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DOMESTIC GOVERNMENTS AND ABORIGINAL PEOPLES: THE ALBERTA CASE

A Report Prepared for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

by

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Executive Summary

This report examines the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments in the province of Alberta. Although the analysis begins with the creation of the province in 1905, the primary focus of the report is on the contemporary nature of that relationship. We therefore explore the extent to which the provincial government, provincial agencies, local governments, and school boards are engaged in Aboriginal affairs. In assessing those relationships, we draw heavily from both personal interviews and an extensive questionnaire completed by 72 individuals active in the Aboriginal policy field. Throughout we stress the complexity of the Aboriginal population of Alberta and the range of domestic governments with which that population interacts. As a consequence of both, the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments in Alberta is not open to easy or sweeping generalizations.

The report draws particular attention to the impact that Alberta's unique relationship with the Metis has had on the more general relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples. We suggest that this relationship and the fortuitous financial circumstances of the province in the past played major roles in framing the present relationship. We also suggest that this relationship may have trouble expanding to embrace Aboriginal communities without territorial definition, such as the urban Aboriginal population. Indeed, the relationships among Aboriginal governments, local governments, and the provincial government with respect to service delivery for these communities may be one of the most difficult public policy issues that Albertans will confront in the decade to come.

In general terms, the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domelstic governments in Alberta has been characterized by creativity, flexibility, and goodwill.

However, we warn in conclusion that the relationship may have difficulty weathering the stormy financial seas upon which the people and governments of Alberta have embarked.

1. Introduction

The primary objectives of this report are to map and assess the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments in Alberta. The time span to be covered stretches from the formation of Alberta in 1905 to the present, although the overwhelming emphasis will be on the contemporary period. "Aboriginal peoples" will include those living within territorially-defined communities, such as Metis[1] settlements and Indian reserves, and those embedded within the more general urban and rural populations of the province. The term "domestic governments" will include the government of Alberta (and its various agencies, boards and departments), local municipalities, and school boards. Throughout, the coverage and analysis will be illustrative rather than comprehensive, for no single study can encompass the immense array of governmental actors and Aboriginal communities which come into play within the political landscape of Alberta.

Given the focus of the report on the interface between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments, we begin by sketching in the historical evolution of that relationship. We turn next to a brief socio-demographic portrait of the current Aboriginal population in the province. The report then presents a more detailed snapshot of the contemporary relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments, and provides an assessment of that relationship. We conclude by examining the likely impact of Aboriginal self-government on the existing relationship and by offering some modest recommendations.

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[1] In Alberta usage, both official and informal, "Metis" is written without the acute accent. We will follow this convention, and will use "Metis" rather than "Métis".

It should also be noted by way of introduction that the *fiscal* relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments is not discussed in any detail. This omission does not relfect any judgment on our part that this relationship is unimportant. Indeed, the relationship is very important, and may become even more so in future years as governments across the board significantly curtail their program expenditures. However, it is not a relationship that is readily accessible to empirical investigation, particularly given the limited resources of the research team. As a general rule, provincial and local governments do not identify Aboriginal peoples as an expenditure category, just as they do not identify women or youth. While at times specific programs can be identified, these are seldom identified as such in public accounts. As this report will show, the general approach taken by the government of Alberta in its relationship with Aboriginal peoples is to fold that relationship into the broader mix of programs and services, thereby further blurring the fiscal relationship per se. For all of these reasons, therefore, our focus throughout will be on principles and programs; the hard dollars which energize those principles and programs will make only brief appearances.

In this context, the reader should also be aware that the fiscal landscape has changed dramatically in the short time since the field work was completed in the summer of 1993. The provincial government has since embarked on substantial rounds of expenditure cuts which, in some of the program areas of greatest relevance to Aboriginal peoples, have amounted to 20 per cent or more. Given that the federal government has now embarked on similar if more modest expenditure reductions, the entire fiscal landscape has become very fluid. For these reasons, the absence of a more detailed 1993 fiscal snapshot is less problematic than it otherwise might have been.

2. History

When the province of Alberta was created in 1905, Aboriginal affairs were generally seen to be the sole prerogative of the federal government. As was the case elsewhere in Canada, little role was envisioned for the provincial government or for the local governments, boards and agencies falling under the province's constitutional umbrella. The direct provision of social services to Aboriginal peoples was handled by the federal government and was generally restricted to reserve-based, status Indian communities; to the extent that limited services were provided to off-reserve and non-status Indians, they were provided in the same way and through the same agencies and programs as they were to the non-Aboriginal population. Soon, however, there was an important exception inthe Alberta case. In 1934, and in response to the Depression and pressure from L'Association des Métis d'Alberta et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest (now the Metis Nation of Alberta Association), the provincial government established the Ewing Commission to enquire into the health, education and general welfare of the Metis population. As Pocklington notes (1991:7):

> the circumstances of the Alberta Metis were especially grim in the central and north-central regions. The relatively few Metis who migrated into the southern part of the province tended to assimilate into the dominant society, and those in the north were able to pursue some semblance of their traditional lifestyle. But in the central regions game was scarce, prohibitively expensive fishing licences were required, and white settlement was spreading remorselessly. The majority of the Metis were reduced to squatting of the fringes of Indian reserves and white settlements and on road allowances.

The Ewing Commission's report in 1936, and the refusal of the federal government to address Metis concerns, led to the passage of The Metis Population Betterment Act on November 22, 1938.[2] The Minister of Public Health was designated as the Act's

[2] The term "Metis" was defined in Sec. 2(a) of this Act as "a person of mixed white and Indian blood but does not include either an Indian or non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act. . ." This definition was amended in 1940 to define a Metis as a person with not less than one quarter Indian blood but who was neither an Indian nor a non-treaty Indian according to the Indian Act.

administrator, although this authority passed in 1981 to the Minster of Municipal Affairs. Under the terms of the Act, eight Metis settlements (formerly called colonies) were established between 1939 and 1941 from provincial Crown land in central and north-central Alberta. Today, these settlements encompass more than 1,250,000 acres and are home to approximately 5,600 individuals, or about ten per cent of the provincial Metis population.[3]

The 1938 Act was an important initiative in two respects: it led to the only collective Metis land base in Canada, and it gave a distinctive face to the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples in Alberta by directly involving the provincial government in Aboriginal affairs.[4] However, for the next three decades it was also a clear exception to the more general rule of non-involvement by domestic governments. At the time of the federal government's 1969 White Paper on Indian Affairs,[5] domestic governments in Alberta had little formalized programmatic involvement with the great bulk of the Aboriginal population in the province. The White Paper's recommendation that Aboriginal peoples receive the same services as other Canadians, delivered through the same governments and programs, certainly did not correspond to the more general Alberta experience to that time. Nor was it a recommendation that was received with any enthusiasm by the provincial government or, it should be noted, by the province's Aboriginal communities. The Indian Association of Alberta's Red Paper retort

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[3] For a detailed assessment of the internal political organization of the Metis settlements, see Pocklington (1991).

[4] Pocklington (1991:12) notes that the Alberta government tried to get the federal government to assume some responsibility for the Metis, but that the latter "... insisted that the Metis were ordinary citizens who did not come under the Department of Indian Affairs ...."

[5] Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969).

(Cardinal, 1969) was a scathing rejection of the White Paper's assimilationist rationale, although the response from William Wuttunee (1971) was more moderate in tone.

Yet notwithstanding these initial reactions, the years since 1969 have witnessed a progressive expansion of domestic government involvement with Aboriginal peoples that has culminated in an extensive and complex relationship. Not surprisingly, that expansion began with a re-examination of the provincial government's first initiatives with respect to the Metis. At the prompting of the Metis Association of Alberta, the provincial government set up a task force in 1969 to examine the Betterment Act, the Metis settlements, and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch which had administrative responsibility for both the Act and the settlements. At the time the settlements had elected councils, but these were primarily consultative in character. Administrative control rested with the Branch and its local supervisors, and the relationship between the Branch and the settlements was analogous in most respects to the relationship between DIAND and reserve communities:

> During this period, the Metis Rehabilitation Branch provided practically all services to the Settlement Areas -- operation of schools and involvement in secondary and adult education, construction and maintenance of roads, stores, agriculture and ranching activities, control of timber (including fire-fighting), trapping, hunting and fishing, many aspects of policing services, house construction, power lines and house wiring, issuing assistance, child abuse and care, registrar of births and deaths, issuing of marriage licences, emergency ambulance services, counselling, and in many instances the Area Supervisor had to act in the capacity of midwife.[6]

The task force's 1972 report sought to fundamentally revamp this relationship. It stressed the need for community development and more autonomous self-government. Perhaps of greatest importance, the report rejected a "single agency" approach to the Metis. The authors of the report argued that although the responsibility of the Branch was restricted to the settlements, its very existence "... creates a barrier to government

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[6] Metis Development Branch, Metis Settlements in Alberta (Edmonton, n.p., 1982), 10; cited in Pocklington (1991:73).

involvement with Metis communities even outside of the settlements. The reaction of many government agencies is "There is [already] an agency looking after the Metis people ...!""[7] The report recommended that a wide range of government departments should be involved with the settlements -- Agriculture, Highways and Transport, and Municipal Affairs were all mentioned -- and that "... a Metis program must be available to all Metis who need it, not just to those who live in designated areas."[8]

The task force report established the informal blueprint for the Alberta government's approach to Aboriginal affairs over the next twenty years. While there was no formal organizational plan, no top-down attempt to restructure the detailed relationship between the provincial government and Aboriginal peoples, there was an implicit logic and coherence to initiatives taken after the report. Both the rejection of a single agency approach and the principle that Aboriginal citizens should have access to the full range of provincial programs and services, a principle incidentally that was very much in line with the White Paper recommendations, led to the extensive engagement of provincial departments and agencies in Aboriginal affairs that we see today. All that was required was an expansion of the provincial mandate from the Metis people, narrowly defined in the 1938 legislation, to Aboriginal peoples more broadly defined. That expansion was implicit in the task force report and was soon to be explicit in the evolving pattern of government operations. The increasing use of the term "Native" with reference to provincial programs and agencies carried within it a recognition of more comprehensive responsibilities that extended well beyond the Metis settlements and population.[9]

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[7] The Report of the Metis Task Force Upon the Metis Betterment Act, Metis Settlements and the Metis Rehabilitation Branch, T. F. Roach, Chairman, Edmonton, February 1972, p. 13.

[8] Ibid., p. 14.

[9] This terminological distinction is important to note. Within the Alberta context, and particularly within the context of the Alberta government, "Native" rather than "Aboriginal" is the most commonly used inclusive terminology.

This recognition took on added force in 1976 when the provincial government established a new and reciprocal working relationship with the federal government. Alberta agreed to provide full services to off-reserve Indians if the federal government agreed to provide on-reserve services which were equivalent in quality and coverage to those provided to Albertans generally. The provincial intent, then, was to have a uniform level of service provided to all Albertans, regardless of Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal status, or of the particular form of Aboriginal status, although such services would be supplied through different agencies depending upon where one lived. In a related move, the Family and Community Support Services Program (FCSS) has been extended since 1981 to Indian bands and Metis settlements on the same conditions which apply to other local governments in the province: the Alberta government provides 80 per cent of the funding while the local authorities, who have a good deal of program autonomy, are responsible for the other 20 per cent. (Local authorities are financially responsible to FCSS for the provincialfunding.)

Both moves are important to stress because they reflect the more general policy inclination of the provincial government to treat Aboriginal communities as other local communities are treated within the province. This framework has been decisive in shaping the contemporary relationship between the provincial government and Aboriginal peoples. As Premier Don Getty stated at a November 1, 1990 ceremony to mark the transfer of 1.25 million acres of land to the Metis Settlements General Council, "the effeect of [the Alberta-Metis Settlements Accord, discussed below] will be to usher in a new era of self-determination and autonomy to the Settlements, and bring the Settlements into the mosaic of local government in Alberta." It should be noted, however, that it is not a framework that provides much of a handle for the policy concerns of Aboriginal communities lacking

territorial definition, and it is one that is problematic for those who resist casting Aboriginal self-government in the terminology of municipal government.

These provincial initiatives came at a time when the federal government was contemplating a significant cutback to on-reserve services. Although the Alberta government was not facing similar cutbacks, and indeed was enjoying sizeable budget surpluses, it feared that federal cutbacks would accelerate migration off the reserves and would therefore shift the financial burden of Aboriginal support from the federal to the provincial government. Hence Alberta's insistence that the quality of on-reserve services match that of off-reserve services in order to prevent out-migration from the reserves. Nonetheless, both bands and Metis settlements were initially wary of the policy shift, and were particularly slow to opt into the FCSS initiative. The big breakthrough came when the Blood band opted in, and by 1990 almost 20 per cent of the on-reserve Indian population was involved in the FCSS program. The current participation rate is nearly 100 per cent, and the federal government, under a new administrative agreement, picks up the 80 per cent local government share. By early 1993, all eight Metis settlements had also opted into the FCSS program.

It is perhaps fitting that some of the most dramatic developments in recent years have returned to the starting point of provincial involvement in Aboriginal affairs, and that is the relationship between domestic governments and the Metis. In 1987 the Alberta government and the Metis established a five year framework agreement, discussed below, which put into place a complex institutional arrangement between the Metis people and the provincial government. Then, in 1989, and again as discussed in more detail below, the Alberta government and the Alberta Federation of Metis Settlement Associations signed the Alberta Metis Settlements Accord, an agreement which entailed a payment of $310 million over 17 years, substantial parcels of land, and the implementation of community self-

government. In 1992 a tripartite agreement was signed to extend the Metis framework to include the federal government.[10] While these agreements have not been without controversy, they stand out as national landmark developments in the evolution of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments.

[10] As part of this extension, the federal government created the new position of "Metis Interlocutor."

The Lubicon Dispute

Until very recent times, provincial governments in general, and the Alberta government in particular, have been wary of formal entanglements with the status Indian population. They have stressed the constitutional division of responsibilities, and have tended to stay clear of the jurisdiction domain and responsibilities of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. In Alberta's case, however, the Lubicon dispute provides an unusual example of the provincial government being brought into play as a central actor.

The Lubicons have been seeking a land base in north-central Alberta since 1939, and have been involved in extensive litigation over both the validity of their land claim and the population count upon which any settlement would be based.[11] Because any land settlement will come from provincial crown land -- no federal crown land was set aside for the Lubicon -- and because any such land is already compromised by provincial natural gas and forestry leases, the provincial government is unavoidably involved. The provincial government is also involved through the Lubicon's retroactive claim to royalties collected by the province. Thus the Lubicon dispute has given a different complexion to the domestic government - Aboriginal peoples interface in Alberta.

It is also interesting to note that the Lubicon dispute has involved the highest levels of the provincial government. The premier's office became involved in part because the dispute threatened to disrupt the 1988 Olympic Games. However, it is also clear that the dispute caught the personal interest of former premier Don Getty, who intervened as a mediator during his term as premier and following his resignation. The premier's intervention, or at least the positive character of his intervention, came somewhat as a surprise for only in 1987, at a First Ministers' Conference, Getty had threatened the survival of Canada if Aboriginal rights were entrenched in the constitution: "We would have gone home and talked about maybe having to pull out of the bloody country."[12]

In 1988 Premier Getty and Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak signed an agreement which gave the band 205 square kilometres of land, including subsurface rights, and an additional 42 square kilometres with surface rights. However, the issue of compensation has yet to be resolved. The Lubicon are seeking $100 million, while the provincial government has tabled an offer of $53 million.

This very brief account touches on one of the most complex and contested Aboriginal issues in Alberta. Readers wishing to pursue the details of this case would be well advised to begin with John Goddard's *The Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, published in 1991. Even this work, however, is no more than the proverbial tip of a large academic and journalistic iceberg of material on the Lubicon dispute.

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[11] For a discussion, see Tom Flanagan, "The Lubicon Lake Dispute," in Tupper and Gibbins, pp. 269-304.

[12] John Goddard, p. 165.

In summary, the Alberta government, like other provincial governments in Canada, was generally slow to embrace programmatic or political responsibility for Aboriginal peoples. At the same time, it moved relatively quickly in the late 1930s to establish a direct responsibility for the Metis settlements, and this responsibility evolved into a broader relationship with the Metis population of the province. Today, the Alberta government and those domestic governments falling under its constitutional umbrella are thoroughly engaged in Aboriginal affairs, and no longer are Indian concerns dismissed as a federal intrusion into provincial affairs. However, before we turn to a description of that engagement, we should pause for a moment to examine the contemporary demographic and socio-economic situation of Aboriginal peoples in Alberta.

