality of your audience. So I think one of the things that we are trying to get over is a cookie cutter check-that-box-off approach to public engagement in general. We have to start thinking more deeply about that with the Aboriginal community that is a good place to start. (Interview 22: non-Aboriginal, Director of Transformational Projects, City of Edmonton)

Aboriginal citizens interviewed would like to see the city try harder to include a wider variety of voices to speak to all the issues facing Aboriginal communities across different

nations. The overreliance on "cultural experts" tries to use a one size fits all approach which ultimately diminishes the effectiveness of Aboriginal engagement in the city when it prevents authentic voices to share their experiences for the benefit of the whole city. Consequently, Aboriginal peoples are left feeling devalued and therefore marginalized with no recognized voice to influence social change in Edmonton. Engagement strictly out of stipulated requirements gives the impression that they are a burden and not a civic partner or a group that is an asset to the wider Edmonton community. The dependency on cultural experts may also unintentionally perpetuate stereotypes that fix Aboriginality in both space and time rather than allow for nuanced and meaningful unpacking of the complex and historical positioning of Aboriginal peoples in Canadian cities. Aboriginal peoples feel devalued and not a priority group that people ever want to meet with to genuinely discuss issues that affect their lives and the city as a whole. An Aboriginal citizen who also works for an Aboriginal organization in the city described these feelings;

> We are so devalued. We are always an afterthought. We're never one of the first groups people want to meet with and I'm not only speaking about the city, I'm speaking about everywhere. We are always an afterthought. (Interview 24: Aboriginal, Coordinator, Aboriginal Organization)

Hence, to mend the relationship of mistrust and encourage more Aboriginal peoples to bring their voices to be heard and feel included in place-making goals of the city, some respondents suggest that the city should try harder to connect with Aboriginal peoples and their communities and be willing to listen to them as well as allow them to participate in plans from the very early stages of projects. Engagement should not occur only in the implementation parts of a project where Aboriginal input is then used to simply check off a box as a requirement to credit stipulated consultation guidelines. The process still needs to be much more involved to reflect the qualities of co-production where Aboriginal peoples become actors and civic partners

outside of municipal administration in generating and implementing policy that affects their lives and the wider Edmonton community. The interviews indicate a desire among Aboriginal peoples for a true co-production process in city planning that allows them to exercise their self-determination rights. Participation in all the different stages of future seeking processes builds a level of trust between the City and urban Aboriginal peoples while empowering them to be the drivers of their own development. It begins a process of breaking embedded dependencies and gives Aboriginal peoples and their communities the space and process to create self-reliant communities instead of relying on non-Aboriginal services that tend to be "colour blind" and miss the differentiated needs of each group living in the city.

> If we are to make progress, we look at the Aboriginal Accord, when we look at all those things, then respect is the underlying thing, and go forward with that respect. Listen to us, connect with us, have talking circles with us, when all of these plans are being created, include us. (Interview 27: Aboriginal, Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

To make the process of engagement more authentic and sensitive to the needs of all the Aboriginal voices that live in Edmonton, respondents desire a more broad and flexible engagement process to be adopted. One manager from one of the Aboriginal organizations interviewed suggested the following approach:

> I would think so, because for the most part when they are given the marching orders from Alberta or their own internal consultation department it is usually you consult Enoch and all the ones in the vicinity and then you're done. So then you check those boxes, you're done your consultation. Well, it is much deeper than that for us. You have to consult the nations, you have to consult the people in the nations, you have to consult the leadership, you have to consult the elders. You even have to talk to nations that are outside of that scope because they too have connections to this area, they have connections to the other nations; there is a long history of cooperation and camaraderie between our First Nations communities. (Interview 25: Aboriginal, Executive Assistant, Aboriginal Organization)

Aboriginal peoples need a voice that will work in conjunction with the planning process to enable them to develop their values and identities to transform the urban space into Sandercock's

cosmopolis. As it is, Aboriginal people in Edmonton feel socially excluded because there is very little in the materiality of the urban landscape and production of space that represents or reflects their identities and cultures. Hence, the City stands as a structure of violence that limits how Aboriginal peoples can develop and express their identity to get the validation they need to organize as a people to meet their basic needs.

4.4. Conclusion

The interviews portray Aboriginal engagement as an intricate but improving process for the City of Edmonton. The process is still in its developmental stages, and we see in the quotes above both examples of how the city and city planning function to reinforce structural violence, but also how planning can counter this problem. In the past, some elements of city development have ignored the history of Edmonton pertaining to Aboriginal peoples, leading to resentment and mistrust in engaging with City Hall. This has alienated some of the Aboriginal communities who have felt their authentic experiences have been overshadowed and excluded with respect to how the City is developing. Some Aboriginal participants explained that their input is not of significant value to the city and have had to work even harder to have their voices heard. Nonetheless, both Aboriginal citizens and the Aboriginal organizations interviewed recognize the commitment and steps that City Hall is taking to strengthen Aboriginal engagement in the city. Aboriginal citizens interviewed would like to see the City try harder in connecting with Aboriginal peoples to solicit genuine Aboriginal input. They also want the city to show confidence toward and support Aboriginal organizations and their processes to engage their own people in civic issues because they believe the Aboriginal peoples are the ones that know what is good for their own communities. Aboriginal engagement works as a platform to integrate

Aboriginal peoples' rights and aspirations in city planning under the leadership of Aboriginal peoples and their communities and organizations.

The Aboriginal organizations share the same level of concern and emphasise engaging the right kind of people in order to have fruitful discussions and increase the understanding of the Aboriginal communities, protocols and spiritual beliefs. By engaging the right people through the appropriate processes, the Aboriginal organizations interviewed believe only then will authentic Aboriginal knowledge and wisdom be engaged effectively in place-making processes in the city.

On the other hand, the municipal managers at City Hall try to engage Aboriginality in terms of history and culture through urban design and public art but lack the concrete institutional structures and processes to engage and co-produce these projects with Aboriginal peoples and their organizations. The City is still trying to navigate and understand its multiple relationships with Aboriginal communities. At the heart of understanding these relationships are issues of jurisdiction and mandates for the various Treaty Six organizations, the provincial government and the urban Aboriginal peoples who live in Edmonton.

Aboriginal input and engagement is one of the important platforms that gives Aboriginal communities a voice to drive the needs and supports systems for their own communities. Giving Aboriginal input a voice that carries real influence in the city affirms Aboriginal citizens as a fundamental constituent of the social fabric that makes city life what it is in Edmonton. With this voice, Aboriginal peoples are empowered to have agency to address the socio-economic issues that they feel are of high priority within their communities as well as start building the sense of belonging and ownership of the city of Edmonton.

CHAPTER FIVE

"THIS CITY IS MY CITY TOO!"

- ABORIGINAL CITIZEN

5.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the impacts of being Aboriginal in Edmonton and how the Aboriginal organizations in that city may be playing a leading role in forming a cohesive Aboriginal community in the city. The chapter begins by arguing that even though Edmonton is celebrated as a multicultural festival city, Aboriginal peoples and their heritage are often overlooked because of the negative attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples. Interviews reveal that through stereotypes, Aboriginal peoples are marginalized and kept on the periphery of the mainstream urban life requiring them to shed their cultures and assimilate to the dominant Eurocentric urban life in Edmonton. Aboriginal organizations play a role in contrasting the pervasive negative stereotypes on Aboriginal peoples through the services they provide to ensure that more and more Aboriginal peoples have their basic needs met so that they can be given a fair chance to succeed in the city. Furthermore, the organizations are also physical structures that resist and prevent further structural violence on Aboriginal peoples by preventing violence through "fragmentation" and "segmentation."

