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ON THE COVER:

A Uyghur Muqam performance on the Meshrep, photographed by Rahile Dawut.

Lukanka

Lukanka is a Miskito word for "thoughts"

RUDOLPH C. RŸSER
Editor in Chief
Fourth World Journal

In this issue of the *Fourth World Journal* we stretch across the globe examining patterns of Ainu culture, Lakota language in context, indigenous women's health disparities in Canada, the Uyghur Meshrep (Moral School), United Nations efforts to enable indigenous peoples participation in that organization, structural repression of indigenous peoples in Canadian schools, and the role of non-governmental organization advocacy of issues concerning indigenous peoples in the international arena. Our authors are from Canada, India, Uyghuristan (Xinjang China), and the United States. As these scholars deliver their observations and analysis of cultural renewal, international politics, institutional bigotry, and techniques for restoring knowledge from the past it is noteworthy to recognize that their work is presented in a global vacuum. By this I mean that much of the urbanized and industrial world is completely ignorant of the scholarship represented by authors such as these. The global political, cultural, strategic, and environmental context is rapidly changing—demanding a keen eye to the past, present, and future simultaneously. Without such a perspective it is impossible to comprehend the significance of these scholarly observations.

The *Fourth World Journal* uniquely presents scholarship from different knowledge systems for the uninitiated outside and for many indigenous cultures to obtain new tools and new perspectives that enhance human knowledge. It is increasingly apparent that state-centric societies would like to value scholarship from indigenous knowledge systems. But, it is also apparent that these societies are laboring under enormous institutional and societal obstacles: academics and other scholars who cannot budge from their own rather narrow perspective (progressivism, positivist and objectivism) to inspect hundreds of other sciences that have been in existence for millennia. Were the state-centric scholars to become more curious, they would discover that the world is vibrating with ancient and evolving knowledge systems that can benefit the wider human community. When one hears a state-centric scholars say: "the knowledge of traditional societies is lost" it is apparent they blind themselves to recognizing and learning new modes of thought as well as knowledge beyond their mental access. This must change for the sake of all humanity and for the sake of state-centric societies in particular.

Dr. Hasu Ghosh, **Professor Cecilia Benoit** and **Dr. Ivy Lynn Bourgeault** offer the peer reviewed article, *Health Service Needs for Urban Indigenous Women with Co-Occurring Health Concerns,* discussing the barriers and unequal service access and use experienced by indigenous peoples in Canada's urban settings. The article reflects findings by the three researchers from the first phase of their study

involving interviews of "service providers and decision makers" in the health system. The study examines the services to those experiencing co-occurrence of two or more chronic physical and mental health conditions. The research followed methods of community based studies working directly with indigenous peoples. Narrative analysis inspecting themes resulting from interviews allowed for wide ranging documentation of barriers of racism, discrimination, and complications from unsafe housing, economic deprivation, government legal barrier, and ultimately the greater vulnerability of indigenous women due to these factors. The researchers bring to bear on their study techniques and an indigenous knowledge base to generate new insights demonstrating the importance of culturally appropriate approaches to research problems specific to indigenous people.

Ms. **Smriti Sabbarwal**, a doctoral candidate at the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament at Jawaharlal Nehru University in India contributes her peer reviewed article *Indigenous Peoples' Concerns for Environment: Examining the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations*. Ms. Sabbarwal undertakes a focused examination of how non-governmental organizations engage the environmental concerns of indigenous peoples at the international level—observing that while there are important outcomes from NGO activities, "much needs to be done to incorporate the real indigenous voices at the international level."

The peer reviewed article, *Structural Oppressions facing Indigenous Students in Canadian Education,* is contributed by the scholarly team of **Dr. Anita Olsen Harper** and **Professor Shirley Thompson** who examine the limiting effects of colonization on the education of indigenous peoples in Canada. They call for the development of educational systems that advance the self-determination and thus alter the oppression imposed by settler state societies. Harper and Thompson seek to expand awareness of the barriers to learning and personal growth by detailing the adverse effects of colonization and its oppression on the learning and lives of indigenous peoples reliant on the Canadian educational system. They offer a formulation of education to achieve *minopimaatisiiwin* or the "good life" in Anishinaabe—the language of peoples in central and southeastern Canada. Their analysis brings to the fore a strong argument for achieving *minopimaatisiiwin* in many different cultures.

In *Fourth World Nations in the United Nations?* Editor in Chief **Dr. Rudolph Rÿser** examines the United Nation's General Assembly President's consultations with indigenous representatives and states' government representatives in 2016 on the question of how to "enable indigenous peoples participation in the United Nations." Dr. Ryser details the proposals from six indigenous nations, five states and fifteen non-governmental organizations submitting responses to the General Assembly President's request for consultations. Quoting the General Assembly President's four member advisory panel report, Ryser compares the positions of states' governments to the positions taken by indigenous nations and indigenous NGOs.

CWIS Senior Fellow **Dr. Sawut Pawan** and his colleagues **Rahile Dawut** and **Saadet Kurban** at Xinjiang University in Urumqi City, Uyghur Autonomous Region, China paint a joyful narrative of the Uyghur Meshrep (Moral School) in *Uyghur Meshrep Culture and Its Social Function*. The Uyghur Meshrep is foundational to Uyghur beliefs, ceremonies, rituals, and livelihood. Dr. Pawan compliments the narrative with images from the celebrative, ceremonial and ritual life of Uyghur people as the reader is taken through

a narrative that brings to life in Uyghur Autonomous region in western China.

The book reviews in the edition of Fourth World Journal describe cultural restoration and the applicability of pre-colonial knowledge systems among the Lakota and the Ainu reported by authors intimately connected to their subjects. The nineteenth century "oral literature" of Lakota *wičaša wakan* (Holy Man) Miwakan Yuhala is the subject of **Wilson Manyfinger's** review of **Delphine Red Shirt's** book, *George Sword's Warrior Narrative, Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition*. Manyfinger's review reveals the powerful work of this Lakota author as she reports her experience and findings researching the actual meaning of old Lakota oral expression describing the Sun Dance. Contributor **Bertha Miller** joyfully reviews **Ann-Elise Lewallen's** new volume *The Fabric of Indigeneity: Ainu identity, Gender, and Settler Colonialism in Japan.* Miller gives focus to the role of Ainu women engaged in resistance to Japanese colonization of their original territory *Youn Mosir* (the Ainu term for their territory, dubbed Hokkaido by the Japanese) and the restoration of Ainu knowledge, history, and culture through the weaving of cloth and clothing based on ancient motifs.

We are grateful to the contributors in this issue for their extraordinary insights and explorations of cultural knowledge. They demonstrate the strength and power of that knowledge as essential to obtaining a full appreciation and understanding of the importance of all human knowledge. ∎

Health Service Needs for Urban Indigenous Women with Co-Occurring Health Concerns

Creating a Safe Place for Empowerment and Service Integration

By Hasu Ghosh, Cecilia Benoit, Ivy Bourgeault

ABSTRACT

Addressing inequities in health service access and utilization among Indigenous Peoples is complex, especially for urban Indigenous women with co-occurring health conditions and addiction issues. Services for co-occurring health conditions are compartmentalized and disjointed. Urban Indigenous women are particularly at risk of falling through the cracks of the service system. With this in mind, we designed a study that would provide information about how best to provide services to urban Indigenous women with multiple health challenges. The paper reports from the first phase of the study which involved interviews with service providers and decision makers. Data were collected through in-depth interviews. All the key stakeholders expressed the view that services for co-occurring health needs should be based on Indigenous women's understandings of culturally safe and responsive care. The results suggest that services for co-occurring health concerns must begin with ensuring Indigenous women's safety. Women who experience safe health services are more likely to feel empowered throughout the process of their healing journey. The lack of safety in health services can be considered as a key factor in Indigenous Canadians' inequitable access to health services.

Key Words: Indigenous women, diabetes, mental health, health service access, intersectionality

Across Canada, Indigenous Peoples[1] experience inequities in health service access and utilization, co-occurring physical and mental health conditions, and challenging systemic and financial constraints--all of which require health services offered through more innovative and integrative approaches grounded in Indigenous knowledge (NCCAH, 2012; Reading, 2009). Inadequate involvement of Indigenous Peoples and integration of their insights in the planning, implantation, delivery and monitoring of current health services often result in lack of cultural-competency and responsiveness. This discourages Indigenous clients of different ages and genders while attempting to access health services (NCCAH, 2012). Together these limitations can result in negative effects on the overall health and wellbeing of Indigenous Peoples, their families and communities (Smye, 2008).

A particularly compelling health issue is that of co-morbid[2] physical and mental health conditions with addiction, which many in this population face. The term co-morbidity in health services research, policy and practice, is conceptualized as co-occurrence of two or more chronic physical and mental health conditions in primary care, and health services contexts. A higher

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1. Throughout this paper, we use the term Indigenous Peoples to refer to Aboriginal Peoples and other first peoples of Canada.
2. In this paper the terms co-morbid or co-occurring health conditions were used to denote simultaneous experience of two or more health conditions in order to reflect the terms used in literature and in the scientific and lay communities.

existence of co-occurring mental health with chronic physical health conditions involving addiction is documented among Indigenous Peoples (CMHA, 2008a & 2008b; North East LHIN, 2011), and women are more likely than men to have more co-occurring health conditions (Broemeling et al., 2008). Co-morbidity is a serious public health concern for Indigenous Peoples, partly because both diabetes and mental health issues are significantly elevated among Indigenous Peoples compared to other Canadians (CCSA, 2013; PHAC, 2011). Additionally, mental illness such as depression can have direct physiological effects on the development of type 2 diabetes due to the impact on the body's resistance to insulin (CIHI, 2008; Reading, 2009; Bombay et al., 2009). Although the biological mechanism between alcohol intake and diabetes occurrence is inconclusive, it is evident in the literature (North East LHIN, 2011; CMHA, 2008; Ghosh, 2013) that untreated addiction, substance use and mental health issues can impact social and cognitive function and decrease energy levels, resulting in difficulty for people to take care of their health, which ultimately leads to worse outcomes for chronic diseases (e.g. diabetes). For some individuals, substances are consumed as an attempt to cope with their pain caused by physical and sexual abuse, low self-esteem, loss of culture and identity, and family history of substance use (Reading, 2009).

The burden of these conditions in the population is immense, especially among vulnerable population groups, such as Indigenous Peoples, women, and people of low socio-economic status. Individuals with co-morbid health conditions experience a more complex and severe health profile than those with single health condition including greater symptoms, severity, multiple drug use, along with poorer social and interpersonal functioning, and poorer quality of life (Davis et al. 2006).

