

URBAN ABORIGINAL TASK FORCE

Sudbury Final Report

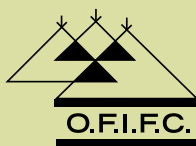
AUGUST 2007

Commissioned by

The Ontario Federation of Indian
Friendship Centres

The Ontario Metis Aboriginal
Association

The Ontario Native Women's
Association



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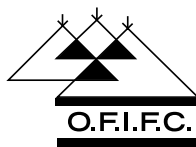
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*The Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres,
the Ontario Native Women's Association,
and the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association
thank the following for their support.*

*Ontario Secretariat for Aboriginal Affairs
Ministry of Children and Youth Services
Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care
Ministry of Community and Social Services
Statistics Canada*

*We would like to thank members of the Task Force,
the Sudbury Community Research Committee
and members of the Sudbury Aboriginal community that gave generously
of their time and expertise to contribute to this study.
Meegwetch.*

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The Joint Steering Committee of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATF) is pleased to present the *Sudbury Site Report* of the UATF Sudbury community research project to the Board of Directors of the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, the Board of Directors of the Ontario Native Women's Association, the Board of Directors of the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association, the partner Ministries, and the Sudbury Aboriginal community.

In early 2003 the Urban Aboriginal Task Force (UATF) was established with the aim exploring the issues facing the urban Aboriginal community in the province of Ontario. The idea was conceived of by the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres as a way to follow up on the work done by the original Task Force on the Needs of Native People in an Urban Setting, in 1981. While originally six community research sites were sought, the UATF settled on a final five: Sudbury, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Barrie-Midland, and Kenora. Through ups and downs the UATF has persevered in seeking to explore policy questions from a grassroots, community-based perspective.

The Urban Aboriginal Task Force would like first and foremost to express its gratitude to all the community members who participated in the research and provided us with their input, insight and experience. Without you there would be no way of pushing the policy agenda forward in a constructive way, based on the real needs of the community as you have articulated.

The Urban Aboriginal Task Force equally wishes to thank our researchers for conducting the extensive research required for such a comprehensive approach to the subject of Aboriginal people in an urban setting in each of the research sites.

The *Sudbury Site Report* is intended to provide support for the development of a strategic approach to resource allocations to address the needs of urban Aboriginal people. The *Sudbury Site Report* is also intended as a tool for communities, government and other agencies to advance a renewed policy agenda based on a rigorous, community-based understanding of the effects and implications of current policy approaches and legislative frameworks. The Task Force believes this *Report* sheds new light on the on-going struggles and critical new developments taking place in urban Aboriginal communities across the province.

The *Sudbury Site Report*, along with the four other site reports, will inform the preparation of the *Final Report of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force*. It is our hope that the *Final Report* will initiate a new wave of positive, cooperative policy, programme, and legislative change aimed at improving the quality of life for all urban Aboriginal people in Ontario.

Sincerely,

Sylvia Maracle

Executive Director, Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres
on behalf of The Joint Steering Committee, Urban Aboriginal Task Force

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a relatively new phenomenon, in the last 20 to 30 years. What is needed is a strong and supportive family. Education is the real key in this whole puzzle. You see the changes taking place as Aboriginal people become more educated. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

1.1 Background

The Urban Aboriginal Task Force Study builds on the original *Task Force on the Needs of Native People in an Urban Setting*, published in 1981. We believe the original Task Force was the first major research on urban Aboriginal people in the country. Both the original Task Force and the Urban Aboriginal Task Force Study were initiated by the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres. The original Task Force was a partnership between the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, the Ontario Native Women's Association, the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association, and government focused on the issues affecting urban Aboriginal people. The original Task Force findings and recommendations resulted in the creation of new policies and programmes to address the needs identified.

The Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres (OFIFC) conducted a feasibility study for the Urban Aboriginal Task Force Research Project in January 2003. The OFIFC funded the study and contracted Don McCaskill to conduct the feasibility study. It culminated in a two day workshop held at the OFIFC office on May 5 and 6, 2003. The feasibility study included a literature review of relevant research pertaining to urban Aboriginal people and interviews with 35 stakeholders from Aboriginal organizations and provincial and federal governments.

The OFIFC then approached the original Aboriginal partners—the Ontario Native Women's Association and the Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association—to determine their level of interest in updating the 1981

report and determine the needs of urban Aboriginal people today. The Aboriginal partners identified and engaged a number of provincial and federal government representatives and a new partnership was established to update the research.

1.2 Initial research interests

Virtually all feasibility study participants supported a renewed Urban Aboriginal Task Force Research Project. Participants supported this study for the following reasons: lack of research, large numbers and high visibility of urban Aboriginal people; increasing awareness of challenging social issues and unmet needs of urban Aboriginal people; recognition by Aboriginal people and governments that governments are not effectively addressing these needs; governments’ acknowledgment of jurisdictional wrangling and poor coordination of programs involving urban Aboriginal people; various Aboriginal constituencies interest in addressing urban Aboriginal self-government; and, recognition of Aboriginal people who are both economically successful (i.e. the emerging “middle class” of urban Aboriginal people) and wish to participate in Aboriginal cultural and social activities in the city.

1.3 The Task Force partners

Organizations and government came together as a partnership of Aboriginal organizations and federal, provincial and municipal govern-

TABLE 1A Research priorities of the Task Force

Research topics for all sites	Research considerations that span topics
Racism	Culture and identity
Homelessness and housing	Gaps and delivery of services
Poverty	Elders and long term care
Youth	Women and children
Women	Access to resources
Health	Assessment of Aboriginal services

ments. This group, the Urban Aboriginal Task Force, oversaw the research. The composition of the Task Force included representatives from the following organizations:

- Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centers
- Ontario Native Women's Association
- Ontario Métis Aboriginal Association
- Ontario Secretariat for Aboriginal Affairs
- Ministry of Children and Youth Services
- Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care
- Ministry of Community and Social Services
- Statistics Canada
- Native Child and Family Services of Toronto
- Office of the Federal Interlocutor
- Urban Aboriginal Strategy

The Task Force oversaw the entire research project from the planning phase to the final reporting phase. Through a series of meetings in 2005-2006, the UATF chose five research sites; Sudbury, Ottawa, Thunder Bay, Barrie/Midland/Orillia, and Kenora. The Task Force also determined the province-wide research priorities and considerations noted in *Table 1A*.

The Task Force chose a community based research approach and created Community Advisory Committees (CAC) (or, in case of Sudbury, Community Research Committees or CRC) in each of the research sites. The Task Force sought funding, hired the Research Director and Associate, and decided on the research tools for each site including: key informant interviews, focus groups, plenary sessions, literature reviews, life histories, and a community-wide survey. Once the local CACs were in place the Task Force met periodically, allowing the CACs to guide the research priorities and directions in a locally appropriate manner.

The firm Mukwa Associates was contracted to undertake the research for all sites. Mukwa Associates reported regularly to the Task Force and the Sudbury CAC throughout the research. The contract for the research set out in its terms and conditions that the material produced as a result of the research agreement is the property of the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres.

In Sudbury the Committee chose the name Community Research Committee because it was felt that this more accurately reflected the

nature of the work that it carried out. Therefore, for the purposes of this report, the Committee that in other sites has been referred to as Community Advisory Committee, or CAC, will be referred to as the Community Research Committee, or CRC.

METHODOLOGY: A COMMUNITY BASED APPROACH TO RESEARCH

2.1 The Sudbury Community Research Committee

The Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres invited representatives from Aboriginal agencies to an initial meeting to learn about the UATF and Sudbury's inclusion as a research site on May 18th 2006. Invitations were sent to the following, who later began the Community Research Committee (CRC):

Sharon Corbiere-Johnston, Laurentian University, Native Human Services

Angela Recollet, Laurentian University, Native Education Council

Marie Meawasige, N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre

Debbie Recollet, Gezhtoojig Employment and Training

Susan Roque, Native People of Sudbury Development Corp

Ron Keon, Cecil Facer Youth Center, Ministry of Children and Youth Services

Ray Kinoshameg, N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre

Grant Dokis, Greater Sudbury Police Services (contact/resource person)

Sean Giroux, Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association

Susan Cole, Ontario Métis and Aboriginal Association

Nancy Recollet, Regional Adviser, Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration

Marilyn Kerr, Ontario Native Women's Association Eastern Healing Lodge

Susan Manitowabi, Laurentian University, Native Human Services

Margaret (Peggy) Pitawanakwat, N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre

Barbara Stevens-Burns, N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre

Amanda Noyes, Better Beginnings Better Futures

Colette Edmunds, Better Beginnings Better Futures

2.2 CAC local research priorities

The Sudbury CRC began by reviewing the research priorities of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force Research Study and discussing previous community planning initiatives undertaken in the local urban Aboriginal community. Prior to beginning the research in Sudbury, standardized research tools were developed as a way of providing for consistency of results across all five research sites in Ontario. The research in Sudbury began with the CRC meeting to assess the existing research tools and to decide on local research priorities. The standardized community survey of the UATF was presented along with the key informant interview guides. The focus groups, plenary sessions and life history participants were determined by the CRC.

The CRC developed the following research priorities:

- education;
- Aboriginal culture and identity;
- women;
- housing issues;
- men;
- racism;
- health;
- youth issues;
- gaps in social services;
- relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations;
- relations with government;
- middle class/economically successful residents; and,
- seniors.

Next, the CRC collaborated regularly to hire the Research Site Coordinator, Brian Slegers, and two Research Assistants, Caroline Recollet, and Ronda Assinewai, select and provide access to a diversity of initial community respondents and life history participants, provide feedback on the *Final Report* and communicate the findings to the community. The CRC members' direction has been critical to the success of this research project. Over the course of this research, the CRC has met six times from May 2006 to June 2007.

2.3 Data gathering

Applying emergent-design research, data collection included the methods recommended by the Task Force representatives: key informant interviews, life histories, focus groups, plenary sessions, and a community survey. Community researchers conducted research from June 2006 until October 2006, collecting quantitative data through the community survey and qualitative data through interviews, focus groups, plenary sessions and life histories.

The study included a total of 441 respondents of which there were 259 community survey respondents, 37 participants in 4 focus groups, 80 participants in 4 plenary sessions, 6 life histories and 59 key informant interviews.

All respondents had the choice of not answering any question on any guide or in any group setting. Each participant provided his or her consent to participate in the project. A list of the research instruments developed for the Sudbury study is included in the appendices of this report (research instruments are available upon request). An overview of the research methods is described in the following sections.

This sampling was intentional, as the research sought Aboriginal participants to speak to their experiences living in the Sudbury.

The research methods and the number of participants are shown in *Table 2A*.

TABLE 2A Sample of respondents per research method (UATF)

Method/quantity	Total respondents
Key informant interviews	59
Life history	6
Focus groups	37
Plenary sessions	80
Community survey	259
Total	441

- 182 participants (41%) participated in the qualitative research
- 259 (59%) participated in the quantitative research

2.4 Interviews

Researchers developed the interview guides based on initial discussion with the CRC, and the CRC subsequently approved them. There were four main interview guides for three groups of respondents: the Executive Directors of Aboriginal agencies, Aboriginal agency staff, and non-Aboriginal agency staff (staff interview guides were identical to the Executive Director guides, but the first 11 questions were not used), community members and youth. The Executive Director interview guide was the main template used to capture the full breadth of questions, including 142 questions that were specific to the organization and clients, and also general to the Executive Directors. The staff Key Informant Interview Guide contained 125 questions that also focused on the organization, the client base and personal information relating to the respondent. The Community Member surveys included 70 questions that focused on a variety of issues including, but not limited to: culture and identity, demographics, employment, health/social issues, racism and community involvement. The Aboriginal Community Member Key Respondent Interview Guide contained 86 questions and focused on a variety of questions around education, culture and identity, employment, health/social services, childcare and racism.

The interview guides were structured in that there was a series of set questions for participants to answer. The interview guides contained a mix of closed-ended and open-ended questions. The structured nature of the interview guide and the question format did not prevent respondents from speaking outside of the question. Most commonly, research participants provided examples and stories to complement and expand their responses. Interviews were completed predominantly in individual settings. Interviewees were recommended by the CRC or chosen by the researchers based on snowball sampling and personal contacts. Respondents included Executive Directors and staff of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agencies. A diversity of community members including seniors, homeless and youth participated in the research. Every effort was made to be as inclusive as possible in the research sample.

Ethical research guidelines were developed and followed for the key informant interviews. These guidelines relate to a guarantee of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity for the research participants.

Key informant interview participants were free to withdraw their consent at any time during the research process.

Interview analysis was based upon emerging themes. The researcher coded interviews using a coding manual that was vetted by the Research Director and Research Associate. Where applicable, researchers analyzed interview questions for frequencies and percentages of responses as well as cross tabulations among the variables of gender, income, age, and marital status.

And lastly, it is important to note that the research tools sought, through a diversity of both qualitative and quantitative methods, the opinions and perspectives of the respondents and that these viewpoints have been represented both as direct quotes in the study as well as aggregated responses seen in chart and table form.

2.5 Life histories

The life history component of the qualitative research provided the most in-depth information concerning the participants' experiences as urban residents in Sudbury. The researchers are particularly grateful to these participants who generously shared their time and their stories, which were at times difficult for them to tell.

The life history guide was developed by the researchers: the CRC approved the guide and suggested participants. The life history guide was unstructured, using only general topics for the respondents to speak to. The unstructured nature of the life histories made each one distinct, with respondents determining the foci and the emphasis placed on his or her story.

Ethical research guidelines were developed and followed for life history respondents. These guidelines relate to the research participants' confidentiality. Anonymity was not guaranteed, because of the detailed nature of the information about the individual's life; however, life history participants are not named in this report. The participants' consent was provided and life history data was not analyzed but appears interspersed throughout this report as quotations that shed light on issues expressed in the other qualitative and quantitative data.

2.6 Focus groups

The main features of focus groups are that they have fewer than 10 participants; use a non-structured approach; are facilitated with several broad questions; and last for one to several hours. Some of the focus groups took place during organized community events, and others were organized independently. *Table 2B* below shows the sample of respondents for focus group sessions of the Sudbury UATF research project.

TABLE 2B Sample of four focus group respondents

Topics	No. of sessions	Participant type	Total no. of participants
Women's issues	1	community members	12
Men's issues	1	men of all ages	10
Middle class	1	middle class community members	9
Child care	1	community members	6

2.7 Plenary sessions

Four plenary sessions were held and were well attended from people across the Sudbury area. The first session was held on gaps in service delivery and the second was held on education and training. Both of these sessions provided an opportunity for community members who may not gather frequently, to share ideas and concerns of their organizations in a constructive and forward looking manner. *Table 2C* outlines the Plenary Session topics.

TABLE 2C Plenary sessions

Topics	No. of sessions	Participant type	Total no. of participants
Seniors	1	seniors from the community	27
Racism	1	community members	12
Employment and training	1	community members	24
Youth and education	1	youth	17

2.8 Community survey

A standardized community survey was approved by the CRC. The 13 page final survey consisted of a mix of 70 closed-ended and open-ended questions. The closed-ended questions required yes/no or forced-option choices.

Researchers approached CRC member agencies and other Aboriginal community organizations as survey sites, as well as several community events (local powwow, Gatherings, Feasts). Researchers distributed surveys and, in most cases, were available to clarify any questions.

Researchers analyzed the community survey data using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software designed for quantitative data analysis. Questions were run for frequencies and percentages of responses as well as cross tabulations.

2.9 Looking back, looking forward

This study of Aboriginal people in Sudbury was initially formed to update the 1981 Task Force study. The data for the following chapters comes mostly from the current qualitative and quantitative Sudbury UATF research described above. But between 1981 and 2006, there have been other localized research studies with Aboriginal people in Sudbury. In the following sections and the next chapters of this report, we integrate information from a UATF special run of Sudbury Statistics Canada 2001 Census data. This research is referenced as Statistics Canada 2006.

As well, we build upon recent Sudbury research, including: the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre's *Report on the Aboriginal Community Partnership Initiative* (2005), the OGI *Labour Market Analysis: Sudbury Community Report and the Society for the Advancement of Excellence in Schooling* (2000), the *Sharing Our Success: More Case Studies in Aboriginal Schooling*, N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre Alternative School report (2006), and the Enji Twemwak Niizh Miiikan/*Where Two Roads Meet: Aboriginal Community Needs Assessment* (2003).

The following chapters of this report explore the topics identified by the CRC using the methods described above. We begin placing the UATF study into the context of Sudbury and defining the population through demographic data provided by respondents of the studies. It is important to note that this demographic chapter is a snapshot of urban Aboriginal people during a six month period in 2006.

2.10 Limitations of study

The community survey sample was based upon ‘snowball’ sampling techniques involving referrals and cannot be considered a true random or representative sample of the urban Aboriginal population in the five research sites.

Further, because of the sampling method, the majority of the middle class respondents that we spoke with were part of the local Aboriginal social service network either as Executive Directors, Staff and community. Those middle class, urban Aboriginal people that worked outside of this network were often very difficult to reach as they were no longer part of the social service community. When we were able to contact members from this economically successful segment of the population, they sometimes declined to participate in the study.

Similarly, urban Aboriginal men can be considered to be underrepresented in the study sample. The fact that women make up the staff and volunteers of the majority of urban Aboriginal agencies and that the sample was, to some degree, influenced by this fact led to the overrepresentation of women in the study. However, an effort was made in the focus groups and life histories to attain a gender balance.

And lastly, there are some findings from the community survey that point to large percentages of responses that fall within the undefined ‘other’ category. For example, a large (38%) percentage of responses falling into the undefined ‘Other’ category on the question of ‘reasons for leaving school’, points to a limitation of the closed ended nature of this question and the need for further, more detailed, qualitative research on the reasons that students are leaving school.

DEMOGRAPHICS AND MOBILITY PATTERNS

KEY FINDINGS

- Aboriginal people are long-term, urban residents of Sudbury with a significant number (63%) having lived in the city for five years or more.
- There is a large percentage of single parent families, mostly headed by women.
- The urban Aboriginal population is young and increasing in size
- Education levels of urban Aboriginal people are rising but still below those of non-Aboriginal people.
- There are a substantial number of urban Aboriginal people who have attained post-secondary education.
- Poverty is a problem for urban Aboriginal people, especially women, and there are many who are living below the poverty line; however, there is an emerging Aboriginal middle class who have attained a stable economic existence.
- A significant number of urban Aboriginal people retain links with their community of origin.

There are more Aboriginal people living in urban centres across Canada than there are living in Aboriginal territories and communities on reserves, in Métis settlements and in Inuit communities. Despite the growing number of Aboriginal urban people and the increasing realization that they constitute a permanent presence in urban centres across Canada, little attention has been paid to them and their needs by either land-based Aboriginal governments, Aboriginal organizations or non-Aboriginal governments. They and their problems remain largely invisible in Canada's cities. SUPPLY AND SERVICES CANADA, 1993

3.1 Placing the study in its urban context

Sudbury is the largest city centre in northern Ontario; it is also known as the largest mining centre in Canada. With a population of approximately 155,000, the city has a diverse mix of Anishnaabe, Irish, Scottish, Cree, Italian, Ojicree, German, and Franco-Ontarians.

The Aboriginal people of Sudbury are primarily Anishnaabe who have a history of long-term and stable residency within the community. Outside of Sudbury there are approximately 20 reserve communities in the region within 30 to 300 km of the city's radius. Many of the Aboriginal people in the greater area make their new, temporary or permanent homes in Sudbury. Many others living predominantly outside of Sudbury will travel to the city for shopping, recreation and other needs like medical attention.

Greater Sudbury is also known as the hub of higher learning in north-central Ontario. Laurentian University is located here, as well as the Cambrian College campus, College Boreal, and the more recently-established Northern Ontario School of Medicine. Many young adults move to Sudbury to pursue secondary and post-secondary education, some coming from as far away as the James Bay and the Hudson Bay regions.

According to Statistics Canada 2001 census data, there are 7,385 Aboriginal people living in Sudbury, comprising 5% of the greater Sudbury population of 153,510 people.³ It is important to mention that over the course of this research, many people and organizations have disputed the Census Aboriginal population figures as under-representing the true number of urban Aboriginal people in Ontario. There are many possible reasons for this under-representation of Aboriginal people in the Census, including homelessness, lack of participation in the Census, or not being in the city at the time of the Census.

Given these possible limitations, the 2001 Census data, when combined with the UATF community survey data, can provide a basic demographic snapshot of urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury.

³ Source: 2001 Census data re: Community profiles (Statistics Canada). The 2001 Census population figures listed as Aboriginal population use Aboriginal identity population rather than the Aboriginal ancestry population. The Aboriginal identity population refers to those persons who 1) identified with at least one Aboriginal group, that is, North American Indian, Métis or Inuit and/or 2) have registered Indian status as defined by the *Indian Act*, and/or 3) have Band or First Nation membership. The 2006 Census population figures were unavailable upon the release of this report.

3.2 A young and growing Aboriginal population

According to Census data, Sudbury has a young and growing urban Aboriginal population.

- Between 1981 and 2001, the Aboriginal population in Sudbury grew by a remarkable 245%, from 2,140 people to 7,385 people, one of the fastest growth rates of the Aboriginal population in Canada’s large cities (Census Metropolitan Areas or CMAs).
- In 2001, Sudbury had the fourth largest Aboriginal population of any city in Ontario, with 7,385 Aboriginal persons. The three other cities with larger Aboriginal populations were Toronto (20,300), the Ontario portion of Ottawa-Hull (9,150) and Thunder Bay (8,205).
- In 2001, about 5% of the total population of Sudbury was Aboriginal. By comparison, only 0.4% of the total population of Toronto and 1% of Ottawa-Hull’s population was Aboriginal.
- In 2001, one in four Aboriginal people in Sudbury was under the age of 15 years, compared with 18% of the non-Aboriginal population (Stats Canada 2001).

FIGURE 3A Population pyramid for the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations, Sudbury, 2001

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001

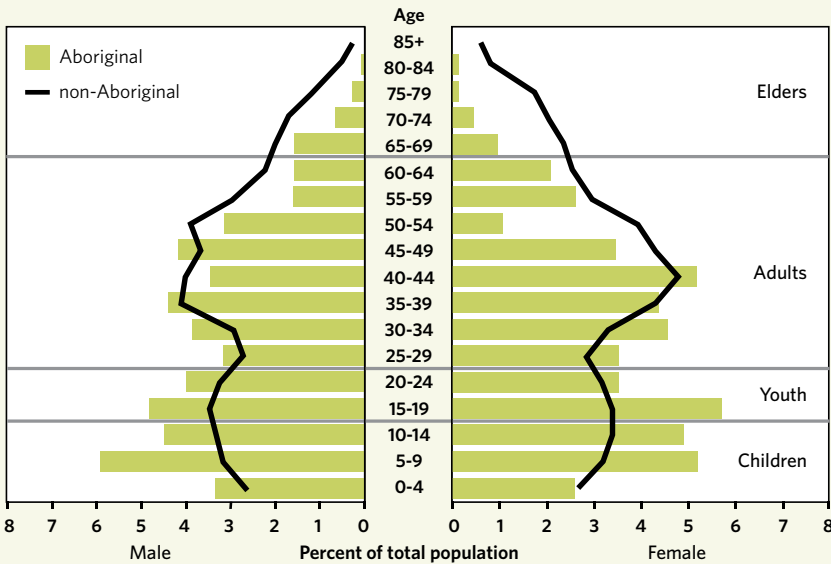
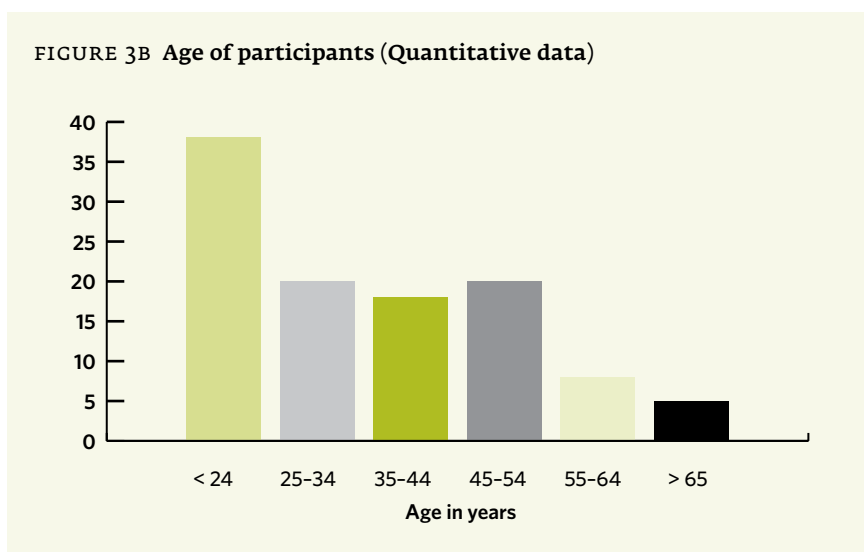


Figure 3A details the age distribution in Sudbury with 44% of Aboriginal people under the age of 25. Only 5% of Aboriginal people were 65 years and over, compared to 14% in the non-Aboriginal population. Importantly, in spite of the UATF community survey not including children, the data nonetheless parallels the census findings in terms of a younger population, with 48% of our respondents being under the age of 34.