5.2. The impacts of being Aboriginal in "multicultural" Edmonton

Respondents speak of Edmonton as having a very diverse population which makes for a very culturally engaging city to live in. Almost all the respondents refer to Edmonton as a "festival city" that offers a spectrum of festivals for citizens to experience especially during the summer months. Being the "multicultural" city that Edmonton is in terms of its festivals and diverse

peoples and cultures, it raises a sense of cultural curiosity and awareness among the Edmonton citizens.

> Edmonton is multicultural. Edmonton is safe. (Interview 8: Aboriginal, Female)

> I do notice a close community with the First Nations people here at the university. I found a lot of the communities around Edmonton know each other some way or form. I caught onto that quite quickly. I do like the festivals and I can say myself I'm a bit of a hippie so I do like that there's a lot of mixture of culture in this city. (Interview 4: Aboriginal, Female)

However, looking closely at individual Aboriginal lives in the city, one finds that some barriers do exist in the daily spheres of urban life that make it difficult for Aboriginal peoples to engage fully with the urban life in Edmonton to take full advantage of the opportunities that exist. Though the city might boast of a beautiful urban and multicultural landscape with friendly citizens, there are instances where Aboriginal peoples experience marginalization and exclusion from the social and economic growth enjoyed by other citizens.

> My sister looks much more Inuit than I do. So she experiences more subtle conversation. I don't even know how to describe it to be honest. It's more hostile I guess. (Interview 9: Aboriginal, Male)

> The racism…There are also places where they don't seem to be treated as normal people especially when it comes to medical clinics. Whenever I see any First Nations except for myself enter into a medical clinic, some of the receptionists they don't take the same attitude they would to a normal person I guess. (Interview 11: Aboriginal, Female)

It appears that because of the way Aboriginal peoples look and the mere fact of being perceived or recognized as being Aboriginal, they face negative stereotypes that create an antagonistic environment that strains their experiences in the city especially when accessing services like healthcare. Difference, as it pertains to Aboriginal peoples, is something that is not celebrated but seen by the general public as something to be avoided or eradicated. Aboriginal identity carries a stigma in the mainstream public sphere limiting where it can be expressed in

the city. Instead of being celebrated and shared as part of "multicultural" Edmonton, Aboriginal identity is sanctioned from the mainstream. The negative stereotypes work to enforce and maintain structural violence by depriving Aboriginal peoples their freedom needs to freely exist as they are among non-Aboriginal people in the mainstream society. Instead, the negative attitudes about Aboriginal peoples sanctions them as a negative particular kind of people that should be kept away from the mainstream life and only exist in public spheres for "their kind." Therefore, the city becomes an embodiment of structural violence by shunning Aboriginal identity and keeping it on the periphery of the mainstream celebrated diversity. The general attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples indicate that the city needs to build an inclusive public atmosphere that accommodates difference rather than eradicate it (Sandercock, 1998). The last quote above demonstrates the gravity and extend to which some of the Aboriginal peoples have internalized their marginalization to a disturbing extent in which they see themselves as being not part of "normal" people. The city as a structure of violence also threatens their survival needs because if Aboriginal peoples are unable to access services like healthcare by the mere fact of their identity, their health, and overall quality of their lives and survival in the city greatly deteriorates. The effects of stereotyping and "othering" Aboriginal peoples as second class citizens constitutes an invisible violence that is part of everyday life that is accepted as part of the socio-economic and political norms of the city. Left unaddressed, this invisible violence is destructive to the survival of Aboriginal peoples in this urban environment and diminishes their chances for realizing their full potential.

Despite the numerous cultural celebrations that speak to the diversity of the city, respondents feel their Aboriginal cultures or heritage lag behind other cultures that exist within the city.

I don't see really no Native art around here. Never, to be honest. In Vancouver you see a lot of it. You see the Native pride. Out here I don't see that. It's all a lot of white man or other cultures. (Interview 13: Aboriginal, Male)

The layout of the city for myself, I don't see very much First Nations people just in certain areas of the city. So I don't see very culturally based in the south side or you know if you go far, far west. There's a lot of diversity but I don't see very many First Nations people. I would like to see a little bit more First Nations people in the city of Edmonton South other than just downtown, central and at the U of A… (Interview 4: Aboriginal, Female)

The Aboriginal respondents express their disappointment that in the few cases where Aboriginal cultures are celebrated it is usually through a Euro-centric interpretation overshadowing the authentic voices and experiences of Aboriginal peoples. Though culture is something that is valued and celebrated in Edmonton, Aboriginal peoples often find themselves being overlooked in the diversity and cultural developments in the city. There is a need to engage Aboriginality in the mainstream so that as Denis (1997) explained, Aboriginal ways of life can be an inherent feature of the cultural diversity that forms Edmonton's identity. Engaging with Aboriginality can also give insights on how to mend the relationship between the Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal peoples to recognize and enhance their place in Edmonton, situated within Aboriginal traditional territory. One female Aboriginal respondent conveyed these sentiments in this regard:

There are certain areas where you can see something about the past with Aboriginals but at the same time it's a one-sided perspective and it's always the Europeans' perspective of what the art was or whatever you know. (Interview 6: Aboriginal, Female).

Though on the surface diversity and multiculturalism are some of the prominent attractive features of Edmonton, underneath the surface negative stereotypes and institutional racism still persist making it difficult for Aboriginal peoples to enjoy the same life as do non-Aboriginal citizens. Aboriginal peoples find themselves having to engage with a society that has a distorted

view about them, greatly diminishing the level and quality of engagement they have within the daily spheres of "mainstream" urban life in Edmonton. Even though Kymlicka argues that accommodating diversity is a central focus of the modern post-colonial Canadian state, Aboriginal peoples are not fully accepted by the general public and experience marginalization that too often expects them to shed their cultures and assimilate into the dominant Eurocentric mainstream. Aboriginal marginalization through overt racism and misconceptions about Aboriginal peoples is a missed opportunity to form the contemporary city that Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker and Garcea (2014) imagine being shaped by a hybridity of cultures. It prevents Edmonton from constructing the ideal cosmopolis of the twenty-first century that requires a recognition and cultivation of a diversity of cultures as well as allowing for creative collisions and interactions between them (Sandercock, 1998). Instead, Aboriginal peoples exist in Edmonton as a marginalized minority without the necessary support to develop a strong collective identity that is active and accepted in the mainstream socio-economic spheres in Edmonton.

5.3. Priority issues facing Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton

When the interview participants were asked to dig deeper into the details of their Edmonton experience and identify the priority issues they felt are important for Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton today, a variety of intrinsically similar issues arise. Though interviews point to a variety of current pressing issues among Edmonton Aboriginal communities, the three strands that bind the issues into a common narrative are: 1) the high incidence of poverty among Aboriginal peoples living in Edmonton; 2) the need to systematically address the psychological

and social impacts of intergenerational trauma; and, 3) the struggle to maintain identity and re-establish a sense of place and belonging in post-colonial Edmonton.