3. Present Context

Appendix A pulls together a collection of demographic data that has been assembled for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The authors of the present report have had neither the resources nor any reason to expand this data base. Rather, we would like to highlight a number of features of the demographic portrait which are of particular relevance for an understanding of the public policy and political landscapes within Alberta:

- Charts 1 and 2 show that although 16.6 per cent of the total Aboriginal population of Canada lived in Alberta in 1991, Aboriginal peoples only constituted 4.1 per cent of the total Alberta population.

- Table 1 shows that the largest segment of the Aboriginal community in Alberta is the off-reserve Indian population, which constitutes 43.2 per cent

of the total Aboriginal population.[13] This population is over twice as large as the on-reserve Indian population, a situation which generally holds across Canada. What is of particular note about the Alberta situation is the relatively large size of the Metis population. Indeed, a large proportion of the Aboriginal population in Alberta is Metis (37.4%), a proportion larger than in any other political jurisdiction in the country. (Table 2 shows that almost 29% of Canada's Metis population lives in Alberta.) This feature of the Alberta scene is of critical importance in understanding the evolution and character of the domestic governments - Aboriginal peoples interface in the province.

- Table 3 notes an important and policy-related difference between the on-reserve Indian population, on the one hand, and the off-reserve Indian and Metis populations, on the other. While nearly 40 per cent of the on-reserve Indian population between the ages of 5 and 14 speak an Aboriginal language, this is true of only 10 per cent of the off-reserve Indian population and just over 6 per cent of the Metis population of the same age. Table 4 shows that similar although somewhat less pronounced differences can be found among the older populations. The two tables in combination show a dramatic generation erosion in Aboriginal language ability across the various segments of the Aboriginal population. Language retention rates in Alberta are roughly similar to those for the country as a whole.

- although the retention of Aboriginal languages is noticeably lower among the off-reserve Indian and Metis populations, Tables 5 and 6 show that a

[13] Only 1.3% of the Aboriginal population in Alberta (1.335 people in 1991) is Inuit.

very substantial proportion of both groups still participates in traditional Aboriginal activities. This finding, and the fact that such participation has not been subject to much cross-generational erosion, will be important to keep in mind as we discuss public policy initiatives relating to Aboriginal peoples living within the larger urban centres in Alberta.

- the data on chronic health problems presented in Table 7 underscore the disadvantaged situation that Aboriginal peoples face in Canada. It also shows that the situation in Alberta corresponds closely to the national pattern, and that there are few differences among different segments of the Aboriginal population in Alberta.

The census data in Appendix A capture only part of the socio-economic difficulties facing Aboriginal people in Alberta. The labour force participation rate for the Aboriginal population is lower than the provincial average (60.5% compared to 72.6%) and the unemployment rate is considerably higher (over 20% compared to less than 10% for the province as a whole). Approximately 60-70 per cent of Aboriginal students drop out of school before completing high school, as compared to approximately 30 per cent of the non-Aboriginal student population. Partly as a consequence, only 2.9 per cent of the Alberta Aboriginal population have university degrees and 28.1 per cent have some post-secondary education, compared to 10.5 per cent and 35.6 per cent respectively for the general Alberta population.[14]

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[14] This information was presented in the Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee's Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, May 26, 1993.

The Aboriginal scene in Alberta is not only depressed but is also very complex. At the present time there are 45 Indian bands/First Nations in Alberta and 106 reserves. (The latter number is in flux because of ongoing land claims and negotiations.) The registered Indian population of the province stands at 54,225, of whom 5,610 live in the city of Calgary. An additional 10,805 individuals identified North American Indianancestry in the 1991 census. The Metis settlement population stands at 5,590 persons, which constitutes just under 15 per cent of those individuals reporting a Metis identification in the 1991 census. Table 1 gives the distribution of that population across the eight Metis settlements.

Table 1: Population of Metis Settlements in Alberta

Settlement	Population
Buffalo Lake	1,015
East Prairie	508
Elizabeth	649
Fishing Lake	576
Gift Lake	781
Kikino	943
Paddle Prairie	672
Peavine	446

In bringing this brief socio-demographic discussion to a close, it is worth noting the components of the Aboriginal population that will be of particular concern in the analysis to follow. The first will be the reserve-based Indian population, for it is upon this component that the implementation of Aboriginal self-government will have the most immediate and far-reaching impact. The second are the Metis, a group that has been of great importance in the past evolution of the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples in Alberta, and a group that can be expected to have a continuing and significant impact on the future unfolding of that relationship. Within this second group, the Metis

settlements are of particular importance, for they command substantial financial and organizational resources which are not available to the rest of the Metis population. The third component is the urban Aboriginal population, a group that overlaps with the first two in some important respects but which, above all else, stands out by its sheer size relative to the other components. (For example, the 1991 census recorded just under 25,000 individuals in Calgary who reported Aboriginal origins; this is roughly one quarter of the total Aboriginal population of the province.) Of the three constitutionally-recognized Aboriginal peoples, only the Inuit will not play a significant role in the analysis to follow. The Inuit population is too small and too thinly spread to have any significant impact on the present or future relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples in Alberta.

4. A Snapshot of the Contemporary Landscape with Respect to Actors, Processes and Jurisdictional Frameworks.

The contemporary relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples is very complex, in part because of the sheer number of players. As we will note shortly, the Aboriginal population is extensively organized, and there are a large number of Aboriginal organizations active in the policy field. At the same time, the number of governmental players is even larger because much of the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples is embedded within an array of provincial programs and agencies which do not have an exclusive Aboriginal mandate, but which nonetheless provide services and programs of direct relevance to Aboriginal peoples.

a) Political Organization of Aboriginal Peoples

Aboriginal peoples in Alberta are characterized by extensive political organization. The Indian Association of Alberta is one of the oldest and most active provincial

organizations for status Indians in the country. In addition there are 45 Indian band governments and seven tribal associations, including the Treaty 7 Tribal Council and the Grand Council of Treaty 8 First Nations. The Alberta Metis also have long-standing political organizations within the province. Each Metis settlement has an elected council, and the Metis Settlements General Council has one member from each of the settlements and four executive members elected at large. The Metis Nation of Alberta Association (previously the Metis Association of Alberta) dates from the early 1930s and formally represents all Metis within the province -- the Association claims a constituency of 50,000 (Pocklington, 1991:39) -- but devotes its primary attention to the non-settlement Metis. The Metis Nation enjoys quite extensive functional representation within the Alberta government. For example, the Alberta Metis Framework Agreement has established a number of policy sub-committees in the social services sector which routinely bring together senior provincial and Metis bureaucrats. Note should also be taken of the Native Council of Alberta (NCA), which is the provincial affiliate of the Native Council of Canada (NCC).[15] The NCC has been the primary political organization for the Metis on the national stage.

There are also a number of organizations which span the constitutional divisions among Aboriginal peoples and which, while not explicitly political may still play a role in knitting together the broader Aboriginal community. For example, there are 19 friendship centres across the province, knit together by the Alberta Native Friendship Association. There are 19 associations active in the field of Aboriginal education, including the Ben Calf Robe School, the Blue Quills First Nations College, the Nakoda Institute, the Old Sun Community College, and the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School. There are at least

[15] The NCA received $58,000 from the Secretary of State in 1993, down from a peak of $84,000 several years ago. It receives no provincial funding.

three major women's groups: the Advisory Council of Treaty Women, the Alberta Metis Women, and the Women of the Metis Nation Alliance. This last group was started in 1982, has 700 members spanning the various Metis communities, and has continued in the face of considerable resistence by Metis males; (no men are allowed to join). Its funding is exclusively federal, given that provincial funding has been opposed by mainstream Metis organizations. To the best of our knowledge, there are no organizations for Aboriginal youth per se, although most of the Aboriginal organizations would be accessible to youth.

Plains Indian Cultural Survival School

The Plains Indian Cultural Survival School (PICSS) was founded in 1979, and now has an enrollment of approximately 450 students, 70 per cent of whom are over the age of 19 years. The PICSS is guided by an all-Indian board of directors, in partnership with the Calgary Board of Education. The school's academic curriculum, which must meet provincial standards, is grounded in aboriginal content whereever possible. There is currently one Aboriginal teacher in the academic department of the school, and the cultural programs are taught solely by Aboriginal peoples.

PICSS is funded from a variety of sources. The academic component is funded by the Calgary Public School Board, based on the same criteria which apply to other public schools in the system. The cultural component is funded by PICSS's own fundraising activities and by its allocated portion of a bloc grant from Alberta Education's Native Education Project. The daycare program is funded by Alberta Social Services and Health and Welfare Canada, and the school's job training program is funded by Canada Employment and Immigration.

Aboriginal peoples within Alberta have access to a considerable range of Aboriginal media outlets. These include the national newspaper, Windspeaker and, for southern Alberta, the Calgary Native News. The latter is now published bi-weekly by the Calgary Aboriginal Media Society, and serves over 60,000 status, non-status and Metis people in southern Alberta. Native Network News is published by the Metis Nation of Alberta, and is distributed across British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan. NNN focuses mainly

on urban Metis, and is distributed monthly. It is one of seven Native newspapers coming out of Edmonton.

In summary, there are no apparent organizational shortcomings on the Aboriginal side of the domestic government - Aboriginal peoples interface although, as we will see below, the organizational scene in urban centres is somewhat confused and, to a degree, contentious. To explore the government side of that relationship, we must turn to the evolution of domestic government involvement with Aboriginal affairs.

b) The Provincial Government

The provincial government's current involvement in Aboriginal affairs is very substantial. Since 1975 Alberta has had a Minister responsible for Native Affairs, and this individual continues to play an important role as a point of contact between Aboriginal communities, on the one hand, and the bureaucratic and political apparatus of the provincial government, on the other. Since the most recent reorganization of the provincial cabinet, the Minister responsible for Native Affairs, Mike Cardinal, is also Minister for Family and Social Services (FSS). His ministerial responsibilities for Native Affairs are handled by the Native Services Unit within FSS. It should be stressed, however, that although this unit has some of the characteristics of other central agencies -- its mandate includes coordination and facilitation -- it is not involved in program design or delivery, nor is it a major player within the bureaucratic and ministerial environment. While the unit is involved in a range of interdepartmental committees and advisory committees, program design and delivery rest with individual departments. In this sense, then, there is no single ministry or department which exercises comprehensive responsibility for Native affairs; there is no Alberta counterpart to DIAND. The provincial situation is much more complex and bears little resemblance to a "single agency" model.

Native Services Unit

The Native Services Unit provides support for Mike Cardinal in his role as Minister Responsible for Native Affairs. The Unit was formed in 1986, when the Native Secretariat was organized. It was initially lodged in Municipal Affairs, then split, with part remaining with Municipal Affairs and part moving to the Solicitor General (claims), and then finally came to rest in Family and Social Services. Its mission statement reflects a central agency role: "to facilitate and assist Aboriginal people in achieving their economic, political and social development by identifying opportunities for, and encouraging co-operation and co-ordination in the development of policy, and the delivery of programs and services among departments, levels of government and organizations." More generally, the Unit assists Native groups in achieving their own goals, and assists government departments in adding a Native component to their own agendas.

In carrying out this rather wide-ranging mandate, the Unit draws upon a staff of 17, including an executive director, a senior policy advisor and three branches responsible for Advisory Services, Research and Analysis, and Administrative Services. About 30 per cent of the staff, including the executive director, are Natives. The mandate of the Advisory Services Branch is to provide advisory and liaison services to and between government departments and agencies, the private sector, and the Aboriginal population, a mandate that includes the coordination of interdepartmental and intergovernmental networks. The Research and Analysis Branch provides support services to both the Native Services Unit and to other departments and jurisdictions.

The minister responsible for Native affairs was supported in the past by both the Native Secretariat and the Provincial Advisory Committee on Native Affairs.[16] The Secretariat was established in 1976 with the mandate to develop policies that would cut across departmental and ministerial lines, and to act as an advocate for Aboriginal interests. As the provincial government stated in 1976, "the ultimate goal of the Native Secretariat is to ensure that all native people, both Metis and Indians of the Province have the opportunity to participate as full residents of Alberta with equal rights, privileges and obligations accorded to other Albertans." (In this respect, the mandate of the Secretariat neatly reflected the more general operating philosophy of the provincial government.) The Secretariat was never designed to deliver programs, and indeed the assumption was that it would be phased out once individual departments had their own plans and programs in place. This in fact happened in the first year of Don Getty's premiership, and resulted in the creation of the Native Services Unit. Although the Advisory Committee is still in existence, it has been dormant over the past year and may not survive the governmental restructuring which is still in progress. The Committee had provided advice across a wide range of issues, but with a ministre now in place who is himself Native, that advice has appeared to be less useful than it had been in the past.

The Native Land Claims Office, whose mandate is to coordinate the provincial government's involvement in the negotiation and resolution of land claims, also reports to the minister responsible for Native affairs. The office has an annual budget of $700,000 and a staff of four, including the Executive Director of Native Land Claims. Specific negotiations, which usually take from three to six years to complete, generally involve a

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[16] The Committee was established in 1988 following a recommendation in In the Interest of Native Child Welfare Services. The Committee's mandate was to advise the Minister of Social Services (now Family and Social Services) with respect to matters pertaining to social services in relationship to the Native community.

variety of departments including Treasury, Energy, Environment, Foresty, Municipal Affairs, Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Justice, Culture, and Transportation. Needless to say, the federal government is also heavily involved, given that the great majority of specific claims deal with treaty Indians. The Executive Director estimates that the Office spends more time negotiating with the federal government than it does negotiating with Aboriginal communities.

The extent to which the provincial government is involved in Aboriginal affairs is illustrated by the sheer number of departments and agencies which play a role. Most provincial departments are involved either directly, with programs tailored for an Aboriginal clientele, or indirectly with programs of general applicability which nonetheless have a particular impact on Aboriginal peoples. Departments without explicit Aboriginal components -- Agriculture, Energy, Transportation and Utilities, and Treasury -- are the exception rather than the rule. Provincial departments with explicit Aboriginal components include Advanced Education and Career Development, the Attorney General, Economic Development and Trade, Education, Family and Social Services, Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Forestry, Health, Lands and Wildlife, Municipal Affairs, and the Solicitor General.

It is important to note, however, that the extent of involvement in Aboriginal affairs varies greatly from department to department. Some are major players while others have a much more peripheral involvement. As an example of the former, the Department of Family and Social Services, in addition to housing the Native Services Unit and the Provincial Advisory Committee on Native Issues, has an extensive network of programs tailored to Aboriginal constituencies. It runs training and work experience programs for Aboriginal persons which combine lifestyle and skill-training components plus follow-ups with non-native employers. The department's agenda includes consultations with the Native

community on issues such as Native child welfare services along with more general planning sessions to develop new services or to improve existing ones. (Although Native Child Welfare Services falls under the umbrella of Family and Social Services, it is increasingly operating as an independent entity.) Moreover, the department's general programs, while touching the lives of many Albertans, are of particular importance to Aboriginal peoples.

A second example comes from the Solicitor General's Office (now Alberta Justice) which, in 1989-90, established a Native Issues Unit with the mandate "to assist in the development and implementation of criminal justice programs for Native communities and for Native offenders." In keeping with the department's goal to raise cultural awareness among both inmates and non-aboriginal staff, the Unit has implemented special hiring strategies and cultural programs. The latter include an active role for Elders at all major centres and the creation of a Native program coordinating position in six correctional centres. In 1990-91, the Unit was associated with three innovative projects; the opening of the Kainai Correctional Centre on the Blood reserve, the signing of an agreement with the Zone II Regional Council of the Metis Nation Association of Alberta, and the provision of a summer camp for aboriginal young offenders. The Unit's deep involvement in Native issues is exemplified by the fact that it acts as a resource for other divisions and agencies on issues affecting Native peoples, and provides liaison coordinators to bridge the Native initiatives of the Department with those of local authorities. It has also played an advisory role in a variety of initiatives including the Blood Tribe Police Department, the RCMP Native Special Constable (3B) Program, the Tribal Special Constable program, Crime Prevention Coordinators, the Indian Policing Strategy, and a developmental plan for increasing the responsibilities of the Siksika Law Enforcement Department. In 1990 the Unit played a significant role in the Edmonton Inner City Violent Crime Task Force examination of a complex urban environment in which Native people were

disproportionately the victims and perpetrators of violent crimes. The Task Force report included 16 specific recommendations, including the appointment of a member of the Aboriginal community to the Police Commission, which were designed to improve the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Edmonton Police Service.[17]

A third and particularly important example comes from Alberta Education, a department that to some degree touches the lives of Aboriginal peoples no matter where they might live in the province. (There are currently more than 25,000 Aboriginal students in provincial schools.) In November, 1984, the provincial government began work on a Native Education Policy. Following the release of Native Education in Alberta: Alberta Native People's Views on Native Education in 1985, and following 180 public meetings, the provincial government released its Native Education Policy Statement in March, 1987. In broad terms, the statement called for programs and services which would:

- provide enhanced and equal opportunities for Native students to acquire the quality of education traditional in Alberta;
- challenge Native students to learn and perform to the best of their abilities;
- provide opportunities for Native students to study and experience their own and other Native cultures and lifestyles;
- provide opportunities for Native people to help guide and shape the education of their children; and
- provide opportunities for students in Alberta's schools to recognize and appreciate Native cultures, and their many contributions to the province and society.[18]

Although the policy statement did not apply to Band operated or federally administered schools on Indian reserves, it was otherwise inclusive in tone and applied to schools throughout the province. It should be stressed that the policy guidelines, which were to be

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[17] Edmonton Inner City Violent Crime Task Force: Discussion Paper and Recommendations, December 1990, pp. 15-6.