Although UATF respondents were purposely selected to be 18 years and older for consent purposes, 47% of community survey participants were still below the age of 34, with 27% below the age of 24. See Figure 3B below.

- 27% below the age of 24
- 20% between the ages of 25 and 34

One of the most striking features of the urban Aboriginal population, as reported in the 2001 Census data, is how young it is compared to the non-Aboriginal population. Although Aboriginal youth under the age of 18, a large and growing cohort of urban Aboriginal children and youth, did not participate in the UATF study, recommendations and resulting programs and services must consider the current and future implications of the predominance of the young Aboriginal population. There will be a huge challenge to work with Aboriginal youth to develop educational, social, cultural and employment initiatives beyond those currently available to them.



3.3 Gender profile ⁴

Although Statistics Canada reported equal numbers of Aboriginal men and women living in Sudbury, the UATF community survey and key informant interview guide participants were predominantly women. It is important to note that the researchers attempted to generate a diverse sample of respondents (across gender, age, and income). The Sudbury UATF respondents' gender profile is shown in *Table 3A*.

TABLE 3A Gender profile of UATF respondents

Respondent/method	Females	Males	Total
Key informant interviews (%)	64%	36%	100%
Community survey (%)	63%	37%	100%

Women also had greater representation on the Community Research Committee in Sudbury. This gender imbalance may reflect the fact that women tend to be Executive Directors of urban Aboriginal organizations more than men and are more active in the urban Aboriginal community generally. In order to address the possibility of a gender bias within this study, a men's focus group was conducted and many of the results of this group were incorporated into the overall findings. The role of women in community development is further examined in Chapter 11.

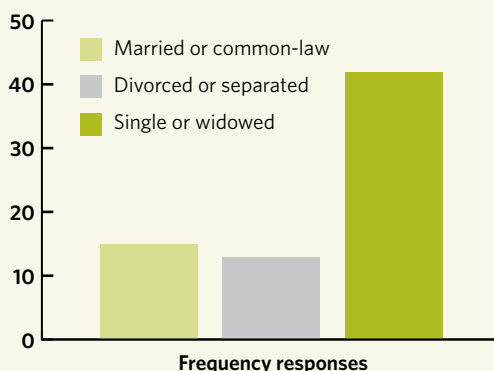
3.4 Family characteristics and marital status

The 2001 Census data shows that, generally, urban Aboriginal families in Sudbury are large, with many headed by single parents. In 2001, about 21% of Aboriginal families in Sudbury had three or more children, compared to 16% of non-Aboriginal families. One in four (25%) of Aboriginal families in Sudbury was headed by a single parent, compared to 14% of non-Aboriginal families. In addition, 6% of Aboriginal families were headed by a single parent and had three or more children, compared to about 2% of non-Aboriginal families. Of all Aboriginal families living in

⁴ We have intentionally used the term gender rather than sex as a way of expanding on notions of male and female traits being tied exclusively to a person's biology. Gender, rather, is a more inclusive and socially constructed term that has allowed respondents to self-identify as male, female or trans-gendered based upon a number of other considerations.

FIGURE 3C Marital status (Quantitative data)

- 45% are married or living common-law
- 13% are divorced or separated
- 42% are single or widowed



Sudbury in 2001, 22% were lone-parent families headed by women and 3% were lone-parent families headed by men. The prevalence of single parent families was further highlighted in the UATF data in that 55% of community survey respondents indicated that they were either separated/divorced or single/widowed, as shown in *Figure 3c*.

These findings have significant implications for urban Aboriginal people, especially women, who are attempting to attain a stable economic existence in the city. With large single parent families, urban Aboriginal women face major challenges in finding daycare, obtaining employment and getting out of poverty, as will be discussed later in this report.

3.5 Education

The 2001 Census data found that more Aboriginal women in Sudbury are obtaining post-secondary qualifications than 26 years previous. In Sudbury in 1981, one in ten (10%) Aboriginal women aged 25 to 34 had completed post-secondary education. By 2001, this had increased to one in three (34%). There has also been an increase in the percentages of Aboriginal men obtaining post-secondary schooling (29% in 1981 to 38% in 2001).

TABLE 3B Educational attainment in Sudbury

Population 25 years and over by highest level of schooling, Sudbury, 2001

	Aboriginal		Non-Aboriginal	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Percent			
Total	100	100	100	100
Less than high school graduation certificate	35	30	31	32
High school graduation certificate only	13	10	12	15
Some postsecondary education*	12	14	9	9
Trades, college or university certificate or diploma	38	37	35	32
University degree	2	9	13	12

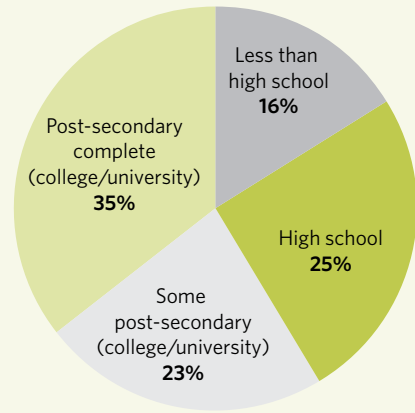
* Some postsecondary education refers to those persons who pursued their studies past high school but who did not get a postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree. Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 2001

As Table 3B indicates, Aboriginal men in Sudbury are less likely (2%) to complete a university degree than Aboriginal women (9%), and less Aboriginal men and women complete university degrees than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. Importantly, the higher rates of ‘some postsecondary education’ for Aboriginal people in Sudbury points to the incidence of having to leave college and university before completion. The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) found that among the off-reserve Aboriginal population in Canada, men and women had different reasons for not completing high school. For young Aboriginal men aged 15 to 34, the most commonly reported reason was ‘bored with school’. ‘Pregnancy/ taking care of children’ topped the reasons provided by young Aboriginal women in the same age group.

Also, the 2001 Census further points to school attendance rates among Aboriginal youth in Sudbury (15-24 years of age) increasing significantly from 1981 (43%) to 2001 (66%), and young Aboriginal women having higher school attendance rates (70%) than their male counterparts (62%) and non-Aboriginal women in the same age group (67%). Furthermore, Aboriginal women have a greater tendency to return to school later in life. For ex-

FIGURE 3D Education levels (Quantitative data)

- 16% of respondents had less than high school
- 25% of respondents had high school high school
- 23% of respondents had some post-secondary education at a college or university
- 35% of respondents had completed post-secondary education at a college or university



ample, 13% of Aboriginal women 35 years of age or older were attending school in 2001, compared to 4% of non-Aboriginal women in the same age group.

UATF participants were asked about their education levels and their reasons for leaving school. Importantly, this data indicates greater rates of high school completion (25%) and some post secondary education (23%) for Aboriginal students than the Census figures at 12% (average) and 13% (average), respectively. Those participants that have completed postsecondary education (college, trade, and university) account for 35% of those surveyed, which is slightly less than the 2001 census data, as shown in *Figure 3D*.

According to UATF community survey data, of the 39% who reported having to leave school, a significant number (42%) had to leave for family reasons, followed by health issues (13%) and work related responsibilities (7%). See *Figure 3E* and *Table 3C*.

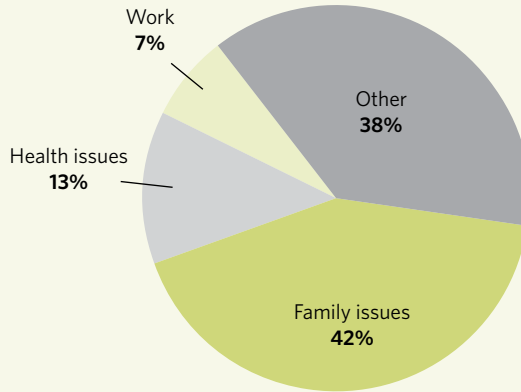
TABLE 3C Leaving school before completion (Quantitative data)

Did respondent leave school before completion?	Percent
Yes	39
No	61

Due to the closed nature of the question, a large (38%) percentage of responses fell into the ‘Other’ category, pointing to the need for further, more detailed, qualitative research on the reasons that students are leaving school.

FIGURE 3E Reasons for leaving school (Quantitative data)

- 42% of respondents left school due to family issues
- 13% of respondents left school due to health issues
- 7% of respondents left school for work
- 38% of respondents left school for unspecified "other" reasons



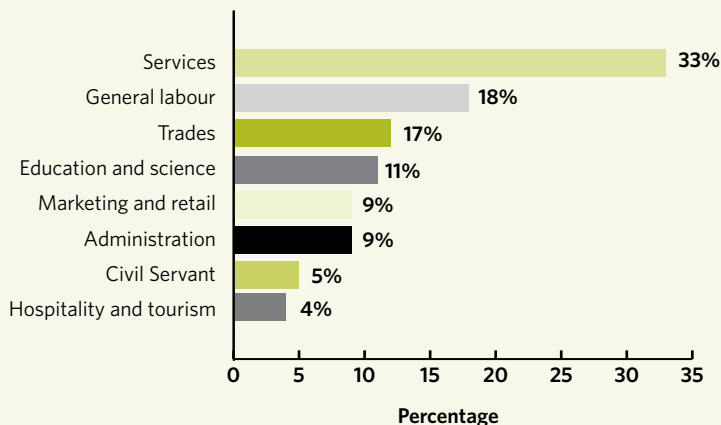
3.6 Employment and income of Aboriginal people in Sudbury

According to 2001 Census data, the unemployment rate for urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury was more than double that of the non-Aboriginal population (19.7% compared to 8.7%) with unemployment rates higher for men than for women. Unemployment rates were particularly high for Sudbury's young people. In 2001, 35% of North American "Indian" youth aged 15 to 24 years were unemployed, as were 36% of Métis youth, and 17% of non-Aboriginal youth (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Census data further identified that the earnings of those who were employed improved over the 1980 to 2000 period. In 1980, the median employment earnings of Aboriginal persons (the point where half of people are earning more and half of people are earning less) was \$14,460. By 2000, this had increased to \$20,043. Even with these increases, however, Aboriginal people continued to earn less than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. In 1980, Aboriginal people earned 53% of what non-Aboriginal people were earning. By 2000, Aboriginal people were earning 80% of what non-Aboriginal people were earning (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Importantly, the gap between the earnings of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is smaller for women than for men. In 2000, Aboriginal women had median earnings of \$16,012, 84% the figure for non-Aboriginal

FIGURE 3F Type of occupation (Quantitative data)



women. Although Aboriginal men earned considerably more than Aboriginal women (\$24,753), this represented just 74% of the median employment earnings of non-Aboriginal men. Overall, in 2000, 19% Aboriginal persons had total median incomes (from all sources) of \$40,000 or over, compared to 27% of non-Aboriginal persons (Statistics Canada, 2001).

FIGURE 3G Annual income (Quantitative data)

- The largest group, 45% of participants, reported earning less than \$20,000 per year
- The next largest group, 26% of participants, reported earning \$20-40,000 per year
- 13% of participants reported earning between \$40-60,000 per year
- 8% of participants reported earning over \$60,000 per year

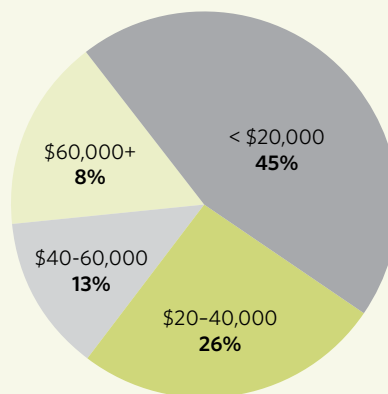
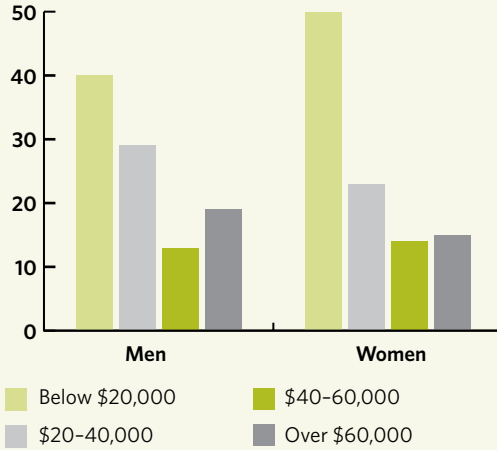


FIGURE 3H Annual income by gender (Quantitative data)

- 40% of men and 50% of women earn below \$20,000 per year
- 19% of men and 15% of women earn over \$60,000 per year



Another factor that affects employment earnings is occupation. In 2001, ‘sales and service’ occupations topped the list for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Sudbury (28%). However, the kinds of jobs people hold are profoundly shaped by gender. Men are much more likely than women to work as trades, transport and equipment operators or in occupations unique to primary industry. Women are more likely to work in occupations related to business, finance and administration, health and social science, education, government service and sales. This holds true for both the Aboriginal and the non-Aboriginal population.

However, Aboriginal men are more likely than their non-Aboriginal counterparts to work in jobs unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities. Aboriginal women are more likely than non-Aboriginal women to have jobs in social science, education, government services and religion.

From the *Figures 3E, 3F, and 3G* we see the predominance of Aboriginal people (33%) involved in the service industry. This is followed by the prevalence (30%) of trades and general labour employment. Moreover, we see that a significant number (45%) of Aboriginal people in Sudbury earn less than \$20,000, with a minority (29%) of residents earning more than \$40,000. Lastly, UATF data shows greater representation of Aboriginal women in the lower income brackets, and less representation in the higher income brackets than Aboriginal men in Sudbury.

Importantly, a significant number (25%) of Aboriginal people in Sudbury are living below the low-income cut-off compared to 14% of the non-Aboriginal population. Statistics Canada uses the concept of low-income cut-off (LICO) to indicate an income threshold below which a family will likely devote a larger share of its income on the necessities of food, shelter and clothing than the average family. Irrespective of the population group, a higher percentage of women than men were living in a low-income situation. In addition, 37% of Aboriginal children in Sudbury were living under the LICO, compared to 17% of non-Aboriginal children (Statistics Canada, 2001).

3.7 Residency in the city

Aboriginal people live in cities. This simple declarative statement hides a complex reality. NEWHOUSE & PETERS, 2003

Newhouse and Peters (2003) note the movement of Aboriginal people to Canadian urban areas has been occurring since 1951. At that time, only 6.7% of Aboriginal people lived in cities. By 2001, the number of Aboriginal people living in Canadian cities increased to 49%. Some Aboriginal leaders estimate that as many as 70% now reside in urban areas. The challenge for research such as the UATF study is to understand and convey this complex reality. The challenge for government is to use these understandings to guide federal, provincial and municipal policy and programming available to urban Aboriginal people.

The 2001 Census indicates that Aboriginal people tend to move more often than non-Aboriginal people. In Sudbury, only 47% of the Aboriginal population had lived at the same address five years ago, compared to 64% of the non-Aboriginal population. From 1996 to 2001, about 34% of Aboriginal people had moved at least once within Sudbury, and the rest had moved to Sudbury from another community (19%). When asked on the 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey (APS) why they moved to their current city, town or community, most off-reserve Aboriginal people in Ontario reported 'family' reasons, followed by 'work' and 'better housing' (Statistics Canada, 2001).

However, longtime urban Aboriginal residency can contribute to strong urban Aboriginal community developing within cities, and from

FIGURE 3I Time lived in current city (Quantitative data)

- 75% have lived in Sudbury for 5 years or more
- 25% have lived in Sudbury for less than 5 years

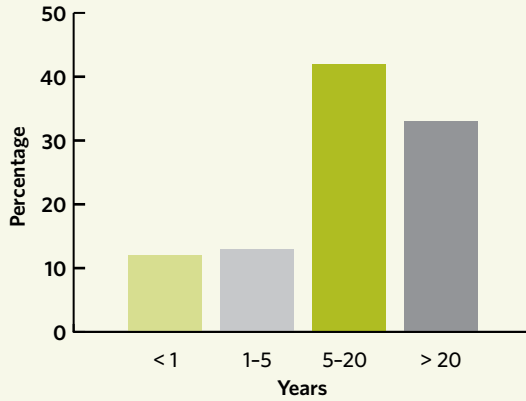


Figure 3I below we see evidence within the UATF data of a longstanding and stable urban Aboriginal population in Sudbury, where 75% of residents have been living in the city for 5 years or more.

The urban Aboriginal community in Sudbury is a long standing, cooperative, developing and collaborative group. It has been supported by Aboriginal individuals of all groups. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

The pattern that emerges is one where the majority of urban Aboriginal people have lived in Sudbury for a substantial period of time (although less than non-Aboriginal people), with a sizable group having moved to the city quite recently. It is clear, therefore, that a sizable group of Aboriginal people have been living in the city on a permanent basis for a significant amount of time. Several issues arise out of this situation, including: the task of maintaining a strong cultural identity in the city, obtaining adequate affordable housing, integrating into the social and economic life of the city and, perhaps most importantly, forming a stable and vibrant Aboriginal community in Sudbury. In addition, providing programs and services to a group of people with such diverse experiences with urban life (i.e. newcomers and long-term residents) is a significant challenge to urban agencies.

Although UATF participants reported an important connection to the city in which they are living, their residency does not preclude a relationship with their community of origin. The following section (3.8 Urban

Aboriginal residency and communities of origin) explores the relationship to a First Nations community of origin as reported by UATF community survey respondents.

3.8 Urban Aboriginal Residency and communities of origin

TABLE 3D Maintain links with community of origin (Qualitative data)

Do you maintain links to your community of origin?	Percent
Yes	86
No	14

Links to a community of origin are important to the key informant interview respondents in Sudbury, as Table 3D demonstrates. The table shows a strong relationship between the city and the community of origin for the majority of key informants. According to these participants, the desire

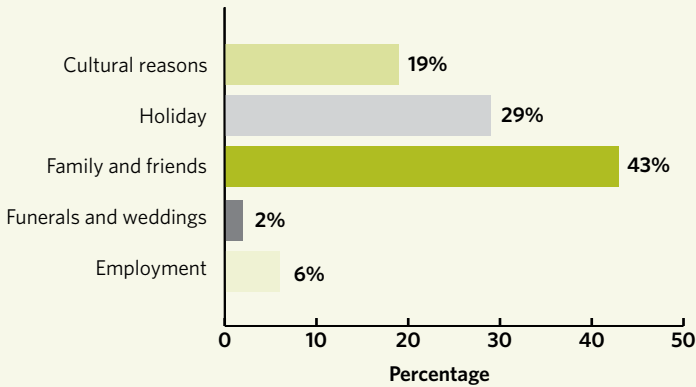
to maintain these connections is due primarily to family and friendship ties, the celebration of holidays and other cultural reasons, as shown in Figure 3J.

- The highest percentage (43%) reported returning for friends and family events; and,
- the lowest percentage (2%) reported returning for funerals and weddings.

In Sudbury, the kids get the best of both worlds being able to quickly go home to the reserves nearby and having the opportunities to enjoy services and work in the city. It is healthy for the children to be exposed to the bush and nature. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

It is clear from the data that the majority of UATF research participants in Sudbury maintain some familial/social and cultural links to their communities of origin, even though they have long tenure within the city. Moreover, we can see from Figures 3K and 3L that a significant majority (77%) of community survey respondents visited their community of origin less than three times per year, and that an increased number of

FIGURE 3J Reasons for visit to community of origin as city by community survey participants



annual visits is correlated with increased income or the ability to cover the increase in travel expense.

On average, UATF respondents returning most often are those with the highest economic ability to do so, i.e. those with an annual income of over \$60,000.

Importantly, however, as shown in *Table 3E*, a minority (38%) of survey participants indicated that they intend to move back to their community of origin. The majority (62%) of Aboriginal people indicate that they intend to continue living in the city permanently. The fact remains, how-

FIGURE 3K Number of visits to community of origin (Quantitative data)

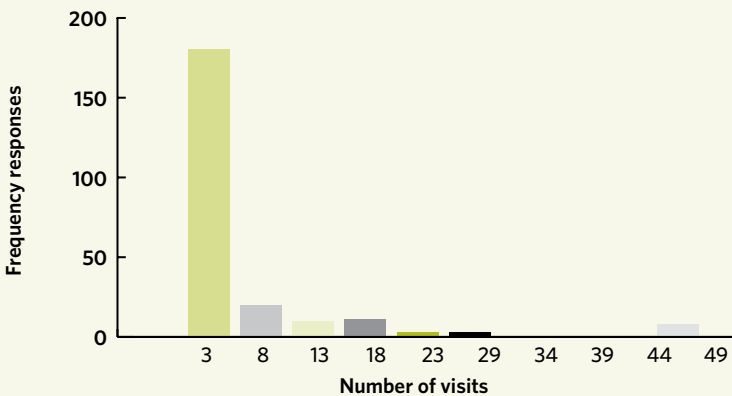
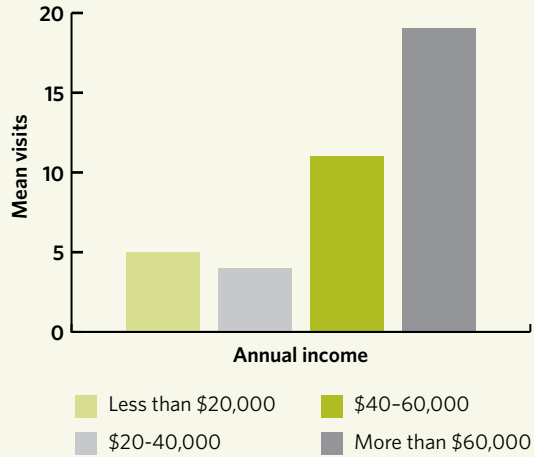


FIGURE 3L Number of visits to community of origin according to income (Quantitative data)

- 19 visits per year for those earning \$60,000 and over annually
- 11 visits per year for those earning between \$40,000 and \$60,000 annually
- 4 visits per year for those earning between \$20,000 and \$40,000 annually



ever, that there is some degree of moving back and forth between the city and community of origin for urban Aboriginal people. The relationship between the two communities is obviously meaningful for the individuals that do visit and thus an important consideration in the planning of any programs and services, retention of a cultural identity and building of a strong Aboriginal community in the city. Links to the community of origin are primarily reflective of family, social and cultural factors. However, the lack of viable social and cultural resources available in the city may also be a motivation to return to a community of origin. If this is the case, it points to the need to develop sustainable relationships and social and cultural institutions in the city to foster a healthy urban

Aboriginal community in the long term.