Poverty among the Aboriginal population in Edmonton is one important issue that resonates with all interview participants, a problem which they all feel needs addressing as a matter of urgency. On its own, poverty speaks to a range of issues such as lack of affordable housing, poor health, lack of affordable transportation and limited access to nutritious meals each day. Aboriginal peoples interviewed think poverty and homelessness have become unjustly synonymous with Aboriginal peoples' identity and their cultures as a whole. Since the general Edmonton public see a higher percentage of Aboriginal peoples, especially in downtown Edmonton (e.g., Boyle Street), affected by issues of extreme poverty such as homelessness and substance abuse, respondents feel it has to a large extent, become a sticker for all Aboriginal peoples living in the city. Interview participants believe the general public often bundle all Aboriginal peoples living in the city as "street people" and drug addicts. An elderly male Aboriginal citizen interviewed explains that this unfair assessment of Aboriginal peoples has created a stigma for Aboriginal peoples and further brings shame to some of the citizens that have to rely on the Food Bank and housing services for homeless people in the city. As a result, there are instances where Aboriginal peoples shy away from using services offered by the Food Bank and other similar services in an attempt to exclude themselves from the pervasive labels that Aboriginal peoples have to deal with when using those services. He further explains that people fail to understand the circumstances stemming from the cultural legacies of colonialism and imperialism that surround the issues of poverty in the Aboriginal community.

> When you see people, street people and people with addictions problems and other issues and the majority of those people are Aboriginal in the city. So that's what people sort of equate in their mind. They don't think owners of businesses or people

that are professionals or in management positions. They think of the downtrodden. (Interview 3: Aboriginal, Adult Male)

Similarly, another male Aboriginal citizen described Aboriginal culture being synonymous to poverty in these terms:

I don't really think it's gotten anywhere to be honest. No I guess it's gotten more not about the culture but I guess about the poverty and Aboriginal people as the sister of poverty. So they kind of go together. [Aboriginal culture] it's becoming more aware of the poverty around here and the Aboriginals. (Interview 13: Aboriginal, Male)

The prejudiced assessment of poverty issues as they affect the Aboriginal community in Edmonton further fuels the marginalization of Aboriginal people through derogatory labels that maintain negative stereotypes of Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton. Dealing with the issue of poverty should be a holistic undertaking that does not only focus on the poverty symptoms such as homelessness, but also delves into intergenerational trauma that Aboriginal peoples have to deal with as a result of cultural domination and colonialism in Canada. Applying an Aboriginality lens to these issues allows for more balanced and insightful conversations to occur that recognize the impacts of racism and colonial domination rather than confronting these issues on an assimilation and upward mobility approach (Culhane, 2009). Addressing the psychological and social effects of the legacies of colonialism is also one of the important priority issues that respondents refer to because it provides a lens to understand the economic and social institutional arrangements that have historically marginalized and discriminated against Aboriginal peoples, preventing them from accessing key resources and services to succeed in mainstream urban life. Part of the key leadership in the City of Edmonton is aware of the colonial structure embedded in the city that limits the level to which Aboriginal needs are met in the city. The Director of Transformational Projects in the City of Edmonton acknowledged the effects of colonialism and

expressed a desire to approach Aboriginal issues in a way that it cognizant to these effects moving forward as follows:

> I think it's sort of, to move forward from a history of relations with a dominant culture that has been in some aspects horrifying and debilitating for a lot of people. I just heard a lot of stories just this morning from residential school survivors. And that episode is not over… (Interview 22: non-Aboriginal, Director of Transformational Projects, City of Edmonton)

There is a pressing need for citizens in Edmonton to engage more deeply with Aboriginal issues to understand the transmission of the historic oppression which has had negative consequences across generations in the Aboriginal communities. At face value, when the general public sees drug addiction in the Aboriginal community, they are only seeing a small side of a bigger structure and failing to engage more thoroughly with the issue resulting in a short-sighted labelling of Aboriginal peoples. This short-sighted approach has no civic benefits but only reinforces the silos between Aboriginal peoples and non-Aboriginal peoples in the City. Aboriginal peoples' being tantamount to poverty and "the downtrodden" keeps Aboriginal peoples at the bottom level of the racial hierarchies that exist in a diverse city like Edmonton. Following Kymlicka's argument on diversity and social cohesion in Canadian cities, engaging Aboriginality to explore the embedded colonial social structures in the city and planning process can serve two purposes. The first one is to include Aboriginal identity and heritage into the diversity dialogue so that Aboriginal inclusive citizenship becomes part of the post-colonial city's identity. The second purpose engaging Aboriginality serves is that it ensures that by being part of the city citizenry, Aboriginal peoples do not have to face a double bind and accept the impact of their status in the city. This means that being included as part of the city, Aboriginal peoples no longer have to shed their identities and cultures and assimilate. Instead, the city repositions itself to meet Aboriginal peoples where they are and work with them to meet their

needs. The official at the City of Edmonton described the role of the city in building Aboriginal

inclusive citizenship in this regard:

> I think obviously racism exists, right, it is in our city, it's around, and people have
> stereotypes of Aboriginal people. If you walk downtown, you're going to see
> Aboriginal people suffering, you're going to see people in poverty, people dealing
> with substance abuse issues and things like that and I think the media helps reinforce
> those kinds of stereotypes. And so I think the city does have a role to play in
> community building, in fostering a sense of inclusion and acceptance for all people.
> (Interview 21: City of Edmonton)

Understanding and dealing with the intergenerational trauma can explain some of the

social disparities that exist within the Aboriginal community. It can also provide a platform for

stimulating an Aboriginal renaissance to revitalize Aboriginal identity and culture in the city as

well as cultivate a sense of belonging for Aboriginal peoples in post-colonial Edmonton. One of

the priority issues identified in the interviews is the need to create a sense of belonging for

Aboriginal people in Edmonton where in numerous cases they have felt excluded or not

represented in the overall place-making and developmental goals of the city. An Aboriginal

female working for an Aboriginal organization in the city talked about this priority in these

terms:

> I think a sense of belonging. For people coming to the city- myself when I used to
> live in the city- you always feel like a stranger coming because there is no
> Indigenous space, there is no real gathering spot, there is no recognition. There is
> nothing like that that exists within the city. If you look at other cultures that come to
> the city, you have little Italy, you have China Town, you have places like that where
> they can go and be with people that they know, experience of culture rich and
> vibrant. For First Nations there is nothing. (Interview 25: Aboriginal, Executive
> Assistant, Aboriginal Organization)

The interviews suggest that a lot more work needs to be done by the City and Aboriginal

communities to revitalize the Aboriginal heritage into the social fabric of the City of Edmonton.

Even though the city celebrates diversity and multiculturalism, Aboriginal peoples do not

necessarily feel included in that diversity dialogue. The Aboriginal respondents feel they have to

expend a lot of effort to find things that speak to their identities, cultures and Aboriginal heritage as a whole. Creating a sense of belonging is an important priority issue, because without it, very few Aboriginal peoples can see the City as their city too, a place where they can live and have their needs met. With fewer Aboriginal peoples realizing their full potential in the city, the city continues to be a structure of violence and further perpetuates the stigmas that limit the extent to which Aboriginal peoples and their communities can develop and express their identities.

On the whole, the city has the power to influence its general citizenry through the expression of its dominant values in the urban form. Aboriginal engagement in urban planning processes gives Aboriginal peoples a voice to contribute to the collective conscience that is developed within the city by participating in the city's cultural identity as well as the social and political movements that shape the life of citizens in Edmonton. In addition to the issues of poverty, Aboriginal organizations are also of the opinion that issues of identity and cultural preservation also need paying attention to in order to foster an urban environment in Edmonton that values Aboriginal heritage and create a sense of belonging for all Aboriginal peoples living in Edmonton. Colonization is not the only story for Aboriginal peoples with their vast identities and cultures. Aboriginal peoples, just like other citizens in Edmonton have legitimate interests, aspirations and lives beyond the labels they have been boxed into as a result of the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations in Canada.