[18] Alberta Education, Policy Statement on Native Education in Alberta Schools (March 1987), p. 4.

monitored by the Native Education Project (NEP), established in 1987, addressed not only the education received by Native students but also the education that non-Native students receive about Aboriginal peoples. To these ends, the Project distributes approximately $5 million annually to schools with significant numbers of Native students.[19] To date, 55 school boards have been involved with NEP.

The policy statement by Alberta Education recognized the need for community input, if not necessarily control, in the design of programs and services for Native students. Thus it called for the increased participation of Native home-school-community liaison workers, Native counsellors, Native teachers and aides, and Native elders. The statement stressed the need for "partnerships" among Native peoples, school boards, and Alberta Education, a term that has since become ubiquitous in Alberta public policy discourse. In general terms, the policy statement can be seen as a framework for ensuring that Native students in the province would have access to the full range of educational opportunities available to other Albertans, while at the same time trying to ensure some enhanced sensitivity and responsiveness to Native cultural values both within the educational system and among non-Native students. In this last respect, new texts have been created for grades one to ten.[20] Schools seeking access to NEP funding must adopt these texts, and must also employ Native liaison workers. Alberta Education's Language Services Branch, in cooperation with NEP, has also developed a curriculum for Cree 10, 20 and 30, and for Blackfoot 10, 20 and 30.[21]

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[19] The NEP office consists of four consultants, two Native and two non-Native. No programs are run out of the office, although a yearly conference is held for Native parents.

[20] NEP worked with the Indian Association of Alberta to produce Legacy: Indian Treaty Relationships, a basic resource for grade ten social studies.

[21] The labels 10, 20, and 30 correspond approximately to grades 10, 11, and 12.

Another department with substantial involvement in Native affairs is the Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs. FIGA's involvement is a direct offshoot of the last decade's constitutional process, and the centrality of Aboriginal issues within that process. FIGA's role, however, is that of a central agency; it is not involved in program design or delivery. It functions primary as a central agency watchdog by investigating and making recommendations on the intergovernmental implications of policy initiatives and debates. For example, FIGA was involved in discussions between the Alberta government and the Alberta Federation of Metis Settlement Associations which aimed to develop legislation regarding the transfer of land from the government to the Settlements General Council.

Perhaps the department with the most extensive historical involvement has been Municipal Affairs which, in 1980, assumed responsibility for the Metis settlements. Prior to 1980 this responsibility rested with the Metis Rehabilitation Branch (MRB) within the Department of Health and Social Services. As Pocklington notes (1991:73) the MRB was, as a matter of administrative practice, "... the only contact between the settlers (including council members) and the government." When Municipal Affairs assumed responsibility for the settlements in 1980, the MRB was renamed the Metis Development Branch and was placed under the ADM in charge of municipal improvement districts. Then, in 1986, the MDB was renamed the Metis Settlement Branch and, along with the Metis Services Branch and the Special Services Branch, formed the Native Services Unit reporting to the ADM (Improvement Districts Division) of Municipal Affairs. In the early stages of this re-organization the MDB, like the MRB before it, was the main point of contact with the provincial government for settlement Metis. It served "... as a clearing house for relations between the settlements and the various provincial agencies with which they dealt" (Pocklington, 1991:38) and surpassed "... any other government agency in its impact on the settlements" (1991:37). However, as the 1980s unfolded the settlement councils

opened up more direct interaction with the ADM of Municipal Affairs and a wide array of other departments: Pocklington (1991:38) lists Advanced Education, Agriculture, the Attorney General, Education, Housing, Manpower, Recreation and Parks (particularly the Fish and Wildlife Division) and Transport as some of the departments that were brought into play. Thus what had begun as a single agency model for the Metis settlements, with Municipal Affairs as that agency, has evolved into a much more complex relationship. With the Settlements Transition Commission (discussed below) now in place, the role of Municipal Affairs has been further eclipsed.

Department involvement in Aboriginal affairs appears in a variety of indirect and subtle forms. In contrast to the complex programs set up by the departments of Family and Social Services and Justice, other departments have programs, units and initiatives which are much smaller in scale. These may include small additions to the department's mandate, the creation of small scale projects which are Native-specific, or the running of programs that encompass the general public but for which a substantial portion of the client base is Aboriginal. An illustration of a department with a mandate that just touches upon Native issues is Alberta Labour. In 1990-91, the Department of Labour published Cree and Blackfoot versions of its employment standards brochure. While this may be a small contribution to the larger engagement of Aboriginal peoples with domestic governments, it provides an important illustration of the steps being taken by conventional departments to accommodate and service an Aboriginal clientele. In a similar fashion, many departments participate in intergovernmental committees designed to improve the interface between the provincial government and Aboriginal communities. For example, the Business Counseling and Development branch within the Department of Economic Development and Trade served as a representative in the negotiations leading to the Alberta Metis Framework Agreement and also for various other Native business development initiatives.

Many departments are significantly involved with Aboriginal peoples in ways which do not show up as programs dedicated to Aboriginal persons or communities. An example is provided by the Construction Division of the Department of Public Works, Supply and Services, which is responsible for administrating capital construction projects. The division will provide construction management services to Metis settlements and other outside agencies if it is requested to do so. Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and Labour, are also examples of departments which touch upon Native issues in a small, indirect but not insignificant manner. Other departments may become heavily involved with Aboriginal issues even though their mandate and programs do not include any Aboriginal components per se. For example, the Department of Environment was a central player in the protracted dispute over the Oldman River Dam, a dispute which pitted environmentalists and Aboriginal organizations against the provincial government. Thus while the department's annual reports do not suggest any extensive involvement in Aboriginal affairs, this has not been the reality.

c) Provincial Boards and Agencies

As we have seen, the policy orientation of the Alberta government with respect to Aboriginal affairs has changed substantially over the past twenty years, change which has been reflected across a wide range of departments and programs. As we have also seen, this change has been driven by a variety of factors including financial largesse and shifts in federal policy. However, the most significant changes in the institutional landscape of Aboriginal affairs in Alberta can be traced to a protracted dispute between the provincial government and the Metis settlements.

In 1975, the eight Metis settlements federated and launched a class action legal suit against the province. For the next seven years, and in the context of ongoing constitutional

negotiations at the federal level, the settlements and the Alberta government engaged in a series of negotiations. The context was important for it provided the settlements with some useful leverage; the Lougheed government, in its efforts to convince other governments that there was no reason to entrench Aboriginal self-government in any new constitutional arrangements, was determined to show that it could meet the needs of Native peoples in Alberta without constitutional change. In 1985, and in response to ongoing legal pressure from the settlements, the Alberta legislature passed Resolution 18, which took a major step toward the recognition of local autonomy for Metis settlements and the entrenchment of their control over land. Then, in 1986, negotiations were resumed in an attempt to find an out-of-court settlement for the class action legal case.

Resolution 18

Motion for a Resolution to Authorize an Amendment to the Constitution of Canada

Be it resolved that::

Whereas it is the position of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta that self-determination for Alberta's Metis people can be achieved in Alberta through consultation and co-operation;

And whereas the Legislative Assembly of Alberta and the people of the Alberta Metis Settlements recognize that Metis Settlement land is under provincial jurisdiction;

And whereas the Metis were present when the Province of Alberta was established;

And whereas the Metis people and the land set aside for their use form a unique part of the history and culture of the Province;

And whereas it is desired that that land shall continue to provide a base for the preservation and enhancement of Metis culture and identity;

Now therefore the Legislative Assembly of Alberta resolves that an amendment to the Alberta Act, a provision of the Constitution of Canada, be authorized to be made by proclamation of her Excellency the Governor General under the Great Seal of Canada in accordance with the schedule hereto . . .

In July, 1989, the negotiations between the provincial government and the Alberta Federation of Metis Settlement Associations finally produced the Alberta Metis Settlements Accord[22] which included the transfer of 500,000 hectares of land from the province to the settlements,[23] a 17 year financial agreement totalling $310 million, the implementation of

[22] The Accord is a package of legislation and agreements between the Alberta Metis settlements and the Province of Alberta. It is comprised of the Resolution to Amend the Alberta Act, the Metis Settlements Land Act (Bill 65), the Metis Settlements Act (Bill 64), the Alberta-Metis Settlements Finance Agreement, the Alberta-Metis Settlements Transition Commission Agreement, and the Alberta-Metis Subsurface Resource Management Agreement.

[23] The province has retained the mineral rights to this land, but the settlements now have a say in how oil and gas might be extracted.

local self-government,[24] and the co-management of mineral resources. The implementation and oversight of the Accord rests with the Alberta Metis Settlements Transition Commission, which was established by the Metis Settlements Accord Implementation Act. Over the first seven years of the agreement the Commission is responsible for the annual disbursement of $30 million from the Metis Settlements Transition Fund, of which $15 million is to be allocated for capital projects (roads, plumbing, electricity, etc.), $10 million for operating budgets, and $5 million for economic development projects. Not surprisingly, the Commission is a major player on the Native scene. It is composed of the minister responsible for native affairs (currently the Minister of Social Services, Michael Cardinal), the President of the Metis Settlements General Council, and the Commissioner, who is jointly selected by the Government of Alberta and the Metis Settlements General Council. The present Commissioner and primary figure in the Commission is Mr. Dennis Surrendi. The Commission, with a full-time staff of close to 60 people and an annual operating budget of $6.4 million, provides advice and assistance to each of the Settlement Councils as well as providing a general link between those councils and the provincial bureaucracy, or what has been termed a "single window." Thus the major part of the Commission's activity falls under the general heading of intergovernmental relations. The Commission is slated to terminate in 1997, when full financial and political control will pass to the settlement corporations and the General Council of the Settlements. However, the termination date could be extended.

As noted above, the Transition Commission provides a critically important point of contact between the Metis settlements and the departments of the provincial government. Another point of contact comes from the General Council of the settlements, which

[24] At the end of the 17-year transition period, the Metis settlements will be treated as equivalent to muncipal districts. Many localities in Alberta have taken 50 years to become municipal districts.

includes elected members from each of the settlements. The Council's Board of Directors also includes the eight settlement presidents. However, as the settlements develop their own political expertise and bureaucratic resources, they are increasingly prone to open up direct lines of communication with the relevant branches of the provincial government. It is this form of evolutionary development which may enable the Commission to be dissolved by 1997.

Mandate of the Transition Commission

The Alberta Metis Settlements Transition Commission is a unique corporate entity established to facilitate the orderly transfer of authority and autonomy from the Province of Alberta to the eight Metis Settlements in Alberta.

The Transition Commission will carry out its responsibilities through the provision of advice and assistance to the Metis Settlements and Provincial agencies in a spirit of co-operation so as to develop and establish an effective and comfortable long term working relationship between both levels of government.

The Commission, of course, is not the only agency that has some significant impact on Aboriginal affairs within the province. Both the Alberta Human Rights Commission and the Provincial Ombudsman have the potential for quite extensive involvement in Aboriginal affairs. While neither has the capacity to take a proactive role, both are prepared to handle complaints from all Albertans, including Aboriginals. In the early 1980s the Ombudsman played a significant role in mediating a dispute between the provincial government and the Federation of Metis Settlements Association. At the request of Grant Notley, leader of the Official Opposition, the Ombudsman was also involved in the early

stages of the Lubicon dispute. While the Ombudsman was not prepared to comment directly on the Lubicon land claim, he did address related allegations relating to the behavior of officers and employees of the Alberta government.[25]

Note should also be made here of the Metis Settlements Appeal Tribunal, which was established in 1990. The Tribunal is composed of members appointed by the Metis Settlements General Council and the Minister Responsible for Native Affairs, with the chairperson to be mutually selected by the Council and provincial government. The Tribunal's mandate is to settle disputes regarding membership and land allocation, and to do so in a forum and manner which are sensitive to the culture and needs of the settlements.

d) Local Governments and Boards

In a general sense, virtually all local governments are involved in Aboriginal affairs, for virtually all include Aboriginal peoples within their electorates. However, it has only been the large metropolitan centres which have developed programs and agencies designed explicitly for an Aboriginal clientele, and they have only done so in recent years. Among the larger centres, Calgary has been the leader since the 1970s. (Whether, as has been suggested, this leadership stems from the early involvement of Aboriginal peoples in Calgary's landmark event, the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede, is difficult to determine.) Calgary hired its first Native liaison officer in 1983, and now has a staff of three. The City has also waived the need for full credentials in hiring Aboriginal persons for social work positions. Although Social Services is the only civic department with a Native liaison unit,

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[25] For details, see Special Report of the Ombudsman for Alberta Re: Complaints of the Lubicon Lake Indian Band (August, 1984). The Report concludes, incidentally, that "there is no evidence to support most of the charges which have been made" (p. 52).

the city's Employment Equity Office has been proactive in the recruitment of Native employees.

The Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee (CAUAC) was formed within the civic administration in 1979 to pursue a very broad mandate.[26] It was:

> to act as a liaison, advisory, and support body between the City of Calgary and Aboriginal people residing in the City of Calgary. This entails making recommendations on issues concerning Aboriginal peoples and organizations, assisting Aboriginal organizations to express their problems and needs, and listening to concerns from individuals or groups addressing issues affecting urban Aboriginal peoples.[27]

CAUAC reports to the City Council and therefore includes one alderperson among its membership, who serves as "City liaison." The Committee's membership is roughly balanced between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal members, with Aboriginal members forming the majority, and among Aboriginal groups. Individuals apply to and are appointed to the Committee as individuals and not as group representatives. (Edmonton's experiment with a similar committee based on group representation failed.) The Committee has tried to develop a strong relationship with the chiefs and councils of Treaty Seven, whose communities provide the major source of Aboriginal migration into Calgary. (Seven Indian bands are encompassed by Treaty Seven: Tsuu T'ina, Siksika, Bearspaw, Chiniki, Wesley, Blood, and Peigan.) For example, Andrew Bear Robe, currently a Division Manager for the Siksika Nation, chaired the committee for three years. As self-government in the neighbouring communities continues to evolve and expand, this informal relationship with chiefs and bands may become more difficult to sustain. To this point, however, the difficulties have not been of any great magnitude.

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[26] The Committee's original name was the Native Urban Affairs Committee. This was changed to the CAUAC in 1987.

[27] Fourteenth Annual Report, The Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee, July 13, 1993.

CAUAC holds public meetings once a month, and its activities during 1992-93 touched upon the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples,[28] Bill C-31,[29] employment equity, child abuse, and the Aboriginal Friendship Centre Program, to name but a few examples. The Committee monitors a wide range of civic activities, provides advice to the City Council on any issues involving Native affairs, and tries to ensure that some sensitivity to Aboriginal interests and cultural concerns is maintained. Its activities in all of these respects are supported and assisted by the City's Social Services Department. CAUAC also established and, through the City of Calgary, presents annually the Chief David Crowfoot Memorial Award to recognize individuals who have created bridges of understanding between aboriginal and non-aboriginal cultures.

Local governments carry a major responsibility for the administration of justice, and in this context the police services in the large urban centres now have special native liaison programs and officers. For example, the Edmonton Police Service has a Native Liaison Community Service Officer, and the Calgary Police Service has a Native Liaison Officer. Perhaps more importantly, local governments also overlap with the more than 200 public and separate school boards which control the delivery of primary and secondary education in the province. These boards, through their own initiatives and through the initiatives of Alberta Education, have been reasonably proactive in their approach to curriculum change in order to better reflect Aboriginal interests and values. The public and separate school boards in Calgary and Edmonton all employ specialists in Aboriginal education, and have

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[28] The Committee presented a comprehensive report to the Royal Commission on May 26, 1993. The report was prepared by the Native Liaison Program, Social Services Department, City of Calgary.