Issues surrounding lack of affordable and accessible housing and homelessness are more pronounced among Indigenous Peoples with co-morbid health conditions (Crane and Joly, 2014; Belanger et al., 2012).

Studies that examine the relationships between co-occurring conditions such as diabetes, mental health and addiction among Indigenous Peoples generally, and among Indigenous women in particular, are extremely limited (Halseth, 2013; Lavallee and Howard, 2011). Indigenous women's limited access to services and resources might also result in the internalization of negative messages about oneself. The circumstances of Indigenous women are intimately interwoven from birth with historical and contemporary government policies and resulting consequences of addiction, mental illness and chronic health issues (Tait, 2013). They are at a particularly high risk of dying prematurely. Undoubtedly, growing initiatives for culturally specific health prevention programs offered in urban Indigenous organizations have empowered urban Indigenous women for improving both their own health, and health of their families (Williams and Guilmette, 2001).

An ever more vulnerable group among Indigenous women are those who live in urban areas. According to 2006 census over 49% of Indigenous Peoples lived in urban Canada, and this was particularly the case for Indigenous women (Statistics Canada, 2008). According to 2011 census data, off-reserve Indigenous Peoples constitute the fastest growing segment of Canadian population. In 2011, 56% of Indigenous Peoples lived in urban areas, which is 7% increase from 2006 in 14 years (INAC, 2016). Although this urbanization process in Canada follows the general pattern of migration, the processes of Indigenous migration are unique and have a distinct history of their own (UAKN, 2012). Indigenous reserve communi-

ties characterize particular living environments where the overall way of life is uniquely characteristic to those living in these geographically defined spaces. Consequently, cultural, spatial, legal and socio-economic identities of Indigenous Peoples result in a different migrant experiences in urban centres. Urban Indigenous lives represent the missing opportunities for land rights, connection to home communities, and loss of cultural heritage and traditional ways of life as consequences of federal policy decisions (Newhouse and Peters, 2003). Added to these are structural and institutional discrimination, poverty, lack of economic opportunities and struggle for urban living including limited access to urban services and resources, such as health and social services (Environic Institute, 2010).

Canadian government's discriminatory colonial policies resulted in the enfranchisement and "deterritorialization" of Indigenous Peoples (De Leeuw and Greenwood, 2011). The enfranchisement was a practice of colonial efforts to impose categorization and varying identities on Indigenous Peoples by the implementation of Indian Act. Being not recognized as Indian in Canada continues to mean receiving services that differ vastly from those who are non-enfranchised or status Indians. The "deterritorialization" of Indigenous Peoples outside of their traditional territories or displacement of Indigenous children to residential schools along with enfranchisement speak to many of the negative consequences, including intergenerational trauma, violence and abuse, that today's Indigenous women experience. In discussing connection between past government policies and contemporary state of mental health among Canadian Peoples, Kirmayer et. al. (2000) state, "Some of these policies were well intentioned, but most were motivated by a condescending, paternalistic attitude that failed to recognize either

the autonomy of Indigenous peoples or the richness and resources of their cultures. The cumulative effect of these policies has, in many cases, amounted to near cultural genocide. The collective trauma, loss, and grief caused by these short-sighted policies are reflected in the endemic mental health problems of many Indigenous communities and populations across Canada" (p. 609). The services for a number of "invisible" women who have co-morbid health conditions deserve policy attention for services integration. To further exacerbate the disadvantaged situation of urban Indigenous women, formal services are seriously inadequate and offered in silos in Canadian cities, while informal social and community support are inaccessible or limited for women who migrate from reserves or remote locations.

Colonialism is increasingly being recognized, particularly by Indigenous scholars as a significant social determinant of health that intersects with many other social identities of Indigenous Peoples (Loppie and Wien, 2008). The cumulative impact of these intersecting issues creates significant challenges in the urban realm, particularly for women. Indigenous women, specifically those are leading single parent households, comprise the most disadvantaged segment of the urban Indigenous population (AANDC, 2006). In urban sectors, Indigenous women become the subject of responsibility of various levels of governments, which is again inconsistent from province to province and territory to territory. Unfortunately, many of the contemporary shortcomings in Indigenous health and social services were identified in the Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples' Report (RCAP, 1996) 20 years ago, and many of the issues identified back then remained inadequately addressed.

Nevertheless, there have been some notable promising practices in the urban Indigenous health services and policy landscape in the last

decades (NCCAH, 2013). For example, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba, offers programs for urban Indigenous families; those are constantly guided by values grounded in Indigenous culture and allows meaningful community engagement (CCPA, 2009). Another notable example is Hiiye'yu Lelum (The House of Friendship) Society: Healthy Children Healthy Futures (HCHF) Program for urban Indigenous families in Duncan, British Columbia. The program is supported through the funding from PHAC (Public Health Agency of Canada) that aims to improve parents' skills and knowledge for positive parenting and provides opportunities to create social connections with other parents and community resources (Hiiye'yu

Lelum, 2016; NCCAH, 2013). The services at the Minwaashin Lodge in Ottawa, Ontario are running for Inuit, Métis and First Nations, and derived from their traditional teachings about balanced, holistic health throughout the lifecycle. The Minwaashin Lodge: Life Cycle Service Model interweaves services (Fig 1) with seasonal ceremonies along the continuum of life from infancy to old age. This model fosters healthy relational attachment to the staff to family members, kin, community and land/culture; as well provides opportunity to reconnect with and maintain culture in an urban centre (Chansonneuve, 2009).

Presented below, qualitative findings from the first phase of an exploratory Ontario-based study clearly adds more nuances with service

providers and decision makers' perspectives into urban Indigenous women's healing journey for co-occurring health conditions. Our findings point to the importance of ensuring safety in the first place for Indigenous clients, while offering holistic services for their co-occurring health conditions stemming from structural, institutional, and interpersonal racism, discrimination, and violence (Benoit et al., 2003). Indigenous organizations in particular operate as a safe place for Indigenous women's overall health and well-being.

Methods

The methodological approach undertaken in this study follows the fundamental principles of community based research. Following the basics of OCAP (ownership, control, access, and possession) principles of working with First Nations people (NAHO, 2005), and tri-council policy statement for health research involving Indigenous Peoples (TCPR, 2010), this study's governance structure includes a community advisory committee (CAC) consisting of members from supporting local Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations. This study undertook extensive community consultations in order to understand the implications, suitability and timeliness of the study for the local Indigenous women. The research received ethics approval from the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board (Health Science and Science REB, File Number H11-13-11). The narratives of research participants illustrate how the Indigenous organizations operate as a safe healing place for urban Indigenous women for their co-morbid health needs.

Participants and Data Collection

The data were collected through one-on-one semi-structured interviews with ten participants in two groups of key stakeholders:

health and social service providers and decision makers. The rationale for choosing these two groups involves the following decisions: first, each group deals with needs for services for co-morbid health conditions from their respective professional locations and relative positions; and each group plays a key role in applying and implementing this knowledge in decision making and service planning that affects service delivery for urban Indigenous women. Participants working in the field of chronic disease prevention, mental health and addiction services for Indigenous Peoples, and held decision making roles were selected purposefully and contacted directly by the first author by telephone or email. Follow up emails or phone calls were made to set up the interview time and location. All but one of the interviews were completed at a mutually convenient setting, generally at the participants' work places. The interview locations included Indigenous health centre, women's shelter, Native Friendship Centre, federal government department, and community health centres. One interview with a provincial government employee was completed via a long distance call. Each interview was scheduled for sixty minutes, which often went over time in order to accommodate research participants' desire to share their experiences. The interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent to maximize true interpretation of interviewees' perspectives. Justification for the number of participants relates to the issues of data saturation, data manageability, and accessibility to experienced, knowledgeable participants and their willingness to participate in the interviews. Interviews were conducted by the first author over the month of March to July 2014.

The purpose of qualitative interview-based research is to describe and clarify peoples' social realities "as it is lived, felt, undergone, made sense of, and accomplished by human

Table 1. Research Participant's Demographic Details

Key Stakeholders	Professional Role	Years in Present Role	Years in Indigenous Health or Social Care	Years in Health/ Social Care Decision-Making	Indigenous Origin	Age	Gender	Education
Health Service Providers	Physician, diabetes educator, Advance practice nurse	5 yrs to over 10 years	Over 10 years	Over 10 yrs to never (but see Indigenous patients in their main stream care settings)	One First Nations (FN), two non-Indigenous persons	40 years to 60 years	Three females	Under-graduate to graduate degrees
Social Service providers	Program coordinator/ Liaison worker, Community support service coordinator, system planner	Over 10 years	Over 10 years	Over 10 years	One FN, One Métis and two non-Indigenous	41 years to 70 years	Three females	Post-secondary and college diploma to graduate degrees
Decision makers	ED, Manager, Director*, director/ project lead	4 years to over 10 years	10 years to over 40 years	5 yeasrs to over 40 years	Three FN, and one non-Indigenous	51 years to 70 years	Three females and one male	Post-secondary college diploma to undergrad degree

* Indicates one participant being both director and physician

beings" (Schwandt, 2001: 84). Qualitative research places more emphasis on the richness and thickness of perspectives gathered rather than the number of participants recruited for data collection. Here, as with all aspects of qualitative research, the depth of the data is more important than the number of interviews completed (Burmeister and Aitken, 2012). In other words, rich data are deeply implicated in bringing to life the human beings that are centre of the qualitative research. The interviews were semi-structured and followed an interview guide with guiding questions to explore participants' extent of involvement in the Indigenous health and social services and decision making field; their understand-

ings about co-morbid diabetes, mental health and addiction issues; and their perspectives on responsive services for co-morbid health concerns, and factors (both barriers and facilitators) that influence access to responsive preventive services. In order to maintain the natural flow of conversation, the interview guide was loosely followed to ensure that all questions were covered during each interview. In the beginning of each interview session, participants read and signed the consent form and completed a demographic questionnaire. Each participant gave consent to record their interview conversations. At the end of each interview, participants received a thank you note from the interviewer. The table above (Table 1)

provides demographic information about the participated in this study.

Analysis

Following Riessman (2008), the data were analyzed thematically to create a holistic narrative from the different perspectives of service users and providers. Narratives are bounded segments or excerpts from stories, and the emphasis was to find out what was said and why it was said. For example, it was deemed important to analyse the meanings that participants attach across contexts to deal with diabetes, mental health, and addiction. In so doing, participants revealed a great deal about how they developed and offered services for Indigenous women, barriers participants faced in their scope of practices, and their suggestions to improve these services to meet their Indigenous client's needs. After being transcribed verbatim, interviews were coded using inductive and deductive coding methods and entered into the NVivo qualitative analysis software. In order to find the commonalities as well as variations amongst the narratives between and within key informant participants, a within-case and an across-case narrative thematic analysis was undertaken. Analysis proceeded, drawing on conceptual framework of intersectionality and narrative analysis. To keep confidentiality and anonymity, all identifying details about participants have been removed.