Given the importance of the link between the city and community of origin for many urban Aboriginal people, and the fact that many Aboriginal people continue to move to the city from First Nations communities, it would seem desir-

TABLE 3E Intend to move back to community of origin (Quantitative data)

Do you intend to move back to your community of origin?	Percent
Yes	38
No	62

able to establish formal relationships between First Nations and urban Aboriginal service organizations. Such relationships could be of great benefit for both parties. For example, urban Aboriginal agencies could maintain regular communications with First Nation social service, education and housing officials to work toward a "seamless" entry into the city for individuals from First Nations who are planning to migrate to the city. First Nation individuals planning to move to the city for the first time could be assisted in their preparation for the move and helped in their initial adjustment to urban life in terms of orientation, finances, housing, education and employment. Urban Aboriginal agencies could benefit by providing services to new arrivals from First Nations on a fee for service basis. New urban migrants would benefit from the provision of services prior to and during their move. In addition, the coordination of services could assist longer term residents in their moves back and forth between the city and their community of origin.

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

KEY FINDINGS

- A tension exists in the urban centre between traditional and contemporary cultural expressions, which can make it challenging to be both urban and Aboriginal.
- Traditional culture is considered to be very important to urban Aboriginal identities.
- Aboriginal languages and Elders are essential to urban Aboriginal cultures.

As culture moves and changes across time, place and people its boundaries, expressions and many meanings can be very difficult to succinctly capture in a report such as this. Our findings point to this fluid quality of culture, as many of the responses highlight the interconnection between culture and identity, racism, gender, economic affluence, mobility and the reality of colonization in Canada.

Urban Aboriginal people today are living with the legacy of early Indian Act repression and residential schools; and laws and programs informed by state policy designed to clear the land for development, nation building and assimilation of Aboriginal people in to the general society. Colonial domination persists in a variety of forms, including (but not limited to): the failure of the criminal justice system and Aboriginal overrepresentation in prisons; racism and stereotyping; enduring poverty in Aboriginal communities; persistent health difficulties relating to that poverty and the decline of Aboriginal languages.

In the early 1970's, many researchers (e.g. Dosman, 1972; Garbarino, 1971; Graves, 1971; Jorgenson, 1971; Olsen, 1971) studied Aboriginal culture and identity as more Aboriginal people moved into cities. Most of these

studies focused on the adaptation processes of Aboriginal people in cities; with many drawing particular attention to an urban Aboriginal culture of poverty, cultural conflict and loss of culture. There were a few exceptions to this predominantly negative view of urban Aboriginal people and culture (e.g. see McCaskill, 1979). However, the majority of studies have perpetuated a one-dimensional image of urban Aboriginal people's lives, with the view that cities and urban Aboriginal cultures are incompatible. These studies can be summed up in a quotation by Larry Krotz (1980) in *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities*, where he states that "There is a strong, sometimes racist, perception that being Aboriginal and being urban are mutually exclusive" (pp. 10–11).

Particularly poignant in terms of contemporary urban Aboriginal culture and expression of identity is the notion that Aboriginal culture, unlike all other cultures, cannot change. This longstanding assumption finds its way into the urban Aboriginal community, creating a tension around notions of Aboriginal 'authenticity.' This makes things particularly challenging for those living in urban centres and 'away from the land'. Because of such racist pressures and preconceived notions of Aboriginal 'authenticity,' living in the city, being economically successful and having a general sense of wellness can be perceived as threatening to preconceived notions of Aboriginal identity.

This research has found that the general implication of these pressures is an ongoing internal and external tension between contemporary and traditional Aboriginal cultural expressions. These tensions influence the perceptions of Aboriginal identity, and are a source of conflict within the urban Aboriginal community.

They have disconnected from the Aboriginal community to be successful in mainstream. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Many Aboriginals working within mainstream carry two identities — one when with white people and an authentic identity with their own.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

This tension is occurring within an overall view that Aboriginal culture is extremely important as a matter of distinction from other cultures, and that tradition (knowledge, teachings, ceremony, language, etc.) marks the boundaries of difference between Aboriginality and

non-Aboriginality. Moreover, tradition is often the basis of contemporary cultural forms found in art galleries, museums, literature, film and video, dance, and theatre; and it is from within these sites that urban Aboriginal communities are emerging.³

Our respondents from the community survey, key informant interviews, focus groups and life histories spoke about culture in a great diversity of ways. Patterns of responses did, however, emerge around the following themes:

- the importance of traditional teachings, ceremonies and Elders, and the challenges of maintaining the integrity of ceremonial practice in culturally diverse urban centres;
- the importance of maintaining Aboriginal languages;
- the importance of family in Aboriginal culture; and,
- the importance of cultural events such as pow wows, feasts etc., where people can come together and practice their culture.

Thus a very important finding from the study relates to how important maintaining and enhancing their Aboriginal culture and identity is to urban individuals.

Traditional Aboriginal culture is an important part of Aboriginal community life in Sudbury. This is where we have the opportunity to gather and celebrate Aboriginal heritage in our community. This also serves as a connecting force within urban raised and other cultures leading to increased acceptance. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

We need the opportunity to gather and celebrate Aboriginal heritage in our community. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Opportunities to learn Aboriginal languages in Sudbury? Don't have time to teach it, hard to find people to teach it. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Language allows us to keep our culture. It provides us with an identity that is part of a community and connects us to the spirit.
(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

³ See Ekman, D. 2006. *Housing Community: Museums, Urban Aboriginal People, and Development* for further reading on the role of museums in building urban Aboriginal communities.

A lot of people don't know about their culture. It is difficult to practice in the urban center and there is not much going on....it could be more prominent. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

The most important family value is keeping the family together despite obstructions and struggles. This value has been passed down to her from generation to generation and is evident when you see her own children raising their own children. (LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

4.1 Dimensions of group identity and ethnicity

This section begins with the community survey group identity responses. The majority of respondents identified as First Nations belonging primarily to the Anishnabe cultural group. *Figure 4A* and *Figure 4B* (next page) show the participants' responses to community survey questions of ethnicity.

Thus over 80% of UATF survey research participants identified primarily as members of a First Nation. The next largest group of UATF survey respondents identified as Métis. Although approximately 80% of participants identified as Anishnabe, only 33% of respondents answered this question.

FIGURE 4A Aboriginal group identity (Quantitative data)

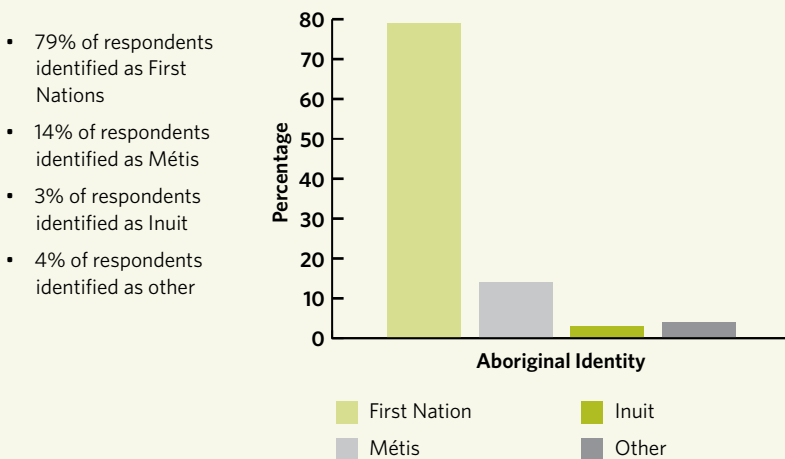
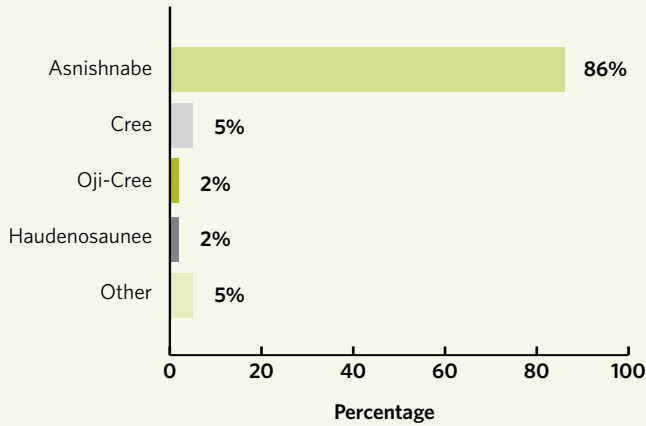


FIGURE 4B First Nations tribal affiliation identity (Quantitative data)



4.2 Cultural events and participation in cities

In assessing the importance of cultural traditions, both key informants and community survey participants were asked if they participated in traditional and non-traditional Aboriginal cultural activities. As can be seen in *Figure 4c*, a significant number of survey respondents indicated that traditional Aboriginal cultural practices are important for maintaining and enhancing cultural identity (60%) and fostering community interaction (30%).

FIGURE 4C Why is traditional Aboriginal culture important? (Quantitative data)

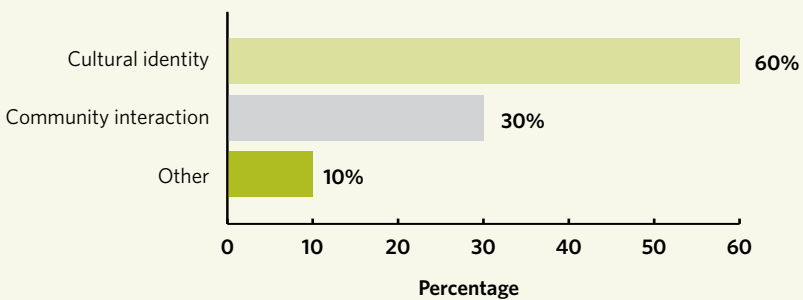


TABLE 4A Importance of traditional culture (Quantitative data)

Is traditional culture important in life?	Percent
Yes	83
No	17

TABLE 4B Participation in traditional Aboriginal culture (Quantitative data)

Do you participate in traditional culture?	Percent
Yes	83
No	17

As evident in *Tables 4A* and *4B*, the majority of community survey participants felt that traditional culture is important in life and participate in traditional cultural activities:

- 83% of community survey participants indicated that traditional cultural practices are important in life
- 17% of community survey participants indicated that traditional cultural practices were not important in life
- 83% participate in traditional Aboriginal culture
- 17% do not participate in traditional Aboriginal culture

I made a conscientious choice to bar any drinking or alcohol in my home. I was 30 years old and had taken a good look at my weekend drinking binges and decided that this is not what I wanted. The choice was made easier when the Federation of Friendship Centres made it mandatory for all of their workers not to engage in drinking at workshops and conferences in the evenings. Weekends then became times that I spent at Pow-Wows and traditional gatherings where I made a business out of selling Native crafts and cooking. It was a hobby that has become a real business venture for me along with my sisters at all of the Pow-Wows. Today we are well known on the Pow Wow trail for our cooking and catering as well as selling crafts. I have made a real family affair of it engaging my own children in helping out as well as providing opportunities for my children to dance at competition Pow-wows and traditional. My youngest daughter is 16 years old and is quite active at competition Pow-Wows. I have continued this today and spend much time catering traditional feasts such as Cecil Facer school, the Sudbury Jail and others. (LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

4.3 Non-traditional cultural activities

Respondents’ participation in traditional Aboriginal culture sometimes occurs as part of their participation in general Aboriginal sponsored activities in cities. Aboriginal agencies often sponsor these events within the city.

There are some cultural events that happen in the city like drumming circles and feasts and we express our culture in our artwork, clothing and the way we live our life with humility with respect for other people and the environment. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Families, extended families and elders are important to us, culture is a way of life that happens wherever you are. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Language and ceremony are important although sometimes it is difficult to have ceremony in the city in the way that it should be done. We have to compromise sometimes. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

The little NHL is an Aboriginal cultural event ... as are many other recreational activities where we all get together.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

TABLE 4C Participation in Aboriginal-sponsored events (Quantitative data)

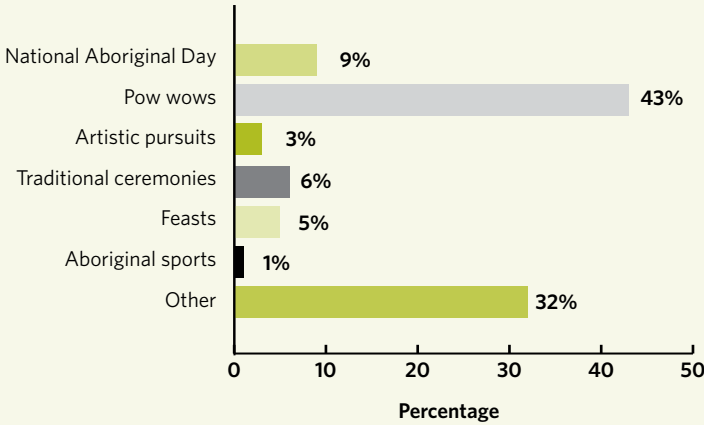
Do you participate in Aboriginal-sponsored events in the city?	Percent
Yes	77
No	23

- 77% of respondents participate in Aboriginal-sponsored events in cities
- 23% of respondents do not participate in Aboriginal-sponsored events in cities

Thus, Aboriginal organizations promote culture and identity for urban Aboriginal people through service delivery and the events that they sponsor; but more importantly, through their existence as Aboriginal organizations.

Community survey participants in Sudbury responded about the types of Aboriginal-sponsored events that they attend in the city. Their responses were varied, but pow wows in the city are the most well-attended events for the UATF respondents, as shown in Figure 4D.

FIGURE 4D Participation in types of Aboriginal-sponsored events (Quantitative data)



4.4 Aboriginal language usage

As previously discussed, language use and fluency can be an important part of Aboriginal identity. Interview participants (94%) indicated that it is important to speak an Aboriginal language. The key informant interview participant responses are shown in *Table 4D*.

Community survey participants, on the other hand, were asked if they could speak an Aboriginal language, and if so, to rate their fluency. The responses to these

questions, summarized in *Tables 4D* and *4E*, indicate that roughly 42% of participants could speak an Aboriginal language, with 21% assessing their fluency as very good or excellent and 13% as good. The majority of UATF community survey respondents (66%) rated their language proficiency in an Aboriginal language as limited or fair.

Moreover, as shown in *Figure 4E*, the community survey further reveals that Aboriginal languages are most often spoken as follows: 33% in the

TABLE 4D Importance of speaking an Aboriginal language (Qualitative data)

(ED/CM KII)

Is it important to be able to speak a First Nation language?	Percent
Yes	94
No	6

TABLE 4E Ability to speak an Aboriginal language (Quantitative data)

Can you speak a First Nation language?	Percent
Yes	58
No	42

TABLE 4F Aboriginal language fluency (Quantitative data)

How fluent are you in an Aboriginal language?	Percent
Very good to excellent	21
Good	13
Limited to fair	66

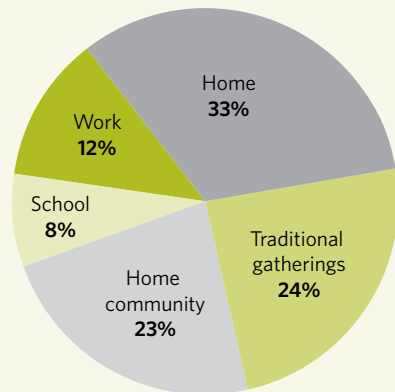
home; 24 % at traditional gatherings; 23% in home community; 12% at work; 8% at school.

Thus, Aboriginal languages are spoken predominantly in respondents’ homes with other members of their families, and at traditional gatherings.

It is clear that Aboriginal languages are extremely important to urban Aboriginal people and that there is a danger that these languages are in decline. Therefore special attention should be given in developing educational programs to contribute to the maintenance of Aboriginal languages in urban areas.

FIGURE 4E Where Aboriginal languages are spoken (Quantitative data)

- 33% use Aboriginal language in the home
- 24% use Aboriginal language at traditional gatherings
- 23% use Aboriginal language in their home community
- 8% use Aboriginal language at school
- 12% use Aboriginal language at work



4.5 Elders

Respondents indicated that Elders play an important role in Aboriginal cultures as the holders of Indigenous knowledge, healers, counselors and spiritual teachers and practitioners. In Sudbury, Elders fulfill a variety of roles, yet some research participants spoke of difficulties in finding Elders:

Elders should play a role in our lives, but I don't see them and I am not sure who they are. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Elders are very important. They are our story tellers and they can help us with teachings, mentoring and sharing their experiences. Elders have a vast amount of knowledge that could be wasted if it is not used.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Aboriginal people are faced with having to move off reserve to attend school, training or to seek employment, leaving their families behind. They often feel the need to seek guidance and support from elders that is not always readily available. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

SERVICE DELIVERY TO ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

KEY FINDINGS

- A large number of urban Aboriginal organizations have been established since the 1981 Task Force.
- Aboriginal agencies are perceived as providing more culturally-based programs and are preferred by a majority of urban Aboriginal people over mainstream agencies.
- Aboriginal people in Sudbury tend to access Aboriginal health agencies more so than other Aboriginal social service agencies.
- There is a perception that urban Aboriginal agencies are not funded at the same level as non-Aboriginal agencies and do not have the same degree of long-term funding stability.
- The majority of urban Aboriginal organizations focus on social services for those in the greatest need and there remain major gaps in the provision of these services.

5.1 Evolution of Aboriginal agencies

The 1981 Task Force report highlighted the lack of services for urban Aboriginal people. It identified service needs in the following areas: housing, employment, cultural awareness, drug and alcohol abuse, education, family life and childhood, social welfare, youth, recreation, women, health and nutrition, justice, and senior citizens (1981, Figure 9, p. 57). The report recommended the development of Aboriginal organizations in cities to address these unmet needs.

In the current UATF study, Executive Director key informants provided information about the year in which their organizations were created.

According to the analysis of the interview data, 1986 was the average year that respondents indicated their organization was created, suggesting the influence of the 1981 Task Force recommendation.

5.2 Major challenges for Aboriginal organizations

Many of the Aboriginal youth and families we help have moved here from their reserves. Language is sometimes a barrier, and it would be of great benefit for them to be served in their own language. Other differences in communication styles also need to be addressed. Because of the discrimination and stereotyping, Aboriginal people feel more comfortable in an Aboriginal center and being served by Aboriginal staff.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Often Aboriginal people don't really know what they need. The service needs are different in the areas of transition. Some could compare our clients to international students coming to a new country. Some of our clients are faced with huge culture shock in the sense that they have never been to an urban area. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

As noted in Chapter 4, Aboriginal organizations are important to urban Aboriginal people for the maintenance of culture and identity. As indicated by the Executive Directors of Aboriginal organizations in Sudbury, 87% of Aboriginal agencies incorporate Aboriginal culture in the delivery of their services.

The cultural aspect of Aboriginal organizations in urban Aboriginal communities is a positive feature for its members. The culturally-based nature of these organizations goes beyond the provision of programs and services; it is inherent in the "organizational ethos" of many Aboriginal organizations. That is, Aboriginal culture is expressed in such areas as: staff-client relations, staff interaction, the organization's atmosphere, the decision-making process, linkages with the larger urban Aboriginal community as well as the service delivery approach. In each of these elements of the organization's functioning there is an attempt to reflect traditional Aboriginal culture, values and practices. Thus many Aboriginal agencies tend to be less formal, less hierarchical, and less reliant on written compared to oral communications. In addition, Aboriginal agencies

TABLE 5A Differences in service between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations (Qualitative data)

(ED/CM K11)

Are there differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations?	Percent
Yes	84
No	16

TABLE 5B Accessing Aboriginal agencies (Quantitative data)

Do you access Aboriginal service agencies?	Percent
Yes	68
No	32

tend to: put a greater emphasis staff experience in terms of evaluating effectiveness; have a heavy reliance on peer support and team work; delegate tasks to a high degree; make extensive use of volunteers; emphasize individual responsibility for his/her own behaviour; and take a holistic approach to providing services.

Some Executive Directors of Aboriginal organizations believe that these aspects of their organization often go unrecognized, and therefore that a significant role urban Aboriginal organizations fulfil goes unfunded—a role that non-Aboriginal organizations cannot play regardless of their service delivery capacity. From Table 5A, we can see that among key informants there is a perceived difference

(84%) between the services provided by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agencies. Broadly this perception of the differences is also held within the general urban Aboriginal community, as evidenced in the fact that the majority (68%) of community survey participants access Aboriginal agencies.

5.3 The coordination and funding of services

If there is going to be better communication and cooperation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations it will have to start at the Government level where a unified understanding and respect is formed for First Nations peoples and programming. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

To improve cooperation more Aboriginal staff needs to be hired to increase the sense of safety for clients and trust building opportunities. There needs to be an increase in cultural understanding/ competence for all

staff beyond policies that support culture of Aboriginal health and well-being. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

The trust is not there for non-Aboriginal service providers. They overlook our culture when they specifically look for people who are bilingual which automatically means French or English. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

Mainstream service providers (CAS, Family & Social Services) think Aboriginal services are too lenient and wish-washy. They lack an understanding of the way we work with our people—i.e., sharing circles, feasts, etc.—they do not see the benefit of Aboriginal specific services.

(HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

A significant majority (77%) of Executive Directors of Aboriginal agencies were aware of non-Aboriginal agencies in Sudbury that provided services to Aboriginal clients. Many Executive Directors from Aboriginal and mainstream organizations alike stressed the desirability of working together to ensure more coordination of their service delivery. Forty-two percent stated that they were presently dissatisfied with the level of cooperation and coordination between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agencies. Such cooperation and coordination would work toward establishing a seamless and integrated provision of services and would help to avoid duplication of services, allow for greater efficiency, and create an overall more effective system of meeting client needs.

Although the number of urban Aboriginal organizations has increased significantly over the last 30 years, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) found great challenges in sustaining Aboriginal organizations. The quotation below points to the frustration of RCAP respondents with their unstable funding environments,

Many of the delegates spoke at length about the divisions within Aboriginal urban communities and of the frustrations of constantly chasing program dollars, of providing essential services with dwindling resources, and of their over-reliance on the aid of volunteers

— *Aboriginal Peoples in Urban Centres: Report of the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues, 1992, p. 8*

UATF Executive Director key informants echoed these frustrations with having to constantly chase dollars and provide adequate services

with fewer resources. These participants spoke of further challenges, as shown in the following quotations:

I believe that there really isn't an impact when servicing an O-G1 client (non-status, out of Province and unaffiliated) as we are giving the tools/resources to assist those F/N individuals with accessing funding where appropriate. However, when trying to access those funding dollars we are sometimes told that they will only assist on-reserve members.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

There has been an overall decline in the levels of funding leading to feelings of disempowerment and exclusion. Cuts to social services have had a very negative impact. There is increased poverty and anger and mental health issues are a serious problem. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Importantly, 93% of Executive Directors spoke of a need to better fund Aboriginal agencies, and 79% said that an Aboriginal-specific funding envelope should be established within government.

5.4 Accessing organizations in cities

In the RCAP research, participants identified several key service delivery areas that they emphasized are linked. Education, for instance, is tied to AIDS, disabilities and health. Addictions, participants said, has much to do with cultural awareness, poverty and joblessness. Participants from different cities reported different key areas of concern, but they said this may have had as much to do with the availability of government funding as it had to do with problems in their regions. The service areas they outlined run the gamut of social, cultural and economic services. The key service areas they identified were: education, addictions, disability, homelessness, child care, social services, health, housing, cultural awareness/isolation, employment, and transportation (RCAP, 1996).