[29] In Alberta, 21,137 individuals have applied for reinstatement under Bill C-31, and by August 1993, 10,026 had had their status restored. Wendy Dudley, "Native Rights: Bill C-31 has Indians battling each other," Calgary Herald, August 17, 1993, p. A5.

made use of Aboriginal advisory committees. Indeed, one of the concerns that we encountered from the Aboriginal community was that schools and teachers often make very heavy demands for Aboriginal speakers, and that such demands rarely take into account the financial needs of such speakers.

In addition to municipal governments and school boards, local actors also include a variety of groups which are non-governmental in character, but which often have public funding and enjoy the active support of local and provincial authorities. These are, moreover, often targeted at particular clienteles of interest to the Royal Commission. For example, the City of Calgary has published a brochure listing 39 agencies in the city which are actively involved in providing services to Aboriginal peoples. These include:

- Aboriginal Job Finders Club
- Calgary Aboriginal Awareness Society,[30]
- Native Child Welfare Services
- Urban Native Education Program, Calgary Catholic Board of Education
- Indian Events Committee of the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede
- Metis Urban Housing Corporation
- Native Education Team of the Calgary Board of Education
- Native Womens Shelter Society
- Society of Calgary Metis, and
- Treaty 7 Urban Indian Housing.

There have also been local boards or committees established to advise provincial departments and agencies. One example is the Calgary Aboriginal Community Services Advisory Committee, which acts in an advisory capacity to Alberta Family and Social Services. The Calgary Board of Education has also established an Advisory Committee on Aboriginal Affairs. In Edmonton, Grant MacEwan College runs a program designed

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30 The Calgary Aboriginal Awareness Society receives its core funding from the Secretary of State ($30,000), DIAND ($15,000), and the Wild Rose Foundation. Smaller additional funding comes from the City of Calgary, the Metis Nation Association, and the provincial government.

specifically for Native students interested in communications, and the Bess/Camet program at the Univesity of Lethbridge provides both student support and community advice.

The Native friendship societies are perhaps the most wide-reaching of such locally-based organizations. For example, the Calgary Native Friendship Centre, one of 19 in the province,[31] runs 62 programs with an annual budget of $500,000, of which only $56,000 comes from the provincial government through the Native Services Unit. (The bulk of the Centre's financial support comes from the federal Department of the Secretary of State, the United Way, and from private fundraising.) The programs cover recreation and sports, summer camps, language classes, children's programming, fund raising (primarily bingos and casinos), Native Awareness Week, the Urban Referral Program (to which the provincial funding is allocated), and a variety of special events. A number of different organizations have been started through and/or supported by the Centre, including the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School, the Native Women's Shelter, and Native Awareness Week. The Calgary Centre belongs to both a provincial and national association of friendship centres, and is thus involved in an extensive network of information exchange. Through its Director, the Centre is also involved in a relatively new and as of yet relatively inactive committee, the Aboriginal Urban Health Working Group. Partly as a consequence, the Centre has been developing preventative medicine programs and programs keyed to epilepsy, diabetes, and parenting skills for young mothers. There are 12-13 people employed by the Centre, which is currently trying to relocate outside of its present Chinatown site.

[31] Some provincial orchestration is provided by the Alberta Native Friendship Centre, which loosely oversees 17 of the 19 centres in the province. Five of the centres are funded entirely by the province.

In bringing this brief discussion of local government involvement to a close, it should be noted that we have drawn heavily on the Calgary experience. This is not to say, however, that the Calgary case is representative of the broader interface between local governments and Aboriginal peoples across the province. While the Edmonton experience is not markedly different, there should be no expectation that Calgary sets the pattern for smaller municipalities in the province. The sheer size of the Aboriginal population in Calgary, the relatively abundant level of municipal resources, and the proximity of several substantial and vibrant Aboriginal communities have all fostered the emergence of *differentiated* services and programs. There is no reason to expect that this pattern has been typical for local authorities across the province.

In summary, the domestic government-Aboriginal peoples interface is extensive, growing, and complex. Despite what the constitutional division of powers might imply, domestic governments in Alberta are thoroughly entangled in the blended provision of services to Aboriginal peoples. It should also be noted here that the Alberta government has undergone extensive reorganization in recent years. Changes in leadership and fiscal constraints have both led to the wholesale reshuffling of departments and responsibilities. Given these changes, the details of any snapshot may have a very limited shelf-life. At the same time, however, there are some broader features of the snapshot presented above which are likely to endure even through future changes. It is unlikely, for example, that the Alberta government will quickly abandon its inclusionary "Native" format or its predilection for casting Aboriginal communities within a municipal government framework. Whether it will significantly scale back its services to Aboriginal peoples remains to be seen.

5. Overview of Governmental Activity

With respect to most of the matters covered by this report, the issues of Aboriginal self-government and self determination are likely to dominate the policy agenda in Alberta for some time to come. However, these issues play out quite differently among the various Aboriginal communities. Within the Indian bands and Metis settlements, the contemporary debate centres upon the implementation of self-government, often through the adaptation of established patterns of local governance. For example, the Siksika Nation is well down the path of negotiating a self-government agreement with Ottawa in which the Siksika Indian Government Act would replace the Indian Act.

However, for the Aboriginal population falling outside the reserve and settlement communities, the issues of self government and self determination are much more complex. The question is not one of implementation, but rather the prior one of institutional design. Little progress has been made to date in fashioning instruments of governance that will give some meaningful measure of self-determination to, for example, urban Aboriginals or the Metis population residing outside the settlements. The progress that has occurred, and it has been substantial progress, has come more in the design and delivery of programs and services by the wide range of domestic governments, progress with respect to greater sensitivity to Aboriginal interests and cultural values.

It is clear, then, that many of the most interesting contemporary policy issues deal with groups who have fallen through jurisdictional cracks and have thus been missed by earlier programs. A good example, and also a positive example of intergovernmental cooperation, is provided by the Native Women's Shelter Society in Calgary. The Society was formed in response to the need for culturally appropriate programs for Aboriginal women who were reluctant to utilize existing shelters, which were in very short supply in any event, because of a distrust of their supporting agencies and their insensitivity to Aboriginal cultures. When the Society was formed in 1991, it approached both DIAND

and the federal department of Health and Welfare for funding, but both declined to accept responsibility for urban Indians. Alberta Family and Social Services initially expressed the same reluctance, but eventually agreed to provide operating funds for the shelter. Alberta Mental Health also provided a one-time grant to establish an outreach program, and the Prevention of Family Violence program funded a newsletter for the shelter. The City of Calgary helped lobby the provincial government for funds, provided funding itself through its Family and Community Support Services budget, and has agreed to provide land for the construction of a new, permanent shelter. The present shelter, which opened its doors in March, 1993, has space for 24 women and their children, and a staff of 17. It provides support services drawn from the native community and education programs designed for that community, although it should be noted that about 40 per cent of the women who have used the shelter to date have not been of Aboriginal descent. The shelter's executive director is a status Indian who has extensive administrative and intergovernmental experience with the Blood tribe.

It is also clear, however, that many of the cracks in program coverage may expand rather than contract in the years ahead. Any consideration of the basic Alberta policy framework for Aboriginal peoples must begin by recognizing that this framework evolved during the late 1970s and early 1980s, a time of dramatic growth in the provincial government. Thus the expansion of services and programs to Aboriginal peoples was part and parcel of a general expansion of services and programs to all Albertans. It was a period when there appeared to be no significant financial constraints on the provincial government, a time of massive public investment in rural hospitals, community centres, wave pools, provincial parks, specialized health care, and the paving of secondary highways. The point to stress is that this situation has changed completely in the face of an escalating provincial deficit and debt. Therefore the dominant policy question of the day is whether the array of Aboriginal programs and services that has only recently been put into

place can survive the draconian cutbacks which are being applied across the board by the provincial government.[32] The current struggle is not to extend services and programs for Aboriginal peoples, but to salvage those already in place.

Aboriginal peoples are vulnerable in this fiscal environment not only because of their disadvantaged socio-economic circumstances, but also because domestic governments have been relatively responsive to their concerns over the last decade. Those concerns have been woven into the warp and woof of a wide range of provincial and local government programs, and therefore even the most general cutbacks can have an immediate impact on Aboriginal peoples without Aboriginal programs per se being the target.[33] For example, Alberta Education decided within the last year, as part of a general policy of fiscal constraint, to eliminate funding for high school students after their nineteenth birthday. As it turned out, however, the school most affected by this general policy decision was the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School, in which almost 70 per cent of the students are nineteen years of age or older. Another example is provided by recent cutbacks to the local government development and education programs run by Municipal Affairs, programs that were of particular importance to the Metis settlements. Given that 30 per cent of the inmates in provincial correctional facilities are Natives, any change in the policies or funding relating to these facilities will have a disproportionate impact on Aboriginal peoples. Thus because general provincial programs and services now apply to Aboriginal peoples, Aboriginal communities find themselves in the awkward position of having to argue for a series of special exemptions from cutbacks to those programs and services. While such arguments may have merit, they can be difficult to make in an increasingly

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[32] It should be noted, of course, that cutbacks are also taking place at the federal level.

[33] This is not to deny that specific Aboriginal programs may also be targets. For example, the Native Alcoholism Services program has had its funding reduced, and the Alberta Indian Health Care Commission has recently been disbanded.

restricted funding environment. Provincial cutbacks may also be passed along for implementation to local authorities who may not always deal with Aboriginal interests in a fair or consistent manner. For example, Alberta Education's funding for Native education will now be rolled into an undifferentiated bloc grant to local school boards, who will then allocate that grant as they see fit. (The Department's Native Education Project has also been cancelled). Therefore funds previously allocated specifically by the province to Native education could be diverted by financially-strapped local boards to other areas of concern.

It is interesting to note in this respect that Aboriginal organizations may be turning to the federal government in order to ward off cuts in provincial funding. In a recent rally in Edmonton, hundreds of native protestors argued that health care services were covered under treaty rights, and should therefore be immune from provincial cutbacks.[34] It is also important to stress that many Aboriginal organizations themselves are particularly vulnerable to reductions in public funding. Organizations such as the friendship centres, which deliver a wide range of programs and services to a very diverse Aboriginal clientele, would be hard-pressed to survive without public funding. Thus the current fiscal environment, both provincially and nationally, can only be viewed with alarm.

The financial threat extends beyond programs and services offered directly by domestic governments. A variety of programmatic activities are carried out by non-governmental organizations which have, nonetheless, strong funding links with local and provincial governments. These activities can be of particular importance to Aboriginal youth and women, and to Aboriginal people living in the province's urban environments. For example, the Calgary Urban Indian Youth group was formed in 1971 to provide a home visitation program. (The current facilitator for the group is an elder from the Brocket

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34 "Natives demand protection from cuts," Calgary Herald, October 22, 1993, p. B12.

reserve in southern Alberta.) Over the years the group has received funding from the City of Calgary (for a conference on urban problems), the Secretary of State, and the federal government's Opportunity for Youth program. The group has been heavily involved with the status Indian community, and as a consequence there has been a reluctance to seek provincial funding. (At the same time, there is little evidence that the provincial government or its agencies have expressed much interest.) In the years to come, such groups may find the funding environment to be particularly precarious.

On the whole, programs which are targeted specifically to urban Aboriginals, to women within Aboriginal communities, and to Aboriginal youth tend to fall at the margins of public policy and institutional response. There is little evidence of provincial programs or institutions specifically targeted to these components of the Aboriginal population, and little evidence that local authorities have been able to do very much in this respect.[35] Of course, both Alberta Education and school boards within the province have taken significant steps to enrich the educational opportunities for Aboriginal students, and to expose non-Aboriginal students to Aboriginal values and cultures. However, youth outside the education system still fall through the cracks of public policy. Thus we find that the Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee, in its report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, recommended federal-provincial funding for youth coordinators in the Native Counselling Service, for a safe house for Aboriginal youth, and for a series of preventative programs.[36]

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[35] The Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee has established the Youth Achievement Award, presented annually by City Council to an Aboriginal youth displaying outstanding leadership and academic commitment. The Award covers status, non-status and Metis individuals.

[36] There are approximately 11,000 Aboriginal persons under the age of 20 in Calgary, and approximately 3,400 between the ages of 12 and 18.

6. Assessing the Relationship

As we have seen, the contemporary relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples in Alberta is extensive and complex. Any assessment of this relationship must begin by taking into account the related complexity of the Aboriginal community, or communities, within the province. Of particular note in this respect is the distinction between territorially based communities -- primarily Indian reserves and Metis settlements -- and those communities which lack territorial definition. The latter would include the large Aboriginal population living within urban centres, along with those living in rural Alberta but outside the jurisdictional control of band or settlement governments. As noted previously, this "non-territorial" community includes the majority of the Aboriginal population in Alberta. The distinction between the territorial and non-territorial communities is important because there is little doubt that domestic governments have been more successful in working out productive government-to-government relationships with Aboriginal communities than they have been in developing programs and services for those non-territorial segments of the Aboriginal population, segments which lack even embryonic governments of their owns. As we will see, it is this latter group which will pose the most difficult public policy challenges in the years to come.

There is some limited historical data that can be brought to bear in assessing the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples. As noted above, the 1972 report of the task force on the Metis Betterment Act was critical of the status quo and set into motion some substantial reforms of the relationship between the Metis settlements and the provincial government. In another example, Pocklington's study of the Metis settlements in Alberta incorporates some survey data from the early 1980s on the reaction

of Metis councillors to the provincial government and, more specifically, to the Metis Development Branch (1991:82):

> The MDB . . . was not held in high esteem by the settlement councillors. Although some members of the MDB's staff were well regarded, the councillors felt that its organization, policies, practices and institutional orientation left a great deal to be desired.

It is important to stress that evaluations were not universally negative, and that Pocklington's research (1991:52) uncovered some quite positive attitudes with respect to provincial government agencies and, more commonly, with respect to the individuals working within those agencies. On balance, however, the existing relationship was not seen as satisfactory, and there was a clear consensus on the need for greater settlement autonomy.

It is also worth stressing again in the assessment context that the expansion of the provincial government with respect to Aboriginal affairs took place at a time of general governmental growth in Alberta. Throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s the Alberta government, fueled by rapidly rising natural resource revenues, grew at a rate which far outstripped that of other provinces and the federal government. Thus the expansion of programs of specific relevance to Aboriginal peoples must be seen as a response to favorable budgetary circumstances as much as it was a response to the particular needs of or pressures from Aboriginal communities. Those communities, like the non-Aboriginal communities in the province, rode the revenue wave. They may now share the same revenue trough as the Alberta government attempts to trim its expenditures by 20 per cent over the next four years. This financial context is important to keep in mind when encountering assessments which call, as many do, for an expansion in provincial programs and services.

a) A Survey of Policy Activists

In an attempt to capture a broad range of opinion regarding the assessment of the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples, we mailed a detailed questionnaire (Appendix D) in June, 1993, to over 300 individuals who were actively involved in Native affairs in the provinces. The sampling frame was drawn first from a comprehensive list of Aboriginal organizations in the province, and second from a more informal list of policy activists identified by organizational leaders. We received a total of 72 replies by the time the report was written; 32 per cent of the respondents described themselves as North American Indians, 31 per cent as Metis, 10 per cent cited another Aboriginal identification, and 27 per cent stated that they did not identify with an Aboriginal group.[37] Two-thirds of the respondents were male, and one-third female. Close to one half (46%) lived in either Calgary or Edmonton, and 22 per cent lived on an Indian reserve or Metis settlement. Given the sampling procedures used, it is not surprising that many of the respondents held positions within Aboriginal organizations, or within organizations active in the Aboriginal policy field. For example, the following are the organizations which showed up among our respondents:

- Grand Prairie Friendship Centre
- Canadian Council for Native Business
- Nechi Centre
- Fishing Lake Metis Settlement
- Canadian Native Friendship Centre
- Native Counselling Services of Alberta
- Calgary Chamber of Commerce
- Peigancraft Ltd.
- Ermineskin Tribal Administration
- Kikino Metis Settlement
- Native Employment Services Association
- Rocky Native Friendship Centre
- Beaver Lake Education Authority
- Peace Arch Project
- Boyle Street Co-op
- Peigan Health Administration
- City of Calgary
- Aboriginal Artisans Arts and Craft Society
- Northland School District
- Metis Nation of Alberta

[37] The question read: "With which Aboriginal group do you identify?" The response options were "North American Indian," "Inuit," "Metis," "another Aboriginal group," and "don't identify with an Aboriginal group." This last category could capture some respondents of Aboriginal ancestry.