5.4. The role of Aboriginal organizations in forming a collective Aboriginal identity and voice to address Aboriginal issues in Edmonton

Aboriginal organizations operating in Edmonton are a crucial point of connection for Aboriginal citizens and also act as mechanisms for a forming a collective Aboriginal voice within the City of Edmonton. With a fast growing Aboriginal population in Edmonton, the Aboriginal

organizations such as the Native Friendship Centre, New In Town – Aboriginal Welcome Service, and Bent Arrow Traditional Healing Society, among others, form a unique opportunity to develop a collective voice to address issues of community, identity, culture and access to resources in Edmonton. Since Aboriginal peoples are over-represented in poverty issues along with other intense social pressures and barriers to engage with "mainstream" urban life, these organizations provide a safe space for Aboriginal people to connect with other community members and access resources in a non-judgemental environment.

> So one of the organizations I'm with is called Métis Settlement Youth Network Society and I'm involved with that still. I've been involved with that since 16 when I first learned about residential schools and stuff. What we basically deal with is intergenerational trauma…these organizations are what helps our youth. If there's no place where you can talk to somebody about whatever's going on- it doesn't have to be in a circle. If they want to share in the circle that's good but it's okay after if they want to talk alone then that's even better. At least they're still talking about it…. It's good for people to know that there is a safe place (Interview 6: Aboriginal, Female)

Besides offering a safe space, the Aboriginal organizations also provide a space for Aboriginal peoples to connect and form bonds within their collective interests.

> Aboriginal Women's Professional Association is a strong support as in connecting to other Aboriginal women and finding strength in numbers or supports or I don't know how to call that one because what I need is there. AWPA- Aboriginal Women's Professional Association- the difference there is there's a bond and there's a connection. I'm going to call it a sisterhood. It's family. (Interview 2: Aboriginal, Female)

These experiences described by the Aboriginal citizens explain the significance of Aboriginal organizations as a social resource that Aboriginal peoples use to form strong bonds and create a sense of family that they can trust and come to deal with personal and community issues. The trust is something that naturally develops within this setting because of shared identity and shared struggle from the legacies of colonialism in Canada. The adult Aboriginal

female further explains the level of connection and trust she is able to make through the organizations.

> I personally feel, and there are exceptions to every rule but, blood is blood is blood. So if you have connections through blood through the family ties I was talking about, community ties then a person's going to trust more. If I'm going to sit and talk with one of my people when they're coming in to get help and, "Hi. Where are you from?" That's how we connect, right? And take it from there. There's going to be that trust relationship a lot quicker than to have somebody who's already colonized now trying to come back and give you the answer to your dilemma. (Interview 2: Aboriginal, Adult Female)

The Aboriginal organizations provide a way for Aboriginal peoples to find strength in numbers and tap into the bonds they share from their ancestry and culture to cope with issues affecting them as a people. This is precisely the role of engaging Aboriginality as explained by Schouls (2003) because Aboriginal peoples get a shared connection through ancestry in addition to the shared history of dealing with the effects of colonization. With these deeper connections and relationships formed, the Aboriginal organizations facilitate community healing from the impacts of intergenerational trauma by enabling different generations to come together and share their collective Indigenous experience in Canada. Through these connections that are facilitated by the Aboriginal organizations, Aboriginal peoples are able to tap into the power that comes from organization and community which Peters (2007) discussed as being important for developing positive change. Through the Aboriginal organizations, urban Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton are starting to reorganize and reconnect to community and form a strong collective voice that will ensure that they are not overlooked or forgotten in the diversity of groups that make their lives in Edmonton. Parallel to the city being a structure of violence, the Aboriginal organizations are also physical structures as well as social institutions that resist and disrupt structural violence by challenging the legacies of colonialism and meeting the needs of Aboriginal peoples in a differentiated approach for positive change.

The Aboriginal organizations in Edmonton act as a stepping stone for individuals and families that are still in the process of situating themselves in Edmonton in order to take advantage of the opportunities that the city has to offer. The interviews with Aboriginal service organizations in Edmonton highlight the fact that Aboriginal peoples have the same goals and aspirations for success just like all other groups of people in the city.

> One of the services that our organization has developed recently in the last two years is a service called 'New In Town Aboriginal Welcome Service'. And we recognized that a lot of our Aboriginal youth, families were moving into the city- again for reasons like everybody else have; they want education, they want jobs, they want better schools for their children. They've come to the city and some of them had been out in communities outside the city and had very little experience with urban living. So they'd come and they wouldn't even know how to take a bus, they wouldn't know how to connect to our health services, they wouldn't know how to find a school for their children. And then because of the historical history around residential schools, there was fear around schools. (Interview 27: Aboriginal, Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

Hence, the purpose of the Aboriginal organizations is to provide essential services to ensure that more and more Aboriginal peoples have their critical basic needs met so that they can be given a fair chance to succeed in the city. They do this by aligning or matching Aboriginal citizens with appropriate services that they need for their particular situation. Each individual or family is treated on a case by case basis which allows for service delivery that addresses the specific needs of the people it serves. By paying attention to the differentiated needs of the Aboriginal peoples they serve, the organizations are challenging and addressing the idea of universal citizenship that the planning process focuses on. People access services differently because of the realities they live. Engaging closely with the work of Aboriginal organizations in the city shines light to the realities of Aboriginal citizens and creates and avenue for the city to engage with those needs through the Aboriginal organizations. Since the Aboriginal organizations have a cultural aspect infused in their service delivery methods, the embracing the

cultural project of Aboriginality is therefore a by-product of their continued service to Aboriginal peoples in the city. This way Aboriginal organizations become the mechanisms for resisting and preventing further structural violence by infusing and respecting the Aboriginal ways of life in the city including the right of Indigenous self-determination which Gyepi-Garbrah, Walker and Garcea (2014) highlighted its importance in directing the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian mainstream society.

> There is a way in which you access services. I may have difficulties accessing services. I may have difficulties understanding the processes or the new processes that a city or urban centre is structured around. An organization such as this can then relate and be better able to understand where the person's coming from and why they may be thinking a certain way or trying to do something a certain way. (Interview 26: Aboriginal, General Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

A nuanced method of service provision is critical to make Aboriginal peoples feel welcome to participate in the socio-economic spheres of urban life in Edmonton because it stands in contrast to and challenges the pervasive negative stereotypes that exist and typecast Aboriginal peoples as people that cannot succeed in "mainstream" Canada. Most importantly, the Aboriginal organizations are able to address a differentiated need that neutral "colour blind" planning objectives are unable to address. They provide services and programs designed specifically for the diverse cultural and social-economic needs of Aboriginal peoples. The organizations play a role in equipping Aboriginal peoples with the fundamental tools to stand against institutional racism and create more stories of success within the Aboriginal communities that dismantle the short-sighted stories of Aboriginal poverty and homelessness dominating mainstream discourse.

> People don't associate culture shock within a country. Moving from a First Nation to the city, rural to urban – it doesn't matter who you are, that can jar you. Being First Nation and having the systems we have in place at a First Nation, when you come into the city, those systems are not there. The reality is those systems are not there. When we walk into a service office and request for service, I hate to keep harping on this part but it's not always pleasant for us because we look like this. (Interview 24: Aboriginal, Coordinator, Aboriginal Organization)

It's just important to recognize a culture that has suffered a lot; that a lot of effort has been put into eradicating that culture. And it would be nice to see more services. (Interview 10: Aboriginal, Adult Male)

With more and more positive Aboriginal success stories coming into light, Aboriginal peoples can make even stronger connections with the city of Edmonton. Moreover, their sense of belonging to the city will likely also increase. Most importantly, through the Aboriginal organizations, Aboriginal peoples are able to organize themselves and be the drivers of their own success within the city. This collective voice coupled with more success stories builds Aboriginal confidence to manage their own community issues just as the interviews suggested that they wanted the City of Edmonton to have more trust in them to lead and solve issues that affect them as Aboriginal peoples.