Findings

Determinants of Co-occurring Health Conditions – Intersecting and Overlapping

Findings of this study indicate that there are intersecting spatial, social and historical determinants of health specific to urban centres that have great bearing on Indigenous women's health outcomes (Benoit et al., 2001).

Review of literature demonstrate that diabetes co-occurring with mental health and addiction issues is not uncommon, but is underaddressed and understudied in Indigenous communities. In the Indigenous population in Canada, these health conditions present challenges that are unique to this group, and to those who are otherwise marginalized and living in socio-economic deprivation (Goodwin, 2011).

It is apparent from participants' narratives that root causes of co-occurring health conditions among Indigenous women can trace its way back to Canada's colonial policies, or legacy of them. The key stakeholders pointed out that in the present context, the federal government's fiduciary responsibility regarding service provision further implicates health service access for women living in urban, rural or reserve settings (although there were differing views among key stakeholders about intersecting roles that diverse Indigenous identities, status, and place of residence play in shaping women's access to services for co-occurring health conditions). Service providers more or less agreed on the fact that multiple layers of marginalization can significantly determine Indigenous women's access to health services and their overall health and well-being. Participants identified how the barriers of urban living including racism, discrimination, lack of safe housing can intersect with limited economic opportunities and legal Indigenous status and gender, making Indigenous women more vulnerable in their capacity to maintain health and well-being. As one service provider stated:

> *Certainly, I think poverty is the first piece. [an individual] living in poverty isn't getting best possible medical attention, it is the reality. And depending on where people live, certainly... people living in urban centres?... Again you have*

discrimination, people often don't feel safe... so I think that definitely impacts on the number of times they should go [to the doctor]... they go less than they should go....

The research participants further emphasized the fact that in contemporary urban contexts, Indigenous women face formidable challenges of urban living. One example is when discrimination, stigmatization, and lack of affordable housing intersects with their challenges of navigating and accessing the education, health, housing and legal systems, and social services and dealing with poverty and food insecurity. Participants recognized the contextual determinants that give rise to the risk factors of diabetes, mental health and addiction issues among Indigenous women. Likewise, participants noted Indigenous women may be at increased risk of developing co-occurring health conditions as a result of intersecting determinants of mental and physical health problems and addiction, indicating the need for holistic and integrated care models to address these complex situations. As noted by one service provider:

Women that we served are abused, they have been physically abused, sometimes spiritually and emotionally... [S]o there is a layer upon layer of trauma coming in and then they are living in poverty, and they are often disconnected from family and home... [B]ut now in the city they have more problems; if they are coming from remote reserve, the culture shock of coming to Ottawa is overwhelming for many, because they don't know how to take a bus, they don't know the social rules... [T]here is so much happening to the women when they come, and if they have diabetes, and mental health and addiction, and other health issues, you could see how that would be? A huge amount to manage which is why it has

to be managed holistically in one place... they have to receive the assistance for everything, because otherwise this is just overwhelming.

The stakeholder interviews provided important insights about the roles Indigenous organizations play as healing places and their vision for the ideal services for those with co-occurring mental health, diabetes and addiction issues. The healing qualities that characterize Indigenous organizations include dealing with Indigenous clients with respect and dignity, addressing their issues from a non-judgemental point of view, ensuring safety for them at several levels, and most importantly addressing their health challenges in a holistic way. The providers explained that for Indigenous women physical space, settings, and situations that encompass both the physical and cultural environments for healing and health care are considered as safe places for health. These safe places are considered to have an enduring reputation for achieving physical, mental, emotional and spiritual safety. Service providers and decision makers illustrate the important place that health promotion and disease prevention programming provide specific to urban Indigenous women's health.

Participants expressed the need for specific targeted approaches to culturally competent care in order to engage Indigenous women more effectively. As one participant noted,

We do not have role models who are healthy who are doing parenting in a way they want to do it now. The women that we serve want to be good, healthy parents, but they need support in the community, in the [name of an Indigenous organization] which can assist them, can demonstrate them... how it is like holding a child, how feeding a child, nursing a child... all of these they may not have experienced in a healthy way. Because of-

ten times the women, that we are serving have addiction issues... living with addiction and trauma, it is difficult to find a role model in the community sometimes. Experiences of women that are coming to us are many, and attachment disorder is one of the issues.

For the participants, it is obvious that the key to meaningfully addressing the simultaneous needs of women is to make both health and social services more available and accessible in a safe and culturally appropriate setting.

A Safe Place – A Healing Place

Local Indigenous organizations that offer culturally-defined programs for Indigenous women have been recognized as safe places by key stakeholders of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous origins. A number of factors work together to make these organizations a healing place: the structure and content of the programs, characteristics of the staffs who offer the services, access to the providers, and providers' commitment toward clients. The healing qualities that characterize Indigenous centres and the programs they provide include a restorative landscape, where clients' health conditions are understood in the context of past and present while attempting to address the root causes of health anomalies in the contemporary contexts (Cardinal, 2008; Kirmayer et al., 2003). For some Indigenous women, a safe healing place in urban areas can function as a place of reunification to their people, cultures, and ceremonies, while for others it provides a space to be able to maintain their cultural continuity (Benoit et al., 2003). This place of reunification can have significant therapeutic values not only in curing physical or mental ailments of Indigenous women, but also in empowering them with lessons from

Elders and community leaders, and formal education to enhance their life skills.

Stigma was a widespread issue that service providers reported. In line with previous research (Denison et al., 2014), findings of this study also reflect that stigma associated with addiction and mental health issues often lead Indigenous women to suppress their health service needs because of the fear of losing their children. This indicates the critical need for ensuring cultural safety in care provision to mitigate the ongoing impact of colonialism and its effects on health of contemporary Indigenous women. Hiding one's substance use or avoiding mental health professionals gets in the way of service users with multiple health issues. Programs offered at Indigenous organizations that do not stigmatize substance users is a much needed step for treatment of these Indigenous women. As one program manager put it,

We start off by ensuring safety... for women, physical safety. And from there... could be counselling, could be psycho-educational workshop, helping women understand their situation, helping them and their children to be able to lead healthier lives.

Both service providers and decision makers spoke highly of Indigenous organizations and the incredible work that their staff members is doing while providing services to help build or rebuild their clients' lives. Additionally, a non-judgmental approach of these staff members do not make Indigenous women with co-occurring health issues feel stigmatized, where their health and social service needs receive far beyond basic outreach services and where they feel safe, welcomed and heard. The following comments resonate similar perspectives:

Some of the women we serve were taken out of their families during the 60's scoop, for instance, and so they didn't have cultural teachings, didn't have any roots; essentially they were rootless, and when they come to a place like [name of an Aboriginal organization], and begin to reconnect, and to perhaps for the first time practice ceremonies, connect with Elders, do all the things essential to a person's spiritual well-being, then things fall into place. We have tremendous success... so we have been able to be of assistance in reunification of families, and then through education and all the programming we have here and the cultural support, women have gone on to be extremely successful... who then turn around and use their skills to create role models to pull out other women along behind them...

The commitment of staff members and the knowledge and understandings they share with them while offering services for Indigenous women are considered important factors of successful service provision. Their services extend beyond the core service options, connecting the Indigenous patients and families to associated health and social services and programs in the areas of public health, prevention, promotion, mental health, and chronic disease prevention and management. As one decision maker related,

Staff here are incredibly committed to the work they do, and the women and families that they help, that is their core reason [to do what they do], it's not to have a job to make money. And I believe that applies to lot of Aboriginal people working in the field. They want to help their own people.

Many researchers have noted the problem of miscommunication or the gap in communication between Indigenous clients and non-Indigenous health service providers, particularly in urban health care settings, where a higher level of English proficiency and cultural understanding of biomedical concepts is assumed (Ware, 2013; Coulehan et al., 2005). In contrast, Indigenous Peoples have different cultural models of communication. Shahid et al (2013) noted that for effective patient provider communication, expression of empathy, attention to detail, listening to patients, culturally-sensitive usage of language, knowledge and use of medical terminology and cross-cultural differences in the concept of time are essential. These factors can affect the extent of comprehension of diagnoses and treatment regimes leading to a gap in service providers/users communication. Here, the stakeholders of Indigenous origin identified cultural communication as a crucial determinant of health for Indigenous women living in urban areas. In their views, lack of cultural communication between health service providers and their Indigenous clients are yet to be fully recognized. As one physician noted,

There is a difference... a cultural difference in the way, cultural way the Aboriginal people interact and if the dominant culture [is] not aware, the medical people are not aware, they would not take that into consideration, and would misinterpret, so this is one of the determinants that is not recognized. They are starting to recognize...

Similarly, another service provider from an Indigenous organization illustrated how their clients face barriers in communication while accessing services from main-stream organizations. The participant also illustrated their crucial role in mitigating these communication

barriers and establishing their clients' connection with their treatment regime, noting:

> Often time they [clients] would come back from an appointment and say 'I didn't understand what the doctor said' and they will have a piece of paper, may be a prescription. [For example], a women [client]came and said 'they talked and talked but I didn't know what they really said but they gave me this,' and it was [a prescription] for antibiotics, so she clearly had an infection. So I called the doctor's office and said 'she doesn't understand… what was it?' And it ended up being an ear infection, but she didn't understand because they did a lot of talking... not being sensitive to understand [that] this person is not understanding... I think that happens often... I think medical doctors are often accused of just not necessarily speaking plainly to patients, speaking clearly… I think that is across the board... because people talking really quickly in English and using very long medical phrases, most people don't know what they are saying... FN people coming down and feeling very 'fish out of water' already in the urban context and then having to access services [makes it even harder].

The excerpts above also speak to the need for consultation and training of agencies in culturally appropriate communication-- not only in mainstream settings, but also in Indigenous organizations. This is also necessary for Indigenous staff members in order to respond to the Indigenous cultural and linguistic diversities between First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples.