- Calgary Native Friendship Society
- Metis Settlements Transition Commission
- Athabasca Metis Local
- Metis Settlements Appeal Tribunal
- Yellowhead Tribal Council
- Willow Counselling Services
- Aboriginal Filmmakers Association
- Alberta Health Care
- Bigstone Cree Nation

It must be emphasized, however, that respondents were not required to reveal any organizational affiliation. More importantly, they were asked to reply to the questionnaire as individuals, and not as spokespersons for any groups to which they might be attached. Thus the survey was designed to capture individual rather than organizational opinion, and should not be assumed to reflect the organizational views of any groups mentioned above.

This section of the report summarizes the assessments which emerged from the survey. As noted above, the response rate was not high, and therefore our ability to make reliable statistical inferences would be impaired in the best of circumstances. However, the problems of survey research in this case extend well beyond response rates. Indeed, we have no idea how one might go about identifying the population of those individuals active in Native affairs in the province from which a statistically rigorous random sample might then be drawn, and to which statistical inferences might be made. Our respondents do not "represent" Aboriginal opinion, expert opinion, or the opinions of the Alberta electorate, but they do provide additional insight into the contemporary relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples, insights which take us some useful degree beyond what could be gleaned from a more limited number of in-depth interviews. Respondents should be seen as <u>informed observers</u>, and their opinions should be treated with respect but not statistical certainty. They add detail and colour to the snapshot developed in this report, but they should not be assumed to be *representative* in any strict sense of the term.

The questionnaire addressed the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments in a variety of ways. Two of the most basic questions are reported in Tables 2 and 3. While one can read these tables in a number of ways, our interpretation is that assessments are not as negative as might have been expected. For example, while no one described the current relationship as "very good," more than two-thirds of the respondents saw it as satisfactory or at least as satisfactory in some respects. Only 18 per cent of respondents described the current relationship as very poor. Here it is useful to note that the political climate in Alberta was generally sour at the time of the survey, and that the non-Aboriginal electorate was expressing a great deal of alienation and distress.[38] Given that we might expect both feelings to be even more manifest within the Aboriginal population, the assessments in Table 2 seem almost rosy.

Table 2: General Assessment of the Current Relationship Between Aboriginal Peoples and the Government of Alberta

"In very general terms, how would you describe the current relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government?"

	#	%
Very good	0	0
Satisfactory	6	8
Satisfactory in some respects, not in others	43	60
Unsatisfactory	12	17
Very poor	8	11
No opinion	3	4

If anything, Table 3 presents an even more positive picture of the current relationship. The majority perception was that the relationship has been improving over

[38] Four months after the survey, the Reform Party received more than 50 per cent of the Alberta vote in the October general election.

time, and only 17 per cent of the respondents felt that the relationship has been deteriorating. Here it is also interesting to note how respondents assessed the provincial and federal governments. Respondents were asked: "Which government do you feel has a better relationship with Aboriginal peoples: the federal government in Ottawa or the provincial government in Edmonton?" Across the sample, 31 per cent of the respondents felt that Ottawa had the better relationship, 28 per cent thought the provincial government had the better relationship, and 36 per cent said that there was no difference between the two governments. Perhaps not surprisingly, Metis respondents felt that there was a better relationship with the provincial government, whereas status Indian respondents felt that there was a better relationship with Ottawa.

Table 3: Change Over Time in the Relationship Between Aboriginal Peoples and the Alberta Government

"Would you say that the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government has been getting better or worse over time?"

	#	%
Getting much better over time	5	7
Getting somewhat better over time	36	50
Has stayed about the same	16	22
Getting somewhat worse over time	9	13
Getting much worse over time	3	4
No opinion	3	4

Respondents were asked if there were specific areas or issues where they felt that the provincial government was responding particularly well to the needs of Aboriginal peoples, and if there were specific areas or issues where they felt the provincial government was responding poorly.[39] In this instance, assessments took on a more critical tone than

[39] The specific questions were as follows: "Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the **provincial government** is responding particularly well to the needs of Aboriginal peoples? Please

Tables 2 and 3 might lead us to expect. Examples of poor treatment were offered much more frequently than were examples of good treatment. In fact, many respondents were unable or unwilling to identify any areas in which the provincial government has responded well, but almost everyone was able to provide examples, and often extensive examples, of situations or issues where the provincial government has responded poorly. In the case of both positive and negative assessments, a very wide range of examples was cited. Among the positive examples were the following:

- the Metis Settlements Accord, and general support for the Metis
- the relationship with the Metis settlements
- "Because of Mike Cardinal, more attention is being paid to those in need of social assistance."
- Alberta Mental Health; "excellent liaison and working relationship"
- Agricultural Hall of Fame
- the operation of the Native Services Unit
- career development programs, and social programs more generally
- provincial support for greater community control
- creation of the Native Child Welfare Unit
- funding for friendship centres

There is little question that the primary provincial success story in the eyes of respondents has been the relationship between the provincial government and the Metis. It also seems, from this limited sample, that Mike Cardinal's stewardship of Alberta Family and Social Services has been well received by many, although by no means all, within the Aboriginal community.

As noted above, respondents were more likely to mention negative examples than they were to mention positive examples. Among the negative examples were the following:

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indicate which areas or issues, if any, that you have in mind. Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the **provincial government** is responding particularly **poorly** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples?

- urban Aboriginal peoples; "they seem to be ignored by all levels of government."
- agricultural programs
- education, professional training, upgrading
- Bill C-31 Aboriginals
- the Lubicon
- child welfare
- shortage of Aboriginal counsellors in the mental health field
- administration of justice, criminal justice system
- "failure to respond to treaty people"
- lack of programs for seniors, women and youth
- flooding on reserves
- lack of cooperation with the federal government, and trying to shift responsibilities into the lap of the federal government
- lack of funding for economic development initiatives, and unemployment more generally considered
- cultural insensitivity
- failure to treat all Aboriginal groups equally
- lack of programs addressing family violence
- off-reserve taxation of status Indians
- requiring individuals receiving social assistance to look for work when the employment situation is so dismal
- need for more native organizations to help in the schools; more programs through the friendship centres
- lack of a more effective employment equity program
- failure to address issues of racism within government departments, and among those providing services to native peoples.
- need for greater sensitivity to Aboriginal interests in the administration of Crown land
- land claims and treaty rights
- protection of traditional hunting rights
- forced inclusion of Aboriginal peoples within the "multicultural mosaic"
- drop-out rate among urban Aboriginal high school students
- environmental damage from economic mega-projects in the north
- lack of infrastructure support for local communities

- need for greater support for Aboriginal art and culture
- need for greater support for single mothers
- lack of adequate rehabilitation services

Of all of these areas of concern, the heaviest and most common emphasis was placed on the neglect of urban Aboriginals. It is also interesting to note that respondents were sensitive to questions of jurisdictional overlap, and to the tendency of governments to pass the buck. As one respondent stated:

> the provincial government is responding poorly in all areas, but Aboriginal peoples are not a provincial responsibility. Unfortunately, the federal government continually tries to abdicate its responsibility and pass it on to the provincial and local levels of government.

Another respondent was less kind to the provincial government: "I don't think the provincial government is responding well in any area; it is more interested in laying blame at the federal government rather than responding to the needs of people."

One of the more complex and interesting assessments came from a young woman who was active in a number of provincial and national Metis organizations. She noted that the Alberta government has done more for the Metis than has any other government in Canada. At the same time, she expressed deep frustration with the Metis lives which are still being wasted and destroyed, and with the slow progress to Metis self-government:

> Politically the provincial government talks a good game, but I really feel that they are just doing damage control. They continue to talk about self-determination of Aboriginal people, but the proof is in the pudding and we have no pudding.

It is clear from the above lists that few areas of public policy, be they within the jurisdiction of the federal, provincial or municipal governments, escaped critical commentary. Indeed, no sharp jurisdictional line between levels of government was drawn by respondents, and thus the provincial government was often held responsible for program areas over which it has no control. (Aboriginal respondents undoubtedly have a

more holistic approach to public policy issues than do most policy analysts who are immersed in the intricacies of federal-provincial jurisdictional disputes.) However, it should also be noted that there was considerable overlap between the positive and negative examples, and that many provincial initiatives have found significant support within the Aboriginal community.

Repondents were also asked whether there were specific areas or issues where "the municipal government closest to where you live" was responding particularly well, and particularly poorly, to the needs of Aboriginal peoples. This was a difficult or at least puzzling question for many respondents, not only because some had limited exposure to municipal governments but also because of genuine confusion about what municipal governments "should" be doing with respect to Aboriginal affairs. In any event, more than half of the respondents were unable or unwilling to mention a single issue where municipal governments had responded well. Sometimes the question was left blank, but often the response was along the lines of "I can't think of anything that municipal governments have done." The positive municipal examples which were recorded included the following:

- cultural activities
- employment equity initiatives
- the Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee
- the proactive response by Edmonton's mayor, the newly formed Edmonton Aboriginal Committee, and Aboriginal membership on Edmonton Police Commission
- initiatives by the Chambers of Commerce
- special programs by RCMP
- child welfare services
- Native Awareness Week in Calgary
- disaster services

Respondents were more likely to mention areas in which municipal governments had responded poorly, although even here close to a quarter of the the respondents did not reply to the question. Such areas included the following:

- lack of employment equity programs
- failure to respond to inner city needs
- lack of Native hiring in police and fire departments
- limited municipal support for social services
- lack of Native access to the FCSS funding provided to cities
- lack of programs for Aboriginal youth
- insensitivity of schools to living conditions of Native children
- failure to respond to land use requests
- "child welfare, drug abuse, mental health, suicide prevention, and handicap programs"
- insufficient Aboriginal involvement on municipal committees
- housing generally, and housing for low income families
- racism
- lack of employment and training for Natives
- health and education
- a variety of policing concerns
- zoning regulations which are "insensitive to Native values"
- lack of consultation with surrounding reserve communities
- high school dropout rate for Aboriginal students
- abuse at local hospitals

There was also a general feeling that Aboriginal heads were being counted when muncipalities applied for provincial grants and funding, but were then ignored in the provision of municipal services. As an Aboriginal women from Calgary stated, "Europeans get all the funding and support." Or as another respondent stated, "they basically ignore us although they like the money spent in their towns by Native people." A number of respondents drew our attention to perceptual problems which went well beyond specific issues or concerns. As a young man living in one of the Metis settlements noted:

> The view of Albertans is that the Metis just got $300,000,000; aren't they satisfied yet? Wrong. If only we could switch places and see how far $3,000,000 per year would get you!

There is no question that the cities and towns are where many of the acute social and economic problems confronting Aboriginal peoples come home to roost, and that local authorities will provide an inevitable lightening rod for discontent. Indeed, it could hardly be otherwise given the size of the urban Aboriginal population. What is less clear is the jurisdictional responsibility that local authorities have for such problems, and their capacity to deal with them in any event.

In this section of the questionnaire, respondents were also asked about the non-Aboriginal school boards (public and Catholic) in the areas where they lived: were there specific areas or issues where such boards were responding particularly well, and particularly poorly, to the needs of Aboriginal peoples? In this case, half of our respondents did not or could not mention an example of school boards responding particularly well to the needs of Aboriginal peoples. The examples of a positive response which were provided included the following:

- introduction of Cree language into the high school curriculum
- existence of special schools for Native students
- Sacred Circle and Native liaison program in Edmonton public schools
- Ben Calf Robe School and the Plains Indian Cultural Survival School
- hiring of Native liaison workers
- Alberta Education's Native Education Project
- Aboriginal representation on some boards
- Keyano College

The growing use of Native liaison workers in the school system drew praise from a large number of respondents. In general, respondents seemed to feel that schools and school boards were moving in the right direction on a number of fronts, but still had a long way to go.

As was the case in assessments of the provincial and local governments, respondents were more likely to give examples of where schools boards were responding poorly than they were to provide positive examples. Negative examples included the following:

- the need for a more "culturally appropriate curriculum"
- the need to make schools more comfortable for all students
- the high dropout rate among Aboriginal students
- failure to hire enough Native teachers and liaison workers
- threats to provincial funding
- too many Native students being directed into the special needs category
- need for more cross-cultural teaching and training
- paternalism and prejudice
- need for greater Aboriginal input across the board
- need for greater Aboriginal representation on school boards
- failure to enforce truancy regulations
- failure to teach Aboriginal history and cultural values
- more curriculum information needed about the Metis
- need for greater local autonomy
- lack of communication with parents and Native communities

The most common theme was the need for greater Aboriginal representation on school boards and within the schools. A closely related theme was the need for the school system to do more on a number of fronts. As one respondent said:

> Since Indian Affairs pays the tuition, we should have more say in the school boards. There should be more special education programs, more native teachers and support staff, and more native involvement in sports program.

Finally, it should be noted that many respondents raised concerns of a more general nature, concerns about standards in the schools, about the nature of contemporary educational practice, about over-crowding and a lack of control. In short, there are many concerns which Aboriginal respondents share with the larger community.

Table 4 presents a more specific assessment of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the government of Alberta. Respondents were asked to assess that relationship along six dimensions: the degree to which provincial programs are sensitive to Aboriginal cultures and values, the degree to which they are accessible, the honesty of the provincial government in dealing with Aboriginal peoples, the degree to which the provincial government listens to Aboriginal peoples and solicits feedback, and, more globally, the degree to which provincial programs meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples. As the table shows, respondent assessments did not vary dramatically across the six dimensions. The most positive rating came with respect to the government's preparedness to listen to Aboriginal peoples, a response that may reflect the more general provincial assessment of Premier Ralph Klein as someone who is open to input. At the same time, the government did not fare as well with respect to its willingness to solicit feedback from Aboriginal peoples. The lowest rating came with respect to the global assessment of provincial programs, with 80 per cent of respondents saying that the relationship between the Alberta government and Aboriginal peoples was poor or very poor in this respect.

Table 4: Specific Assessments of the Relationship Between Aboriginal Peoples and the Alberta Government

"How would you assess the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government with respect to the following characteristics (please use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = very poor and 5 = very good)"

	mean score	% very poor or poor*
Degree to which provincial programs are sensitive to Aboriginal cultures and values	2.2	59
Degree to which provincial programs are accessible to Aboriginal peoples	2.2	62
Honesty of provincial government in dealing with Aboriginal peoples	2.1	63
Degree to which provincial government is prepared to listen to Aboriginal peoples	2.4	46
Degree to which provincial government solicits feedback from Aboriginal peoples	2.1	66
Degree to which provincial programs meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples	2.0	80

* Percent replying 1 or 2 on the 5 point scale where 1 = very poor.

In a related question, respondents were asked if they felt "that the provincial government does more for some Aboriginal peoples than for others"? Here 50 per cent of the respondents answered yes, and 42 per cent answered no. When respondents who said yes were asked to identify the group or groups which received special treatment, almost half mentioned the Metis while only a small handful mentioned status or treaty Indians. However, it is by no means clear whether respondents who perceived groups getting special treatment thought that such treatment was inappropriate. As many pointed out, the

provincial government has a broader constitutional responsibility for Metis than it does for status Indians.

Given the financial constraints that all Canadian governments, including Aboriginal governments, are likely to face in the years ahead, we asked respondents two questions about the funding priorities they would assign in the face of constraint. The first question asked respondents to prioritize five groups within the Aboriginal community: people living in remote settlements, people living in urban centres, senior citizens, women, and youth. Table 5 presents the average score received by each group, scores which could hypothetically range from 1 (the highest priority) to 5 (the lowest priority). The highest priority was assigned to youth, followed by those living in remote settlements. The lowest priority was assigned to Aboriginal women. Not surprisingly, responses to this question varied considerably according to the social characteristics ofrespondents. Those living in urban areas, for example, assigned a higher priority to people living in urban centres than did respondents living on reserves or Metis settlements. In a similar fashion, women assigned a higher funding priority to women than did male respondents, although in this last case the gender difference was not that pronounced; male respondents gave women an average score of 3.45 whereas the average score for women was 3.13 among female respondents. Overall, however, male and female respondents came up with quite different priority rankings. Male respondents gave the highest priority to youth, followed in order by people living in remote communities, senior, women, and people living in urban centres. Female respondents gave the highest priority to people living in remote communities, followed in descending order by people living in urban centres, women, youth, and seniors.