TABLE 5C Types of Aboriginal organizations accessed (Qualitative data)

	Social agencies	Health agencies	Other agencies
%	27%	70%	3%

Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the community survey participants responded that they access Aboriginal agencies. Community survey participants tend to use Aboriginal community health agencies more than any other type of Aboriginal agencies in the city.

The 32% of community survey participants who do not use Aboriginal organizations provided their responses as set out in *Table 5D*:

TABLE 5D Reasons for not accessing Aboriginal organizations (Quantitative data)

	Inaccessible	Lack of need	Lack of awareness	Other
%	26%	31%	26%	17%

- 26 % are either unaware of Aboriginal agencies or find them inaccessible; and,
- 17% (a fairly large percentage) indicated the undefined ‘Other’ response pointing to the limitation of closed ended questioning and the need for more qualitative research in this area.

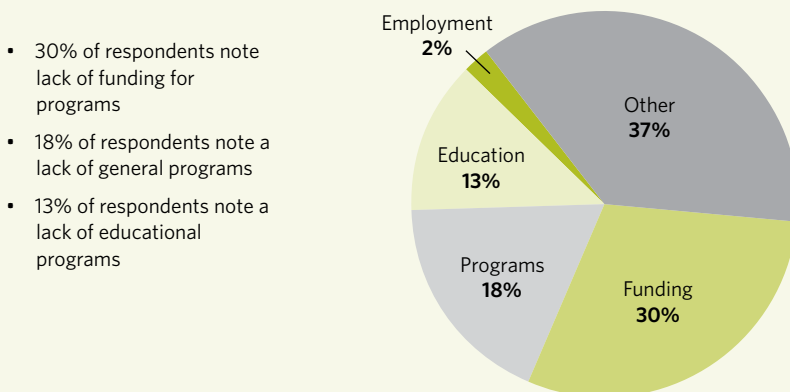
5.5 Gaps in services

There are excellent Native programs in the City but I wish we had more. There are lots for early years of 6 and under but none for the 6 to 12 age group. There needs to be in place programs and activities that would cater to this group not only Aboriginal but non-Aboriginal. Programs like drumming, traditional dancing, making regalia’s, learning traditional teachings, etc. (WOMEN’S FOCUS GROUP)

Community survey participants responded to the question about gaps in programming for Aboriginal clients, with 30% identifying a lack of funding as a cause of gaps in services. This is followed by a perceived gap in programs generally (18%) and a lack in educational programs (13%) specifically. These responses are shown in *Figure 5A*.

It is notable that the highest community survey respondent category for gaps in services was ‘other’ at 37%; thus a significant number of responses fell outside of the designated response categories. The senior’s

FIGURE 5A Gaps in programs (Quantitative data)



focus group, however, pointed to transportation for seniors as an important gap in services which might account for at least some of this 37%. More specifically, Aboriginal seniors spoke of the high cost, unreliability and inaccessibility of public transit in Sudbury. Alternatively, many respondents commented positively on the transportation services of the Shkagamik-Kwe Health Centre. However, they also reported that their mobility was severely restricted otherwise, and that this often prohibits their participation in local cultural events.

Bus services are not there when you need them and a taxi is too expensive.

I miss many of my appointments due to no ride-share programs.

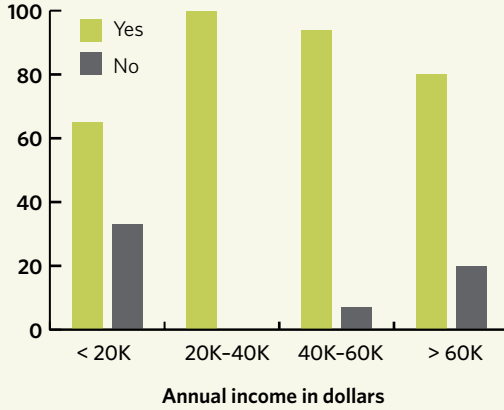
(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

I have to rely on friends a lot for rides because bus passes are so costly and bus passes are no good on Sunday because buses only run every hour. Shkagamik-Kwe does help with transportation to medical appointments...but this is it. (SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

Lifts are not adequate on buses and this makes it hard with people with disabilities to get on and off buses. Some busses don't even have lifts and so it is very hard to find transportation to cultural events and some of the events are outside of the city and you can not get there by bus therefore they can't go. (SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

FIGURE 5B Gaps in programs and services by income groupings
(Quantitative data)

- 65% perceive gaps in services for income below \$20,000
- 100% perceive gaps in services for income \$20-40,000
- 94% perceive gaps in services for income \$40-\$60,000
- 80% perceive gaps in services for income above \$60,000



When the community survey responses are broken out by income, participants in the lower income bracket (\$20,000 to \$40,000) had a 100% perception of gaps in services while the middle class income group (\$40,000 and over) show a high percentage (average of 87%) response to gaps in programs and services. *Figure 5B* shows the breakdown of income groups and their responses.

This finding suggests that the majority of programs and services provided by Aboriginal organizations are geared to those urban Aboriginal people that have the greatest needs, and that these needs are far from being met.

RACISM AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLE

KEY FINDINGS

- Although highlighted within this chapter, racism is a pervasive problem that is discussed in other areas of this study—particularly in the chapters concerning women, housing and employment.
- Racism against Aboriginal people living in Sudbury continues to be a major problem that is felt both personally and systemically.
- Negative, racist media representation is an important part of the systemic nature of racism.
- Internal racism and discrimination between Aboriginal people is also a considerable problem in Sudbury.
- Addressing power imbalances in a holistic manner that incorporates anti-racism/oppression education is essential to addressing this negative reality.

While most Aboriginal people ... have experienced prejudice, discrimination or outright racism, many non-minorities question the existence of racism in Canada. These differing perceptions make the task of studying the topic challenging and complicate the task of anti-racial advocacy and education. (ALGOMA REPORT ON RACISM, 2004)

Many organizations exercise exclusions in hiring practices. Many large organizations staff do not represent our cultural diversity.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Racism is everywhere and is still in the institutions—schools, hospitals. The messages are made very clear; it can be very subtle and you just know and feel it. (FOCUS GROUP)

For two of my children who look more Native than the others, they have experienced some racism and discrimination, name-calling at school from non-native kids. Throughout my own career within the court system, I have experience discrimination from lawyers, police officers and judges. Initially I accepted the occasional derogatory comment but as I became stronger I addressed anyone head on with any racist comment made.

(LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

Newspaper articles about Aboriginal people are often derogatory such as when the Kashchewan people were in town and running wild in the City. The Kashchewan people were very visible more so than the usual Native and they often hung around downtown. It was so embarrassing about who I am. I am afraid to go out sometime because I do not like the feeling of being discriminated as a native woman. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

I lived in Toronto and I experienced less racism there. It was more multi-cultural and harder for people to identify me as a Native person because there are so many brown skinned people there. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Although race and racism are a complex phenomenon with many definitions, there are some common elements that most can agree upon. Primarily, racism is about power and the differential and unequal treatment of one group of people by another more dominant group on the basis of supposedly biological and cultural characteristics. As a meaningful scientific category, race has been consistently dismissed by the scientific-genetics community for roughly three decades. Nonetheless, race as a socially constructed concept of inferior and fixed (stereotypical) difference continues to have negative effects on 'racialized' minorities, intersecting with colonialism and sexism to oppress Aboriginal people generally and Aboriginal women in particular.

Chapter 7 of Volume 4 of the 1996 RCAP report, *Urban Perspectives*, begins with cultural identity and segues into a section on racism. Juxtaposing identity and racism is intentional, as racism has had a negative impact on the identities of many urban Aboriginal people. In the UATF Sudbury research, the vast majority of respondents reported racism as a problem in urban areas:

When I am in a store using a status card, the people behind me in line, you can hear them talking bad and sigh or huff. (PLENARY SESSION)

My five-year-old daughter tells me that "the kids at school don't want to play with me because they tell me I am too brown." They used to tease me back in school and used to call me an Eskimo because I was Native, or they would call me Chinese. (PLENARY SESSION)

The results of this research point to the continued and wide-spread problem of racism in Sudbury, where 82% of community survey respondents felt that racism against Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal people is a problem.

6.1 Where racism most often occurs

They say we have privileges because of our tax cards and so discriminate against us. It makes me not want to be Native. The stores give you a hard time and follow you around when you are shopping because they think you are going to steal. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Stemming from a recent study on racism conducted by a coalition of organizations in Timmins, North Bay and Sault Ste. Marie, survey respondents reported a high incidence of racism in restaurants and hotels. As well, survey respondents cited schools and universities as places that they experienced racism. (CURRY, 2004)

The results of the above study parallel the UATF research in that a large majority of respondents reported racism in restaurants, malls and schools as well as places of work and in their housing experiences. More specifically, the UATF community survey in Sudbury reported a number of prevalent places where racism occurs as shown in *Figure 6A*. A significant number of survey respondents (87%) in Sudbury also felt that racial profiling by state authorities takes place.

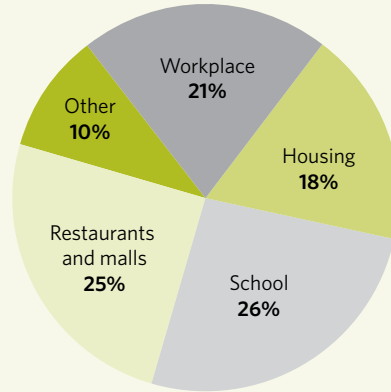
The majority of participants in the Sudbury plenary session on

TABLE 6A Racism against Aboriginal people in Sudbury (Quantitative data)

Is racism against Aboriginal people a problem in Sudbury?	Percent
Yes	82
No	18

FIGURE 6A Places where racism occurs (Quantitative data)

- 26% of respondents reported racism occurred in schools
- 25% of respondents reported racism occurred in restaurants and malls
- 21% of respondents reported racism occurred in the workplace
- 18% of respondents reported racism occurred with regard to housing
- 10% of respondents reported racism occurred in other places



racism supported the community survey respondents, noting the prevalence of racism occurring in shopping malls. Plenary session respondents experienced racism most often when using status cards, and reported being followed by security guards. Several participants spoke of non-verbal pressures applied when using their status cards:

Store merchants get annoyed when you use your status card, you can tell they don't want to bother and their body language is negative.

(PLENARY SESSION)

People in line ups tell you to get back to the end of the line, servers will often look past you and serve the white person behind you.

(PLENARY SESSION)

When I talk to landlords on the phone their places are available but when you meet them in person and they see a Native person they say the place is taken. When you call back later and they don't know you're Native over the phone the place is available again. (PLENARY SESSION)

Landlords automatically look at you as some drunken Native person, they tell you that they don't want any drinking and partying here when you don't even drink. (PLENARY SESSION)

It affects me when I am trying to get a good job to feed my family, lots of people pass us over for work thinking we don't work hard, when most times will work ourselves to the bone and with little pay.

(PLENARY SESSION)

I experienced racism all the time when I was young. I was called names and beat up because I was different. I remember being teased and this gave me the mentality of toughening up or be victimized so I became a bully myself. I had to stand up for myself. If I stood up for myself at that age and protected myself then I became the aggressor.

It seemed like everyone was against me. This was not too great, I remember getting in fights at school and getting the foster parents called. I would get disciplined by the school and then I would go home and get it again.

What could I do? I was just totally confused back then. Why was I different? Why was I going through this, why was I living this life? I had so many questions and no one to answer anything.

(LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

Discrimination is a big issue. Cab drivers often make comments that are derogatory about native people referring to them as being lazy, drunks and messy. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

6.2 Racial Profiling

Racial profiling is a key aspect of systemic racism and prejudice, and is manifested as the use of racial markers in assessing a person's likelihood of committing a particular type of crime.

Our people are often hassled by the police for no reason particularly downtown. They make bad jokes about us all the time.

(WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Police complaints to the force are being ignored and not taken seriously; they are racially biased and they can be very intimidating. We are intimidated by the police and are afraid to speak up for ourselves.

(WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

An overwhelming majority (87%) of community survey respondents from Sudbury believe that racial profiling of Aboriginal people by police does occur.

TABLE 6B Racial profiling by authorities (Quantitative data)

Does racial profiling of Aboriginal people by police occur?	Percent
Yes	87
No	13

6.3 Anti-racism initiatives in cities

What the 2003 UN report on contemporary forms of racism in Canada found, and what the Office of the Treaty Commissioner fervently believes — and is demonstrating — is that when it comes to combating racism, education works...As the UN report reminds us, education becomes the real foundation, the real facilitator, of social harmony.

JUDGE DAVID ARNOT, TREATY COMMISSIONER FOR SASKATCHEWAN, TORONTO STAR, APRIL 12, 2004

I really don't know I have been in Sudbury since 1969 and I have been living with racism since then and I think that it will continue and go on. My kids are feeling it. It will keep going on. So will anti-racism work benefit us? I don't know. (PLENARY SESSION)

Yes it is important to let people know where not all just bums and we are trying to make our society better. If people actually got to know us and our culture they would welcome us a little more. Yes anti-racism work would be useful, starting with the younger generation and teaching them will prevent them from being racists. (PLENARY SESSION)

People within Sudbury need to be more sensitive to the needs of Aboriginal people and their ways of life. Education on cultural awareness needs to be emphasized within the school systems, work place and within the community. Workshops should be more available on cultural teachings within mainstream society. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

TABLE 6C Awareness of racism initiatives in Sudbury (Quantitative data)

Are you aware of racism initiatives happening in Sudbury?	Percent
Yes	32
No	68

TABLE 6D Perceived effectiveness of anti-racism initiatives (Quantitative data)

Do you think anti-racism initiatives could be effective?	Percent
Yes	57
No	43

Community survey participants indicated their level of awareness regarding anti-racism initiatives. As shown in *Table 6c*, 68% of the community survey respondents reported that they were unaware of any anti-racism initiatives happening in Sudbury.

Racism has clearly been a longstanding and serious problem for Aboriginal people in Sudbury, and although there is a degree of cynicism (43%) as to the possible effectiveness of anti-racism initiatives in Sudbury, there still remains a desire (57%) to engage in this kind of work.

In terms of anti-racism initiatives being conducted in Sudbury, it is important to acknowledge the efforts of the Greater Sudbury Police Service in working with the local Aboriginal community. The Aboriginal Community Police Research Committee's work to implement the recommendation of the 2003 *Aboriginal Community Needs Assessment Report: Enji Twemwak Niizh Miikan (Where Two Roads Meet)* in cooperation with the Police Service has resulted in a number of cooperative initiatives aimed at building positive relationships and trust while promoting the elimination of discrimination and racism within the local community.

Importantly, urban Aboriginal respondents in all of the UATF research sites also reported experiencing discrimination or exclusion from other Aboriginal people as well, as discussed next.

6.4 Discrimination among Aboriginal people

Internal Aboriginal racism — that is racism among Aboriginal people themselves — is widespread and complex, and appears to revolve around questions of internally vying for racial as well as other forms of social distinction and power.

Internal racism can take the form of a perceived claim to racial and cultural authenticity. For example, being from a reserve, having status, or negatively evaluating the status of other people (i.e., being labeled a ‘Bill C-31 Indian’) or family background (i.e., past family conflicts) also manifests in conflict and divisiveness in the urban Aboriginal community.

Other natives give us a hard time because we look too white; I have to always justify myself to them and others. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Discrimination is expressed between different Aboriginal groups. It seems as though there are perhaps historical conflicts between different families and/or reserves that carry through to urban centres.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Tables 6E and 6F demonstrate that half of all community survey participants and 83% of key informant interview respondents felt that internal racism occurs within groups of Aboriginal people.

- 51% of community survey respondents indicated that racism between Aboriginal people occurs;
- 49% indicated that racism between Aboriginal people does not occur;
- 83% of Executive Directors and community members interviewed indicated that racism between Aboriginal people occurs; and,
- 17% of Executive Directors and community members interviewed indicated that racism between Aboriginal people does not occur.

TABLE 6E Racism and discrimination from another Aboriginal person (Quantitative data)

Does racism occur between Aboriginal people?	Percent
Yes	51
No	49

TABLE 6F Racism and discrimination from another Aboriginal person (Qualitative data) (ED/CM KII)

Does racism occur between Aboriginal people?	Percent
Yes	83
No	17

URBAN ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND HEALTH

KEY FINDINGS

- Walk-in clinics and emergency rooms are the main sources of Western health care access by urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury.
- The long-term and continuum of care services required for those suffering with mental health and addiction challenges are a major gap in urban health services for Aboriginal people in Sudbury.
- Seniors are also experiencing gaps in health services including: transportation, language, and prohibitively high costs for vision, dental and hearing care.
- Aboriginal people in Sudbury prefer health services that are culturally appropriate.
- Elders continue to be a common source of health care for urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury.

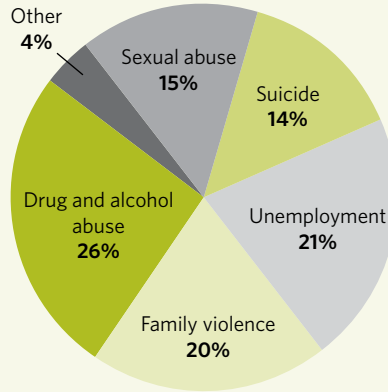
The term ‘health’ is used throughout the chapter in a holistic way that incorporates more general notions of wellness. Moreover, participants spoke about their use of traditional healers and traditional medicines as part of their wellness regime.

7.1 Perception of Aboriginal people’s health problems in cities

In addressing the question of what types of health issues urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury are experiencing, community survey participants identified a diversity of issues, including family violence and sexual abuse, alcohol addiction and the impact of unemployment. See *Figure 7A* for the community service participants’ responses.

FIGURE 7A Problems facing Aboriginal people (Quantitative data)

- 26% of respondents identified drug and alcohol abuse as a health issue in the community
- 21% of respondents identified unemployment
- 20% of respondents identified family violence
- 15% of respondents identified sexual abuse
- 14% of respondents identified suicide



Thus respondents identified a range of health concerns and determinants of health to portray problems facing Aboriginal people in cities:

Someone who suffers from alcohol or substance abuse can only help them selves and cannot be forced to do so. There should be more programs set in place to help these people get started. Sometimes that's all it is and they need help to take that first step and have sponsors in place to follow through the entire rehabilitation process. Providing more education and promotion of healthy lifestyles and what the effects of alcohol/substance abuse does to you would be very helpful in the community. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Everyone smokes or has at one time in their life and all of them started at a young age. I can remember the first place I lit up and that peer pressure, and role modeling played a role in starting the habit. I started smoking because everyone else did it. Smoking is a major problem for Aboriginal people, lots of Aboriginal people smoke and the cheaper cigarettes on the reserve make it easier. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

7.2 Aboriginal people and unmet health needs

Participants spoke about health in terms of Western indicators, such as whether they had seen a health professional in the past twelve months,

TABLE 7A Visits to health professionals (Quantitative data)

Have you visited a health professional in the past twelve months?	Percent
Yes	80
No	20

- 80% had visited a health care professional in the past 12 months
- 20% had not visited a health care professional in the past 12 months

whether they believed that their health needs were being met, and finally, where they go to meet their health needs. *Chart 7B* indicates that the majority of community survey respondents (80%) had seen a health professional in the last 12 months.

Fifty-five percent of Executive Directors in the key informant interviews indicated that the health needs of Aboriginal people in Sudbury are not being met. Importantly, the interrelated issues of addictions, mental health and the lack of related services were dominant findings from the key informant interviews of Sudbury.

There are too many clinics and not enough family doctors and so many people do not have a record of long term health and care. Mental health patients, people suffering from mental health issues are not being serviced. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

We have high numbers of Aboriginal people in mental health and institutions do not want to work with them; our Aboriginal clients do not have a choice but to go to mental health clinics and there are no transition plans. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

In the cases of family issues, mental health issues, and fetal alcohol syndrome there aren't enough of these culturally sensitive service providers. Aboriginal service providers are overloaded with work/files/clients. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

There needs to be more collaboration between Aboriginal agencies and mainstream mental health agencies as well as more culturally appropriate Urban Aboriginal Mental Health support and education programs. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Moreover, 68% of Executive Directors in Sudbury indicated that the addiction services needed specifically by Aboriginal children were not being met, and 52% indicated that the mental health needs of Aboriginal children were not being met. These findings are particularly relevant when cross-referenced with the Gotowiec and Beiser study, *Aboriginal Children's Mental Health: Unique Challenges*, which reported that 20% to 25% of Native children suffer from an emotional disorder a statistic up to five times higher than it is for the non-Aboriginal population. Moreover, in 'Suicide Attempts and Canadian Aboriginal people,' Kirmayer reported that 81% to 95% of Aboriginal suicide victims have shown evidence of mental health disorders (OFIFC, 2004)

The UATF research also found a series of unmet health needs for the more senior Aboriginal members of the community. In particular, seniors expressed concern over the high cost and therefore inaccessibility of vision, dental and hearing care. Other identified barriers to adequate health services include: long wait-times to see specialists; lack of cultural support and translation services; and lack of transportation.

Doctors rush you through the office and don't spend enough time with to listen to what is fully wrong. They tell you what is wrong with your body and don't listen to my other emotional and mental concerns.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

When the ambulance picks you up and drops you off at the hospital you have to find away home and that isn't always possible to do on your own. Sometimes you can get stuck there if you can't afford a cab.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

I have to pay half for eye care and it gets expensive and I cannot afford dental care or hearing care and the necessary items I need to help me hear. I would like a new phone that lights up when it rings because I don't always hear it ringing. (SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

There needs to be more bilingual services in Ojibwa, French, and English or it would be nice to have someone with me to attend doctors appointments for support so that I can understand what the doctor is saying and they can advocated on my behalf for good care and there are such long waiting times to see the specialists that I need.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

These findings point to a significant gap in health services for seniors as well as mental health services. In terms of mental health related services, there are a number of specific areas in need of attention, including the lack of trained Aboriginal mental health professionals and a significant problem of drug and alcohol addictions that is having a major detrimental effect on urban Aboriginal people. It is therefore clear that the development of seniors and mental health programs and services for urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury should be a priority of the local health care system.

7.3 Aboriginal people's access to health services in cities

Our health needs are not being met, we need access to family physicians as well as traditional medicine/healing practices.

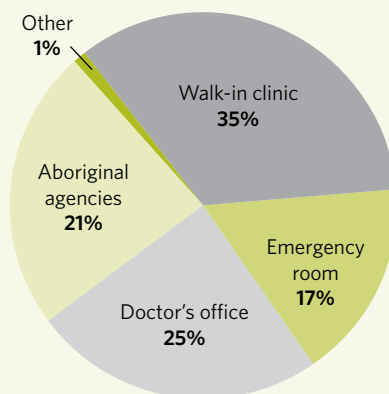
(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Hospital services are not culturally sensitive and doctors do not spend enough time with me before they are rushing me out and giving me a prescription. I never have a chance to really tell him or her what is really wrong. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

The UATF community survey respondents in Sudbury reported on where they go to access health services. Thirty-five percent of participants re-

FIGURE 7B Where people access health services (Quantitative data)

- 35% of respondents visited walk-in clinics for health care services
- 25% of respondents visited a doctor's office for health care services
- 21% of respondents visited Aboriginal agencies for health care services
- 17% of respondents visited an emergency room for health care services



ported the use of walk-in clinics and emergency rooms as the primary points of access for their health services. This represents a serious gap in service when considered in relation to the most common ailments identified in the community survey: addictions, mental health, violence and abuse, sexual abuse, and suicidal ideation — all of which require long-term preventative treatment and after care. Meaningful long-term care cannot be met in a walk-in clinic or emergency room setting.