A lot of our families would move to the city and they wouldn't find success here, and they move back to their reserves and to their settlements because there wasn't a service that helped them connect to the city and made them feel welcome here, and made them feel like, "Oh I can be successful here". So we saw that that was a need, and we created this New In Town Aboriginal Welcome Service, who does the basics. Who helps them navigate around the city; helps you find a doctor, helps you have your child enrolled in a school. And you know those things are important. And I kind of felt our Aboriginal community was being left out of just those basic, simple things. That was just a basic way to help our families connect and feel, **"this city is my city too!"** (Interview 27: Aboriginal, Manager, Aboriginal Organization)

In addition to being structures that develop a positive image for Aboriginal community within Edmonton, the Aboriginal organizations also play a vital internal role of transmitting history and culture, particularly for the urban Aboriginal youth. Many of the Aboriginal citizens interviewed express a desire to connect more deeply with their history and culture. The Aboriginal organizations provide key resources such as Elders that not only pass on culture from one generation to the next but also ensure that culture continues to be practised and valued within

the Aboriginal community. Following are some of the examples how the Aboriginal organizations play a key role in connecting people to history and culture.

> Well in non-Aboriginal organizations I won't receive the cultural context, like the cultural programs that I would like. Therefore I go to the Aboriginal organizations. (Interview 10: Aboriginal, Adult Male)

> I think it's really important that they have that because you learn a lot about your history and your culture and with other organizations you just learn about their perspective on things. (Interview 6: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

> I run an Aboriginal Youth Leadership Program. So it's called Nîkâniw. So it's for Aboriginal Youth age 15 to 22 and it's a Youth Leadership Program. We swim so it's based around aquatics. We have a cultural aspect to the program too. We have Elders in the program… We have a cultural aspect in the program because a lot of people lose some of that culture. Or they've grown up in an urban setting like I have grown up in the city and have never been exposed to that before. So being in the program, having the Elders in the program available to teach those teachings, that's an important thing. (Interview 1: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

In the urban setting, Aboriginal organizations remain critical to issues of maintaining culture because, as the interviews reveal, a lot of the younger urban generation that is growing in the city does not necessarily have strong ties to people that can teach them the important traditional customs and values that have been maintained across generations. Consequently, there is a general feeling among the urban Aboriginal citizens that the urban Aboriginal community is losing its footing on the traditional ways of life and the youth is growing up not knowing a lot about their Indigenous identities and historical background in Canada.

> It creates, I think, a lost relationship that Aboriginal people had with their old traditions especially urban Aboriginal youth. Yes, especially in Edmonton. I've noticed that many Aboriginal youth don't know or don't have the same understanding about their old traditions as their parents and grandparents used to do. (Interview 9: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Male)

> They need to understand who it is that gave up their freedom in order for them to live here. Anyone, it doesn't matter who they are; the red, the white, the black and the yellow. Even a lot of the red youth, the red people, don't understand where they're coming from either. (Interview 11: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

A young female Aboriginal citizen admitted that she had limited knowledge of her history and culture as an Aboriginal person:

> I'm 18 now and I turn 19 and around 16 years old is when I learned about residential schools. I never really had that kind of information and then when I came into Edmonton and went into Aboriginal Studies I learned more about my culture and my history, about what happened back then. (Interview 6: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

She also mentioned a riveting Truth and Reconciliation event that she was able to attend and made her realize just how it was important for her get more involved in learning about her history and culture to keep it alive. She explained:

> I actually got to listen to people's stories who had been in the residential schools and how they want the Aboriginal youth to be now- get their education. They want them to succeed. But at the same time learn their culture and keep it alive because one day we won't have it anymore if you don't do that. (Interview 6: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

Another Aboriginal youth shared similar sentiments about the significance of introducing culture and traditions to more Aboriginal youth in order to preserve their identities as a people and resist larger assimilation agendas that have threatened their existence as Indigenous peoples of Canada.

> And that's also one thing too, in a lot of these programs, cultural programs, a lot of the youth think it's boring to learn about their own culture, to learn about our own language, when we need to remind them that it makes us who we are. That's what makes us different from the people who walk and talk the same. That's what's going to keep us going before we totally get, assimilated. (Interview 11: Aboriginal, Young-Adult Female)

In general, most of the Aboriginal citizens interviewed view culture as an imperative part of their Aboriginal life and experiences. Their culture is informed and shaped by their traditions which have been passed on over generations. When kept alive, their culture is a vital aspect of their life enabling them to connect seamlessly with other Aboriginal peoples. Growing up in the city, most of the urban younger generation has limited knowledge on histories of their identities, cultures and traditions. The fact that Aboriginal peoples and their heritage are kept on the

periphery of the urban life in the city has not helped organize a sense of community among the urban Aboriginal peoples. As a result of their marginalization in the city, their traditions, cultures and identities have suffered threatening their continuity from generation to generation. Applying Galtung's structural violence, the thesis can argue that the city has been able to apply "fragmentation" on Aboriginal peoples by keeping them from each other by limiting the extent to which they could come together to celebrate their cultures and identities in a collective and harmonized manner. On the whole, Aboriginal peoples have experienced the city as a place that is not conducive to Aboriginal identities and cultures and thus Aboriginal peoples are yet to fully develop and express their identity in the city and some of the Aboriginal organizations are leading the community towards that goal. Furthermore, the city as a structure of violence has been able to achieve "segmentation" with the urban Aboriginal community, especially the youth, by keeping people from their cultures and knowing what they are being deprived of from being disconnected from their histories and cultures. Culture builds a sense of community that equips Aboriginal peoples to gain an internal perspective on their lives. This perspective, as one Aboriginal citizen working in the Aboriginal Relations office explains, can provide links to how Aboriginal peoples can organize themselves through the practise of their culture to start healing especially from the intergenerational trauma due to the oppressive legacies of colonialism.

> Oh, yes, I believe so because you know I think healing comes from within and whenever there's an issue people just have to look at their culture and their practices and there's always the answer. The Elders all say, you have to look within, that the external answers are not always the best answers for the community. (Interview 28: Aboriginal, Social Worker, City of Edmonton)

Through culture and tradition one is able to develop pride and ownership of one's identity and ancestral heritage. When asked to describe how culture and cultural activities are important to living a happy life, the Aboriginal citizens speak eloquently about the assurance culture brings to their life by keeping them rooted to their belief systems. More than that, having the ability to

practise culture allows them to connect with other people on a much deeper and spiritual level that unifies them to walk together in this life in a web of kinship and sharing that is often difficult to find in mainstream society.