Integrated support offered at Indigenous centres has the great potential to address not

Figure 2. Logo of Minwaashin Lodge

Reproduced with permission from Minswaashin Lodge

only Indigenous women's health and social needs, but also to reduce communication gaps with their service providers to a great extent:

> We are dealing with women when they are coming out of a very emotionally charged situation [such as separation from children by Children's Aid Society]. Typically people do better once they are settled and they are connected to other services. When they first arrive, our intention is to provide everything we can in the way of support to kind of stabilize people... We have two support workers who would accompany people like this, who would drive them, and sit with them. With the woman's permission…[we] would advocate with the doctors to perhaps have a look at the medication, to see if there is something that could be adjusted, which increases the likelihood of successfully taking her medication... and to reduce the communication gap.

Overall, a safe place for healing particularly seems important when urban Indigenous women's simultaneous struggle with mental health, addiction, and chronic health conditions are dealt with dignity, privacy, and respect. The meaning of 'safe place' not only refers to ensuring physical safety for Indigenous women but spiritual, emotional and cultural safety for them as well. Additionally, cultural safety can be considered as a resource for Indigenous women to deal with the continued and multi-pronged challenges of their co-morbid health conditions, which is discussed in the following section.

Cultural Safety
Enables Empowerment

Cultural safety moves beyond cultural sensitivity and cultural competency. It focuses on analyzing and addressing power imbalances, importance of respecting differences, the legacy of colonial relationships, and institutional discrimination that can contribute to access deterrents (Smye et al., 2010; Deer, 2009; Varcoe, 2004). Cultural safety is grounded on understanding the power differences inherent in health service delivery and redressing these inequities through educational processes (Spence, 2001; Varcoe, 2004). It involves changing attitudes and the continued self-reflection of providers and institutions on their own culture that they bring into practice, whilebecoming cognizant of historical, political, and socio-economic determinants of health inequities of the population they serve. Thus, ensuring cultural safety in services for co-morbid health conditions offered through Indigenous organizations is a key option in addressing many access barriers that emerge out of structural inequities and disempowering attitudes within the mainstream health care system. It is well recognized in the literature that mental health and physical health are fundamentally linked. Many determinants of mental and physical health conditions are common in nature (CMHA, 2008a). These determinants can be addressed by improving health care access in coherent culturally safe ways at individual, group and societal levels (ANAC, 2009). Similarly, a community support worker said: "You can build on [health services]through cultural teaching and ceremonies to build their [women] confidence."

Additionally, the concept of cultural safety acknowledges the diversities that exist within and between Indigenous groups, and provides a notion of culture that is not static, but rather linked to historical, socio-economic and political forces and factors. Offering services in a culturally safe manner diminishes stakeholders' concerns around cultural relevance (which is lacking in mainstream services), and creates empowering experiences of care and services, thereby encouraging clients to access care in a safe Indigenous setting. Key stakeholder's narratives depict that operationalizing cultural safety in their practice includes openness, respect, relevance, acknowledgement, and acceptance of all Indigenous cultures and territories. As one program manager of non-Indigenous descent working in an Indigenous organization related:

> *Here? It depends who is doing ceremony... it is her ceremony, ok? It is coming from her territory, so, here [referring to Aboriginal organization] Grandmother is from the west…has specific cultural ceremonies that she does. If we have a visiting Elder from somewhere else, then she would introduce hers…[if] we have an Inuit Elder coming, and they have featured different practices of their community and what's important to them, that is very important to share… Indigenous people are welcome, they are meant to feel welcome*

here, and their practice and ceremonies are respected... so I think that it is very inclusive People are very welcomed here, very interested to learn about others...

Another program manger and service provider of Indigenous descent added that with each ceremony or program they offer in their centre, at the start they always acknowledge which nation or culture to which they belong. A provider may perform a ceremony according to her/his cultural teachings but they call every participant/client to join and perform in the ceremony in their culturally-appropriate ways. This is how the providers attempt to create a common space for Indigenous peoples of all nations and cultures and respond to the diversities that exist within and between Indigenous cultures. The provider mentioned that a simple strategy of greeting their clients in different Indigenous languages can create a different level of attachment and sense of belonging among Indigenous women, as well as foster improved communication with their clients.

Service Integration – Responding Holistically

Overall, service providers were in agreement that more integrated services are needed to address co-morbid health conditions, especially given the multiple intersecting determinants that are associated with mental health, addiction and chronic health conditions that require simultaneous care and management. This was referred to as "holistic service option for getting help with diabetes, mental health and addiction issues." These co-morbid health conditions are compounded by the disjointed or siloed nature of service provisions, which place Indigenous women more at risk of developing further complications that traces its way back to colonization, forced relocation, enfran-

chisement of women's right, and contemporary racist issues against Indigenous women. In this regard, it is worthwhile to mention that the Report of the Royal Commission on Indigenous Peoples (RCAP, 1996) emphasized the effectiveness of integrated health services for Indigenous Peoples. It was noted that "The Peguis First Nation community in Manitoba found that a combination of traditional and western healing approaches was especially effective for those who suffer from emotional problems, including those related to alcohol and drug abuse, violence, and suicide" (RCAP, 1996, p. 213). Unfortunately, the system level service delivery for Indigenous Peoples still represents a specialty-dependent disjointed approach, which was identified as less effective by the Canadian government itself, when we hear from one service provider and program manager saying:

Colonization and the residential school system have created a situation where many women are experiencing multiple issues and getting help or treatment has been particularly problematic because women typically are not (for many good reasons) very trusting of the system... [With] the mainstream system, they have first hand experiences of brutalization at the hand of systems, or they are just alienated from the services they need, so often time women's issues have been divided very much into silos. If you have diabetes, you need to go there, if you have mental health issues you need to go there... and there has been no attempt, until now [to integrate the systems]... the mainstream is finally starting to catch up, [but] that holistic treatment of a person is in disorder. Unfortunately that was the experience of many of our women where they have to go to this for that, and

another for another and nothing is connected. It just compounds the issues that women have and makes accessing the care much harder...

Even though a wide range of health and social services exists in urban centres, they are not necessarily accessible for Indigenous women due to various reasons including a lack of cultural sensitivity, distance, hours of operation, transportation, childcare and so on. Accessible health services are critical for overall health and well-being of Indigenous women given that complex health needs they have due to their co-morbid health conditions. As one service provider of Indigenous descent said,

> *.... If a person does not have a place to live... enough to eat... has been separated because of apprehension order or whatever... all of these things contribute to the lack of health.*

Again, despite the diversities within and between Indigenous communities, they tend to have more holistic understandings of health, in which 'physical, mental, emotional and spiritual' components are all intrinsically intertwined and linked. Participants believe that access to holistic and the health care system that meets all the needs of a person is essential in order for them to be successful.

Discussion and Conclusion

A substantial body of research on Indigenous health indicates that Indigenous women face formidable challenges in gaining equitable access to systemic services (Browne et al., 2016; Denison et al., 2014; Benoit et al., 2001; Benoit et al., 2003). The study reported here constitutes the first phase of a two-year long community-based research project, which conceptually builds on previous publications of Indigenous women's health service needs in an urban Ontario setting. The key stakeholders interviewed here communicated the need for 1) better understanding of intersecting determinants of co-occurring health conditions among Indigenous women; and 2), provision of integrated services that address these determinants and provide safe healing places for Indigenous women with improved communication between patients and providers to help build or rebuild Indigenous womens' lives.

These findings provide further evidence for responsive and integrated services for co-occurring mental and physical health conditions and addiction among urban Indigenous women. Indigenous women share many of the similar challenges and concerns with services for co-occurring health conditions as other women in Canada. However, culturally, socio-economically, linguistically, geographically and legally, Indigenous women are a unique population in Canada. Since there are also significant diversities within and between Indigenous women of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit descent, they demonstrate diverse needs for health services. This refers specifically to the contextual and overlapping determinants of co-occurring diabetes, mental health and addiction, which includes navigating and accessing education, health, housing, employment, legal systems, social services and dealing with poverty and food insecurity in urban settings. As research participants indicated, the majority of these determinants intersect with each other and doubly marginalizes women because of their gender and ethnic minority status. Additionally, the legal status of Indigenous women creates a divide between status and non-status Indian women, which further exacerbates their challenges and acts as a barrier to equitable access to health services specific

to Indigenous Peoples. Likewise, it limits their capacity to maintain health and well-being. In short, there is not only a scarcity of responsive services for co-occurring health conditions for Indigenous women in urban areas, but the available services lack cultural sensitivity and fails to connect with their clients when they are judgemental, discriminatory and stigmatizing.

Because of the nature, extent, and organization of culturally appropriate services that Indigenous organizations offer, they serve as safe healing places for urban Indigenous women dealing with co-occurring health conditions. Participants' narratives illustrate the outstanding healing environment the Indigenous organizations provide, where their Indigenous women clients feel safe and secure, develop a social network, re-establish connection with their roots, overcome stigma associated with their multiple health challenges, and more importantly, empower themselves to take care of their health and become role models for their own and other Indigenous women and families. The key stakeholders credited much of the success of these Indigenous organizations to the dedication and commitment of their staff members in creation, implementation, and making the services culturally sensitive and responsive to Indigenous womens' needs.

Indigenous women with simultaneous health needs exert power over their health status through participation in culturally-specific programs offered by the Indigenous organizations to help them feel safe and accepted, overcome their negative experiences of racism, discrimination and challenges of urban living, and a sense of belonging. These programs not only create social support network for all clients involved, but also make opportunities in nurturing their cultural identity and learn more about their roots. As a result, Indigenous clients become valued and respected members in their community. Indigenous organizations as

safe healing places, perceived by the research participants, provide further opportunities for development of overall health and well-being.