7.4 Aboriginal people's awareness and preferences for Aboriginal health services

I do not like having to explain who I am all the time and have to justify myself; I get so tired of it. I get treated like a second class citizen all the time in white agency. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Our own people need to be working side by side when aboriginal families are being served by these mental health services. We need more Aboriginal doctors and front line workers who have a better understanding of Aboriginal community. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

Aboriginal people do not like to approach non-aboriginal agencies. We need to build ties with communities, services agencies, and community in general. The mainstream needs to have more aboriginal involvement. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

I decided on a course of action to get me off drugs and I tried just abstaining, this was good for a while but I relapsed and I used again. There had to be some different way of getting cured and I was getting tired of kicking myself in the ass all the time. I decided to ask a health professional what to do and that was a big step to me because I didn't want to talk to those people. I took a step, took a risk and the worker hooked me up with a street outreach worker and suggested I go to a Native Treatment Centre. I decided to go and everything they said to me made sense to me. This was the first time I was introduced to Native culture. I thought all my life that I was different and I realized that there are a lot of people just like me. I got introduced to teachings, talking circles, and sweats. I got tools there to help me stop using and they worked

and I have been clean for 10 years now. I needed to have faith in myself; it was okay if I happen to slip and I just can't get hard on myself. I just took one step at a time and pretty soon you look behind you and realize you have traveled a great distance. After getting out of the treatment centre I needed to go back to get one credit in algebra in high school and I managed to get it. (LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

TABLE 7B Awareness of Aboriginal health services in Sudbury (Quantitative data)

Are you aware of Aboriginal health services in Sudbury?	Percent
Yes	73
No	27

TABLE 7C Prefer accessing Aboriginal health services (Quantitative data)

Do you prefer to access Aboriginal health services?	Percent
Yes	74
No	26

Community survey participants indicated both a general awareness of Aboriginal health services in Sudbury and a clear preference for accessing Aboriginal specific services, as shown in Tables 7D and 7E.

This preference for Aboriginal health agencies may include the availability of traditional healers and traditional medicines in these sites. UATF community survey participants responded to questions on traditional healing and traditional medicines, as discussed in the following sections.

7.5 Aboriginal people and traditional healing

Mainstream health care systems are not culturally sensitive.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

It would be very beneficial to have elders at the hospital to work with patients and doctors. Native healers can assist in the healing of patients in hospitals and traditional Native healing practices are effective and powerful, Native healers don't give out drugs but they give out natural remedies that are greatly beneficial. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

We need to recognize that our traditional healers do not differ from mainstream healers or doctors. (HEALTH PLENARY SESSION)

The community survey data indicates that a significant number of respondents (40%) access a traditional healer to meet their wellness needs. Moreover, 70% of respondents indicated that they visit their traditional healer at least once per year. This is an important finding as it indicates a significant use of traditional Aboriginal healing practices in Sudbury and points to a need to support these practices.

TABLE 7D Accessing an Aboriginal traditional healer (Quantitative data)

Do you access an Aboriginal traditional healer as part of your wellness needs?	Percent
Yes	40
No	60

7.6 Individual perceptions of personal health

Although community survey respondents identified significant health challenges facing Aboriginal people in Sudbury—particularly with respect to those conditions that require preventative and after care attention (addictions, mental health, violence and abusive relations, sexual abuse, suicidal ideation, and senior needs)—many respondents view their own health positively, as shown in *Figure 7E*.

TABLE 7E Rating of overall health (Quantitative data)

	Very good to excellent	Good	Poor to fair
%	46%	36%	18%

URBAN ABORIGINAL YOUTH IN SUDBURY

KEY FINDINGS

- Urban Aboriginal youth in Sudbury are experiencing significant difficulty with respect to education, employment and identity.
- Culturally relevant education is an important priority for Aboriginal youth in Sudbury.
- Youth are reporting a serious gap of supportive youth programming.
- The interrelated realities of addictions, mental health and suicide are serious challenges facing urban Aboriginal youth.

The findings outlined in this chapter stem from the key informant interviews, the youth focus group and the community survey. It is important to note that only 27% of survey participants fall into the age category of 24 years and younger.

This chapter outlines the four interrelated areas of concern for urban Aboriginal youth in Sudbury:

- the major social challenges facing urban Aboriginal youth in Sudbury;
- Aboriginal Youth experiences with education;
- the unmet needs of Aboriginal youth in Sudbury; and,
- the issue of addictions and mental health.

8.1 Major social challenges for Aboriginal youth

Community survey participants from all UATF sites reported on the major social challenges facing urban Aboriginal youth. Their responses are shown in *Figure 8A*.

FIGURE 8A Challenges facing Aboriginal youth (Quantitative data)

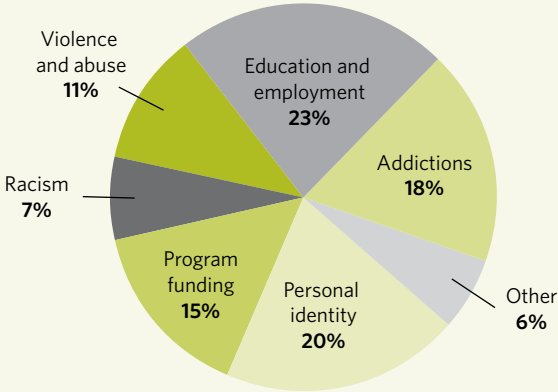


Figure 8A shows that the greatest challenges facing Aboriginal youth in Sudbury concern education and jobs (23%). Questions of identity are the second biggest challenge facing youth (20%), followed by addictions (18%), program funding (15%), and violence and abuse (11%).

In terms of the dominant challenge of education and employment, the 2001 Census found a significant unemployment rate of 36% for Aboriginal youth in Sudbury—a rate that far exceeds that (17%) of the non-Aboriginal youth population. Moreover, these UATF survey findings parallel those in the 2003 report, *Urban Aboriginal youth: An action plan for change*, which recommended specific measures for addressing problems of unemployment and urban Aboriginal youth.

Federal programs aimed at increasing labour market participation of Aboriginal youth should be designed to provide long-term, strategic training in accredited programs for youth.

Funding allocated to the youth and urban component of the Aboriginal Human Resources Development Strategy should be increased.

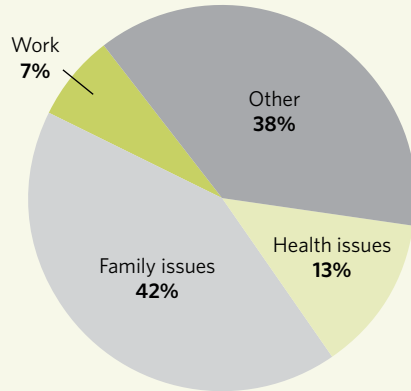
The federal government, in collaboration with all principal stakeholders, facilitate forums and initiatives to encourage partnerships between urban Aboriginal youth and the private sector

— *Standing Senate Committee On Aboriginal Peoples, 2003*

High rates of unemployment correspond closely with high drop-out rates for urban Aboriginal youth.

FIGURE 8B Reasons for leaving school (Quantitative data)

- 42% of respondents left school for family reasons
- 13% of respondents left school for health reasons
- 7% of respondents left school for work



8.2 Youth and education

To move beyond the unemployment statistics cited above, urban Aboriginal youth need to complete high school, which can be very challenging for them. The Aboriginal Peoples Survey (2001) asked respondents their reasons for not completing high school. For young Aboriginal men aged 15 to 34, the most commonly reported reason was being ‘bored with school.’ In terms of Aboriginal women respondents, ‘pregnancy and taking care of children’ was the most common response (Statistics Canada, 2006).

UATF Community survey participants reported on whether or not they had to leave school for any reason. As shown in *Figure 8B*, the UATF participant responses differ from the reasons identified in the Aboriginal Peoples’ Survey data discussed above.

As indicated in *Figure 8B* above, family reasons are the most common cause of having to leave school early (42%), followed by health issues (13%), and work-related reasons (7%). The following quotes are taken from the youth focus group and life histories, as they illustrate the diversity of reasons for leaving school in greater detail:

I had been kicked out now for a couple of days and I know my mom expected me to come groveling back once again. When that didn’t happen she sent my dad out looking for me. He eventually caught up with me at my friends place. He told me she was sorry and that I could come back home as long as I followed and obeyed her rules. I flat out

refused telling him that what good would it do me to go back if she was simply going to kick me out again. We talked and I told him of the people and contacts I made to help me and he asked me if that's what I wanted to do. I said "yes", and he left. I was fifteen years old. I was now on my own once again and at the age of sixteen. That's when I ended up skipping classes to get high and then dropping out of school. I partied and drank for like two years of my life. There eventually came a point when I was eighteen years old that I did too many pills and I was messed. I think I managed to overdose twice with the wrong combination of pills.

(LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

Everyone (participants) has been suspended from school; most feel they have been suspended for small things because they are native. Mostly everyone has been suspended repeatedly from school.

(YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

We would like school if it gave us opportunities. There should be more opportunities for interaction with others in a good way. Communication between different groups should be encouraged and celebrated. We need information about others just like they should have information on us as native people. (YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

There are all kinds of issues with the schools, bullying, and name calling of our children. Teachers do not make it easy for our children; they cannot handle native kids. My kids are often classified and many assume that because we are Native that we drank alcohol when we were pregnant and have affected our kids. They always want to put them on Ritalin, it makes me so angry; our kids are not hyper, they are just playful and energetic and need lots of external physical stimulation. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Leaving school is rarely a decision based on a single incident, regardless of whether it is due to family reasons, health issues, boredom, or a need to provide child care or find work. The need to leave school early often begins with students facing overwhelming challenges, and consequently being unable to attend classes. The 2003 report *Urban Aboriginal youth: An action plan for change* indicated that reducing truancy rates for urban Aboriginal youth was a major issue (Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, 2003).

As evident in the following quotations from the youth focus group and the life histories, the link between education and the desire for Aboriginal youth to see their cultures represented in the school curriculum is key to understanding the many reasons for Aboriginal youth leaving school. Moreover, the following comments point to the need to expand the availability of the existing alternative school from those youth and young adults who have previously left school to all Aboriginal youth and young adults.

The youth are so disconnected from their culture these days because it is not around you. People do not know how to be Indian living in peace and harmony. We do not get the teachings at school or at home.

(YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

We should have an all native school where we can learn about the bush, mother nature, how to hunt, fish and gather plants, medicines, berries and to survive. Our curriculum would include all of these things in school and they would be for everyone not just natives. The entire curriculum would be native — our history, our culture, our grandfather teachings, extended families would be involved with the youth in the school so that we can create big families, such as aunties, grandmas, grandpas, and uncles who care. There would be no racism. Everyone would want to go to an all native school and we would like school then. There would be no gangs. There would be no rivalry between groups. We would incorporate grandfather teachings in all that we do and we would learn the tools needed to address all of our healing, our emotional and physical well being. There would be Ojibway in all the schools.

(YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

There is too much negativity in the schools, we do not belong there with them all. We should have our own school where we can excel in everything and where we can feel safe and feel at home like we belong. It should be a good feeling like a family but it does not work that way. Food should be an important part of our learning and why native people ate the type of foods they ate. The way we prepare foods for feasts should always be the way of preparing food on a regular basis with good feelings being put into the food. It helps us to balance our emotions and our physical beings. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

As soon as I enrolled in school at the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre Alternative School I worked steadily and wanted to graduate. I was closer than most of my friends to graduating and really just wanted to finish. I established a routine and set myself to the standards of everyday life of paying rent on time and waking up for school. Another thing I did as soon as I could was made a doctors appointment. The last time I had seen my family doctor was ten years ago for a check up. I went through the check-ups, repetitive blood work and tests. The doctor told me that I was very lucky my body had forgiven me for what I had done to it. I just had a dent to the head and a shoulder that cracked. I really enjoyed attending the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre Alternative School. I liked the teachers, the students and the people that worked there. The Friendship Centre has three floors and I knew someone on each floor. In the end it took me three years to graduate. (LIFE HISTORY RESPONDENT)

We need to implement more after school programs, have elders on campus available not just once a week but on a daily basis and all schools should have an Aboriginal counseling unit. Within all educational institutions Aboriginal based learning units should be established for those who require tutors, upgrading and extra assistance in understanding the educational material within their programs.

(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

School should start later in the day. We should do lots of sports to channel our energy. Being in the classroom and sitting too long is too hard. Other activities would include as a way of learning – strategy games that we can learn from. There should be more native arts, and dancing, more drumming. Drumming is a way to heal our emotions and so is dancing and the arts. This should be taught to everyone.

(YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

I went to a First Nations High School in Toronto it was a good school but they did not teach enough of the core subjects like science and math. There was lots of cultural content but not enough of the curriculum needed to prepare us for mainstream schools. When I came to Sudbury there was no Aboriginal schools and no Aboriginal course except for one in my High School and it was taught by a white women. I felt that I knew more than her about the culture. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

8.3 Needs of Aboriginal youth in cities

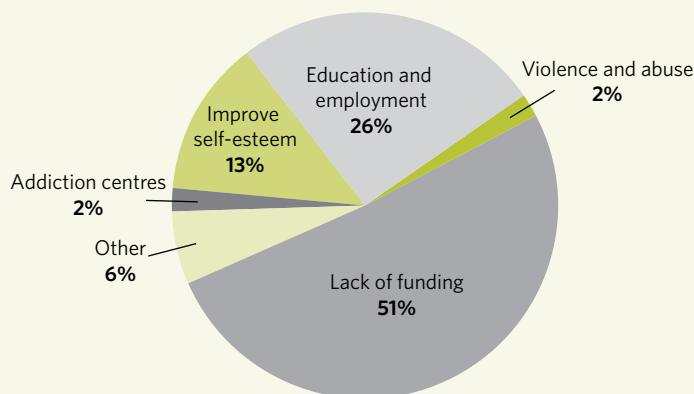
Eighty percent of community survey participants, as well as Executive Director and community member key informant respondents reported that there were gaps in services for urban Aboriginal youth in their communities.

More specifically, lack of funding for youth programming (51%) and employment and education (26%) are identified as the greatest needs of urban Aboriginal youth, as shown in *Figure 8c*.

Thus UATF respondents have provided a complex view of the challenges facing urban Aboriginal youth in Sudbury. Respondents identified the need for more funding for urban Aboriginal youth programming, more culturally relevant educational opportunities, greater employment, and positive identity reinforcement. According to the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples in their report *Urban Aboriginal youth: An action plan for change*, the way forward is a holistic approach as described below:

The symptoms cannot be treated in isolation and must be tackled in a holistic way and integrated with programs that strengthen families. To be lasting, solutions need to be proactive and preventative, rather than only swinging into action once a problem or need becomes acute. And while we acknowledge that many urban Aboriginal youth are managing the transition to successful and productive lives as adults, countless others are battling with complex disadvantages. We stress that young Aboriginal people, by all in-

FIGURE 8C Unmet needs of Aboriginal youth (Quantitative data)



dicators, are a category most “at risk” and deserving of the government’s highest priority.

— *Standing Senate Committee On Aboriginal Peoples, 2003*

A First Nations High School would be good to have. The alternative school at the Friendship Centre is not the greatest. It is often full, hard to get into and needs better courses. First Nations High Schools should allow non-Native kids to go to school there as well if they would like to learn this way. (MEN’S FOCUS GROUP)

8.4 Addictions and Mental Health

Some people think that the Rez is worse for alcohol/drugs, but the city is just as bad for alcohol and drugs but it is not as visible because we blend into the neighbourhood where others are also partaking. There are young kids 8 years old taking ecstasy in downtown... there is peer pressure to take drugs. (YOUTH FOCUS GROUP)

I believe that the children are at higher risk of being labeled a problem child, a special needs child and have higher rates of being treated for ADD/ADHD, conduct disorders and so on. A special coach who specialized in how to manage this type of behaviour needs to be established, and funded specific to Aboriginal children, whether status or not status, to help keep them in the home and out of the radar of CAS and the school.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

The interrelated realities of addictions, mental health and suicide are important challenges facing Aboriginal youth. The OFIFC study *Undue Trials: Justice Issues facing Aboriginal Youth and Children* reported that 20% to 25% of Aboriginal children suffer from an emotional disorder (a statistic five times higher than that of the non-Aboriginal population), and that evidence of a mental disorder has been found in 81% to 95% of Aboriginal suicide victims (OFIFC, 2004).

Importantly, 77% of Executive Directors in Sudbury indicated that the addictions services needs of Aboriginal children were not being met. As well, 72% of Executive Directors indicated that the mental health needs of Aboriginal children were also not being met.

Importantly, many of the UATF findings are mirrored within the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre report on the Aboriginal Community Partnership Initiative:

- a lack of awareness of programs and services that assist youth in reducing youth crime;
- a lack of culturally appropriate programs in schools, with the exception of the inner city school;
- a need to increase outreach services to street youth; and,
- the need for employment, sports, workshops and drumming as effective ways of keeping youth out of trouble (N'Swakamok Native Friendship Center, 2005).

This chapter has revealed that urban Aboriginal youth are experiencing significant difficulty with education, employment and identity, and they are looking for culturally relevant education that will help them to secure employment in the future. Moreover, the findings indicate that there is a serious gap in supportive youth programming, particularly relating to recreation, addictions, mental health and suicide.

HOUSING IN SUDBURY

KEY FINDINGS

- Adequate and affordable housing is a major challenge for urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury.
- In spite of long-term residency and a degree of economic prosperity within a segment of the urban Aboriginal population, home ownership remains elusive for the vast majority of residents.
- As evident from the success of the Urban Aboriginal Homeless Initiative in Sudbury, homeless members of the urban Aboriginal community can benefit greatly from housing initiatives that integrate a diversity of social services.

The challenge of home ownership and stability has an impact on all income levels, age categories and family situations. For some, poverty can translate into the instability associated with long-term renting. For others in a more stable financial situation, the security of ownership remains elusive, with only a small minority owning their homes. The following data from the UATF research reveals the scope of issues around housing in Sudbury. The reality of an emerging group of economically successful Aboriginal people in Sudbury might suggest that housing is not a high priority. However, the data reveals that this is not the case, and that stable and affordable housing, especially for those in the lower socio-economic groups, is a persistent and unmet need.

9.1 Housing issues

Whether someone is able to afford to own their home or whether they rent it is a good indicator of their financial success and stability. In Sudbury, only 28% of survey respondents own their homes, while 72%

TABLE 9A Home ownership (Quantitative data)

Do you own or rent?	Percent
Own	28
Rent	72

rent, as shown in *Table 9A*. Gender seems to make a slight difference in rates of home ownership, with 25% of Aboriginal men and 29% of Aboriginal women owning homes. Of those who earned above an annual income of \$60,000, 71% owned their home,

while 29% rented. For respondents earning less than \$60,000.00 annually, only 19% owned their home, while 81% rented. For more detail on the income/ownership relationship, please refer to *Figure 9B*.

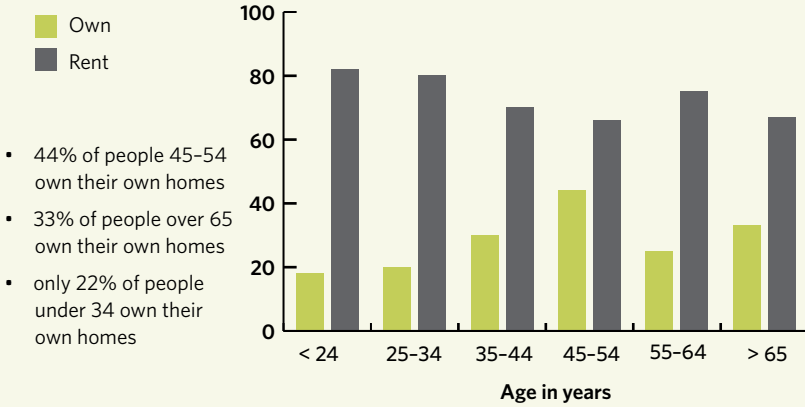
Importantly, these UATF statistics differ significantly from 2001 Census findings which report that 50% of Aboriginal residents in Sudbury own their own homes, compared to 66% for non-Aboriginal residents. In 2001, Statistics Canada also found that 16% of Aboriginal households were living in homes requiring major repairs, which is almost twice that for non-Aboriginal households (9%) (Statistics Canada, 2006).

The correlation between age and whether respondents own or rent shows some interesting trends. The highest percentage of home-owners per age category is within the 45 to 54 years of age group, whereby 44% own their home. The second highest percentage of home-owners per age category is those 65 years of age and over years, where 33% own their home. Lastly, the lowest percentage of homeowners per age category is

FIGURE 9A Income and home ownership (Quantitative data)



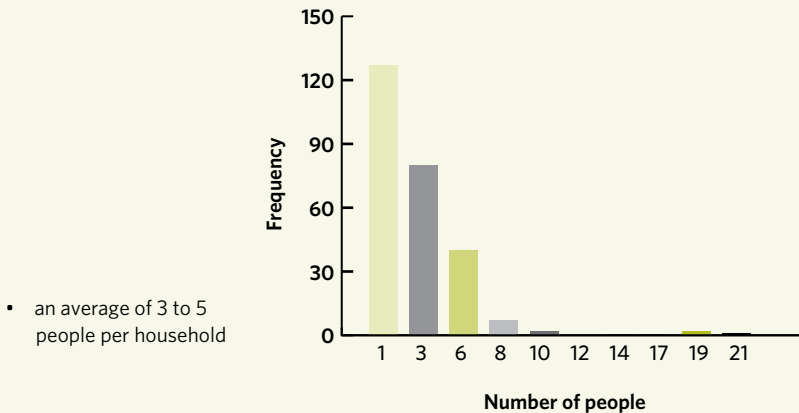
FIGURE 9B Income and age (Quantitative data)



below the 34 years of age group, where only 22% own their home. For greater detail, please refer to *Figure 9B* below.

Community survey participants also responded to questions about the composition of their households, indicating that urban Aboriginal households are comprised of an average of 3 to 5 people.

FIGURE 9C Number of people per household (Quantitative data)



9.2 Meeting urban Aboriginal people's housing needs

It is extremely hard to find apartments for Aboriginal people; there is a lot of discrimination by landlords against Native people. Landlords do not want to rent to families with children. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

TABLE 9B Housing needs being effectively met (Quantitative data)

Are your housing needs being met?	Percent
Yes	28
No	78

- 78% indicated that their housing needs were not being effectively met

In terms of actual home dwelling needs, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) estimates that about one in five (22%) of off-reserve Aboriginal households in Ontario were in core housing need in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2006).

A strong majority (78%) of Sudbury community survey participants replied that the housing needs of urban Aboriginal people are not being effectively met. Their responses are shown in Table 9B.

Community survey respondents in Sudbury perceive a variety of housing needs, with affordable housing reported as the greatest need. In descending order, respondents also reported needs for subsidized and elderly housing; transitional housing for both men and women; and incentives for urban Aboriginal people looking to move into home ownership. These needs are shown in Figure 9D.

Importantly, decent, affordable housing for seniors was identified in the senior's focus group as a critical yet unmet need. More specifically, many participants noted the high cost and general scarcity of affordable housing. Seniors also indicated that the housing that is available lacks accommodation for those with disabilities.

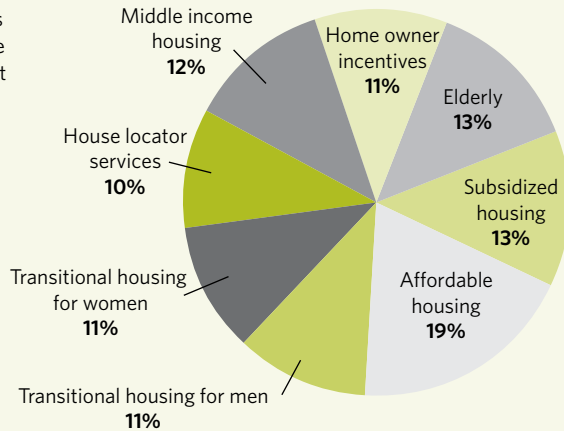
Affordable housing is not so affordable. When you receive an increase in your income your rent goes up so you never get ahead.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

Most affordable housing in the city is not made for people with CPP disability. (SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

FIGURE 9D Housing services needed (Quantitative data)

- 19% of respondents indicated affordable housing as the most significant housing need



We need much more housing for single people and seniors. I find that the affordable housing, or Native housing is not well maintained and so there are lots of dumpy over priced apartments in the city.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

There are very long waiting lists at Sudbury and Native housing... otherwise landlords discriminate and don't want to rent to Native people.