> I think if you have more of it maybe people would start realizing. Maybe they'll start taking more pride back in themselves. (Interview 13: Aboriginal, Adult Male)

> Culture isn't activities. Our culture is the way we think, and our language was the foundation of that thinking and those beliefs- the ontological and epistemology of our life- and so to me if they don't learn- and I don't know my own language either- but I know my ceremony and I know the language to do my ceremonies. And if you don't have that language and that connection, you lose the philosophies and the intent of our belief system. Ceremonies are just part of that way of life. It's the same as hunting- not everybody's hunting. But I know when I go hunting what all happens when I do that. But that doesn't mean that that's all it is to being a Native. (Interview 12: Aboriginal, Adult Female)

By engaging with Aboriginal organizations, Aboriginal peoples are able to access their history and cultures which the system has been set up to suppress. The Aboriginal organizations in Edmonton play a fundamental role in fostering an Aboriginal community in Edmonton so that more and more Aboriginal citizens can connect with their culture and ways of life. When they do this, Aboriginal organizations act as social mechanisms that enable Aboriginal peoples to make sense of their lives through "embracing traditional symbols of their collective selves" and through reference to traditional social arrangement, and nurturing of kinship ties (Morgan, 2006). It offers a perspective on how the Aboriginal organizations are able to connect more closely with Aboriginal citizens and enable them to access services effectively according to need. The Aboriginal organizations do not shy away from the cultural and traditional ways of life which gives them more advantage to understand Aboriginal peoples' situations and where they are coming from. By understanding the person with their social and cultural background, the Aboriginal organizations to serve in a way that is less judgemental and empathetic to the genuine experiences of Aboriginal peoples and the social pressures they face. The input of the Aboriginal

organizations in changing Aboriginal lives in the city enables Aboriginal peoples develop a sense of ownership and self-identity with the city which in turn increase the extent to which they can realize their full potential as citizens in the city.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has explored Aboriginal engagement in Edmonton under the premise of cities increasingly becoming spaces of mixed ethnicities, cultures, and cross-generations. The goal of this research was to determine how the City of Edmonton is engaging Aboriginality to recognize Aboriginal peoples as Indigenous peoples of Canada in a post-colonial cosmopolis Canadian context. Hence, the research questions were formulated to explore the extent to which the City of Edmonton and its engagement process are an example of structural violence on the lives of Aboriginal peoples. In exploring this research question, the thesis focused on Galtung's basic human needs to examine which of them, be it survival, well-being, identity and freedom needs are violated if at all. The thesis argues that the City itself and the planning processes form structural violence that creates indirect harm which marginalizes and prevents them from meeting their basic needs. However, the city is also a place for reversing structural violence depending on the engagement processes it adopts. The thesis argues that embracing the "cultural project of Aboriginality" starts a co-production process that positions Aboriginal peoples as civic partners in city planning and associated policy. Aboriginal peoples begin to develop a sense of ownership and self-identity with the city when the city reflects Aboriginal input and participation which greatly improves the capacity of the city to meet the needs of its Aboriginal citizenry.

The purpose of the research has been to underscore how municipalities across Canada can emphasise their Aboriginal heritage as a civic strength to enhance inclusive place-making in Canada.

Aboriginal peoples as Indigenous peoples of Canada are an integral part of the history and development of Canadian cities like the City of Edmonton. Though it may not be fully

acknowledged in mainstream Canadian public discourse, Aboriginal peoples are a key component of the cultural heritage and diversity that the City of Edmonton prides itself about. Though Aboriginal engagement in Edmonton's social and urban planning processes is still at its early stage, it is progressively giving Aboriginal peoples a collective voice to challenge the ideas of a value-free and unitary public interest in urban planning that requires minority groups to assimilate into the dominant interests and shed their unique values and cultures. The review of literature emphasised that planning with and for Aboriginal peoples needs processes that facilitate expression of cultural difference in the public domain as well as recognize the local institutional histories and inherent competing interests that planning processes in multicultural urban spheres may not necessarily pay attention to. In Edmonton, negative attitudes towards Aboriginal peoples, their history and cultures persist. These negative attitudes embedded in Aboriginal stereotypes interact with institutional and everyday racism to perpetuate subtle assimilation agendas that create barriers for Aboriginal peoples to engage fully and with the mainstream urban life.

Aboriginal engagement is one important platform that gives voice to Aboriginal peoples and their communities in Edmonton to participate in and drive their own future seeking processes. Giving Aboriginal input a voice in the city developments affirms Aboriginal citizens as a fundamental constituent of the social fabric that makes the City of Edmonton. When the city actively seeks for and includes Aboriginal input in city developments, it increases the value of Aboriginal heritage in the city. The value that city management demonstrates in including Aboriginal perspectives in city developments has a positive correlation on the how Aboriginal peoples view themselves as a group among many groups in the city. It boosts Aboriginal peoples' confidence in themselves to positive lead their community issues as well as cultivate a

strong sense of belonging to Edmonton and its *People Plan* "to create a civil, socially sustainable and caring society where people have opportunities to thrive and realize their potential in a safe and attractive city" (City of Edmonton).

Data from the interviews suggest that the city is indeed a structure of violence in the way that it prevents Aboriginal peoples from meeting their basic needs and living to realize their full potential. To confirm this structure of violence the analysis of the data searched for cases of where the survival, well-being, identity and freedom needs of Aboriginal peoples were violated by the physical city and its planning process. First, because of their Aboriginal identity, Aboriginal peoples are not always able to access services like health care in an effective non-discriminatory manner. Healthcare is very important to living a long and healthy life and so this marginalization of Aboriginal peoples threatens their survival needs by reducing the quality of the lives when they are unable to access appropriate services pertaining to health. The thesis also offers cases where Aboriginal peoples have had to fight in order to have their voices heard in city developments. The silencing or ignoring of their voices resembles structural violence that violates their well-being needs by creating a miserable antagonistic urban environment that does not validate Aboriginal voices as important to place-making and future seeking in the city. Furthermore, the limited references in cities to traditional or cultural symbols to their collective selves also prevent Aboriginal peoples from meeting their basic well-being needs. The absence of or limited Aboriginal cultural symbols robs Aboriginal peoples the opportunity to make sense of their lives through their cultural values and identities actively being included and reflected in the city. Aboriginal peoples in the city express concern that their identities are often overlooked in diversity celebrations in the city. Hence, they exist as a marginalized and homogenized group that is often excluded from the mainstream public sphere. Therefore, Aboriginal peoples'

freedom needs are not met in the city as they are limited in terms of how they can develop and express their identity in the city. Consequently, the urban Aboriginal communities in Edmonton have suffered "fragmentation" because they have been limited in how they come together to organize themselves to form a collective voice in the Edmonton. At the same time, the urban Aboriginal peoples have been deprived of the histories and cultures. However, some of the work being done by Aboriginal organizations in the City of Edmonton is reversing the impact of structural violence by addressing the well-being, identity and freedom needs of Aboriginal peoples in the city. The organizations connect Aboriginal peoples to their history and culture and are able to offer services that address the differentiated needs of Aboriginal peoples in the city.

Aboriginal organizations in the City of Edmonton are playing a leadership role in addressing issues of the Aboriginal community in a collective effort and unified voice. These organizations and the services they provide form a crucial point for connecting Aboriginal peoples and developing community from which healing and positive change can emerge. Aboriginal organizations are able to provide differentiated services that bring a cultural context and a sense of family in addressing the intense social pressures that Aboriginal peoples face in Edmonton. The organizations understand connection between the colonial history of Canada the gross over-representation of Aboriginal peoples in poverty and homelessness as well as the impact the oppression has had on their culture and identities across generations. Through the social connections and relationships that Aboriginal organizations facilitate, they become the catalysts that enable Aboriginal lives to experience success in the city. Aboriginal organizations act as physical structures, cultural symbols, and social spaces of understanding to a culture that has suffered from oppression. They become a place of refuge where citizens can go to share their

Aboriginal experiences and begin an extensive process of healing from effects of intergenerational trauma.