The Canadian government has acknowledged the failure of disjointed services and success of integrated services among Indigenous Peoples in Royal Commission on Indigenous People's report two decades ago (RCAP, 1996). Unfortunately, the siloed approach in service provision still continues. Findings of the current study demonstrate that Indigenous organizations providing culturally-sensitive and integrative services to address co-occurring or co-morbid health conditions among Indigenous women fare better in responding to the women's needs. Despite some movements in recent years, much more work needs to be done in the area of health services and policy research for co-morbid health conditions. In this regard, much deeper multi-level collaboration involving conceptual collaboration between Western science and traditional ways of knowing is needed that extends beyond structural or organizational collaboration (Benning, 2016). This is especially true among high risk and vulnerable populations. The lack of appropriate services for those with co-morbid health problems has consequences that extend beyond the persistence of worsening of mental health issues or substance use (Drake et al, 2001). Further tailoring and integration of Indigenous knowledge and concepts, along with the use of different, flexible modalities, and a move toward addressing multiple intersecting determinants of health is essential to better research and assisting those in need. Consideration should be paid to strategies to best translate ground-up evidence-based research knowledge into practice, increase access, and create sustainable treatment programs in places where Indigenous women of all ages feel safe, connected, and respected. In this regard, the Urban Indigenous Strategy (UAS) in

Canada (INAC, 2016b) can take a significant lead to help support local urban Indigenous organizations to have a strong base with their renewed or new initiatives. With support from UAS, Indigenous organizations are likely able to coordinate programs and services through improved intersectoral collaboration and partnerships (e.g. the federal government, provincial and municipal governments, Indigenous groups, and private sectors). Potential solutions to effective Indigenous patient-provider communication may include recruiting more Indigenous staff, providing appropriate cultural training for health service providers, health education for Indigenous stakeholders (such as culturally-specific diabetes education, awareness and education for substance abuse and mental health issues), continuity of care, avoiding use of medical jargon, accommodation and acceptance of patients' psychosocial and logistical needs, and service coordination. ∎

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This article may be cited as:

Indigenous Peoples' Concerns for Environment: Examining the Role of Non-Governmental Organizations

By Smriti Sabbarwal*

ABSTRACT

According to the United Nations, there are around 370 million indigenous peoples found in almost 70 countries across the world (UNPFII, 2006). Indigenous peoples are the 'original' inhabitants of their lands, the majority of whom were forcefully removed from their territories by the brutal forces of European colonizers since the early sixteenth century. Because of their original or first occupancy of their lands and territories, these indigenous peoples are also known as 'first generation' people and 'natives'. In contemporary times, indigenous peoples face a number of issues such as discrimination in education and employment, unavailability of health facilities, rampant poverty, and degradation of environment and ill-effects of climate change. Most of these concerns are not addressed by their states. This is the reason that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have pitched in and tried to deal with these issues faced by indigenous peoples.

The present paper aims to analyze the role played by NGOs in highlighting the indigenous peoples' issues related to the environment at the international level. This is done by examining the multitude of functions carried out by NGOs such as lobbying, advocacy, and networking, through which many of the serious environmental issues faced by indigenous peoples such as degradation of biodiversity, burning of forests on a large scale, and misuse of their traditional knowledge were addressed by NGOs. The paper is broadly divided into two parts: the first part discusses the concept of indigenous peoples in general and explains the relationship they have with their environment. The second part of the paper examines the role of NGOs in international politics in general, and in the environmental issues of indigenous peoples in particular. The paper concludes with the contention that the involvement of NGOs (both local as well as international) has brought positive outcomes for indigenous peoples. However, much needs to be done to incorporate the real indigenous voices at the international level.

Key Words: Indigenous peoples, IUCN, NGOs, climate change, biodiversity, traditional knowledge.

According to the United Nations, there are around 370 million indigenous peoples found in almost 70 countries across the world (UNPFII, 2006). Indigenous peoples are the 'original' inhabitants of their lands, the majority of whom were forcefully removed from their territories by the brutal forces of European colonizers since the early sixteenth century. Because of their original or first occupancy of their lands and territories, these indigenous peoples are also known as 'first generation' people and 'natives'. There are indigenous communities found in almost all continents of the world and are known by different names in different countries. For example, indigenous groups in Bolivia are called

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Aymaras, they are Inuits in Canada, Adivasis or Tribals in India, Orang Asli in Malaysia, Ogoni in Nigeria, Masaai in Southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania, Aboriginal and Torres Islanders in Australia, Maoris in New Zealand. These are just to name a few.

Indigenous peoples share an intimate relationship with their natural environment. Because indigenous peoples have been living in the natural environment since time immemorial, they develop emotional ties with their lands and natural resources. Their simple and archaic lifestyle is seen as conducive for environmental preservation. One finds indigenous peoples densely located in the rainforest areas of Brazil, Central America, South-east Asia, Philippines and Indonesia. These regions being the traditional and ancestral homelands of indigenous peoples clearly exhibits the kind of pious relationship these peoples have with their natural and pristine environments. This is not only because indigenous peoples derive their livelihood and basic sustenance through forest produce and activities like hunting, many communities regard their forests and mountains as places of worship. In a relationship of reciprocity, these regions of high biodiversity are also dependent on indigenous peoples because of the latter's unadorned way of life and their traditional knowledge through which they have been able to sustain their environment for countless ages (Perrett, 1998).

In the Cold War period, activities of the modern state and non-state actors like transnational corporations, by way of building infrastructure projects and, mining of natural resources, destroyed this intimate inter-dependence between indigenous peoples and their environment. The beginning of 1960s witnessed many development projects sponsored by international financial institutions such as the World Bank, on lands occupied by indigenous peoples, mainly in the developing countries. This process of uprooting communities from their traditional homes was intensified by the mid 1970s and continued till 1980s (Gray, 1998). In the process of building infrastructure projects such as dams and refineries, the communities which were hitherto self-sustained became literally destitute due to displacement and dispossession of their lands and other natural resources. Indigenous peoples who used to be engaged in agriculture and activities like hunting and food-gathering were often forced to migrate from their habitats to cities where they ended up becoming wage laborers. Thus these activities interfered and ultimately ruined the lives of indigenous peoples in a big way.

States were most indifferent to the needs and concerns of indigenous peoples. Hence, in the 1990s, supported by local as well as international NGOs such as International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Greenpeace, and many others, transnational alliances were formed at the international level in order to highlight problems suffered by indigenous communities. NGOs already had a long history of engagement with environmental issues since the end of the Second World War. In the beginning of 1990s, they redirected their efforts to take up the cause of indigenous peoples as well. Through activities such as framing, agenda-setting, advocacy, lobbying, networking, monitoring, and information-dissemination, NGOs were quite successful in making indigenous peoples important stakeholders in issues of environmental protection. This holds relevance in contemporary times as well when indigenous peoples are regarded as important constituents in the international framework of climate change and Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD) discussions.

Against this background, this paper aims to examine the role played by NGOs in addressing indigenous concerns for the environment.

It is divided into two main parts. The first part traces a historical perspective of indigenous peoples. This is important in order to understand their plight in contemporary times. It also discusses the interdependence between indigenous peoples and their environment, examining the relationship between the two. The second part of the paper discusses the role of NGOs in international politics generally, and then goes on to examine the role played by NGOs in the domain of indigenous peoples and their environmental concerns in particular. This is followed by critical concluding remarks.

Indigenous Peoples:
A Historical Perspective

Since the beginning of 1990s, indigenous peoples have formed part of a dynamic global movement. Their movement can be called truly global because: a), it is comprised of representatives from nearly all indigenous groups and communities from all parts of the world, and b), indigenous organizations have begun to exert pressure at domestic as well as international level. These organizations, such as World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), International Indian Treaty Council (IITC), Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), and many others have campaigned and struggled to make indigenous voices heard on global platform like the United Nations (Morgan, 2007). However, this has not been true in each and every era. Three waves or patterns can be discerned from the history of indigenous peoples: recognition, denial and re-emergence.

Indigenous peoples were *recognized* as a special entity as early as the 16th century. They were called 'natives' and by this time the term indigenous had not been coined for them as such. Nevertheless, the existence and recognition of their rights could be traced to the early writings of the Spanish School (Marks, 1990-1991). They were recognized as the true owners

of their lands. Writers from this school supported indigenous peoples' titles to their lands. Two such influential legal jurists had been Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolome de Las Casas. The juridical stand taken by these writers in the 16th century had been to uphold the indigenous peoples' rights of ownership of their own lands. The Vitorian doctrine opined that Indian tribes in America had full rights to own land under their own customs and practices. Lands in America were therefore not terra nullius as the case had been in Australia (Marks, 1990-1991).

This recognition turned into *denial* when mostly Europeans colonized them. The Europeans devised many doctrines to validate their conquest of lands outside of their terrain. The theory of terra nullius was the most frequently used justifications. The theory posited that lands without an owner could be annexed by any power and hence this theory was cited as a justification in the process of usurping foreign lands of the indigenous peoples. Also another rationale provided by the Western powers was that since they had been the discoverers of certain lands and territories, it was only reasonable that those lands should belong to them. In legal parlance, this was the Doctrine of Discovery (Pitty, 2001).

The *re-emergence* of indigenous issues took place at the turn of the 20th century when indigenous leaders made claims of discrimination and these were presented at the League of Nations. The presentation by Chief Deskaheh in 1920s on behalf of his Six Nations people (who resisted its full integration with Canada and wanted full self-government), is a case in point. In 1923, Deskaheh appealed to the League of Nations to be heard but this appeal was rejected and every attempt made by him was discarded. It was due to his hard lobbying that in the fall of 1924 he was invited to present to the Assembly of the League the situation prevalent in Six Nations. But his sudden

demise led to a weakening of the fighting spirit as there was no leader after him who could take charge (Niezen, 2000). However, it was only after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of a human rights regime, that a framework of rights and standards for indigenous peoples began to be laid at the international level.

Particular attempts to work towards issues of indigenous peoples began only in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Various reasons have been attributed for this 'internationalization of the indigenous movement' in the 1970s. First, this period saw huge trampling on resource rich indigenous lands. It is a fact that indigenous peoples dwell on the most well-endowed parts of earth in terms of natural resources such as minerals, fossil fuels, and so on. Heavy mining, for example, took place in lands of the Yanomamis of Brazil without their consent. As a result, voices were raised in support of indigenous peoples (Sambo, 1993). Second, indigenous peoples till this time were seen as a matter of domestic priority. But when states began to get involved in measures which would exploit them, indigenous peoples had to find recourse for themselves. The international level was considered such a platform for them where they could vent their anger and frustrations (Burger & Hunt, 1994).

Added to these two was another factor that by the late 1960s, indigenous organizations had begun to be established at the international level. For example, the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) was created in 1968 as one of the most suitable non-indigenous organizations working on indigenous issues. This was followed by a host of other organizations such as Survival International (1969), International Indian Treaty Council (IITC, 1974); and World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP, 1977). These indigenous non-governmental organizations had a huge impact on the growing indigenous movement (Sanders, 1989).

Most indigenous peoples had (and even today) continue to share a hostile relationship with their states. For example, Six Nations was an area inhabited by indigenous peoples in Canada which wanted full autonomy rights for itself whereas Canada wanted it to be merged with the territory of the state. Fearing that Six Nations would secede from Canada if given the right to self-government, Canada did not acknowledge the wishes of the population. This tension is often seen in contemporary times as well (the Quebec problem also arose in Canada along the same lines). There are two reasons which have been attributed to this unfriendly relationship between the indigenous peoples and their host states. Firstly, indigenous peoples exercise their rights in groups and collectivities, and this is something which goes against the liberal individualistic system of modern international law. Secondly, indigenous groups often demand the right to self-determination which states view in terms of secession or independent statehood. This is the reason that many states when in deliberations with indigenous groups have asked them to remove 'peoples' (with an 's') from their title and use indigenous 'population' or 'group' because use of the term peoples equates with this right to self-determination. This issue of self-determination was the most contentious one and remained the most widely debated topic even during deliberations and discussions over the drafting of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was adopted in 2007.