(SENIOR'S FOCUS GROUP)

9.3 Poverty, housing and homelessness: a diversity of experiences

In addition to the above quantitative assessment of Aboriginal housing through the UATF community survey, the key informant interviews raised many more specific concerns relating to the lack of adequate and affordable housing, the reality of long waiting lists for Aboriginal housing, and discrimination from landlords.

It can be really difficult to find a decent apartment in Sudbury. Once they find out that I am Native, well it usually doesn't work out... discrimination in this town is really bad for Indian people and there is a real lack of affordable housing here. Many families have to sometimes live together in a small apartment. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

There are housing initiatives in Sudbury, but the waiting lists are too long and I don't have enough money to get decent housing on my own.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

There are a lot of run down rooms in the downtown but not enough clean, healthy and affordable apartments. Landlords can be disrespectful and not fix things when they wear out. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Homelessness in the Aboriginal community is a problem and brings forth the inability to "plant your feet in the ground and get started". Being of Aboriginal ancestry has its limitations, you are automatically identified and labeled for not respecting the dwelling you live in or that you may not be able to pay your rent. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

With respect to homelessness in Sudbury, it is important to acknowledge the effective work of the Urban Aboriginal Homeless Initiative (UAHI) that is presently in its second phase, the first phase having begun in 2001. Through the local development of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agency partnerships and with a view to ending the cycle of homelessness in Sudbury, the UAHI has, over the last five years, found housing for 350 clients with just 3 of its original clients remaining on the street. Meals and preventative services such as housing placements, life and parenting skills workshops, employment searches and job coaching have been important components of the program. As well, cultural teachings, health workshops and transportation services have been provided. The Friendship Centre and UAHI held coffee houses with entertainment in order to invite the homeless in for services and as a way of building a sense of community and extended family.

As some UAHI participants have experienced racial discrimination when dealing with non-Aboriginal agencies, the program has thus far identified the need for more homes, rooms, and apartments run by Aboriginal people, to encourage more participation (OFIFC, 2006).

INCOME LEVELS, RATES OF POVERTY AND EMPLOYMENT

KEY FINDINGS

- In spite of the emergence of an Aboriginal middle class, poverty continues to be a major concern for a significant number of Aboriginal people living in the city.
- There are disproportionately high rates of unemployment for Aboriginal people in Sudbury.
- Of those Aboriginal people working, a significant number occupy low paying service industry and labour positions.
- A variety of interrelated barriers act to discourage meaningful Aboriginal employment in Sudbury.
- There is a significant lack of awareness of Aboriginal businesses within the urban Aboriginal community.

In 1981, the first Urban Aboriginal Task Force found that although urban Aboriginal people cited employment as a reason for coming to the city, their income levels within the city were not on par with the non-Aboriginal population. Twenty-five years later, UATF respondents are more likely to be poor than not. Nearly half (46%) of the UATF community survey respondents reported an annual income of under \$20,000. As education levels rise for urban Aboriginal people (35% of UATF survey respondents reported post-secondary graduation as their highest level of education) there is an expectation that income levels rise accordingly. Overall, that expectation is not borne out in the UATF research, at least for the short term.

Many of the key informant interview respondents spoke of the grinding persistence of Aboriginal poverty in Ontario. Nonetheless, our results confirmed a notable degree of economic prosperity among a minority of

urban Aboriginal people, which suggests the emergence of an economically successful middle class.

10.1 Income levels, and rates of poverty

In the report on urban Aboriginal child poverty in Ontario released in 2000 by the Ontario Federation of Indian Friendship Centres, the issue of poverty was found to be prevalent across Ontario for many Aboriginal people (OFIFC, 2000). This report stated specifically that:

- 52.1% of all Aboriginal children are poor;
- 12% of Aboriginal families are headed by parents under the age of 25 years;
- 27% of Aboriginal families are headed by single mothers;
- 40% of single Aboriginal mothers earn less than \$12,000 per year; and,
- 47.2% of the Ontario Aboriginal population receives less than \$10,000 per year (OFIFC, 2000).

In a later study (2003) conducted by the OFIFC entitled *Child Hunger and Food Insecurity among Urban Aboriginal Families*, the findings revealed the following:

- 79% of the questionnaire respondents indicated that they worry about running out of food;
- 35% reported that their children had gone hungry because the family had run out of food and money to buy food;
- 11% reported that their children had missed school in the last month because there was no food to send to school; and,
- 7% reported that they had been involved with the CAS because of food shortages (OFIFC, 2003).

Figure 10A demonstrates that the highest percentage (46%) of Aboriginal community survey respondents in Sudbury make the least amount of money (less than \$20,000). Thus as annual income levels go up, the percentage of Aboriginal people with that income level decreases consistently.

That a significant number of urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury are earning an annual income of less than \$20,000 per year is supported by the 2000 *O-GI Labour Market Analysis Sudbury Community Report*, which revealed

that 38% of respondents were earning less than \$10,000 annually, and 32% were receiving Ontario Works (Nawagesic, B. and Domansky, D, 2000).

Government transfer payments include such sources as Employment Insurance, social welfare benefits, Canada Child Tax benefits, provincial income supplements to seniors, Old Age Security Pensions, Guaranteed Income Supplements, and benefits from Canada Pension Plan. In 2001, government transfer payments made up about 21% of income for Aboriginal people, versus 13% for non-Aboriginal people.

One of the income measures used by Statistics Canada is the low-income cut-off (LICO). This relative indicator of low income compares the spending on necessities of low-income families to typical families in comparable communities to obtain basic needs such as shelter, food and clothing. Statistics Canada uses the LICO to indicate an income threshold below which a family will likely devote a larger share of its income on the necessities of food, shelter and clothing than the average family.

Census data for Sudbury shows that, ‘in 2000, one in four (26%) Aboriginal people in Sudbury were living under the LICO, compared to 14% of the non-Aboriginal population. Irrespective of the population group, a higher percentage of women than men were living in a low-income situation. In addition, 37% of Aboriginal children in Sudbury were living under the LICO, compared to 17% of non-Aboriginal children’ (Statistics

FIGURE 10A Annual income (Quantitative data)

- 46% of respondents reported an annual income of below \$20,000
- 29% of respondents reported an annual income of over \$40,000



Canada, 2006) Conversely, UATF community survey data indicate that 22% of respondents in Sudbury reported making over \$40,000 annually, evidence of an emerging urban Aboriginal middle class.

Census data further identified that the earnings of those who were employed improved between 1980 and 2000. In 1980, the median employment earnings of Aboriginal persons was \$14,460 annually. By 2000, this had increased to \$20,043. Even with these increases, however, Aboriginal people continued to earn less than their non-Aboriginal counterparts. In 1980, Aboriginal people earned just 53% of what non-Aboriginal people were earning. By 2000, Aboriginal people were still earning only 80% of what non-Aboriginal people were earning (Statistics Canada, 2001).

Importantly, the gap between the earnings of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is smaller for women than for men. In 2000, Aboriginal women had median earnings of \$16,012 annually, which is 16% less than the earnings of non-Aboriginal women. Although Aboriginal men earned considerably more than Aboriginal women (\$24,753), this represented 16% less than the median employment earnings of non-Aboriginal men. Overall, in 2000, 19% Aboriginal people had total median incomes (from all sources) of \$40,000 or over, compared with 27% of that for non-Aboriginal people (Statistics Canada, 2001).

The UATF findings therefore show that despite the considerable problems faced in cities, not all urban Aboriginal people are impoverished.

10.2 Disproportionately high rates of unemployment for urban Aboriginal people in Ontario

The 2001 Census reveals much higher unemployment rates for Aboriginal people (20%) than for non-Aboriginal people (9%) in Sudbury. Unemployment rates were higher for men (22%) than they were for women (17%). Given the high unemployment rates in the UATF research sites, the data in the following section discusses participant responses to work and occupations.

10.3 UATF Findings on employment and training

Among the community survey respondents who were employed, work tends to be clustered in the lower skilled occupations. As shown in

Figure 10B on the following page, a significant percentage of respondents (51%) reported working either in the service industry or as a labourer. Importantly, UATF respondents were not asked to distinguish between full-time and part-time employment, nor were they asked whether their employment was seasonal or temporary.

Again, these findings are mirrored in the recent (2000) *O-GI Labour Market Analysis Sudbury Community Report*, which concluded that although people want to work, the lack of available and meaningful employment is identified as a barrier for almost half of the population (Nawagesic, B. and Domansky, D, 2000).

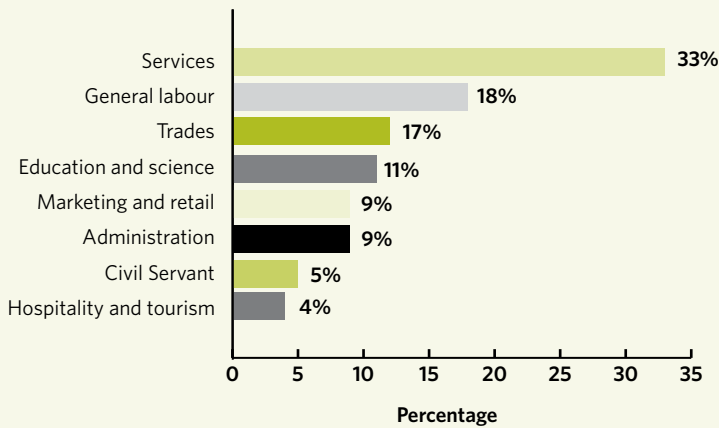
More specific detail concerning Aboriginal experiences were revealed in the focus group on employment and training. From the quotes below, it is clear that a diversity of interrelated issues function together to keep Aboriginal people in Sudbury either unemployed or working within menial jobs. These issues include:

- rates of pay that barely compete with Social Assistance;
- racial stereotyping of laziness and incompetence;
- the experience of poverty and the associated lack of adequate resources (transportation, childcare, housing, etc.) that are needed to apply for positions;
- lack of appropriate training facilities;
- lack of public transportation to outlying mines and industrial areas;
- lack of employment opportunities that accommodate people with disabilities;
- undermining of Aboriginal-specific training programs by mainstream employers; and,
- the bilingual French-English language requirement for employment.

It is important to note that a majority (65%) of community survey respondents indicated that the requirement of French-English bilingualism prevents many Aboriginal people from obtaining employment in Sudbury.

Most jobs available in Sudbury are minimum wage. Individuals on Social Assistance don't feel a need to gain employment, as the monthly allowance they receive is either less or equal to the amount of money they would get paid working. Large business/companies seem to be hiring

FIGURE 10B Type of occupation (Quantitative data)



from out of town rather than looking within the city for qualified people.
(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Individuals feel that being of aboriginal ancestry has proven to limit them from gaining employment. Stereotyping of being lazy, drunks and uneducated are sometimes factors to not gaining employment though self experiences. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Employers have asked if I drink like all the other Aboriginals while I'm in a job interview. I have been turned down for jobs simply because I was Aboriginal and this is clearly evident when the employer does not know your Native until you show up for the interview and then their treatment towards you changes. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

The bilingual language requirement of French and English really discriminates against many Aboriginal people when it comes to getting jobs. We are often bilingual, but in our language and English.
(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Some employers redirect Native people to go and work at the Native Agencies. They feel it is the responsibility of the Native community to hire Natives not theirs. (MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Within society in general, people have struggled with financial stability. Having no money can limit your ability to job search. You need money to transport yourself to and from work, for childcare and to live. Coming to live in an urban centre, Aboriginal people are faced with more financial challenges, i.e. bills, rent payments, childcare, etc.

(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Having affordable childcare is very much needed and poses a definite barrier when looking and finding employment. There is a lack of childcare facilities within the city, which has brought upon lengthy waiting lists. Childcare subsidized spaces are limited and gaining employment prior to applying for subsidies seems to be criteria for eligibility.

(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

With many job opportunities it has been evident that having a CPIC is one of the requirements to obtaining employment. Unfortunately, due to the high crime rates among Aboriginal people, it proves to be an obstacle to applying for jobs and narrows down the search for employment and career opportunities. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Issues of transportation surfaced during the discussion and not having public transportation services available to outlying areas was determined. In Sudbury there are mines, companies and industrial areas that lie on the edges of town and bus routes are not within those ranges. Bus pass are expensive as well as the rising costs of fuel creating a financial barrier to get to and from work sites. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Aboriginal people need and require more direction when trying to gain employment, i.e. job search skills, resume writing, cover letter writing, information on training opportunities and educational institutions. It has been identified that Aboriginal people access support and services more so from Aboriginal organizations than non-Aboriginal organizations. Community members also feel that there is a lack in where to get these services. (EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

Training institutions should market their training opportunities to accommodate people with disabilities. Employers should have more

positions available for people with disabilities or on the job training practices. There are people with disabilities that can work and employers need to be more educated and aware of their limitations.

(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

We need to work with business/companies to get employers to understand that Aboriginal specific programs are equal to mainstream programs with the exception that the Aboriginal programs are more culturally sensitive. The Aboriginal government body in these educational institutions needs to work towards getting the Aboriginal specific programs accredited and recognized.

(EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING FOCUS GROUP)

10.4 Aboriginal businesses in cities

The community survey data revealed that a higher percentage of community survey participants (53%) are not aware of Aboriginal-owned businesses in Sudbury. Moreover, community survey participants who are aware of Aboriginal-owned businesses reported on their use of these businesses only 50% of the time. However, if there were to be an inventory of Aboriginal businesses, 98% of respondents indicated that they would use it.

It is important to recognize the significant contributions that Aboriginal people and their businesses are making to the economy of Sudbury, in terms of the general contributions that businesses make to local economic development as well as the spending of Aboriginal people who are living in the city as well as those who come in from the surrounding First Nations communities.

ABORIGINAL WOMEN IN SUDBURY

KEY FINDINGS

- Aboriginal women are occupying a dual role in Sudbury. They are both the most violently oppressed and vulnerable members of the community and in the most need, but also the most active and influential in working to end that oppression.
- Aboriginal women are experiencing the difficulties associated with inadequate educational environments for their children in local schools.
- Aboriginal women experiencing violence and addictions are not receiving the services that they need.
- There is a major gap in services for Aboriginal women working in the sex trade.
- The lack of childcare services is a major challenge for urban Aboriginal women.

It is clear that despite diverse cultural backgrounds and places of residence, there are many commonalities among Aboriginal women, the greatest of which is an overriding concern for the well-being of themselves, their children, extended families, communities and nations. It is also clear that women who appeared before us are determined to effect change in their current life situations. The report lists these life situations as the Indian Act and the impact of Bill C-31, culturally-appropriate service delivery with a focus on healing, women and children's vulnerability to violence, and issues of accountability and fairness in self-governance.

— *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, V4, p. 21*

Many women are leaving the reserve to come to the city for a number of good reasons. They leave to further their education, escape from abusive family situations, alleviate boredom and monotony of reserve life, and look for positive changes and new opportunities for themselves and their children. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

11.1 Demographics: Family, Income and Education

As discussed in Chapter 3, Demographics and mobility patterns, despite Statistics Canada data reporting equal numbers of Aboriginal men and women living in Sudbury, the UATF community survey and key informant interview guide samples were predominantly women. The Sudbury UATF respondents' gender profile is shown in *Table 11A*.

TABLE 11A Gender profile of UATF respondents

Respondent/method	Females	Males	Total
Key informant interviews (%)	64%	36%	100%
Community survey (%)	63%	37%	100%

In Sudbury, women also had greater representation on the Community Resource Committee. This gender imbalance may reflect the fact that women tend to be Executive Directors of urban Aboriginal organizations more than men and are more active in the urban Aboriginal community. And so, in spite of concerted efforts to include men in this research, women respondents accounted for approximately 63% of research participants.

11.1.1 Family

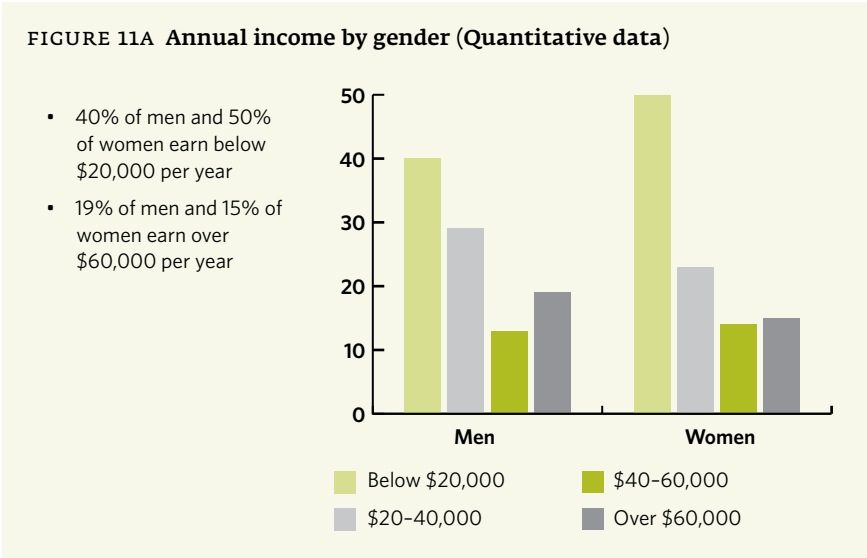
The 2001 Census data shows that, generally, urban Aboriginal families in Sudbury are large, with many headed by single parents. In 2001, about 21% of Aboriginal families in Sudbury had three or more children, compared to 16% of non-Aboriginal families. One in four (25%) of Aboriginal families in Sudbury was headed by a single parent, compared to 14% of non-Aboriginal families. In addition, 6% of Aboriginal families were headed by a single parent and had three or more children, compared to about 2% of non-Aboriginal families.

Of all Aboriginal families living in Sudbury in 2001, 22% were lone-parent families headed by women and 3% were lone-parent families headed by men. In addition, the prevalence of single parent families is further highlighted by the finding that 55% of community survey respondents are either separated/divorced or single/widowed.

These findings have significant implications for urban Aboriginal people, especially women, who are attempting to attain a stable economic existence in the city. With large families, urban Aboriginal women who are single mothers face major challenges in finding daycare, obtaining employment and getting out of poverty, as will be discussed later in this report.

11.1.2 Income

According to Statistics Canada, the gap between the earnings of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is less for women than it is for men. In 2000, Aboriginal women had median earnings of \$16,012, 84% of the figure for non-Aboriginal women. Although Aboriginal men earned considerably more than Aboriginal women (\$24,753), this represented just 74% of the median employment earnings of non-Aboriginal men. Some of these differences may be due to different patterns of employment that are not explored here (e.g. full-time/part-time, full-year/part-year) (Statistics Canada, 2001).



These Statistics Canada findings parallel those of the UATF community survey data which further reveals that almost half (49%) of Aboriginal women living in Sudbury earn less than \$20,000 per year, which is 9% more than it is for Aboriginal men. Only 15% of Aboriginal women earn more than \$60,000, which is 4% less than it is for Aboriginal men. This information is shown in *Figure 11A* above.

11.1.3 Education

According to Statistics Canada, young Aboriginal women in Sudbury had higher school attendance rates (70%) than their male counterparts (62%). This attendance rate is also higher than it is for non-Aboriginal women in the same age group (67%). Furthermore, Aboriginal women have a greater tendency to return to school later in life. For example, 13% of Aboriginal women 35 years of age or older were attending school in 2001, compared to 4% of non-Aboriginal women in the same age group.

Overall in 2001, 35% of Aboriginal men and 30% of Aboriginal women 25 years and over had less than high school as their highest level of schooling. The 2001 Aboriginal Peoples Survey found that among the off-reserve Aboriginal population in Canada, men and women had different reasons for not completing high school. For young Aboriginal men aged 15 to 34, the most commonly reported reason was 'bored with school.' 'Pregnancy/taking care of children' topped the reasons provided by young Aboriginal women in the same age group.

Importantly, the vast majority (80%) of Executive Directors of Aboriginal agencies in Sudbury who were interviewed as part of the UATF research indicated that lack of education remains a barrier to the success of urban Aboriginal women.

11.2 Poverty and unmet needs

This research has documented the many diverse and often difficult experiences of Aboriginal women living in Sudbury. With respect to the accessibility of basic services, many women expressed great frustration with such issues as poverty, lack of capacity, violence, mental health, addictions, jurisdictional issues, family violence and feelings of disempowerment. Respondents discussed the issue of service agencies and authorities having poor relations with women, particularly those women

in conflict with the law and women who are dealing with domestic violence.

Some of the barriers to success for Aboriginal women in urban centres in Sudbury were identified as follows:

- persistence of poverty, racism and sexism;
- basic needs of young, single mothers unmet;
- difficulties associated with inadequate educational environments for their children in local schools;
- lack of affordable and safe housing;
- lack of services addressing violence and drug abuse;
- lack of basic services for sex trade workers; and,
- lack of child care services.

Women have children at a young age and face a lot of stress around this around finding affordable daycare for their education and employment. As single parents they experience poverty as well as sexism and general racism. These young single mothers need a lot of support services and safe housing, transportation and daycare are very important.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

We have to be around kids all the time and we get no break and we become stressed out. I have to go on prescriptions to be able to cope with all of the stress. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

I have had to change schools very often as teachers do not have time for our kids. I changed schools because they wanted to put my child on Ritalin so I have now placed him in a private school where I have to work bingos to pay for his tuition as I cannot afford the \$6,000 that is required.

(WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

We need more health and wellbeing promotion programs but they are almost non-existent. We no longer know how to properly care for ourselves because our ways have been diminished and taken away. We have so much violence in our community. There is lots of alcoholism and a lot of misuse of prescription drugs; even our children are taking drugs; it has become an epidemic. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Many of the Aboriginal women respondents reported experiences of poverty and social alienation. Some of these participants had basic necessities but spoke of feelings of exclusion from within the urban Aboriginal community. They also expressed feelings of neglect and in some cases mistreatment by both the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations that provide the social infrastructure for many people. These respondents needed more than what a single agency could provide.

The programs are not very inviting at the Friendship Centre, everything is locked up all the time, and the workers are locked up in their offices and are not easily accessible unless you are a regular client with some problems. You have to get buzzed up and security is always tight.

(WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Some women are struggling to survive in the urban centre and find that life in the city isn't always an improvement over life in a First Nations community:

Child care is a very big issue; have to stay home because I cannot afford a babysitter and there are no childcare subsidies available, there are not enough seats. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

In some circumstances parent(s) have to put their lives on hold in order to meet childcare needs. Then they are faced with not returning to school or may grow accustomed to staying home. Transportation affects everyone with gas prices and bus transportation being increased on a regular basis. If someone has children it's not easy to transport a child from home to daycare, then daycare to school/work, then from school/work back to daycare and then back to home. If you work more than 8 hours a day the costs go up by the minute in some daycares. (WOMEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

In 2006 I began my hunger strike to demand a substantial raise in social assistance rates. I had announced to Northern Life, a Sudbury local newspaper that "I will stop eating food and taking any medication and will survive only on water." This was a reaction to the recent Ontario budget announcement where Welfare rates went up by two percent, but our rent went up by more than that and my life became not about living, but about survival. I have become a prisoner of welfare. I am the mother

of a 15-year old daughter, who supports her decision to go on hunger strike and I promised to fight this struggle to the end. While Ontario is a wealthy province, people on social assistance are forced to live on bread crumbs. We people on welfare no longer have any dignity and are forced to live like animals. That shouldn't happen in this country. That's why I went on the hunger strike. LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

Women who are in high risk situations, who suffer from addictions, who are in violent domestic environments or who work in the sex trade industry have little support directly suited to their needs.