Table 5: Funding Priority Assigned to Five Groups within the Aboriginal Community

"Given the fiscal constraints under which all Albertans now live, which of the following groups within the Aboriginal community do you feel should have the highest priority for provincial programs and services? Please assign a 1 to the group that should have the highest priority, a 2 to the group with the next highest priority, and so on to a 5 for the group with the lowest priority."

	mean score	# of cases
First priority: youth	2.63	51
Second priority: people living in remote settlements	2.75	51
Third priority: people living in urban centres	3.12	51
Fourth priority: senior citizens	3.22	51
Fifth priority: women	3.33	51

Note: only 51 respondents answered all parts of this question.

Respondents were also asked whether the funding priority of the provincial government should be to provide support for existing and/or new Aboriginal governments, or to support existing and/or new provincial government programs targeted for Aboriginal peoples. Here the results of the survey were surprising: 53 per cent of the respondents opted to support existing and/or new provincial government programs, whereas only 36 per cent opted for giving funding priority to Aboriginal governments. There was no significant difference between status Indian and Metis respondents on this question. Interestingly, the strongest support for giving funding priority to Aboriginal governments came from the non-Aboriginal respondents in the survey; Aboriginal respondents were more likely to give priority to provincial programs.

An issue that has been controversial and contentious for a long time has been the responsibility of the federal and provincial governments for Aboriginal peoples living in urban areas. Until recently, such persons have tended to fall through the cracks of both

federal and provincial policies dealing with Aboriginal peoples, with neither level of government accepting responsibility or conceding the need for special programs. We approached this issue by asking respondents who they thought should have primary responsibility for providing programs and services for Aboriginal peoples living in large urban areas. As Table 6 shows, although there was no clear consensus among the policy activists, there was very substantial support for the creation of new, urban-based Aboriginal governments and little support for a role to be played by surrounding Aboriginal governments. Perhaps the point to stress is that the most popular option in Table 6 is one that has emerged in only the most tenuous, conceptual form.

Table 6: Program and Service Responsibility for Aboriginal Peoples Living in Large Urban Areas

"Who do you think should have the primary responsibility for providing programs and services for Aboriginal peoples living in large urban areas such as Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge?"

	%	# of cases
Federal government	11	8
Provincial government	18	13
Municipal government	10	7
Governments from surrounding Aboriginal communities	8	6
New, urban-based Aboriginal governments	29	21
Combinations including new, urban-based Aboriginal governments	13	9
Other combinations	6	4
No opinion	6	4

We asked respondents two final questions relating to general policy directions in Alberta with respect to Aboriginal affairs. The first asked: "Do you think that all Aboriginal peoples should be treated alike by the provincial government, or should programs and services be tailored to specific Aboriginal groups?" In this case, there was a clear, even emphatic preference for programs tailored to specific groups. Respondents who supported this option outnumbered those who felt that all Aboriginal peoples should be treated alike by a margin of three to one (22% and 67% respectively). The implication is that the provincial government's traditional preference for an all-inclusive "Native policy" may encounter increased resistance in the years to come. It should be noted, however, that few respondents used this question to single out particular groups for special attention. Rather, they favoured special programs tailored for all groups.

The second question was as follows: "Would you support or oppose the creation of a new provincial Department of Native Affairs which would coordinate programs and services for Aboriginal peoples throughout the province?" In this case, those supporting the creation of a new department (51%) outnumbered those who would be opposed (26%) by a margin of two to one. Thus while the "single agency" model may not enjoy much support within the provincial government,[40] it enjoys substantial support among policy activists.

b) The Impact of Aboriginal Self-Government

In assessing the likely impact of Aboriginal self-government on the relationship between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples in Alberta, it is useful to keep two points in mind. The first is the demographic and residential complexity of Alberta's

[40] The Director of Native Land Claims suggests that the absence of a single agency creates "a broader consensus within the bureaucracy and the community of cabinet ministers."

Aboriginal population. Given this complexity, the implementation of Aboriginal self-government is likely to have a more immediate and extensive impact on some components of the Aboriginal population than on others. For example, self-government is likely to have a profound impact on the Blood community, Canada's largest Indian band. However, its impact on the even larger Aboriginal community living within Calgary is likely to be both less extensive and more complex. The second point to keep in mind is the extent and complexity of the existing relationship between domestic governments and the Aboriginal population. Given this complexity, the impact of self-government is likely to be much greater in some areas of that relationship than others.

It should also be noted that the progressive evolution of Aboriginal self-government should improve the administrative relationship between the provincial government and the various Aboriginal communities. In the past it has been difficult for the provincial government to deal with communities which lacked some internal structure through which programmatic and financial accountability could be enforced. It was easier, therefore, to deal with band governments or with settlement councils than it was with the wider Metis or urban Aboriginal populations. Although there have been strong political organizations, such as the Metis Nation and the Indian Association of Alberta, which have claimed to represent the larger Aboriginal communities, these have not been accountable organizations through which government programs and services could be delivered. They have been representative organizations which have provided a powerful Aboriginal lobby within the province, but they have not been <u>governmental</u> in character. The search for forms of Aboriginal <u>governance</u> that could be applied to urban settings has only just begun.

As Pocklington notes (1991:155), self-determination in an urban setting "... is more functional than territorial." What is at issue is the provision of new services to a particular, Aboriginal clientele or the modification of existing services so as to meet more

successfully the needs of the Aboriginal clientele. This is not to say, however, that the implementation of self-government within an urban setting will be any less contentious than it will be within territorially-defined communities. If anything, it is likely to be far more contentious if only because the organization of the Aboriginal community itself is likely to be more contentious. A variety of Aboriginal organizations, including band governments, may vie for the right to deliver services to the urban Aboriginal population or at the very least for the right to be consulted on the design and delivery of such services. The competition for control over the related fiscal resources could therefore be intense. Here it is interesting to note that Aboriginal organizations external to Calgary are already involved to some extent. For example, the Metis Urban Housing Corporation has 241 housing units in Calgary, and the Treaty Seven Urban Housing Authority has another 37 units. However, it should also be noted that band governments do not appear to be rushing into the urban arena, although the option is on the table.[41] Treaty Seven bands, for instance, are largely preoccupied with the implementation of reserve-based self-government and as a consequence have all but abandoned active involvement with the Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee.

Questions of Aboriginal self-government in the urban setting bring a wide variety of non-Aboriginal actors into play. Not only will the various departments and agencies of the provincial government be involved, but so too will be local governments and school boards. In short, the implementation of self-government in a reserve or Metis settlement setting should be relatively simple and straight-forward by comparison.

The implementation of self-government on reserve communities has been progressing rapidly across the province, and this appears to be a process that the provincial

[41] The Siksika Nation has begun preliminary talks with the provincial government about assuming responsibility for social services, housing, and educational assistance for its off-reserve, urban members.

government has embraced with some enthusiasm. For example, on August 28, 1993, Premier Ralph Klein and Siksika Chief Strator Crowfoot signed an agreement which provided provincial recognition of the principle of Aboriginal self-government. As the premier stated at the time, "we're negotiating this framework agreement with one government to another government, nation to nation."[42] Later in the year, Premier Klein delivered the same message at a Tsuu T'ina Nation ceremony celebrating the band's takeover of child welfare from the province.: "We in the province of Alberta will recognize the aboriginal nations of this province as First Nations and will negotiate government to government."[43] At the Siksika ceremony, the premier went on to state that the agreement did not convey any special rights, but could lead to the beginning of a special municipal structure that might further diminish the role of the federal government within the province. For his part, Chief Crowfoot stated that:

> the framework means we are equal partners in Canada with all three levels of government. This is part of our overall plan paving the way to self-government. Working with the province is one way of doing it.[44]

It is interesting to note that the premier's use of the municipal government analogy for Aboriginal self-government is not one that enjoys wide favour within the Aboriginal community. However, it is not clear whether this may mean trouble to come as self-government continues to take hold within the province.

With respect to the implementation of self-government on reserve-based communities, it will be important to have some articulation between Aboriginal programs and policies, on the one hand, and the analogous programs and policies of the provincial

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[42] Leon Anthony, "Siksika pen milestone agreement," Calgary Herald, August 29, 1993, p. A4.

[43] Wendy Dudley, "Native bands recognized as individual governments," Calgary Herald, October 2, 1993, p. A2.

[44] Ibid.

government, on the other. For example, it will be important to work out transfer arrangements so that students can move with relative ease from Aboriginal schools to other schools within the province. Here a useful model might be provided by the Committee on Admissions and Transfers (CAT) which regulates the transfer of course credit among post-secondary institutions in the province. Without some analogous and cooperative arrangement in place, Aboriginal students might be severely disadvantaged if they choose or need to move from Aboriginal to non-Aboriginal school districts.

It should also be noted that the self-government issue and the broader constitutional debate within which that issue is embedded have already altered the interface between domestic governments and Aboriginal peoples. Pocklington, for example, reports (1991:61) that the constitutional context meant that Metis organizations sought a form of access to the policy process which reached well beyond provincial departments and branches thereof:

> As far as the Alberta Metis settlements are concerned, neither the issue of land nor the issue of self-government could be addressed by such a small agency as the Metis Development Branch . . . . such matters would have to be handled delicately, at the highest levels, as issues of fundamental government policy.

Thus constitutional politics may have pushed Aboriginal issues upwards within the provincial policy-making process. Given the incorporation and now formalized nature of Aboriginal participation in the most elevated spheres of Canadian constitutional politics, it is difficult to deny similar participation within provincial policy arenas. As a corollary, we would suggest that the future of the Canadian constitutional debate could have a significant impact on the evolution of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments in Alberta. If that debate continues to lie dormant, then the evolution may be shaped largely by factors unique to the domestic political environment. However, should that debate be renewed, it is likely to have a significant impact on the evolution of the relationship within Alberta. At the very least, a new national constitutional debate will

propel Aboriginal issues into the heart of the provincial political process and will enhance the control of cabinet, central agencies and the premier over that process. Alternatively, a prolonged period of constitutional peace on the national scene may promote the routinization of Aboriginal affairs within the process and may, as a consequence, enhance the influence of conventional departmental players in the policy process.

One of the current issues on the policy agenda is the need for greater Aboriginal control of Aboriginal education. In our survey of policy activists, we approached this issue from a number of directions. First we asked which of three alternatives would respondents favour as a general strategy for the primary and secondary education of native students. As Table 7 shows, the most favoured option was one in which native students would attend the same schools as other Albertans, but should have access to programs designed specifically for native students. This option, which was supported by a majority of respondents, is in principle close to the status quo, although the extent to which special programs of sufficient breadth and depth are in place is a contentious matter. It was also an option that received greater support from Metis than from Indian respondents. Conversely, the option of schools designed and controlled by native communities was endorsed by 41 per cent of the Indian respondents but by only 11 per cent of the Metis respondents.

Table 7: Educational Options for Native Students

"Which of the following options would you support with respect to the primary and secondary education of native students":

	%	# of cases
Students should attend schools designed and controlled by their respective native communities	22	16
Students should attend the same schools as other Albertans but should have access to programs designed specifically for native students	51	37
Native students should attend the same schools as other Albertans and take the same program	14	10
No opinion	13	9

We also asked how important programs designed specifically for native students would be for each of four grade levels. As Table 8 shows, support for such programs declined as the grade level increased. At the same time, close to a majority of respondents still felt that such courses would be "very important" even at the college or university level.

Table 8: Support for Special Programs by Level of Schooling

"How important do you feel it is that there be programs designed specifically for native students at each of the following grade levels:"

	% Very important	% Somewhat important	% Somewhat important
Elementary	85	6	7
Junior high	71	17	8
Senior high	58	22	15
College/university	46	25	25

In drawing this discussion to a close, it should be noted that there is little evidence that the implementation of self-government will significantly decrease demands on other levels of government for support and services. Instead, it appears likely that the programs and services provided by Aboriginal governments will be seen to complement or supplement rather than replace those provided by more conventional governments. This, at least, is the conclusion suggested by our survey of policy activists. Respondents were asked if a variety of governments within Alberta should be doing more, less, or about the same as they are doing now to provide services and programs for Aboriginal peoples. As Table 9 shows, the general perception is that all governments should be doing more. In the case of the provincial government, for example, nearly three respondents in four thought that the provincial government should be doing more. There is little indication at this time of support for the withdrawal of services by any existing level of government.

Table 9: Preferred Level of Governmental Support for Aboriginal Peoples in Alberta

"Do you feel that each of the following governments should be doing more, less or about the same as they are now to provide services and programs for Aboriginal peoples in Alberta"?

	More	Same	Less	No opinion
Federal government	78%	11%	8%	3%
Provincial government	72	15	10	3
Local governments	64	21	6	10
School boards	72	15	6	7
Aboriginal governments	90	8	0	1

In summary, the implementation of Aboriginal self-government will undoubtedly enrich and *thereby complicate* the relationship between domestic governments and

Aboriginal communities in many ways. While in some respects government-to-government relationships will be easier to manage, and thus may well be pursued by domestic governments, it is not at all clear how such relationships can be put into place for urban Aboriginals. It should also be stressed that it is unlikely that the implementation of Aboriginal self-government will significantly reduce Aboriginal demand for programs and services from domestic governments, including the provincial government, local authories, and school boards. The forums within which such demands might be pursued will change, but the character and intensity of those demands may not be transformed as a consequence of self-government. Indeed, self-government is likely to enhance the ability of Aboriginal communities to press their claims upon domestic governments.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Domestic governments in Alberta have accommodated the Aboriginal population to a substantial degree. There is now an extensive network of programs, agencies and financial supports keyed to the Aboriginal population, and many if not most provincial programs designed for the general population have special provisions tailored for Aboriginal clients. Over the last twenty years Alberta has moved a great distance from the "single agency" approach typified provincially by the Metis Rehabilitation Branch and federally by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The provincial government, and the host of domestic governments falling under its constitutional umbrella, are now extensively engaged in Aboriginal affairs across a broad policy front.

But what are the implications of this transformation for the implementation of Aboriginal self-government? We would suggest several. First, it may dampen enthusiasm

for self-government among those living in the "mainstream" society. To the extent that conventional governments, departments, agencies, and programs are designed and delivered with some sensitivity to Aboriginal interests and aspirations, the necessity of self-government may seem less pressing. However, there is still a need to ensure Aboriginal input in both program design and delivery, and self-government will provide some leverage in these respects. Second, self-governing Aboriginal communities will operate in a relatively competitive program-delivery environment; they will, to a degree, compete with well-established domestic government programs and agencies for the Aboriginal clientele. Third, it is unlikely that the development of Aboriginal self-government will prompt any return to a single agency model by domestic governments, for the relationship with Aboriginal peoples has become too wide-ranging for effective central control and orchestration. This means in turn that Aboriginal governments will not have a single point of intergovernmental contact with domestic governments or even a handful of points, but instead will have to deal with a complex array of provincial departments and programs, autonomous agencies, local governments, and school boards. The intergovernmental management task for Aboriginal governments will be daunting in the extreme.

Therefore, and notwithstanding the province's rejection of the single agency model, we would recommend that the Ministry Responsible for Native Affairs be strengthened as the implementation of Aboriginal self-government progresses. While the ministry should not be involved in program design or delivery, it should provide as comprehensive a point of intergovernmental contact as possible for Aboriginal governments. The revamped ministry might be modelled after the existing Department of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs. At the same time, however, it must be recognized that the web of departments, programs and agencies with some impact on Aboriginal affairs has grown too large and too complex for any comprehensive central agency control. A revamped ministry would

provide a facilitative function, a "window," but it would and should not drive other actors from the field.

There is no question in our minds that the most difficult area in the years to come will be the relationship between domestic governments and those segments of the Aboriginal community which lack territorial definition. Here we refer to those individuals living in urban centres, or in rural areas outside Indian reserves and Metis settlements. We also refer to larger collectivities, such as the Metis nation, and to specific, non-geographical components of the Aboriginal population such as women and youth. In all such cases, the essential problem stems from the fact that there is no Aboriginal government in placewith which domestic governments can establish stable working relationships. It is difficult to provide Aboriginals with more control over the programs and services which affect their lives if there are no governmental structures through which such programs and services can be provided, and which can be held financially and politically responsible for program delivery.