Indigenous Peoples and Environment

There exists a debate between some scholars as to the relationship indigenous peoples have with their environment. For example, scholars like Shutkin (2000-2001) believe that the lifestyle of indigenous peoples is conducive

to the protection and preservation of environment; there are others like Kastrup (1997) who believe that indigenous peoples have been a cause for causing harm to the environment. This is because of their practices of shifting cultivation which is not always suitable for environmental conservation (Kastrup, 1997). Even when debates exist on whether or not indigenous peoples share a positive relationship with their environment, the fact is that indigenous peoples' share a close bond with the natural environment.

The issue of biodiversity conservation is of utmost importance when discussing environment and indigenous peoples (Tramontana, 2012). There has been quite a change in the concept of conservation as was understood in the initial years to its understanding today. While the initial conservation efforts typically meant the conservation of biological diversity of a region only--- marine biodiversity, species of fauna and flora, etc—humans were neglected altogether. Hence the various conflicts that the world had witnessed in terms of 'protected areas' versus the indigenous peoples was a result of this kind of conservation ideology. The whale conservation regime in the North Arctic region was also a clear example of the continuous antagonism between conservation ideology and indigenous peoples. This was because hunting of bowhead whale for the Inuits of Alaska was not just meant for their physical survival but also had deep cultural manifestations for them (Gupta, 1999).

It was due to the advocacy role of international non-governmental organizations (like World Wide Fund for Nature and, IUCN) that a shift took place in the conservation strategy and it began to recognize the important role indigenous peoples could play in the conservation of lands and natural resources, therefore beginning to see indigenous peoples as important stakeholders in the process. In fact, World

Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) became the first international organization to have a policy on indigenous peoples when it came out with its own 'Indigenous Peoples and Conservation: WWF Statement of Principles' in the year 1996 (WWF, 1996). The idea of 'Community Conserved Areas' (CCAs) originally designed by IUCN in 2008 was also a major breakthrough in this respect. Even though it is not a new concept, however the fact that it not only considers local communities as primary actors responsible for implementation of conservation plans, but also engages them in the process has resulted in a number of benefits for the conservation regime as a whole. However, the failure of state agencies in recognizing the existence and functioning of these CCAs in their national policies is increasingly seen as a challenge in the successful functioning of these community conserved areas (Kothari, 2006).

Apart from biodiversity conservation, climate change is an ever-growing threat for indigenous peoples owing to their proximity to the natural surroundings. The indigenous peoples of the Arctic and island nations are particularly at risk because of this reason. Climate Change has a destructive impact on agriculture, food security, and also leads to loss of biodiversity, thereby acutely affecting the lives of indigenous peoples. Not only does climate change affect their physical habitat, but also has a negative impact on their social, economical, and psychological well-being (Williams, 2012). For communities of Micronesia, for example, for whom navigation and voyaging is a cultural practice, this could be threatened because Micronesia (comprising of 2,000 islands and 60,000 indigenous communities) faces the risk of submergence due to global warming. Indigenous Peoples' Organizations (IPOs) have become particularly active as an effective constituency at the negotiations on United Nations Framework Convention on Climate

Change (Schroeder, 2010). Indigenous peoples from all over the world share their experiences at this table. This has generated awareness about the devastating effects of climate change on indigenous peoples.

What happens when the natural environment in which they have been living since time immemorial becomes endangered, either due to man-made activities or climate change? Following is a brief description of the impact of environmental degradation on indigenous peoples. Schwartz (1993) highlights the impact of hydro-power projects on the lands of indigenous peoples in India, Quebec, and Ghana. In the same vein O'Connor (1994) discusses in detail about the lives of Huaroni people of Amazon devastated by the activity of oil exploration which was carried out by state agencies as well as many private companies in the indigenous occupied lands in Ecuador in early 1990s. In a similar attempt the case of Alberta tar sands in Canada has also been exclaimed as 'the most destructive industrial project on earth', and 'a slow industrial genocide' (IEN, undated). Oil exploration in this region by a range of transnational corporations has resulted in a number of health hazards for the indigenous peoples of the region who developed cancers because of this toxic oil extraction. Apart from this physical destruction of indigenous peoples caused by environmental degradation, indigenous peoples have also been harmed by way of cultural extinction which is also caused by climate change. Tsosie (2007) elaborately talks about this grave threat to the indigenous way of life. Loss of lands not only leads to their destruction but also interferes with the cultural sentiments of the communities in a destructive way. In recent times, the effects of environmental degradation have taken a new form for indigenous peoples. Selin & Selin (2008) describe how the dumping of hazardous toxic wastes enters into the food chain of indigenous peoples by way of transpor-

tation. A number of such toxic substances are found in fish, mammal, and reindeer population in the Arctic region. Because indigenous peoples derive their nutrients through these foods, they also consume intoxicants, which adversely affect their health and pristine way of life. Thus, environmental degradation ruins the lives of indigenous peoples.

NGOs in International Politics

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have been an influential force in the domestic as well as international affairs since the early nineteenth century (Seary, 1996). The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence and subsequent rise of issue-oriented NGOs developed to tackle issues such as slavery, labor rights, promotion of free trade, and promotion of rights of women (Yamin, 2001). This marked the beginnings of NGO presence on the international stage. However, the roles of NGOs were limited at this time. They could neither formally address the sessions of conferences nor issue statements. As compared to the contemporary times when NGOs have much more freedom in organizing parallel summits, disseminating information, distributing pamphlets, and organizing popular resistance, their role in the nineteenth century was limited. Today, NGOs play the roles of agenda –setters, norm-creators, and implementers, but this was certainly not the case in the early nineteenth century when NGOs were just instrumental in mobilizing support for the issues which they raised (Charnovitz, 2006).

The engagement of NGOs in international affairs intensified in the post-First World War period which witnessed a sudden expansion in the interest area of NGOs in areas of finance, trade, drugs, intellectual property, refugees, disarmament, women, and children. This growth of the involvement of NGOs in international issues was slightly ruptured by the Second

World War but after the end of the war and with the establishment of United Nations, the role of NGOs was formalized for the first time in Article 71 of the United Nations (Raustiala, 1997).

Since the early 1990s, NGO involvement has increased manifold in international affairs. Many reasons have been attributed for this. First, the increasing current of globalization is seen as a reason for the recognition of global problems which has resulted in the development of more inter-governmental negotiations, thus creating a new space for NGOs which had not existed before. Second, the cessation of Cold War hostilities has increased the activities of NGOs. Third, the emergence of a worldwide media such as CNN International has provided a new exposure to the NGOs to publicize their views more freely. And last, the proliferation of democratic norms has raised expectations about transparency as well as public participation in the international organizations, thus giving a new lease on life for NGOs (Charnovitz, 1996-1997). The increasing facilities of the Internet and the Web have made the boundaries of states more porous and have also enabled NGOs to foster transnational links (Keck & Sikkink, 1998).

The post-Cold war era has seen NGOs taking active interest in the issues of environment, women, children, refugees, indigenous peoples, and development. These are those issues which the states were not interested in discussing. Hence, NGOs highlighted these issues at the international level. The following section gives an elaborate account of how NGOs made the environmental concerns of indigenous peoples emerge as an international issue.

NGOs and Indigenous Peoples' Concerns for Environment

Indigenous peoples became an international subject of enquiry during the mid-1970s af-

ter the internationalization of their movement, due to the ample support given by local and international NGOs. However, their concerns related to the environment were highlighted only in the decade of 1990s when international NGOs became involved in indigenous peoples' environmental issues at that time. This internationalization of indigenous peoples' environmental concerns could take place due to the advocacy role of INGOs such as IUCN, WWF, Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace International, and Conservation International. An immediate example is the deforestation issue in Brazil. Pieck (2006) talks about the internationalization of the issue of tropical deforestation in Brazil and its impacts on indigenous communities and gives the credit to the awareness that was generated by international campaigning of NGOs. The 'Amazon Alliance' (in Brazil) was formed by small and local NGOs like Rainforest Movement, Coordinating Body of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin (COICA), along with international NGOs such as Conservation International, Oxfam International, and Sierra Club. This alliance had come into being after oil drilling in the forests of the Amazon proved devastating for the local indigenous populations. The success of this network of local and international organizations could be attributed to the series of norms and declarations this alliance produced (Pieck, 2006). Of course these international NGOs forged transnational linkages with local indigenous groups, but the mere presence of these big NGOs helped the movement gain an international audience which had not been the case prior to the involvement of these international NGOs.

It is because of the expert knowledge of these International NGOs that they played an extremely important role in the preparatory meetings of United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED, or

Earth Summit) in 1992 (Charnovitz, 2006). International NGOs such as Greenpeace and IUCN played an important role as agenda-setters in this conference and inserted topics relevant to indigenous peoples in the agenda of the international conference. In fact, it is due to the advocacy by INGOs about the negative impact environmental degradation could have on indigenous peoples, the UNCED for the first time formally recognized the important role indigenous peoples could play in the conservation of the environment and sustainable management of natural resources. This could be seen in nearly all documents that the Conference produced. For example, Principle 22 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 is especially devoted to the positive role indigenous peoples could play in the conservation of lands. Though these are 'soft' laws as they are not binding, they are important precedents which have been laid down by the international community, after diligent efforts made by the indigenous peoples and many nongovernmental organizations, principally the IUCN and WWF. These two NGOs are the oldest in terms of their origins and these are the primary organizations working towards environmental protection. Though their mandates were limited to conservation efforts in the beginning, with time they have evolved and now include welfare of indigenous peoples in their policies.