Importantly, the majority (66%) of Executive Directors of Aboriginal agencies recognize that women experiencing domestic violence are not receiving sufficient supports or services. Moreover, of these same Executive Directors, 48% reported that child care was not accessible for those Aboriginal people wanting to enter the workforce.

Aboriginal women often receive some assistance in the city for such crises as exiting the sex trade, leaving a violent relationship, and addictions. These supports are needed for women to heal, but often women continue to be at risk because once these crisis-intervention supports have ended there are no longer-term supports available for women in urban centres. They are most vulnerable after they have left a program, and they have no supports to begin rebuilding a new life. These circumstances contribute to the increasing rate of Aboriginal women in the sex trade.

One life history respondent has faced sexual abuse, addictions and violence. The birth of her second baby girl turned her life around, yet she continues to struggle with meeting basic needs for herself and her teenage daughter. She explains her story below:

I remember how these good times came to an end when I was sexually assaulted on a regular basis from my uncle. The nephew that grandma trusted would coerce me into partaking of the booze. As my grandma passed out, he took advantage of me. This would begin another chapter in my life where I ended up in numerous foster homes with a very unstable upbringing. My foster homes both Native and non-Native were in Red Lake, Minnesota, Whitefish, Sabaskong, and Kenora. I was placed in both native and non-native foster homes. I remember continual sexual abuse in some of these Native homes. I remember being back

and forth between my grandma's and these foster homes until I was 15 and in high school in Kenora. I grew up believing that sexual abuse was normal... I had been hanging around the bars in Winnipeg when I found out that my grandma had passed away. I myself died inside that day. My grandma had died from a heart attack. A week later, I found the courage to attend my grandma's funeral. I will never forget the pain I saw in my Mom's eyes, when shortly after the funeral, the sister-in-law and brother kicked my Mom out of my Grandma's house. I did not see my Mom much after that. I drank every single day and was continually abused physically, mentally and emotionally by various men who took charge of my so-called well-being. It was during one of these times that again in a bar in downtown Winnipeg, someone had brought the news to me that my Mom had died from sclerosis of the liver, a disease of the alcoholic. I had no feelings whatsoever about her death. It was like I had turned numb from all the pain that I had come to accept as a normal way of being... I got pregnant while living the life in the bars of Winnipeg. I remember briefly having to go to the hospital to deliver this baby. I could not wait to get it over with and go back to my life in the bars. I do not remember what this pregnancy was like or even seeing the baby. It was something that I would leave behind that also left another deeper scar over all the ones that I already carried ...

In 1991, at 30 years of age, I again gave birth to a beautiful little girl. It was a true blessing in disguise. I had been given an opportunity to live my own unmet childhood through the eyes of this little girl. This little girl, C has been my greatest teacher during this time. It has been 14 years since I took my last drink and turned my back on that life in the streets of Winnipeg. It has been 14 years since I have moved to Sudbury where I continue my hard struggles as a single mother living on the meager income of social assistance. Because of my past injuries, I had not been able to work. I did make an effort to go back to school and complete my high school education. Although, my daughter has given me my inspiration to better myself, I have found myself struggling just to meet the ever demanding growing needs of my growing teenager now attending Lo-Ellen Secondary School. After I paid my rent, I had less than \$300 a month to live on and I couldn't afford any quality of life for myself or my daughter. After I pay my daughter's school bus pass, cable and phone there is barely enough to pay for food.

(LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

11.3 Women and community development

Aboriginal women are the more prominent members of the urban community as directors and staff of social service agencies, and were the more visible and available for this research. Aboriginal women are thus occupying a dual role in Sudbury. They are both the most violently oppressed and vulnerable members of the community in the most need, but they are also the most active and influential in working to end that oppression. In many ways then, urban Aboriginal women are significantly involved in building their urban communities, a reality reflected by the vast majority (93%) of Executive Directors who stated that Aboriginal women are involved in the development of local community and culture in their cities.

Aboriginal women are working together to care for their children and families and to pass on the culture in Sudbury.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

We are very involved on the boards and as part of the staff within Aboriginal organizations. We also work a lot with the local schools to help our kids fit in and get a good education. We are mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, teachers, and healers.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

A life history participant has also had an extended career serving the urban Aboriginal community of Sudbury. She balanced raising a family of six children with a 32 year career working in an urban Aboriginal organization, along with her volunteerism within both the urban Aboriginal community and her home community:

In September 1974, with the encouragement of the Executive Director at the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre, she applied for the community worker, a new position that the Centre had recently received funding for and to her surprise she was hired. She quickly learned the role and found that she actually had the knowledge, skills and experience that were required for the job as she had already regularly been helping her family and friends make adjustments to city life on numerous occasions. This involved making hospital visits, getting jobs and getting settled in city life for aboriginal newcomers moving from the reserve

to the City. After all, she had made the adjustment herself and found that her clients could benefit from her own personal experience and knowledge of adjusting to the city. In 1982 after 8 years at this job, she took a new position as a courtworker. The previous courtworker spent only half a day orienting her to the new position. She learned the job on her own through making contacts and receiving support from the Elizabeth Fry Society, John Howard, and from the legal aid lawyers and judges. She spends every day in court and has received numerous training at the court workers workshops, conferences and seminars sponsored by the native court work program of the Ontario Federation of Friendship Centers. She learned about many court cases such as the Gladue decision and its impacts on the native justice system, mediation processes, use of technology for reporting statistics on numbers of clients etc. It has now been 24 years doing this job. (LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW)

SUDBURY'S EMERGING MIDDLE CLASS

KEY FINDINGS

- Increasing numbers of urban Aboriginal people are making over \$40,000 per year.
- A segment of the urban Aboriginal middle class is feeling disconnected from the Aboriginal social services sector as it looks to participate in cultural practices and events.

The 1981 Urban Aboriginal Task Force indicated that 93% of its Aboriginal respondents across Ontario were earning less than \$17,000 per year. In Sudbury today, as previously discussed in Chapter 3, Demographics and mobility patterns, a significant number of Aboriginal people (45%) earn less than \$20,000 per year and 71% make under \$40,000 per year. However, the current UATF data further indicates that 29% of the local Aboriginal population earns over \$40,000 per year and 16% earns over \$60,000 per year. Importantly, these findings suggest the emergence of an economically successful Aboriginal middle class in Sudbury, as shown in *Figure 12A*.

Our qualitative data, including key informant interviews and a focus group on the middle class, revealed some notable characteristics of this emerging segment of the Aboriginal population. Firstly, because of our ‘snow ball’ sampling method, the majority of the middle class respondents that we spoke with were part of the local Aboriginal social service network either as Executive Directors or as Staff. Those middle class, urban Aboriginal people that worked outside of this network were often very difficult to reach as they were no longer part of the social service community. When we were able to contact members from this economically successful ‘outsider’ segment of the population, they often declined to participate in the study.

FIGURE 12A Annual income (Quantitative data)

- 46% of respondents reported an annual income of below \$20,000
- 29% of respondents reported an annual income of over \$40,000



This aspect of the study raises two important considerations: first, that the urban Aboriginal middle class is underrepresented in this study (though it is uncertain to what extent); and second, that the successful urban Aboriginal people who are not working in the social services sector appear to be moving away from the Aboriginal community, perhaps in response to the exclusive focus of the social service community on meeting the pressing needs of the poor and at-risk Aboriginal person.

Moreover, it does not seem apparent that these economically successful ‘outsider’ Aboriginal people understand themselves as a group or collectivity. But, rather it is our understanding that they, for reasons such as the lack of relevant services and internal racism, consider themselves as Aboriginal individuals working and living well in the city.

We need more Métis cultural events, dances and teachings within the city and more initiatives that teach and promote the culture. We need more activities that I can do without have the stigma that I am poor or down and out. We need more seasonal gatherings and fiddle contests.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

I feel isolated from the Aboriginal community in Sudbury because I have money and people view now view me in a different way.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

I am not comfortable with some people at the events because I feel like I am being judged negatively due to my light skin color.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

I feel rejected from the inner circle it is always the same people and tends to be cliquy. I feel like I don't belong, or I am made feel like I don't belong. I feel judged and not always accepted. (MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

It is true that many have disconnected from the Aboriginal community to be a success in mainstream and they are involved very little, if at all, unless they work for an Aboriginal organization.

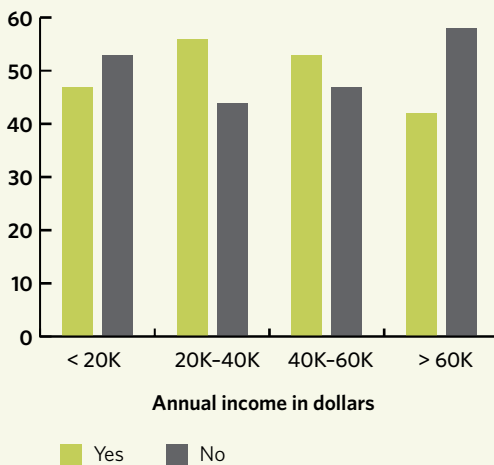
(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

It is a personal choice to not pursue my Aboriginal identify. People talk about me and gossip and this really turns me off from bothering too much with my Aboriginal identity. (MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

Respondents spoke about several factors that contributed to their success, including: the importance of culture, education, the basic necessities of transportation and daycare, supportive programming and overcoming racial barriers.

FIGURE 12B Racism from another Aboriginal person based on income (Quantitative data)

- 56% of those earning \$20- \$40,000 experience racism from other Aboriginal person
- 53% of those earning \$40-\$60,000 experience racism from another Aboriginal person
- 47% of those earning less than \$20,000 experience racism from another Aboriginal person
- 42% of those earning above \$60,000 experience racism from another Aboriginal person



Education, computer skills and being hardworking has really helped me succeed economically. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

Working with Elders and building up my self confidence has helped me to be the kind of person that does well at work...also, having transportation and access to affordable daycare is key. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

I owe my success to the support of my family and the Sudbury Aboriginal community... especially the friendship center.

(KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

In order to find successful employment you have to be a super achiever working twice as hard as a Non-Native to get the same pay or same job.

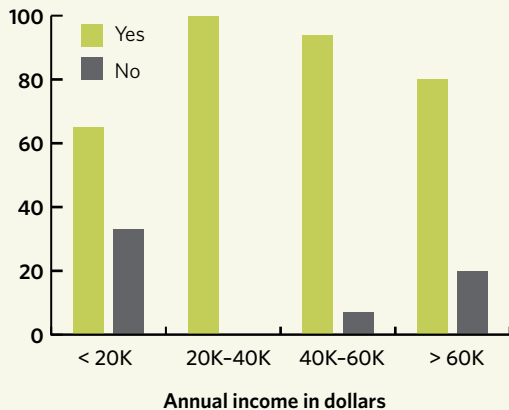
(MEN'S FOCUS GROUP)

Moreover, respondents expressed concern over the evolving role of the friendship centre from a transitional, cultural organization to a social service provider. As a result, they perceive the Aboriginal community and culture in the city as geared exclusively towards poor and at-risk members of the urban Aboriginal community.

Figure 12c suggests that the majority of Aboriginal organizations' programs and services are geared to those urban Aboriginal people that have

FIGURE 12C Gaps in programs and services by income groupings
(Quantitative data)

- 65% perceive gaps in services for income below \$20,000
- 100% perceive gaps in services for income \$20-40,000
- 94% perceive gaps in services for income \$40-\$60,000
- 80% perceive gaps in services for income above \$60,000



the greatest needs; that these needs are far from being met; and that there is a significant need for services for middle class Aboriginal people.

Culturally, this group expressed a sense of falling through the cracks. The reality in Sudbury is that there are some large gaps between those who are economically successful and those who are not, and that reaching out to both of these groups is integral to building a sustainable urban Aboriginal community that can respond to everyone's needs.

A lot of the things that would help me with my identity tend to be for people with special needs addicts, homeless, family issues, etc.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

Most of the events are connected to Native organizations I am not affiliated with and it seems like you can't get really involved if you are not connected with them or you don't hear about the events.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

Respondents who were economically successful frequently indicated that there were not enough opportunities in the city to express their Aboriginal culture. They often indicated that they did not feel comfortable going to Aboriginal agencies which were oriented to social services and 'high risk' Aboriginal people. Some respondents expressed a desire for Aboriginal education and cultural programming where they could send their children. It is clear that, for some economically successful Aboriginal people, the city does not offer enough organizations and programs to meet their cultural needs:

The services for Native people in Sudbury are geared toward lower income families and individuals. There are not a lot of programs and services that are suitable for me or my family. The programs are more geared towards poor people, homeless, addictions, family violence etc. There is a stigma that people that use these resources are poor and this prevents me from using them. Most programs have criteria that I don't meet.

(MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

I work with most of the people I could require services from and this causes a conflict for me because I don't want my colleagues knowing my personal business. (MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

We need more activities and cultural programs for our kids and teenagers so that they can practice their culture and speak their language. An Ojibway language program would be ideal for our kids. Perhaps we need an activity equivalent to girl guides and boy scouts but more culturally appropriate. (MIDDLE CLASS FOCUS GROUP)

The upper reaches of the Aboriginal middle class is interested in traditional Aboriginal cultural learning and expression for themselves and their children. They tend to be supporters of Aboriginal art and language development, and appear to be working towards expanding the cultural possibilities of what it means to be Aboriginal. One participant spoke of the need for Aboriginal cultural and educational centers that could include providing language instruction, access to Elders, and a variety of other cultural activities.

It would be good to have a place in the city that my family could go... Somewhere to showcase the local history and culture of the Aboriginal community. (KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW)

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is important to note that the recommendations below are those of the Sudbury Community Research Committee. The recommendations of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force are contained in the *Urban Aboriginal Task Force Final Report*.

The data from the research clearly demonstrates that poverty, lack of affordable housing, health care issues, problems of mental health and addictions, racism, internal divisions, and systemic barriers to employment are all major challenges facing Aboriginal people in Sudbury. Importantly, although there is a specific chapter dealing with the effects of racism in Sudbury, the problem of racism is pervasive throughout many of the other areas of study, most notably in housing, employment, and access to social services.

Despite the substantial number of Aboriginal and mainstream agencies in Sudbury that exist to address these needs, as well as significant federal and provincial government funding, there are significant gaps and lack of coordination in services. Respondents reported that governments have consistently avoided developing ministry structures with a mandate for long-term, stable programs and services and adequate funding to address the needs of urban Aboriginal people. In addition, existing programs and funding formulas sometimes do not "fit" the needs of service organizations or their clients. Clearly, new thinking and new initiatives are required to address the issues and enhance the situation of all sectors of the Sudbury Aboriginal community.

At the same time, there are many emerging success stories and many programs and services offered that have been effective in alleviating some of the social and economic challenges facing Aboriginal people. Government funding has often been effective in assisting Aboriginal and mainstream agencies in their work. In addition, as the Census data

demonstrates, a substantial number of Aboriginal people have attained a satisfactory level of economic stability in the city. Yet there is a need for these people and their children to have opportunities to practice their Aboriginal culture, support their identity, volunteer, and exercise leadership with a view to becoming more active participants in the Sudbury Aboriginal community.

13.1 Government mandate, funding and coordination

The study participants were clear that there can be no solution to the problems articulated above without the involvement of all three levels of government, who are all providing significant amounts of funding to a wide diversity of programs and services for urban Aboriginal people. At the same time, research respondents suggested that there is a great deal of jurisdictional confusion and a number of existing barriers which inhibit the ability to effectively meet the needs of urban Aboriginal people, with respect to government mandates, programs, funding and coordination. Many individuals emphasized the fundamental problem that there is insufficient recognition of the changing demographics of Aboriginal people by government ministries at all levels. More specifically, there is little acknowledgement, in terms of mandates and programs, of the significant numbers of Aboriginal people living in cities. Only recently have governments acknowledged that they have a role to play in providing programs and services to urban Aboriginal people. Nonetheless, given the federal jurisdictional responsibility for ‘Indians and lands reserved for Indians’ under 91(24) of the *BNA Act*, the application of provincial laws and services for Indians under section 88 of the *Indian Act* in the absence (which there are many) of federal Indian specific law, and section 35 of the *1982 Constitution Act* that recognizes existing Aboriginal and treaty rights in a broad and comprehensive manner that reasonably includes a diversity (Indian, Inuit and Métis) of Aboriginal people in the urban centres, it remains very problematic that federal and provincial governments have not established a comprehensive, political relationship with urban Aboriginal people.

Both federal and provincial governments have recognized the need to address jurisdictional issues, and have acknowledged the necessity for greater cooperation and coordination regarding urban Aboriginal people.

One important consideration with respect to the jurisdictional issue is whether to take an "Aboriginal rights approach" based on an interpretation of Section 35 of the 1982 Constitution Act pertaining to government accountability for urban Aboriginal people, or to take a "needs-based" approach assuming that the provision of programs and services in urban areas is based on the fact that urban Aboriginal people face a series of problems that must be addressed on the same basis as any other citizen. In establishing better political relationships, it is also important to involve municipal governments as well. In addition, many of the funding initiatives currently in place are provided to individual First Nations, Tribal Councils and PTOS, but very few directly with urban Aboriginal organizations.

It is also clear that the time has come for both levels of government, federal and provincial, to act as responsible partners in confederation with Aboriginal people in determining their roles and responsibilities within their relationships with urban Aboriginal organizations and agencies. This commitment needs to involve more than short-term programs, projects or other temporary initiatives. It is critical that the organizations with the experience and expertise, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, be involved in working with governments to strengthen their services and develop new models of program and service delivery. It is also critical that new agencies (or new coalitions of existing organizations) be established.

A second concern relates to the lack of coordination among the three levels of government, with different level of government "passing the buck" for responsibility for urban Aboriginal people. Despite the talk, there is little systematic horizontal or vertical coordination. In addition, there is little coordination among the many different types of government programs available. There are "programs," "technical assistance," "grants," "pilot projects," and other types of assistance available, but often agencies are unaware of them. Sometimes there is also a lack of "fit" between the mandate of the government program and the needs of established social service agencies. Also, government programs are usually short-term and heavily bureaucratic with respect to application, administration and evaluation.

RECOMMENDATION 1 In light of the fact that both federal and provincial governments have recognized that over fifty per cent of Aboriginal

people in Ontario currently reside in urban areas, that units within all ministries be designated as having responsibility for urban Aboriginal people. These units should be allocated a substantial budget and work with Aboriginal organizations to meet the needs of urban Aboriginal people.

RECOMMENDATION 2 That the federal government and government of Ontario establish an Inter-departmental Committee composed of representatives of all ministries at both levels of government that are involved with urban Aboriginal people, with a mandate to coordinate policies and fund programs and services for urban Aboriginal people in Ontario.

RECOMMENDATION 3 That the government of Ontario fund a new body, the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, to oversee and coordinate the development of appropriate programs and services and to provide co-ordinated service delivery to Aboriginal people in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 4 That federal, provincial and municipal governments in Sudbury establish a Sudbury Aboriginal Funder's Table, with a mandate to coordinate with the Sudbury Aboriginal Alliance to ensure that appropriate changes are made to local and regional government ministries (including mandated structures, processes and resources) and allocate core funding to the Alliance with a view to ensuring its long-term stability.

RECOMMENDATION 5 That federal, provincial and municipal governments consider funding a cultural centre in Sudbury. For example, that Canadian Heritage consider expanding the mandate of the Cultural Education Centres Program to include off-reserve urban communities.

RECOMMENDATION 6 That the governments of Canada, Ontario and Sudbury enter into discussions to address the issue of confused jurisdiction regarding access and payment for health and social services for Aboriginal people who utilize services across Ontario, with a view to enabling "seamless" access of services throughout Sudbury.

13.2 Service delivery and agency coordination

A significant number of the respondents spoke of the need to address the many gaps in services due to funding inequities, particularly in terms of health, employment, education, women, youth and seniors. An important barrier to providing the appropriate services is the current lack of coordination among agencies, especially between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agencies. This is not unusual as organizations develop and grow based on meeting specific needs with specialized mandates, often according to funding priorities of governments. The issue is particularly pressing now as non-Aboriginal agencies are serving larger numbers of Aboriginal clients.

Many Aboriginal organizations believe that they face additional challenges, compared to non-Aboriginal agencies, in providing services including: being in a disadvantaged position for the competition for funding; not receiving as much funding as mainstream agencies for providing similar services; being burdened by elaborate application and reporting requirements; long delays in receiving funding from government; having to rely on short-term funding agreements; not having stable long-term core funding; and providing a "culturally-based" approach to service delivery. All of these factors require more time, effort and funding to offer adequate programs and services to Aboriginal people. Also, contributing to the lack of coordination among agencies is the competition for funds due to government mandates and funding requirements.

RECOMMENDATION 7 That a new body, the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, be created and composed of representatives from a wide variety of Aboriginal agencies and community leaders, to act as a coordinating group with a mandate to work with the three levels of government in overseeing and ensuring the equitable funding and coordination of Aboriginal programming in the city.

The Alliance will determine unmet needs and gaps in services and recommend appropriate action to meet these needs, including initiating the establishment of new agencies and articulating additional support required for existing ones. The Alliance should include in its mandate ensuring that services to Aboriginal people are delivered in a culturally appropriate manner. All three levels of government should

be involved in discussion of the Alliance as observers to ensure effective coordination with existing government policies, mandates and funding as well as the creation of new ones. The Alliance should seek funding from the provincial government to support its mandate.

RECOMMENDATION 8 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, as part of their mandate, sponsor a series of cross-cultural workshops with municipal and provincial social service organizations that deal with Aboriginal people, with a view of making the delivery of programs and services to Aboriginal people more culturally appropriate.

13.3 Aboriginal health issues

The research revealed some notable characteristics of urban Aboriginal health matters in Sudbury around access to physicians, preference and use of Aboriginal health services and traditional healing practices. More specifically, walk-in clinics and emergency rooms were found to be the main sources of Western health care access by urban Aboriginal people in Sudbury. This of course means that the long term and continuum of care services required for those suffering with mental health and addiction challenges are a major gap in urban health services for Aboriginal people in Sudbury. Moreover, seniors are also experiencing gaps in health services including: transportation, language/translation services and prohibitively high costs for vision, dental and hearing care.

As well, a majority (74%) of respondents indicated that they prefer Aboriginal health services that are culturally appropriate to mainstream health services. The community survey respondents further indicated an array of health problems for Aboriginal people in Sudbury. Importantly, alcohol abuse, unemployment and family violence are those health problems most frequently identified. As well, a high proportion of respondents access Elders and traditional healing practices. This is significant in many ways because it indicates a high value placed on cultural practices and the importance of cultural identity.

RECOMMENDATION 9 That existing Aboriginal health services be provided with additional financial resources to increase its level of providing health services to Aboriginal people in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 10 That a series of inter-agency meetings of representatives from existing health service agencies and relevant government health ministries be convened to discuss how to more effectively meet the health needs of Aboriginal people in Sudbury, with particular attention to those with mental illness, addictions, chronic care needs and seniors, and with a view to developing a holistic and coordinated continuum of care strategy to address those needs. Partnerships among agencies should be encouraged to maximize effectiveness and efficiency in service delivery. Priorities should be set and new initiatives, funded by government, should be undertaken.

RECOMMENDATION 11 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance address the issue of ensuring effective understanding and communications between Aboriginal users of the health care system and health providers by instituting such programs as workshops to sensitize health workers to Aboriginal cultures and to ensure that adequate Aboriginal language interpretation services are available to Aboriginal patients.