Basically, The City of Edmonton needs time and investment in public education to invigorate a collective conscience among citizens that recognize and acknowledges Aboriginal peoples and their heritage as a strong currency for civic strength in place making processes of the city. Aboriginal engagement is about social currency building which raises civic literacy on the city's identity and dominant values. It calls for transformation of how the city identifies itself and interacts with it citizenry. Transformation is about making sure that the city acknowledges and honours its past and opens up its identity to represent all of its citizenry. Engagement with Aboriginality diffuses the monopoly of power enjoyed by a few groups within society who benefit from the legacies of a colonial past. Aboriginal engagement works to break down community silos by giving currency to otherwise marginalized and voiceless groups to advocate for their own interests and influence the day-today life in Canadian cities.

6.1. Recommendations

Though Aboriginal engagement is a complex process, the city of Edmonton should not lose sight of its overall desire and commitment to improve Aboriginal engagement in the city. The Aboriginal Accord, Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Mayor Iveson's vested interest in Aboriginal issues are good instruments the city can use as momentum to strengthen Aboriginal engagement in the city.

To address structural violence, the city could invest in building trust and genuine reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples as they share the city to build their lives for current and future generations. Many of the Aboriginal peoples interviewed emphasised the importance of building a strong relationship between the city and Aboriginal

peoples that is based on trust. Aboriginal peoples want to know that their voices will be heard by City Hall especially in prominent city developments. The desire to be heard and be included in planning at the conception of city projects should not be overlooked. Aboriginal peoples interviewed do not want to "interfere" with city management's job in executing its mandates in urban planning and community development, but rather want to know that their input carries value and can influence social change. The city needs to connect with the diversity of Aboriginal communities in the city beyond the scope of consultation requirements that come with big city developments. Aboriginal peoples and their communities are not objects of consultation processes and the city need to affirm Aboriginal peoples in all spheres of life in Edmonton. The connections the city needs to make have to demonstrate an overall willingness to engage with Aboriginal peoples in a more organic and on-going process that does not necessarily have a calculated end goal. This dynamic process should view Aboriginal peoples and their communities as civic partners in order to build a co-production process of future seeking process that does not view Aboriginal peoples are as objects of policy and colonialism. Co-production should incorporate ideas of Aboriginal peoples about their own development and future in Canadian cities. This type of engagement will position Aboriginal peoples as a strong and active constituent of the life in Edmonton and more and more groups in the city will be open to engage with them. The interviews expressed disappointment to the fact that Aboriginal peoples are the last group that anyone or any other groups ever want to meet. The tendency is to engage with Aboriginal peoples only on stipulated terms of consultation processes which limit the overall exchange of ideas and values between the parties involved.

Trust and reconciliation in Edmonton is also about a telling a more truthful and diverse story of Edmonton. Almost all the interviews called for an acknowledgement and honouring

Aboriginal peoples' history in Edmonton. The city needs to invest in its urban design and symbolism to acknowledge Aboriginal peoples' history in Edmonton in a way that allows all stories, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, to be told. When Aboriginal history is showcased as part Edmonton's heritage, it should include authentic interpretations of the Aboriginal community and not be overshadowed by Euro-Centric interpretations of place making in Canadian cities. The city should capitalize on the pressure to constantly transform the urban form in city designs and constructions to cement a physical and psychological reminder to the general public that Aboriginal peoples belong and are part of the Edmonton scene. The transformation of Edmonton's infrastructure and overall symbolisms that includes Aboriginal inputs and perspectives will re-orient the Edmonton citizenry to the indigenous rights and histories of Aboriginal peoples in Edmonton and Canada as whole.

Transformation is about making sure that all groups are represented in the city's identity so that all the citizenry can have a sense of belonging and responsibility to the city. Aboriginal peoples are often overlooked in the diversity that cities in Canada enjoy. They are still thought of in terms of socio-economic disparities which tend to alienate them for the non-Aboriginal citizens in the cities. Obviously poverty is still a priority issue among the Aboriginal community as demonstrated by the interviews. Newhouse and FitzMaurice (2012) call for a shift from the "study of the lack," to Aboriginal urbanism in approaching Aboriginal issues in research. Yes, it is important not to fix Aboriginal peoples in terms of socio-economic disparities, and subjects for policy and victims of colonization. However, because poverty is still an important priority for the Aboriginal community, it would be irresponsible to shift entirely to Aboriginal urbanism to highlight their positive experiences and enjoyment of urban life. It is important to balance both

the socio-economic disparities as well as the positive success stories in order to give a holistic analysis of Aboriginal experiences in Canadian cities.

According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reconciliation is about maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in Canada. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (2015), makes ninety four (94) recommendations that aim to reverse the policies of assimilation that caused a "cultural genocide" on Aboriginal peoples. Based on these recommendations of the Commission, the thesis recommends that City of Edmonton:

- Should adopt The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as the framework for reconciliation in the City. The City of Edmonton should strengthen non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal social bonds by coproducing a principled planning framework that reconciles modern Aboriginality with planning in the twenty-first century city. The City can focus on Article 8 of the Declaration to develop an Action Plan for the city to achieve the goals of the Declaration and highlight its role in facilitating reconciliation.

- Should invest in educating city staff, public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties especially Treaty Six and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal–Crown relations, including the history of both Métis and First Nations peoples in the city and surrounding region.

- Should partner with Aboriginal peoples and their organizations in collaboration with the national Aboriginal organizations, to revise the information kit for newcomers to the City of Edmonton to reflect a more inclusive history of the

diverse Aboriginal peoples of Canada, including information about the Treaties and the history of residential schools.

- Should collaborate with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation to identify and collect copies of all records relevant to the history and legacy of residential school system relevant to Edmonton as it pertains to Edmonton. The City of Edmonton should also partner with and support Aboriginal peoples and their organizations in creating spaces in Edmonton for Aboriginal histories to be told for the benefit of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens.

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School of Environment and Sustainability
University of Saskatchewan

PARTICIPANTS NEEDED FOR
RESEARCH IN CITY PLANNING AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

We are looking for volunteers to take part in a study of *City Planning and Indigeneity on the Prairies*.

As a participant in this study, you would be asked to undertake a face-to-face interview with a member of the research team at a location of your choosing.

Your participation would involve one interview which is approximately 45-60 minutes.

In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of $40*.

For more information about this study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact:

Lisa Baroldi
lisa@progressunlimited.ca

or

Mangaliso Mohammed
School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan
at 910-644-0530 or mam421@mail.usask.ca

This study has been reviewed by, and received approval through, the Behavioural Research Ethics Board, University of Saskatchewan.

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APPENDIX B: ABORIGINAL CITIZENS CONSENT FORM

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

<div align="right">

Face-to-Face Interview-Aboriginal Citizen
Participant Consent Form

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Project Title: City Planning and Indigeneity on the Prairies

Researchers:
Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryan Walker, Associate Professor, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-5664, ryan.walker@usask.ca

Co-Investigators: Dr. Yale Belanger, Department of Political Science, University of Lethbridge, 403-382-7101, belayd@uleth.ca; Dr. Loleen Berdahl, Department of Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1952, loleen.berdahl@usask.ca

Collaborators: Prof. David Newhouse, Department of Indigenous Studies, Trent University, 705-748-1011, ext. 7497, dnewhouse@trentu.ca; Dr. Brenda Macdougall, Department of Geography, University of Ottawa, 613-562-5800, ext. 7954, brenda.macdougall@uottawa.ca

Research Assistant: Mangaliso Mohammed, School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan, 910-644-0530, mam421@mail.usask.ca

Purpose and Objectives of the Research:
- The purpose of the research is to learn to what extent Prairie cities are engaging with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in city planning processes, and how planning practice and knowledge can be improved. Our research is taking place in Brandon, Winnipeg, Thompson, Saskatoon, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton.