Based on IUCN's efforts, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) formulated drafts for adoption of a global convention concerned with conservation of biodiversity. This Convention also has important provision for the role of indigenous peoples in the management of biodiversity, mentioned in Article 8 (j). Provisions on indigenous peoples were included after these NGOs lobbied countries, mobilized local victim interests, issued oral statements, publications, and organized confer-

ences (Arts, 2004). Another important development which took place was the adoption of the term 'Cultural Landscape' by the World Heritage Convention in 1992. Taylor and Lennon (2011) have shared their research findings about the impact of inclusion of cultural landscape for the status of the indigenous peoples. This was done after concerted efforts were made by World Conservation Union (IUCN), by way of holding conferences and disseminating information- to not only recognize the important cultural sites of indigenous peoples, but to also include these people in maintaining and preserving their sites. Prior to 1992, preservation of only natural sites was considered important and this preservation took place by constructing national parks and protected areas without taking into consideration the fact that these areas were inhabited by indigenous peoples. In the late 1980s, efforts were made by small conservation organizations spearheaded by IUCN to preserve cultural sites as well. The importance placed on preservation of cultural sites meant that small communities of indigenous peoples who resided in those territories would be consulted in the process of preserving those lands. Uluru-Kata Tjuta in Australia is a peculiar example because it was inscribed as a natural heritage site in 1987. However, after adoption of the term 'cultural landscape' at the global level, this same site was re-inscribed as a cultural site in 1993. This re-inscription as a cultural site demonstrated a positive outcome for the Anangu people of this site who not only got international recognition as traditional owners of the land but their traditional knowledge and their practice to patch burn the country was also recognized as a major 'ecological tool in the park' (Taylor & Lennon, 2011).

Another important document adopted at the Earth Summit, with possible repercussions on indigenous peoples was the 'Forest Prin-

ciples'. The problem of deforestation became a global issue as early as the 1980s, but the inability of states to deal with the issue (because of the ongoing north-south debate) made way for the NGOs to come into the picture (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). Here the lead was taken by international NGOs such as Greenpeace, WWF, and the World Rainforest Movement to campaign about protection of forests and ratifying a global forest treaty. Here the INGOs were credited for 'framing' the agenda in such a way so as to get the interest of the international audience. By linking the deforestation issue with the impact on indigenous peoples, they were able to get the much needed support from the international community. The deforestation issue did not get an overwhelming response from the international community because no binding treaty was signed during the Earth Summit. But a non-binding statement of principles was adopted in 1992 towards sustainable use of forests and recognition of local communities who were residents of those forests. This was done after campaigns were launched by leading International NGOs (Greenpeace and WWF), making pacts with big industries in countries like United Kingdom under the name 'Forests are your business' (Arts, 2004). NGOs were the first to politicize the issue of deforestation and how this negatively affects those who reside therein.

It should also be noted that the Ramasar Convention on the Protection of Wetlands came into existence after a series of technical conferences were organized by International Waterfowl Research Bureau (Charnovitz, 1997). Though it had come into existence in 1972, the role of indigenous peoples was formally recognized in 1999 by way of publication of a report titled 'People and Wetlands: The Vital Link' (Tiega, 2011). This could be achieved after information was disseminated by NGOs such as Wetland International (WI) and World Wetland Network (WWN) on the potential role of local communities towards not only preservation of wetlands but also optimizing these areas for better use. These organizations work with a plethora of national-level organizations.

Having discussed the positive role of NGOs in the field of environment and indigenous peoples, it must also be noted that NGOs do not always play a constructive role as far as indigenous peoples are concerned. There have been instances where INGOs have come into direct hostility with indigenous peoples and their local organizations. The Camisea Gas Project in Peru is a case in point where the interface between local and international NGOs has not been smooth. The indigenous organization COMARU (Consejo Machiguenga del Rio Urubamba) which was protesting against the extraction of gas from the area resided by hundreds of Machiguenga people was not supported by other international NGOs working on the same lines but not with the local organizations. Poor communication between those directly affected and INGOs, in this case, characterized incompatible agendas and this often resulted in weakening of transnational advocacy networks which is so essential for effective functioning of NGOs (Pratt, 2007).

Apart from INGOs, local/national NGOs have also been instrumental in addressing the concerns of indigenous peoples related to the environment. This is particularly true in the case of the Convention to Combat Desertification where state parties not only allowed the presence of NGOs, but also asked for their expert knowledge and recommendations to make the Convention a success. And it is based on the experience of local NGOs that the language of the Convention is based on a bottoms-up approach rather than a top-down one (Corell & Betsill, 2001). In fact it is because of activities of NGOs that a national issue such

as desertification (which occurs within the boundaries of nation states) is now recognized as a global problem. Inclusion of local communities and indigenous groups and ensuring their participation in order to fight desertification is one of the most important provisions of the Convention, inserted after deliberations with local NGOs like Environmental Development Action in the Third World (ENDA) and supported by International NGOs such as Arid Lands International Network (ALIN). In fact, the advocacy efforts of many local NGOs have helped in the development of 'soft law'. The Kari-Oca Declaration and Indigenous Peoples' Earth Charter (adopted in the Global Summit which was held parallel to the main conference) was a result of informal meetings of indigenous peoples, their own organizations, think tanks and other small non-government organizations like the Rainforest Action Network (RAN). This Charter recognized the special relationship indigenous peoples have with their environment and gave a call to the international community to respect the same (Richardson, 2010).

Conclusion

Non-Governmental Organizations have played an effective role in ameliorating the condition and status of indigenous peoples in general, and have also addressed their concerns related to the environment, in particular. The 1970s was a decade when both environment and indigenous peoples emerged as important international issues. And these emerged as important international issues after intensive lobbying activities were carried out by international NGOs as well as indigenous peoples' NGOs. Indigenous peoples share a symbiotic relationship with their environment. This is because not only do indigenous peoples need the environment for their physical and spiritual well-being, in turn the environment also needs

the knowledge of these indigenous peoples for its sustenance. This inter-dependence between environment and indigenous peoples has been brought forward by the activities of NGOs. NGOs have played active roles of agenda-setters, norm-creators, and implementers in the fields of environmentalism and indigenous peoples. However, there is still some lacuna in the functioning of these NGOs. Their aims and motives are not always clear, their accountability is always doubtful. Whether they represent the voices of the otherwise voiceless indigenous peoples is also uncertain. In addition to this the transnational links forged by these NGOs is also not smooth. As is evident from the case of Camisea Gas Project and Amazon issue, the interaction between indigenous and international NGOs is not always smooth. INGOs have a tendency to disappear once their interests fade. Local NGOs, on the other hand, interact with INGOs in order to gain international visibility. The real issue of indigenous peoples seems to get obscured in this process.

Based on the insights gained from this study, it is seen that NGOs have played an important role in highlighting the cause of indigenous peoples at the international level. If not for NGOs, indigenous peoples would not get as much international visibility and attention as they have received in the last decades. In many of the issues discussed in the paper, indigenous peoples mobilized themselves, formed local organizations, and in this process were assisted by some major international NGOs whose association with local causes gave them a much needed international identity. Therefore, it is recommended that more of indigenous peoples' own organizations should be allowed to function in international affairs. Because local IPOs have local knowledge of the issues they face, it would be better if they are allowed to find solutions themselves than

relying on outside support to do the same. INGOs have been and can still continue to represent indigenous peoples, but it is high time that indigenous peoples take on this responsibility and become self-dependent. It is only when more indigenous groups will be visible at the international level that their concerns will be taken seriously. ■

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Structural Oppressions Facing Indigenous Students in Canadian Education

By Anita Olsen Harper and Shirley Thompson

Indigenous students in Canada do not graduate from secondary school at the same rate as their non-Indigenous peers. We argue in this article that the lower graduation rate is due to the many structural oppressions that Indigenous people experience. The authors concentrate on four large-scale oppressions that commonly face Indigenous students: poverty, suppression of their identities, racism and gender violence.

Indigenous worldviews, perspectives and realities are at variance with the country's dominant educational, economic and political institutions and negatively impact the self-esteem of Indigenous students. As well, their sociocultural identities are distinct, and undermined by the stereotypes and specific attributes designated to them. In order to counter these negative conditions and cultivate minopimaatisiiwin which is the Anishinaawpe concept of "living well" and "well-being", we recognize a self-determination framework as essential to Indigenous education. A self-determination framework serves to strengthen Indigenous students' identities to protect against dominant oppressions, foster resilience, and motivate younger generations towards improved educational outcomes.

The Canadian educational system is Euro-centric in origin and has been blatantly aimed at crushing Indigenous peoples and their cultural identities, including their languages (Neeganagwedgin, 2013). This education system needs a drastic overhaul for Indigenous cultural sustainability and for survival of the future generations of Indigenous people in the way of minopimaatisiiwin, which means "good life" in the Anishinaape language. We begin this article by examining the value that Indigenous nations have historically placed on education, and the traditional focus on minopimaatisiiwin. Minopimaatisiiwin results from the wholistic development of the entire human person in the areas spiritual, physical, mental/intellectual and emotional growth. These teachings instill development so that individual and collective self-determination is fostered through fulfilling responsibilities and positive relationships with oneself, family, and all Creation.

In pre- and early-contact times, the Indigenous peoples were self-determining, which included being self-sufficient and self-governing (Ballard and Thompson, 2013). Increasingly, Indigenous populations seek a revival of ways that give back to Creation to ensure sustainability, rather than adhering to practices that constantly desecrate the environment and resources (McGregor, 2016). Indigenous self-determination embodies the right of Indigenous peoples to determine their own economic, social and cultural development (García-Alix, 2003). The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) affirms self-determination within existing states and protection of cultures, institutions of governance, special relationships to the land and traditional economic activities, and representation on all decision-making bodies on issues that concern them (Musafiri, 2012). The right to self-determination of Indigenous peoples is also embodied in the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Coulter, 2010). Self-determination focuses on the right of Indigenous

peoples to define for themselves their Indigenous knowledge systems and to manage and use the lands and resources in their traditional territories to realize what the Anishinaape call minopimaatisiiwin.

Self-determination in contemporary times, because of powerful and continuing impacts of colonialism, has very different manifestations than it did historically. In Western history, U.S. President Wilson introduced the concept of self-determination in post-World War I peace settlements as the war had left deeply divided borders and scattered peoples across Europe. In the sense that Wilson used it, self-determination is rooted in nationalism and the sense of uprooted populations making decisions for themselves, without the input of outsiders (Lynch, 2002). For example, a contemporary state will initiate a narrow definition of self-determination "by focusing on state political/legal recognition of Indigenous peoples as self-governing entities while diverting energies away from more substantive discussions regarding the reclamation of Indigenous territories, livelihoods, natural resources, and the regeneration of community languages and culturally based practices" (Corntassel, 2008, p. 107). As authors, we use the Indigenous concepts of self-determination.

Many Indigenous peoples are now envisioning and crafting educational systems that further the goals of self-determination in spite of outside school systems being specifically constructed by the state to ingrain Indigenous subjugation within dominant societies (Rozon, 2001). A fundamental ingredient of self-determination is education (Lee, 2015; Nakata, 2013) and as such, Indigenous educators, both formal and informal, teach the understanding of their oppressions within contemporary society. This type of education dispels passivity and Western-types of social control; instead, it leads to decolonization, self-sustenance instead of state dependence, and cultural resilience. Alfred (2009) states that it is from political and social activities in defending the land "that many colonized Indigenous people regain knowledge of their history and culture, and the confidence to demand and affect change in their lives and in the larger society" (p. 57).