RECOMMENDATION 12 That Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance conduct a workshop of traditional healing to identify the local healers, provide the necessary support for their work and to coordinate their efforts.

13.4 Aboriginal culture in Sudbury

A significant number of respondents from the community survey, key informant interviews and focus groups spoke about culture in a great diversity of ways. Patterns of responses did, however, emerge around the following themes:

- the importance of traditional teachings, ceremonies and Elders, and the challenges of maintaining the integrity of ceremonial practice in the urban centre;
- the importance of maintaining Aboriginal languages;
- the importance of family to Aboriginal cultures; and,
- the importance of cultural spaces and events such as pow wows, feasts etc., where people can come together and practice their culture.

In terms of challenges, however, UATF respondents tended to focus on the lack of Aboriginal cultural content in the urban, mainstream school curriculum.

A very important finding from the study related to how important maintaining and enhancing Aboriginal culture and identity is to urban Aboriginal people. A related finding pertains to the frequent feelings of internal identity conflict that individuals experienced, especially in early life, as a result of many complex factors such as the effects of residential school, family dysfunction and racism. Many respondents reported that they were able to turn their lives around through key influences and experiences in their life, including: supports from friends, relatives, teachers, mentors and elders; having a place to go for recreation, social contact and cultural events; connecting with a community; and discovering (or rediscovering) their Aboriginal culture.

Many individuals and organizations in cities play a significant role in assisting individuals on their life's journey towards personal stability, healthy relationships and cultural awareness. There were also individuals who have successfully adjusted to life in the city, often long-term residents who are part of the "emerging Aboriginal middle class," who are interested in maintaining (or reconnecting) with their culture but who do not actively participate in the urban Aboriginal community. Although there are many Aboriginal people in the higher income bracket that are participating in some traditional activities and general cultural events, there are also those who do not feel comfortable going to existing Aboriginal organizations which they perceive as oriented towards 'high risk' Aboriginal social service clientele.

It should be emphasized that numerous social and culture events occur and programs are in place in Sudbury (pow wows, sweats, elder teachings, etc), both within Aboriginal organizations and within the larger community. But respondents also pointed to a need for some sort of community cultural centre. They suggested that such a centre could contribute to the maintenance of the Sudbury Aboriginal community in many ways, including: a gathering place for people to come in and informally socialize; a facility to hold social and cultural events and ceremonies; a showpiece of Aboriginal arts and crafts; a place where Aboriginal groups could meet; an educational resource to teach Aboriginal history, stories and language; a community interactive museum; a day care centre; an interpretative centre where non-Aboriginal people can learn about

Aboriginal culture; a recreational facility for athletic programs and sports leagues, etc.

Elders, of course, would be at the heart of an urban Aboriginal cultural centre, offering teachings, conducting ceremonies and sharing their knowledge. Moreover, as today's Elders are increasingly lost to the Aboriginal community through aging, such a centre would provide a critical space within the urban centre, from which new Elders could be guided and mentored for the next generation of urban Aboriginal people.

And lastly, as Aboriginal cultures are inseparable from Aboriginal languages, it is critical to recognize that the number of speakers and the overall rates of fluency in Sudbury is low and every effort must be made to support language study, fluency development and the building of new Aboriginal language lexicons.

RECOMMENDATION 13 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance convene a meeting of Aboriginal people in Sudbury (to include existing leaders, rank-and-file community members and individuals not currently involved with the community), with a view to discussing the desirability of establishing an Aboriginal cultural centre in Sudbury. If there is agreement, then a non-profit society should be formed to conduct a feasibility study to determine the specific nature of such a facility. Initial funding for the centre should be provided by the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government (i.e. Sudbury could donate suitable land for the centre), as well as a Building Fund set up to accept donations from the Aboriginal community in Sudbury. Members of the Aboriginal community should be the prime sponsors of the centre with as little reliance on governments as possible. The process of fund raising and the operation of the centre should be independent of any existing organization.

RECOMMENDATION 14 That Aboriginal and mainstream organizations make a special effort to attract members of the "emerging Aboriginal middle class," who are not currently connected to the urban Aboriginal community, to actively participate in their programs in a variety of capacities. This group constitutes an untapped resource with specific skills and experience that can contribute to services and programs and in turn expand and strengthen the community.

RECOMMENDATION 15 That the government of Ontario establish an Urban Aboriginal Enhancement Fund to promote the maintenance of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal culture in urban centres, particularly the work of Aboriginal Elders and the maintenance of Aboriginal languages. The Fund could provide financial resources for such activities as: Elder's gatherings, Aboriginal language programs, cultural youth camps, cultural exchanges, guest speaker series, arts and crafts displays, workshops, etc.

RECOMMENDATION 16 Recognizing the importance of Aboriginal languages to the enrichment of Aboriginal cultures in the cities, that the federal and provincial governments support efforts of Aboriginal language instruction in the public schools as well as in private learning institutions.

RECOMMENDATION 17 In recognition of the important function that Elders play in the urban Aboriginal community, that specific programs be developed that will support their work and the passing on of their knowledge.

13.5 Aboriginal youth

The UATF research found that one of the most vulnerable groups in cities is Aboriginal youth. This group is particularly important because of the high percentage of youth among the urban Aboriginal population in Sudbury. The federal and provincial governments are active in funding a number of youth programs and services such as the Urban Aboriginal Strategy, the Akwe:go Urban Aboriginal Children's Program, the Stay in School Program and the recently announced First Nations, Métis and Inuit Education Policy Framework. At the same time, there was concern expressed that there needs to be more organized programs in place for children and youth.

The interrelated realities of addictions, mental health and suicide are important challenges facing Aboriginal youth. The OFIFC study, *Undue Trials: Justice Issues facing Aboriginal Youth and Children*, reported that 20 to 25% of Aboriginal children suffer from an emotional disorder, (a statistic five times higher than for the non-Aboriginal population) and that evidence of a mental disorder has been found in 81 to 95% of Aboriginal suicide vic-

tims (OFIFC, 2004). Importantly, seventy-seven percent (77%) of Executive Directors in Sudbury indicated that the addiction services needed by Aboriginal children were not being met. As well, 72% of Executive Directors indicated that the mental health needs of Aboriginal children were also not being met.

The link between education and the desire for Aboriginal youth to see their cultures represented in the school curriculum is key to understanding the many reasons for Aboriginal youth leaving school. Moreover, UATF findings point to the need to expand the availability of the existing alternative school from those youth and young adults who have previously left school to all Aboriginal youth and young adults.

Overall, the community survey and key informant interviews revealed the following specific challenges for urban Aboriginal youth in Sudbury:

- they are experiencing much difficulty with education, employment and identity;
- culturally relevant education is an important priority for Aboriginal youth in Sudbury;
- they are reporting a serious gap of supportive youth programming; and,
- they are experiencing the interrelated realities of addictions, mental health and suicide.

RECOMMENDATION 18 That Aboriginal leaders in Sudbury enter into discussions with the Sudbury School Board with a view to establish an Aboriginal Cultural School in Sudbury. The school should be geared to Aboriginal people in Sudbury who wish to have their children achieve high academic standards while at the same time learn about Aboriginal culture, language, history and contemporary issues. As part of the process to establish the school, a study of best practices of various cultural schools in Canada should be undertaken. The school should not duplicate the program of study currently offered at the alternative school at the N'Swakamok Friendship Centre. The school should not focus on the needs of "high risk" students or special needs students, but rather should concentrate on meeting the needs of students currently enrolled in mainstream schools.

RECOMMENDATION 19 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance contact various business leaders and organizations in the private sector to

enter into discussions with a view to creating various small business training courses targeted to Aboriginal youth. A joint body composed of business people and Aboriginal people should be established to oversee the resulting initiatives. Funding for the initiative should be provided by appropriate government ministries in cooperation with the private sector.

RECOMMENDATION 20 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance facilitate the creation of a youth housing program to meet the housing needs of Aboriginal street youth in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 21 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance enter into discussions with organized labour leaders to establish effective apprenticeship programs for Aboriginal youth to facilitate their entry into the labour market. Attention should be paid to both recruitment and job retention strategies to ensure long-term stable employment opportunities.

RECOMMENDATION 22 That the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre organize an Aboriginal Youth Fitness Club with memberships and regular operating hours at the Centre to meet the fitness needs of Aboriginal youth.

RECOMMENDATION 23 That the N'Swakamok Native Friendship Centre organize a Youth Sports and Recreational League to facilitate Aboriginal youth engagement in various sports and recreational activities. The league could liaise with mainstream athletic leagues in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 24 That Aboriginal and mainstream agencies enter into discussions with government to establish a diversity of youth programs such as: peer mentoring/tutoring, big brother/big sisters programs, cyber cafés, cultural events and programs, etc. for Aboriginal youth in addition to those that already exist.

RECOMMENDATION 25 That urban Aboriginal leaders coordinate an effort to establish Urban Aboriginal Youth Councils in Sudbury in order for Aboriginal youth to represent themselves and organize events and programs to meet their needs. The organizations, once established,

should be operated by Aboriginal youth themselves. The organizations should be provided satisfactory places to meet and hold events and be given adequate funding to operate.

13.6 The Aboriginal middle class

The key informant interviews and community survey respondents spoke of the persistence of Aboriginal poverty in Sudbury. Nonetheless, our results do reveal a notable degree of economic affluence among the urban Aboriginal population that suggests the emergence of a group of economically successful Aboriginal people.

The 1981 Urban Aboriginal Task Force indicated that 93% of its Aboriginal respondents across Ontario were earning less than \$17,000 per year. In Sudbury today, a significant number of Aboriginal people (45%) earn less than \$20,000 per year and 71% make under \$40,000 per year. However, the current UATF data further indicates that 29% of the local Aboriginal population earning over \$40,000 per year and 16% earning over \$60,000 per year.

However, this segment of the urban Aboriginal population is feeling disconnected from the Aboriginal social services sector as it looks to participate in cultural practices and events. Moreover, those earning between \$20,000 and \$60,000 report the highest gaps in services and experience racism from other Aboriginal people the most frequently. As well, this growing cadre of Aboriginal professionals and entrepreneurs are establishing partnerships with non-Aboriginal people, working in a diversity of areas (including Aboriginal agencies and related government departments).

RECOMMENDATION 26 That Aboriginal leaders in Sudbury, in cooperation with mainstream private sector representatives, establish a Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Economic Council as a partnership between the Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal private sector. Its mandate would be to oversee the development of Aboriginal owned and operated businesses and other economic development initiatives in Sudbury. Successful Aboriginal business persons should be approached to participate on the Council. The Council should foster such activities as: information sharing, networking, assistance with business plans, peer

support, investment clubs, joint-venture initiatives, entrepreneur role models and training programs.

RECOMMENDATION 27 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Economic Council establish an "Aboriginal Peoples Retention and Advancement Strategy" whereby Aboriginal employees within Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agencies, businesses and organizations are assisted to remain and be promoted within the organization, especially from entry-level positions to middle management. Issues such as: mentoring, peer support, "culture shock" (i.e. clash of cultural values and norms) and the "glass ceiling" (i.e. barriers to promotion based upon negative stereotypes or lack of effective communication between Aboriginal employees and non-Aboriginal managers) should be addressed in the strategy. Various organizations with Aboriginal employees should be approached to participate in the strategy.

RECOMMENDATION 28 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Economic Council establish a series of investment clubs composed of like-minded Aboriginal people to pool their resources and invest in such ventures as: equity bonds, stocks, lending circles etc., with the advice of financial experts and other resources.

RECOMMENDATION 29 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Economic Council work with Aboriginal Business Canada and other financial institutions to develop an Aboriginal Business Capital Fund and develop a process whereby capital can be made more readily available to Aboriginal people who wish to start businesses. Links to other resources such as CESO, the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, Professional Associations, etc. should also be established to assist in developing viable business plans, market strategies, partnerships and other financial resources that can facilitate the availability of loans and business expertise to Aboriginal entrepreneurs.

13.7 The pervasive Problem of Racism in Sudbury

The results of the community survey point to the continued and widespread problem of racism in Sudbury, whereby 82% of community survey

respondents felt that racism against Aboriginal people in Sudbury is a persistent problem. In terms of where respondents experience racism, the following places are listed from the most to least prevalent: schools, restaurants/malls, the workplace, and housing.

Various forms of racism and discrimination, including systemic racism, are prevalent when there exists a serious imbalance in power relations in the city. In these cases, Aboriginal people are often characterized by a number of negative stereotypes. Racism is perhaps best addressed through a combination of working to end power imbalances as well as anti-racism/discrimination education.

When there are sufficient levels of social, economic and political integration (not assimilation) and interaction between members of the minority and majority societies, there is the opportunity for communication and dialogue on a personal and face-to-face basis on common tasks, which provides the potential for changes in attitudes. Nonetheless, where cultural differences persist as an intentional part of this integration, anti-racism/discrimination education further functions to help people understand the more implicit and structural elements of racist thinking and the tendency to turn back to and rely on negative stereotyping in times of stress or conflict.

On their own, efforts at anti-racism/oppression education and cross cultural awareness training within the workplace, strategies which have been attempted for many years, have had mixed results. People may participate in the experience but distance themselves from the message being presented because they believe that the negative stereotypes are true (often based on their personal experience or media representation). As long as there is a situation of "two solitudes" characterized by a "we-they," little attitude change will occur. The recommendations of this report attempt to set up structures and processes that encourage more personal exchanges between members of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities, within specific contexts.

Another factor contributing to racism that was mentioned by respondents related to the image of Aboriginal people presented in the media. While some attempts to change the approaches to media representation have been made, some study participants believed it was still an issue. Often Aboriginal people hold few employment positions (with some notable exceptions), especially editorial positions, within the urban media infrastructure. How a group's stories are told and who tells them to the

general public have significant implications for the general image (as well as peoples' attitudes) toward that group. Aboriginal people need to tell their own stories. It is therefore clear that Aboriginal people need to be more involved in influential and high profile roles in the media to ensure that the picture is accurate and that they are visible. There was also a perception that police utilized racial profiling in their dealings with urban Aboriginal people.

Another important, and sensitive, factor was uncovered by the research that may be contributing to this situation. That is, there is clearly a problem with internal divisiveness and discrimination among Aboriginal people themselves in all of the cities studied. A substantial number of respondents (51%) had experienced racism from another Aboriginal person. Racism and other forms of discrimination against Aboriginal people by Aboriginal people is complex and appears to revolve around questions of racial authenticity in terms of the privileged identity of being from a reserve, having status and 'brown skin.' Often, however, one can be discriminated against internally if one appears to be 'too Indian' and thus stereotypically lacking in education and/or urban sensibilities.

Overall, respondents seemed to come together on the issues of combating racism through building education, awareness and understanding through cross cultural training and community cooperation, as well as incorporating meaningful Aboriginal content in mainstream school curriculum.

RECOMMENDATION 30 That Sudbury establish an office of an Aboriginal Ombudsman with sufficient independence, authority and staff to investigate complaints of racism and discrimination, as well as undertake education and awareness programs to bring about necessary changes to racist practices.

RECOMMENDATION 31 That structures such as municipal and other urban bodies of authority have adequate Aboriginal representation in order to ensure that policies and procedures relating to Aboriginal people are effectively implemented.

RECOMMENDATION 32 That workshops be convened in Sudbury between Aboriginal organizations and the various media organizations, with a view to discussing ways to better involve Aboriginal people in

the media presentation of stories related to Aboriginal people (e.g. student co-op placements, apprenticeship programs, guest columnists and commentators, etc.).

RECOMMENDATION 33 That urban Aboriginal leaders, in partnership with municipal officials, establish an Anti-Racism Committees in Sudbury to initiate a series of anti-racism initiatives such as: public awareness campaigns, cross-cultural awareness workshops, affirmative action programs etc., with a view to addressing the issues of racism against urban Aboriginal people.

RECOMMENDATION 34 That urban Aboriginal leaders convene in a series of workshops to address the issue of divisiveness among various members of the Aboriginal community. Such workshops should be facilitated by members of the community, not associated with an existing organization, and should have a reputation of neutrality and fairness, and involvement of Aboriginal Elders. The norms of openness, respect and lack of politics or vested interest should be established for the workshop.

13.8 Aboriginal women in Sudbury

Aboriginal women occupy two very notable positions within the Sudbury Aboriginal community; they are both the most violently oppressed and the most socially active in working to end that oppression. Our research has shown that within both of these social groups there are gaps in services and agencies that require much needed enhancement and support.

Using a focus group, key informant interviews, and community surveys, this research has documented the many diverse and often difficult experiences of Aboriginal women living in Sudbury. Aboriginal families tend to be larger than non-Aboriginal families and to be headed by single mothers.

Many Aboriginal women in Sudbury are experiencing the difficulties associated with inadequate educational environments for their children in local schools. Moreover, a general lack of childcare services is a major challenge for urban Aboriginal women.

In terms of attempting to access basic services, many women expressed frustration with poverty, violence, issues of mental health and addictions, lack of capacity, jurisdictional issues, and feelings of disempowerment. Many respondents discussed the issue of service agencies and authorities having poor relations with women, particularly those women in conflict with the law and women who are dealing with domestic violence.

The more prominent barriers to success for women in Sudbury are:

- general poverty;
- lack of treatment centres and detox beds;
- lack of adequate housing services;
- lack of basic services for sex trade workers; and,
- lack of child care services.

At-risk Aboriginal women in Sudbury require a coordinated and geographically consolidated array of services that are geared towards providing safe and culturally supportive spaces that respond to both immediate and longer-term transitional needs away from poverty and violence. These most vulnerable members of the community require an array of counseling services, including those that meet their most basic needs of food, safe shelter, clothing and transportation.

Specifically for those Aboriginal women and girls working in the sex trade in Sudbury, basic services aimed at immediate harm reduction are required. Shelters or safe houses for these women should provide all of these basic needs, be openly available during the day and should not have evening curfews.

In transitioning out of abusive relationships, extreme poverty and violence, Aboriginal women require an array of counseling services including: addictions, mental health, relationship, life skills, and legal. It is important that these services are offered in a culturally sensitive manner and that Aboriginal women be given direct and priority access to these services. The provision of transitional housing is a key factor as women move from shelters to more private and stable home environments. Education and training will be an important aspect of the movement to healing, as will mentoring and the building of new social networks and community.

Importantly, culturally appropriate childcare is a concern for all Aboriginal women in Sudbury and should be openly available at all levels in the community. Basic needs and transitional services should provide

childcare as an integral part of the delivery of those services. As well, childcare must be available to those Aboriginal women at work and in school to support these efforts.

RECOMMENDATION 35 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance organize a comprehensive urban Aboriginal Women’s Strategy for Sudbury with the intent of coordinating existing social services and developing new programs and services that provide a continuum of care for all Aboriginal women in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 36 The immediate expansion of support services to Aboriginal women in Sudbury with specific priority given to the following:

- healthy food, safe shelter, clothing, and transportation;
- addictions, mental health, relationships, life skills, and legal counseling;
- transitional housing;
- education and training; and,
- childcare as an integral part to the provision of all of these services.

RECOMMENDATION 37 That, through the funding of the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, there be the development of community (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agency) protocols and a database of those Aboriginal women at risk who will facilitate their direct and prioritized access to the above identified essential services.

RECOMMENDATION 38 That there be increased support for existing agencies working with Aboriginal sex workers and that government representatives and community leaders working in this (or closely related) sector work collectively towards the creation of a safe house that will provide an array of basic services and be openly available during the day and night.

RECOMMENDATION 39 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, as part of its activities, reach out to Aboriginal middle class women through a series of workshops and open houses with the intent of developing an Aboriginal women’s mentor program that will as-

sist women at all levels of the community in their healing, educational, professional and cultural lives, and in particular, assist those Aboriginal women seeking to build new communities away from their former high risk social networks.

RECOMMENDATION 40 That, through the funding of the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance, a community-wide (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal agency) public awareness campaign is developed, aimed at ending the violence against Aboriginal women in Sudbury through education, consciousness raising, media reporting and efforts to increase the reporting of violent incidents by Aboriginal women.

13.9 Aboriginal housing

The quality of our living environment and the security and stability that a home provides relates directly to our ability to move outwards and live healthy and meaningful lives within the greater community. In Sudbury, the stress associated with unstable rental housing impacts on the majority of income levels, age categories and family situations. For some, socio-economic situations lead to housing being one of the most immediate and pressing needs they have. For those in more stable financial situations, the security of home ownership remains, nonetheless, elusive. The reality of an emerging group of economically successful Aboriginal people in Sudbury might suggest that housing is not a high priority level in Sudbury. However, the data reveals that this is not the case, and that stable and affordable housing, especially for those in the lower socio-economic groups is a persistent and unmet need.

Importantly, the majority of Aboriginal people in Sudbury did not feel that their housing needs were being met. As well, issues of racism and other forms of discrimination were cited as a significant barrier to accessing affordable housing. A significant number of participants spoke to the need for a continuum of care in housing as the homeless are assisted into emergency shelters, transitional homes, and then to more stable housing, which incorporates a diversity of social services.

Lastly, the success of the Urban Aboriginal Homeless Initiative in Sudbury clearly indicates that those homeless members of the urban Aboriginal community benefit greatly from housing initiatives that integrate a diversity of additional social services.

RECOMMENDATION 41 That the Sudbury Urban Aboriginal Alliance organize a comprehensive urban Aboriginal Housing Strategy for Sudbury, with the intent of coordinating existing housing services and developing new programs and services that better meet the needs of all Aboriginal people in Sudbury.

RECOMMENDATION 42 That increased financial support be provided for the existing Aboriginal housing services infrastructure in Sudbury with a view to reducing waiting lists, providing a diversity of housing options, providing a continuum of care and services as people move through homelessness, to shelters, transitional homes and then to stable housing.

RECOMMENDATION 43 That a program be established to increase the number of Aboriginal housing units available to meet the specific needs of single mothers and their children.

RECOMMENDATION 44 That a program be established to increase the number of Aboriginal housing units designed specifically to meet the diverse needs of single people, including youth, men and seniors.

RECOMMENDATION 45 That a program of financial support and equity building for first-time Aboriginal home buyers be established to assist Aboriginal people living in Sudbury to move from rental accommodation to home ownership.

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RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

The following research instruments were used during the study:

1. Key Respondent Interview Guides

- Aboriginal Organizational Key Respondent Interview Guide—Executive Director
- Aboriginal Organizational Key Respondent Interview Guide—Staff
- Aboriginal Organizational Key Respondent Interview Guide—Youth Worker
- Non-Aboriginal Organization Key Respondent Interview Guide
- Government Key Respondent Interview Guide
- Aboriginal Community Member Key Respondent Interview Guide

2. Community Survey

3. Focus Group Questions

4. Plenary Session Questions

5. Life History Questions

Copies of all research instruments are available upon request at:
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URBAN ABORIGINAL TASK FORCE

Sudbury Final Report

Throughout 2005 and 2006, the Urban Aboriginal Task Force, a partnership of Aboriginal organizations and government agencies, oversaw community-based research in five urban sites: Sudbury, Thunder Bay, Ottawa, Barrie/Midland/Orillia, and Kenora. Designed to shed new light on on-going struggles and critical new developments taking place in urban Aboriginal communities across the province, the project investigated racism, homelessness, poverty, youth, women, and health, also considering broader concerns of culture and identity, gaps in delivery of services, Elders and long-term care, women and children, access to resources, and assessment of Aboriginal services.

The *Sudbury Final Report* constitutes the third of the five site reports and with the other site reports will inform the preparation of the *Final Report of the Urban Aboriginal Task Force*. It is our hope that the *Final Report* will initiate a new wave of positive, cooperative policy, programme, and legislative change aimed at improving the quality of life for all urban Aboriginal people in Ontario.

Additional copies of this report are available for download from www.ofifc.org.