The Alberta government has already encountered this dilemma with respect to the Metis population. In a 1990 review of the FCSS program, the Metis Association argued that the bulk of the Metis population was not getting its fair share of support services because the FCSS program depended on government-to-government relationships. The Association therefore argued that it should be treated as a government, and should have access to FCSS funds and the authority to deliver FCSS-related programs and services to the Metis population at large. The Alberta government rejected this argument, maintaining that the Association as it was then constituted could not be held responsible for the expenditure of public funds and that many Metis could end up being funded twice, once through the Association and once through local government programs in the municipality in which they lived. The government recommended instead that the Metis seek representation

at the local government level where allocative decisions with respect to FCSS funding were made. Thus, for example, Metis representatives on the Edmonton board which controls FCSS funding could ensure that Metis concerns would be met. This step takes us some way, but only some way towards a comprehensive solution. It still has to be decided, for example, whether urban Aboriginals will be represented through more all-encompassing local governments, which will in turn deliver programs and services to this group, or whether they will acquire some governmental structures of their own. To our mind, this is the primary public policy question facing the province and Aboriginal groups.

It should also be recognized, however, that there have already been significant achievements in which Aboriginal organizations have provided important programs to the broader, non-territorial Aboriginal community. For example, the Poundmaker-Nechi centre just north of Edmonton is a North American leader in the treatment of addictions and the training of professionals in the treatment field. It is therefore possible to have organizations and programs with a province-wide reach, although the accountability of such organizations for the expenditure of public funds is still problematic

Yet more must be done, and this will require considerable imagination and creativity. It may be the case, for example, that some of the province-wide Aboriginal organizations, or an organization such as the General Council of Metis Settlements, could evolve to take on a more governmental character. This would give them some leverage with respect to the Aboriginal populations in urban centres, although the relationship between such organizations and self-governing, reserve-based or settlement-based Aboriginal communities would be difficult to work out. Among most such communities there is little interest in attaining self-government only to surrender their autonomy to larger Aboriginal organizations.) In any event, this is an option that needs to be considered.

It may also be the case that conventional forms of local government could be modified to provide Aboriginal representation. In Calgary, for example, the Aboriginal population is roughly equivalent to one of the city's aldermanic wards. It would thus be possible to create an additional ward whose alderman would be elected by a city-wide Aboriginal electorate. The same might be possible for elected representation on school boards; the Aboriginal representative, or representatives, could be elected on a city-wide ballot. It would admittedly be difficult to define and operationalize the Aboriginal electorate, but these are problems that Canadians must confront and solve in other contexts as well if Aboriginal peoples are to be provided with an effective voice in electoral politics.

A similar model is provided by the overlapping public and separate (Catholic) school boards which are the norm in Alberta. They demonstrate how a single geographic constituency can be divided horizontally by religious affiliation, and how two independent boards can govern the same territorial space. It is not out of the question that Aboriginal school boards could be elected in Calgary and Edmonton. At the very least, Aboriginal representatives could be elected to the existing boards through a separate ballot. However, both this example and the possible creation of Aboriginal wards would mean that Aboriginal peoples would have to accept a form of representation that set aside constitutional distinctions among Aboriginal peoples. While Aboriginal representation in local governments is possible, representation for Indians or Metis communities alone is not.

The more general point is that the discussion of Aboriginal self-government in Alberta has only just begun. Although the implementation of self-government is well-advanced on many reserves and in the Metis settlements, many daunting tasks remain. The challenge will be to keep our imaginations and creativity alive in the face of growing fiscal

constraint. As Clark (1990:196) points out, the recognition of self-government per se does not ensure that adequate financial support will be forthcoming:

> The existing aboriginal right of self-government under the constitution means no more than that the federal and provincial governments may not exercise their non-native legislative jurisdiction so as to encroach on the corresponding jurisdiction of the natives to govern their own affairs. The right thus denotes a negative obligation on the part of the federal and provincial governments to refrain from interferring, but it does not connote any positive obligation to provide support.

The future management of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and domestic governments will depend very much upon the recognition of that positive obligation by the governments and people of Alberta.

List of Appendices

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Appendix B: Interviews Conducted
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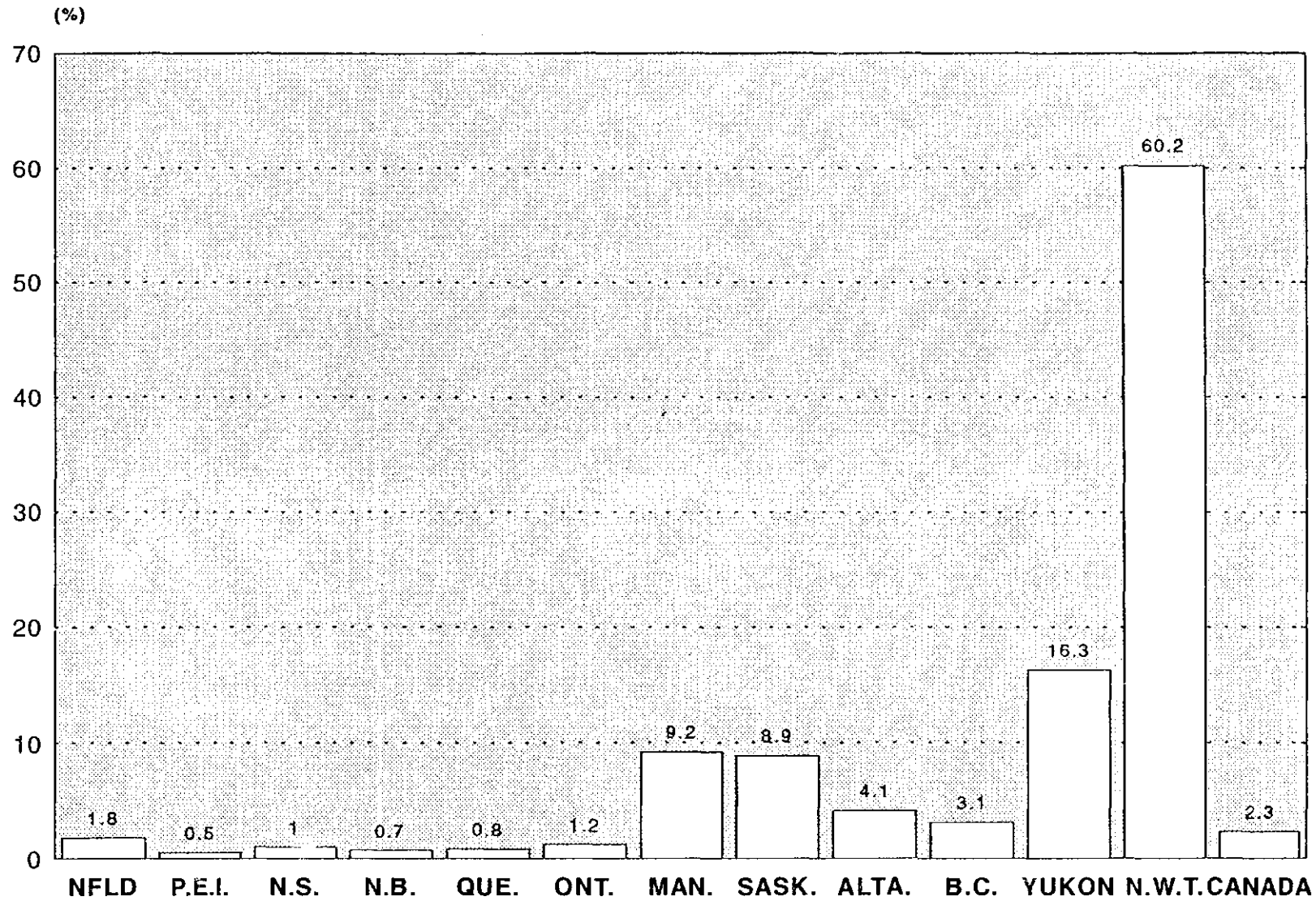
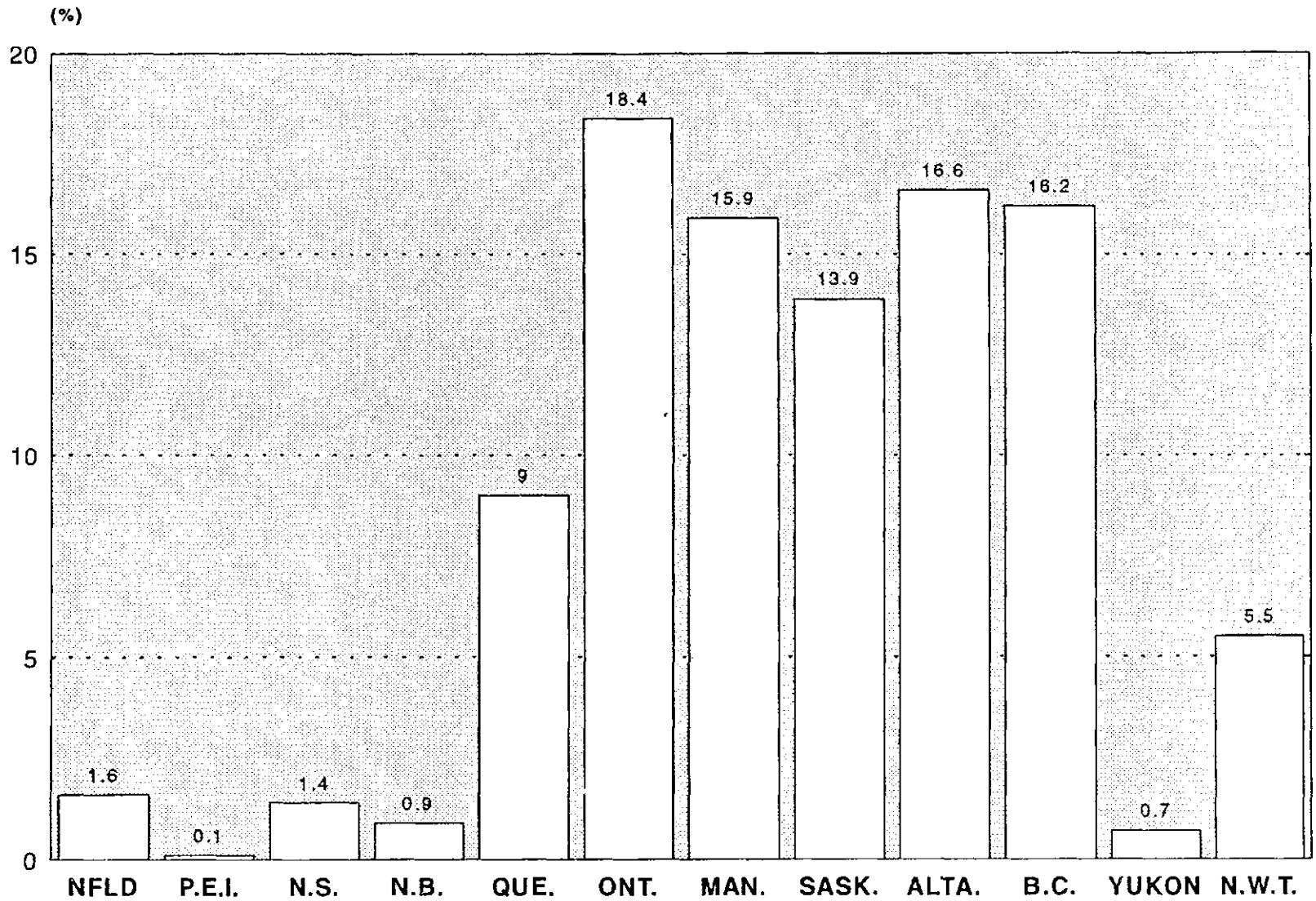
CHART 1: ABORIGINAL POPULATION (1) SHOWN AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL PROVINCIAL, TERRITORIAL, AND CANADIAN POPULATION, 1991



(1) See notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 94-327, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

CHART 2: TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION (1) IN EACH PROVINCE AND TERRITORY SHOWN AS PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN CANADA, 1991



(1) See notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 94-327, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 1: POPULATION (1) BY ABORIGINAL GROUP SHOWING THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION WITHIN EACH PROVINCE, TERRITORY, AND CANADA, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	470	(4.7)	3015	(30.1)	2075	(20.7)	4710	(47.0)	10030	(100)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	200	(35.1)	345	(60.5)	---	(---)	---	(---)	570	(100)
NOVA SCOTIA	5655	(64.2)	2935	(33.3)	225	(2.6)	55	(0.6)	8815	(100)
NEW BRUNSWICK	2705	(51.1)	2455	(46.4)	100	(1.9)	55	(1.0)	5295	(100)
QUEBEC	21080	(37.5)	20585	(36.6)	8690	(15.4)	7030	(12.5)	56295	(100)
ONTARIO	21630	(18.8)	81295	(70.8)	12055	(10.5)	780	(0.7)	114895	(100)
MANITOBA	34200	(34.5)	31960	(32.2)	33230	(33.5)	465	(0.5)	99220	(100)
SASKATCHEWAN	28755	(33.2)	31250	(36.1)	26995	(31.1)	160	(0.2)	86695	(100)
ALBERTA	20305	(19.6)	44725	(43.2)	38755	(37.4)	1335	(1.3)	103645	(100)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	30520	(30.2)	62525	(61.8)	9030	(8.9)	500	(0.5)	101135	(100)
YUKON	305	(6.8)	3975	(87.9)	190	(4.2)	80	(1.8)	4520	(100)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	210	(.6)	9595	(27.7)	3895	(11.3)	21035	(60.8)	34585	(100)
CANADA	166025	(26.5)	294655	(47.1)	135265	(21.6)	36215	(5.8)	625710	(100)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 94-327, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 2: TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION (1) IN EACH PROVINCE AND TERRITORY SHOWN AS PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ABORIGINAL POPULATION IN CANADA, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	470	(.08)	3015	(0.5)	2075	(0.3)	4710	(0.8)	10030	(1.6)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	200	(.03)	345	(0.1)	---	(---)	---	(---)	570	(0.1)
NOVA SCOTIA	5655	(0.9)	2935	(0.5)	225	(.04)	55	(.01)	8815	(1.4)
NEW BRUNSWICK	2705	(0.4)	2455	(0.4)	100	(.02)	55	(.01)	5295	(0.9)
QUEBEC	21080	(3.4)	20585	(3.3)	8690	(1.4)	7030	(1.1)	56295	(9.0)
ONTARIO	21630	(3.5)	81295	(13.0)	12055	(2.0)	780	(0.1)	114895	(18.4)
MANITOBA	34200	(5.5)	31960	(5.1)	33230	(5.3)	465	(0.1)	99220	(15.9)
SASKATCHEWAN	28755	(4.6)	31250	(5.0)	26995	(4.3)	160	(.03)	86695	(13.9)
ALBERTA	20305	(3.3)	44725	(7.2)	38755	(6.2)	1335	(0.2)	103645	(16.5)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	30520	(4.9)	62525	(10.0)	9030	(1.4)	500	(0.1)	101135	(16.2)
YUKON	305	(.05)	3975	(0.6)	190	(.03)	80	(.01)	4520	(0.7)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	210	(.03)	9595	(1.5)	3895	(0.6)	21035	(3.4)	34585	(5.5)
CANADA	166025	(26.5)	294655	(47.1)	135265	(21.6)	36215	(5.8)	625710	(100)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 94-327, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 3: ABORIGINAL POPULATION (1) AGE 5-14 WHO SPEAK AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE, SHOWING NUMBER AND PER CENT WITHIN EACH ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	---	(---)	290	(35.8)	---	(---)	165	(14.7)	455	(18.7)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	10	(28.6)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)
NOVA SCOTIA	555	(42.1)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	580	(28.4)
NEW BRUNSWICK	250	(42.4)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	305	(22.5)
QUEBEC	4000	(82.7)	435	(12.4)	85	(5.6)	1750	(97.2)	6255	(53.9)
ONTARIO	2630	(52.0)	545	(3.2)	---	(---)	---	(---)	3230	(12.6)
MANITOBA	4605	(53.4)	565	(8.0)	280	(3.7)	---	(---)	5415	(23.3)
SASKATCHEWAN	2875	(36.6)	1295	(15.2)	455	(6.5)	---	(---)	4605	(19.8)
ALBERTA	2075	(39.5)	1190	(10.0)	580	(6.3)	---	(---)	3885	(14.7)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	925	(13.8)	795	(5.7)	---	(---)	---	(---)	1790	(7.9)
YUKON	---	(---)	75	(9.2)	---	(---)	---	(---)	85	(9.2)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	15	(30.0)	820	(38.7)	105	(12.9)	4175	(76.8)	5105	(60.8)
CANADA	17945	(44.3)	6095	(9.0)	1580	(4.9)	6190	(67.0)	31715	(21.4)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 89-533, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 4: ABORIGINAL POPULATION AGE 15+ (1) WHO SPEAK AN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE, SHOWING NUMBER AND PER CENT WITHIN EACH ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	---	(---)	495	(27.6)	---	(---)	740	(25.8)	1245	(20.0)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	40	(29.6)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	65	(18.1)
NOVA SCOTIA	2355	(67.0)	255	(12.9)	---	(---)	---	(---)	2625	(46.5)
NEW BRUNSWICK	1130	(63.7)	375	(30.5)	---	(---)	45	(---)	1545	(47.8)
QUEBEC	11445	(85.1)	2205	(14.9)	185	(3.0)	3935	(97.0)	17680	(46.6)
ONTARIO	8535	(62.1)	6505	(12.2)	350	(4.6)	---	(---)	15485	(20.8)
MANITOBA	16470	(81.6)	7150	(36.1)	3365	(15.7)	---	(---)	26910	(43.8)
SASKATCHEWAN	11365	(69.6)	7505	(43.0)	4955	(31.6)	---	(---)	23675	(48.0)
ALBERTA	8840	(73.0)	8490	(32.4)	4680	(20.3)	150	(38.5)	22010	(35.9)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	6365	(31.6)	5260	(13.0)	525	(8.9)	---	(---)	12140	(18.5)
YUKON	60	(27.9)	495	(18.5)	---	(---)	---	(---)	590	(19.4)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	100	(76.9)	4290	(70.5)	620	(24.8)	10425	(86.2)	15415	(74.3)
CANADA	66720	(65.4)	43045	(23.1)	14725	(17.5)	15510	(74.6)	139375	(35.8)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 89-533, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 5: POPULATION AGE 5-14 (1) WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL ACTIVITIES, SHOWING NUMBER AND PER CENT WITHIN EACH ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR CANADA - PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	35	(41.2)	210	(25.9)	230	(49.5)	545	(48.4)	990	(40.7)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	25	(71.4)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)
NOVA SCOTIA	715	(54.2)	245	(36.8)	---	(---)	---	(---)	965	(47.2)
NEW BRUNSWICK	275	(46.6)	345	(46.3)	---	(---)	---	(---)	620	(45.8)
QUEBEC	3660	(75.6)	1125	(32.0)	400	(26.1)	1440	(80.0)	6600	(56.9)
ONTARIO	3215	(63.5)	6000	(34.8)	1090	(33.3)	---	(---)	10265	(40.1)
MANITOBA	3965	(45.9)	2790	(39.4)	1760	(23.1)	---	(---)	8420	(36.3)
SASKATCHEWAN	3990	(50.7)	3965	(46.6)	1815	(26.0)	---	(---)	9765	(42.0)
ALBERTA	3025	(57.5)	5235	(44.1)	3005	(32.5)	---	(---)	11280	(42.6)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	4295	(64.0)	4575	(32.7)	375	(19.7)	---	(---)	9250	(40.7)
YUKON	55	(91.7)	540	(65.8)	---	(---)	---	(---)	620	(67.4)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	35	(70.0)	1615	(76.2)	465	(57.1)	4350	(80.0)	6445	(76.8)
CANADA	23295	(57.5)	26655	(39.5)	9185	(28.7)	6490	(70.2)	65260	(44.1)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 89-533, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 6: ABORIGINAL POPULATION AGE 15+ (1) WHO PARTICIPATE IN TRADITIONAL ABORIGINAL ACTIVITIES, SHOWING NUMBER AND PER CENT WITHIN EACH ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	170	(49.3)	750	(41.8)	985	(71.9)	1790	(62.5)	3570	(57.4)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	90	(66.7)	---	(---)	---	(---)	---	(---)	145	(40.3)
NOVA SCOTIA	1970	(56.1)	820	(41.4)	---	(---)	---	(---)	2825	(50.0)
NEW BRUNSWICK	805	(45.4)	515	(41.9)	---	(---)	---	(---)	1350	(87.5)
QUEBEC	10120	(75.2)	5750	(38.7)	2140	(34.4)	3310	(81.6)	21030	(55.4)
ONTARIO	8910	(64.9)	20130	(37.8)	2530	(33.2)	265	(64.6)	31660	(42.6)
MANITOBA	11280	(55.9)	8415	(42.5)	7660	(35.7)	---	(---)	27220	(44.3)
SASKATCHEWAN	10470	(64.1)	9590	(54.9)	6765	(43.1)	---	(---)	26705	(54.2)
ALBERTA	8110	(67.0)	11625	(44.3)	9770	(42.4)	260	(66.7)	29365	(48.0)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	14285	(71.0)	18995	(46.8)	1850	(31.2)	---	(---)	34560	(52.6)
YUKON	195	(90.7)	1890	(70.5)	75	(---)	---	(---)	2175	(71.4)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	115	(88.5)	4845	(79.6)	1635	(65.3)	9680	(80.0)	16215	(78.2)
CANADA	66510	(65.2)	83390	(44.8)	33460	(39.8)	15410	(74.1)	196830	(50.6)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 89-533, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