- The four objectives of the research are to: (1) understand the approaches municipalities are taking to create Aboriginal planning initiatives in the city; (2) determine the state of non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal public perspectives on Aboriginal history, culture, discrimination, self-determination and aspirations for how to enhance Aboriginal presence in the public realm of city planning and design; (3) understand the current and future potential roles of urban Aboriginal organizations in city planning processes; and, (4) create a planning framework that aims to improve the state of planning practice with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in Prairie cities.

Procedures:

- You will be asked a series of open-ended questions to get your perspectives on municipal planning and local civic engagement issues in your city. Twenty interviews of this type will be conducted in your city. We are doing the same thing in six other Prairie cities.
- With your permission I would like to use an audio recorder to record our interview, which will then be transcribed and used as data in the study. You may request that the recording device be turned off at any time.
- The interview normally takes no longer than one hour, and can be carried out in a location of your choice.
- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research**.**

Potential Benefits:
- We hope that this research will help to improve the ways that municipal planning is practiced with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in Prairie cities. We also anticipate that this research will help to improve the way post-secondary students in professional planning programs across Canada are educated with regard to engaging with non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal citizens, and urban Aboriginal organizations on issues of city planning with Aboriginal communities.

Compensation:
- In appreciation for your time, you will receive a payment of $40 just before we begin the interview.

Confidentiality:
- Your name, and the fact that you are participating in this study, is known to Dr. Walker, Dr. Belanger, their 'university research assistants', and perhaps a 'local research facilitator' if that is how you were recruited to the study. The audio file from this interview will be transcribed into a MS Word file and your name will appear at the top of that file. Walker, Belanger and their 'university research assistants' are the only people that have access to the audio recording and transcript from this interview.
- The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, they will be attributed as follows: Male/Female; Aboriginal citizen; Name of City (e.g., Female, Aboriginal, Saskatoon). Your name will not be listed in any publications or presentations.

  Storage of Data:
  o The digital voice and transcript files, and associated data analysis files, will be stored on the password protected computer drives at the Universities of Saskatchewan and Lethbridge while the data analysis is underway.

- Once the data analysis and publication of results is complete, raw data files will be stored by Dr. Walker on his password protected institutional server at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time it will be deleted.
- Completed consent forms will be stored in Dr. Walker's locked filing cabinet in his office at the University of Saskatchewan for a period of 5-10 years, after which time they will be shredded and disposed of.

Right to Withdraw:
- Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, at any time, without explanation or penalty of any sort.
- Should you wish to withdraw, data from your interview will be deleted, provided that it has not already been incorporated into a publication (under preparation, review, or in final form) or into a presentation.

Follow up:
- Please keep your eye on the website of the Urban Aboriginal Knowledge Network (www.uakn.org), under the Prairie Research Centre, where we will load final reports from the study once the project is complete.

Questions or Concerns:
- Contact one of the researchers using the information at the top of page 1;
- This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca; 306-966-2975. Participants outside of Saskatoon may call toll free at 1-888-966-2975.

Consent:
Do you give your permission to have our interview audio-recorded?   Yes: ___ No: ___

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; you have had an opportunity to ask questions and your questions have been answered. You consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you for your records.

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Researcher's Signature	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

APPENDIX C: ABORIGINAL ORGANIZATION OFFICIAL CONSENT FORM

Face-to-Face Interview-Official

Project Title: City planning and Indigeneity on the Prairies

Researchers:
Principal Investigator: Dr. Ryan Walker, Associate Professor, Department of Geography and Planning & School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-5664, ryan.walker@usask.ca

Co-Investigators: Dr. Yale Belanger, Department of Political Science, University of Lethbridge, 403-382-7101, belayd@uleth.ca; Dr. Loleen Berdahl, Department of Political Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 306-966-1952, loleen.berdahl@usask.ca

Collaborators: Prof. David Newhouse, Department of Indigenous Studies, Trent University, 705-748-1011, ext. 7497, dnewhouse@trentu.ca; Dr. Brenda Macdougall, Department of Geography, University of Ottawa, 613-562-5800, ext. 7954, brenda.macdougall@uottawa.ca

Research Assistant: Mangaliso Mohammed, School of Environment and Sustainability, University of Saskatchewan, 910-644-0530, mam421@mail.usask.ca

Purpose and Objectives of the Research:
- The purpose of the research is to learn to what extent Prairie cities are engaging with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in city planning processes, and how planning practice and knowledge can be improved. Our research is taking place in Brandon, Winnipeg, Thompson, Saskatoon, Regina, Calgary and Edmonton.

- The four objectives of the research are to: (1) understand the approaches municipalities are taking to create Aboriginal planning initiatives in the city; (2) determine the state of non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal public perspectives on Aboriginal history, culture, discrimination, self-determination and aspirations for how to enhance Aboriginal presence in the public realm of city planning and design; (3) understand the current and future potential roles of urban Aboriginal organizations in city planning processes; and, (4) create a planning framework that aims to improve the state of planning practice with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in Prairie cities.

Procedures:
- You will be asked a series of open-ended questions to get your perspectives on municipal planning and local civic engagement issues in your city. Six to ten interviews of this type will be conducted in your city, with municipal officials and

officials from some urban Aboriginal organizations. We are doing the same thing in six other Prairie cities.

- With your permission I would like to use an audio recorder to record our interview, which will then be transcribed and used as data in the study. You may request that the recording device be turned off at any time.
- The interview normally takes no longer than one hour, and can be carried out in a location of your choice.

- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Funded by: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Potential Risks: There are no known or anticipated risks to you by participating in this research, beyond those you may associate with speaking openly from your professional vantage point.

Potential Benefits:
- We hope that this research will help to improve the ways that municipal planning is practiced with Aboriginal citizens and organizations in Prairie cities. We also anticipate that this research will help to improve the way post-secondary students in professional planning programs across Canada are educated with regard to engaging with non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal citizens, and urban Aboriginal organizations on issues of city planning with Aboriginal communities.

Confidentiality:
- Your name, and the fact that you are participating in this study, is known to Dr. Walker, Dr. Belanger, and their university research assistants. The audio file from this interview will be transcribed into a MS Word file and your name will appear at the top of that file. Walker, Belanger and their university research assistants are the only people that have access to the audio recording and transcript from this interview.
- The data from this research project will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential to the extent that you choose on page 3 where you will select the attribution that may be attached to direct quotations we report from the interview. Your name will not be listed in any publications or presentations.

    Storage of Data:
    - The digital voice and transcript files, and associated data analysis files, will be stored on the password protected computer drives at the Universities of Saskatchewan and Lethbridge while the data analysis is underway.
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Right to Withdraw:
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Consent:
Do you give your permission to have our interview audio-recorded?   Yes: ___ No: ___

Please place a check mark beside one of the following ways that attributions may be linked to statements you make during the interview:

1. Official title and agency name   ___

2. Agency's name only (but not my official title)   ___

3. The jurisdiction where agency is active
   (e.g., Municipal office, Aboriginal organization)   ___

4. No attributions at all   ___

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; you have had an opportunity to ask questions and your questions have been answered. You consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to you for your records.

Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Researcher's Signature   *Date*

APPENDIX D: MUNICIPAL OFFICIAL CONSENT FORM

![University of Saskatchewan logo] UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN

Face-to-Face Interview-Official

Project Title: City planning and Indigeneity on the Prairies

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- Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

Funded by: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

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Please place a check mark beside one of the following ways that attributions may be linked to statements you make during the interview:

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6. Agency's name only (but not my official title)   ___

7. The jurisdiction where agency is active
   (e.g., Municipal office, Aboriginal organization)   ___

8. No attributions at all   ___

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Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

Researcher's Signature   *Date*