TABLE 7: ABORIGINAL POPULATION AGE 15+ (1) SHOWING NUMBER AND PERCENT OF THOSE WHO REPORT CHRONIC HEALTH PROBLEMS WITHIN EACH ABORIGINAL GROUP FOR CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 1991

REGION	N.A.I. (2) ON RESERVE (3)		N.A.I. (2) OFF RESERVE		METIS		INUIT		TOTAL	
	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
NEWFOUNDLAND	120	(34.8)	400	(22.3)	330	(24.1)	710	(24.8)	1515	(24.4)
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND	90	(66.7)	150	(63.8)*	---	(---)	---	(---)	235	(65.3)
NOVA SCOTIA	1440	(41.0)	745	(37.6)	60	(92.3)*	---	(---)	2240	(39.7)
NEW BRUNSWICK	535	(30.1)	470	(38.2)	---	(---)	---	(---)	1020	(31.6)
QUEBEC	3295	(24.5)	3955	(26.6)	1615	(26.0)	745	(18.4)	9270	(24.4)
ONTARIO	4950	(36.0)	18360	(34.5)	2885	(37.8)	---	(---)	26055	(35.0)
MANITOBA	5845	(29.0)	6930	(35.0)	7155	(33.3)	125	(56.8)	19865	(32.3)
SASKATCHEWAN	4810	(29.5)	4980	(28.5)	4985	(31.8)	---	(---)	14675	(29.8)
ALBERTA	3495	(28.9)	8130	(31.0)	8120	(35.2)	225	(57.7)	19765	(32.3)
BRITISH COLUMBIA	6100	(30.3)	11095	(27.4)	1965	(33.1)	---	(---)	18815	(28.7)
YUKON	60	(27.9)	495	(18.5)	---	(---)	---	(---)	600	(19.7)
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES	35	(26.9)	1375	(22.6)	760	(30.3)	2700	(22.3)	4855	(23.4)
CANADA	30775	(30.2)	57075	(30.6)	27950	(33.2)	4725	(22.7)	118915	(30.6)

(1), (2), and (3) see notes at the end of the tables and charts.
SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Aboriginal Peoples Survey, Cat. No. 89-533, 1993.
Prepared by the Research Directorate, Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

Appendix A

Aboriginal Profile

Chart 1: Aboriginal population shown as a percentage of the total provincial, territorial, and Canadian population, 1991.

Chart 2: Total Aboriginal population in each province and territory, shown as a percentage of the total Aboriginal population in Canada, 1991.

Table 1: Population by Aboriginal group showing the number and percentage of the total Aboriginal population within each province, territory, and Canada, 1991.

Table 2: Total Aboriginal population in each province and territory shown as a percentage of the total Aboriginal population in Canada, 1991.

Table 3: Aboriginal population age 5-14 who speak an Aboriginal language, showing number and per cent within each Aboriginal group for Canada, provinces and territories, 1991.

Table 4: Aboriginal population age 15+ who speak an Aboriginal language, showing number and per cent within each Aboriginal group for Canada, provinces and territories, 1991.

Table 5: Population age 5-14 who participate in traditional Aboriginal activities, showing number and per cent within each Aboriginal group for Canada, provinces and territories, 1991.

Table 6: Population age 15+ who participate in traditional Aboriginal activities, showing number and per cent within each Aboriginal group for Canada, provinces and territories, 1991.

Table 7: Aboriginal population age 15+ showing number and per cent of those who report chronic health problems within each Aboriginal group for Canada, provinces and territories, 1991.

Appendix B

Interviews Conducted

J. Arshinoff, Principal of Plains Indian Cultural Survival School

M. Big Eye, Calgary Native Friendship Centre

K. Boutellier, Director of Native Land Claims

P. Boyle, Department of Education, Native Education Project

M. Cassuant, Regional Manger, Alberta Family and Social Services

R. Crowchild, President of the Indian Association of Alberta

W. Courchene, Co-Chairperson of the Aboriginal Urban Health Working Group and Program Manager, Calgary Friendship Centre

M. Dolan, Director of Calgary Aboriginal Awareness Society

R. Duplessis, Advisor for Economic Development and Trade

B. Erskine, Aldermanic representative on the Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee

R. Folster, Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee

F. Fraser, Bill C-31 Band Members Group

J. Hamelin, Director of Aboriginal Relations

Mr. Langston, Crown Prosecutor, Lethbridge

D. L'Hirondelle, Calgary Public School Board Department of Curriculum

G. Manitopyes, Native Committee Assistant, Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee

G. Manyfingers, Director of Native Women's Shelter Society

M. McCallum, Editor of Native Network News

S. Novik,Director of Native Initiatives

J. Pelche, Executive Director, Calgary Native Friendship Centre

D. Ronnenberg, President, Native Council of Canada (Alberta)

M. Stanley-Venne, President, Women of the Metis Nation Alliance

C. Supernault, Native Services Unit, Alberta Family and Social Services

D. Surrendi, Commisioner of Alberta Metis Settlements Transition

G. Thomas, Director of Provincial Advisory Committee on Native Issues

G. Towers, Director, Provincial Advisory Committee on Native Issues

P. Waite, Director of Calgary Urban Indian Youth

Appendix C

Chronology of outstanding events

1971: establishment of a Minister Without Portfolio Responsible for Northern Development and Indian-Metis Liaison

1975: Alberta is the first province to appoint a Minister (Without Portfolio) whose sole responsibility was Native Affairs

1976: establishment of the Native Secretariat

1979: establishment of Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee

1981: responsibility for Metis settlements shifts to Municipal Affairs

1985: Legislative Assembly unanimously endorses Resolution 18 to Amend the Alberta Act

1986: establishment of the Native Services Unit

1987: Metis Framework Agreement

1987: release of Alberta Education's Native Education Policy Statement

1988: establishment of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Economic and Social Development of Native Women

1989: establishment of the Native Issues Unit within the Solicitor General's department

1989: Alberta Metis Settlements Accord

1990: Metis Settlements Accord Implementation Act

1990: Constitution of Alberta Amendment Act

1993: Renewal of the Metis Framework Agreement for five years

Appendix D
Questionnaire

Aboriginal Peoples and the Governments of Alberta:
A Study for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

There are no right or wrong answers to the following questions. What we are interested in are your views and opinions.

1. Do you feel that each of the following governments should be doing more, less or about the same as they are now to provide services and programs for Aboriginal peoples in Alberta:

	Should do more	About the same	Should do less
Federal government	____	____	____
Provincial government	____	____	____
Local governments	____	____	____
School boards	____	____	____
Aboriginal governments	____	____	____

2. If you feel that some governments should be doing more and other governments doing less, why do you feel this way?

_____

_____

3. Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the **provincial government** is responding particularly **well** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples? Please indicate which areas or issues, if any, that you have in mind.

_____

_____

_____

4. Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the **provincial government** is responding particularly **poorly** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples?

_____

_____

_____

5. What about the non-Aboriginal **municipal government** closest to where you live; are there specific areas or issues where you feel this government is responding particularly **well** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples? Please indicate which areas or issues, if any, that you have in mind.

_____

_____

_____

6. Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the municipal government is responding particularly **poorly** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples?

_____

_____

_____

7. Finally, what about the non-Aboriginal **school boards** (public and Catholic) in the area where you live; are there specific areas or issues where you feel they are responding particularly **well** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples? Please indicate which areas or issues, if any, that you have in mind.

_____

_____

_____

8. Are there specific areas or issues where you feel the school boards are responding particularly **poorly** to the needs of Aboriginal peoples?

_____

_____

_____

9. Do you think that all Aboriginal peoples should be treated alike by the provincial government, or should programs and services be tailored to specific Aboriginal groups?

___ all Aboriginal peoples should be treated alike

___ programs and services should be tailored to specific groups

___ no opinion

10. If you think that provincial programs and services should be tailored to specific groups, which groups do you have in mind?

_____

11. In very general terms, how would you describe the current relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government?

___ very good

___ satisfactory

___ satisfactory in some respects, not in others

___ unsatisfactory

___ very poor

12. Would you say that the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government has been getting better or worse over time?

___ getting much better over time

___ getting somewhat better over time

___ has stayed about the same

___ getting somewhat worse over time

___ getting much worse over time

13. How would you assess the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Alberta provincial government with respect to the following characteristics (please use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = very poor and 5 = very good):

	Very Poor 1	2	3	4	Very Good 5
(a) degree to which provincial programs are sensitive to Aboriginal cultures and values	___	___	___	___	___
(b) degree to which provincial programs are accessible to Aboriginal peoples	___	___	___	___	___
(c) honesty of provincial government in dealing with Aboriginal peoples	___	___	___	___	___
(d) degree to which provincial government is prepared to listen to Aboriginal peoples	___	___	___	___	___
(e) degree to which provincial government solicits feedback from Aboriginal peoples	___	___	___	___	___
(f) degree to which provincial programs meet the needs of Aboriginal peoples	___	___	___	___	___

14. Do you feel that the provincial government does more for some Aboriginal peoples than for others?

___ no

___ yes

14a: If yes, which groups do you have in mind and why do you think this is the case?

_____

_____

15. Which government do you feel has a better relationship with Aboriginal peoples: the federal government in Ottawa or the provincial government in Edmonton?

___ federal government

___ provincial government

___ no real difference between the two governments

16. Who do you think should have the **primary** responsibility for providing programs and services for Aboriginal peoples living in large urban areas such as Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge?

___ federal government

___ provincial government

___ municipal government

___ governments from surrounding Aboriginal communities

___ new, urban-based Aboriginal governments

17. Would you support or oppose the creation of a new provincial Department of Native Affairs which would coordinate programs and services for Aboriginal peoples throughout the province?

___ yes, I would support a new department

___ no, I would oppose a new department

___ don't know, no opinion

18. Which of the following options would you support with respect to the primary and secondary education of native students:

___ students should attend schools designed and controlled by their respective native communities

___ students should attend the same schools as other Albertans but should have access to programs designed specifically for native students

___ native students should attend the same schools as other Albertans and take the same program.

19. How important do you feel it is that there be programs designed specifically for native students at each of the following grade levels:

	very important	somewhat important	not important
Elementary school	___	___	___
Junior high school	___	___	___
Senior high school	___	___	___
College or university	___	___	___

20. Given the fiscal constraints under which all Albertans now live, which of the following groups within the Aboriginal community do you feel should have the highest priority for provincial programs and services? Please assign a **1** to the group that should have the highest priority, a **2** to the group with the next highest priority, and so on to a **5** for the group with the lowest priority.

people living in remote settlements ____

people living in urban centres ____

senior citizens ____

women ____

youth ____

21. Given limited resources, what do you think should be the priority of the provincial government:

___ to provide financial support for existing and/or new Aboriginal governments

or

___ to support existing and/or new provincial government programs targeted for Aboriginal peoples?

In order to place your opinions in context with those of other respondents, could you please answer the following questions.

22. With which Aboriginal group do you identify?

___ North American Indian

___ Inuit

___ Metis

___ Another Aboriginal group (please specify: _____)

___ Don't identify with an Aboriginal group

23. What is your age? _____

24. Are you ___ male or ___ female?

25. Where do you live?

____ city (please specify: _____)

____ town (please specify: _____)

____ village or small town

____ rural Alberta

____ Indian reserve or Metis settlement

26. Are you associated with a group or organization that is funded by or is otherwise involved with the provincial government?

___ yes ___ no

26a. If yes, what is the nature of your personal involvement with the group? (for example, you might be the director, a member of the board, a volunteer, etc.)

_____

26b. What is the name of the group or organization?

_____

Thank you very much for your participation in this project! Please return your questionnaire to:

Dr. Roger Gibbins,
Department of Political Science,
The University of Calgary,
Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4

If you know of any other individuals who might be interested in participating in this study for the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, please note down their names and addresses on the back of this page and I will send them a copy of the questionnaire. Thanks again!

Appendix E
Bibliography

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