Through the founding of countries including Canada, Australia, the United States, New Zealand, and others, Indigenous peoples globally have been subjected to colossal losses of their populations, cultures, identities and ways-of-being (Alfred, 2009; Anaya, 2004). They continue to endure and survive the processes of colonization, a commonality that links them in struggles to define and restore their individual and collective identities. In daily lives and realities, Indigenous peoples seek a return, a revival of æons-old traditions that had always fostered minopimaatisiiwin and self-determination (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014).

Educational Attainment of Indigenous People in Canada and Manitoba

The educational attainment of Indigenous people in Canada trails far behind those of non-Indigenous people (Gordon & White, 2014; Richards, 2014) and, in Manitoba, government efforts to address this chasm are largely ineffective. Referring to adults in the 20 to 24 year age-group, Anderson and Richards (2016, p. 3) state that, "… 9 of 10 non-Aboriginals have at least high-school, as do 8 of 10 Métis and 7 of 10 First Nation living off-reserve. In stark contrast, only 4 in 10 First Nation young adults living on-reserve graduated from high school." In 2016, the Auditor General of the Province of Manitoba, Norm Ricard, stated that, "it is particularly concerning that the government's most recent data … shows that, despite the governments' efforts to date, only 55% of Indigenous students are graduating from high school, compared to 96%

of non-Indigenous students; a gap that has widened since 2010" (Office of the Auditor General, Manitoba, p. 1).

Recent census data shows that educational disparity continues and even with greater numbers of younger Indigenous people pursuing post-secondary education than those from previous generations, the pace compared to mainstream Canadians is low (Richards, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2011). Because of low secondary school graduation rates, Indigenous peoples' post-secondary education rates are also well below those of the overall Canadian population. For example, in 2001, only 23% of status First Nations people attained a post-secondary certificate, diploma or degree compared to 40% of mainstream Canada (Frideres & Gadacz, 2011).

Although a formal education is increasingly important for employment and improved standards-of-living (Champagne, 2015; Sharpe, Arsenault, Lepointe & Cowan, 2009; Wakefield, Sage, Coy & Palmer, 2004), many Indigenous students do not graduate for various reasons (Aman, 2009; Robertson, 2003; Spence & White, 2009). Several of these are because of an historic void in Indigenous representation within schools and the overall colonial nature of existing Canadian curriculum (Wilson, 2008; Dickason & Calder, 2006). According to Stonechild (2006), Canada's educational system is assimilative in nature and corrals Indigenous students into an unskilled, seasonal work force that supports the Canadian élite.

Evident in the Canadian educational system, systemic oppression is a dominant group exercising oppression over marginalized populations, such as Indigenous peoples, and exploiting real or imagined differences among them (Alfred, 2005; Dhamoon, 2015; Jimmy, Allen & Anderson, 2015). Oppression is embedded within a society at multiple levels, simultaneously: personal, cultural and structural (Dhamoon, 2015; Freire, 1990, 1994). Structural oppression is institutionalized and sanctioned through social structures, such as religion, government, education, law, media and health care; these institutions formulate policies, regulations, rules, social processes and practices that are consciously normalized. As well, established economic and political networks largely favour a dominant group at the expense of those who are excluded—such as the Indigenous peoples (Freire, 1990, 1994). Most power in Canadian society rests at the structural level, but because individuals are impacted at a personal level, education systems have the capacity to change the lives and outcomes of individual students (Alfred, 2005; Jimmy, Allen & Anderson, 2015). Understanding the players, dynamics and the extent of systemic oppression is necessary for reconciliation, and for emancipation that genuinely facilitates socio-structural change for Indigenous self-determination (Alfred, 2005).

To change this disheartening picture and overcome structural oppression, many Indigenous people are viewing self-determination as a framework to facilitate improved educational offerings within their communities and, overall, to address ethnocentric Indigenous disadvantage (Brayboy & Castagano, 2009; Fallon & Paquette, 2012; Israel Weinstein, 2014; National Aboriginal Health Organization, 2009). They seek a "politics of hope" (Wilkinson, 2005) and educator and activist Paulo Freire speaks of "the need for a kind of education in hope" (1994, p. 87).

In this article, we use the word Indigenous, rather than Aboriginal, even though both these words are used to describe the original inhabitants of what is now known as "North America". Indigenous has become more commonly used in Canada, and one of the federal government's most well-known departments is Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada

(INAC). Many prefer Indigenous over Aboriginal because they see it as representative of the original peoples in a global sense rather than regionally or nationally. However, some writers use the terms interchangeably.

There are three Aboriginal peoples that are recognized in the Constitution Act, 1982: Indians, Inuit and Métis. Section 35(a) of this Act states, "The existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed." Most do not use the term "Indians" in self-reference as First Nation people, although others do. A "status Indian" has a specific legal identity. According to the Government of Canada (INAC, 2013, n.p.) Non-status Indians are First Nations people who have been ineligible for registration under the Indian Act. A non-status Indian may be no less Indigenous than a status Indian, and may identify culturally just as strongly as (or more than) a status Indian. However, because of gender discrimination and the convoluted and ambiguous criteria within the Indian Act (S. 6) as to who is and who is not an Indian, non-status Indians usually have no legal ties to their home reserves and are often excluded from land claims, treaties, and other similar agreements.

Some Indigenous people are adamant that their name is only according to their own language (e.g., in the Mohawk language, all are Onkwehonwe – and not First Nations, or Indigenous, or Aboriginal). In the Anishinaawpe language, most refer to themselves as Anishinaawpe, which means "human being"; the Anishinawpe are called Ojibway in English. The Inuit are home to the Arctic parts of the country. Generally, the Métis are the descendants of people born of relations or intermarriage between Indigenous women and European, mainly French, men; they are of mixed ancestry and have their own history, culture and language, Michif. Not all persons of Indigenous and European origin, however,

are identified as, nor identify with, the Métis. Finally, not all Indigenous people in Canada self-identify as Canadians. They understand the concepts of colonialism and interpret its manifestations as exclusionary of themselves and their accomplishments and do not feel affinity or association with this country.

"First Nation" can also mean the reserve, or the person(s) from that reserve – it never refers to the Inuit or Métis. Reserves are creations of the federal government through the Indian Act, and have no "nation-to-nation" intent as do the treaties that were signed by the various Indigenous groups, mainly in the latter half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). A reserve is a "tract of land, the legal title to which is vested in Her Majesty, that has been set apart by Her Majesty for the use and benefit of a band." Reserves are under federal jurisdiction and historically devised to separate status Indian people into "waste lands", away from an upcoming respectable society of settlers whose power bases were located in cities and profitable lands, such as the prairies for agriculture (Harris, 2002; Stanger-Ross, 2008). The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) is a national advocacy organization on behalf of the First Nations in Canada; it is headed by a National Chief who is elected by its membership chiefs. Not all 634 reserves belong to the AFN, however, but most do.

The article's next section concentrates on specific oppressions that Indigenous students face although there are many more which we do not specifically address in this writing. These tyrannies are overriding themes in literature regarding barriers to self-determination.

Structural Oppressions That Indigenous Students Face

The four structural or systemic oppressions are poverty, the suppression of Indigenous

identities, racism and gender violence; these are salient to practically all Indigenous students. These oppressions are systemic and pose as barriers to Indigenous students' success. For most who face these on a daily basis, these obstacles result in poor educational outcomes. In turn, the consequences of these oppressions further entrench poverty, weaken cultural identities that lead to high suicide rates which, among Indigenous youth, is almost six times greater than that of their non-Indigenous peers (Walls, Hautala & Hurley, 2014). This, as well, exemplifies the failure of education to address deep-seated feelings of inferiority and magnifies a low social status that is already pared down. These obstacles must be adequately understood before they can be addressed; only then can statistics on academic achievement among Indigenous populations start to improve and education can actualize well-being and improve the socio-economic standing and opportunities among Indigenous populations.

Indigenous people in Canada suffer from multiple interlocking oppressions (UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, 2010). Structural oppression results from various deliberate processes that normalize and legitimize institutional, political, cultural, historical and interpersonal dynamics for the purpose of establishing and stabilizing advantage to a dominant group (Taylor, 2013). It produces and reproduces detrimental outcomes to people outside the dominant group. Because Indigenous students do not, and cannot, belong to entitled groups, they are subject to a hierarchical system of inequity, without the privilege and preferential treatment that is reserved for other Canadians (Baskin, 2007).

Poverty

According to the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, the outcomes of colonialism leaves Indigenous peoples "disproportion-

ately ranked among the poorest of Canadians" (Wilson & MacDonald, 2010, p. 3). What remains of traditional livelihoods among Indigenous populations is still being eroded by government-sanctioned industrial activity and resource usurpation in their traditional territories. Therefore, Indigenous students as a serial collective are unquestionably with low socio-economic capital and few cohesive supportive networks (Anaya, 2004; Lahn, 2012). Many Indigenous students are chronically disadvantaged students; they need at least the first step in helping them succeed of ensuring that their basic needs are met (Bray, 2005). Malnutrition is a reality: inadequate resources can mean poor access to high-quality foods and this directly affects how minds and bodies function (Fieldhouse and Thompson, 2012; Thompson, Wiebe, Gulrukh & Ashram, 2012; United Nations, Food and Agriculture Organization, 2014).

All youth of low-income Indigenous families are at increased risk of academic failure because their homes and reserve communities most often lack the resources to prepare them academically (Cottrell, Preston & Pearce, 2012; Brown & Fraehlich, 2012). Health conditions are appalling, too: a CBC report on Neskantaga First Nation stated, "like dozens of other First Nations in northern Ontario, [Neskantaga] does not have safe tap water, houses are crumbling and over-crowded, and there is no high school, so children as young as 13 must leave home for an education" (Porter, 2016). A high birth rate among Indigenous people (O'Gorman & Pandy, 2015; Romaniuk, 2008; Walker, 2003; Wuttanee & Wien, 2009) combined with acutely inadequate housing means that school-age children and youth most often do not have ideal conditions in which to study and do homework. Families living below the poverty level are also more likely to have children with learning disabilities and develop-

mental delays than those with more disposable income (Cappiello & Gahagan, 2009). The relationship between physical environment and learning is known on a general level in that physical safety and well-being are conducive for ease of learning and for supporting optimum student morale (Gaurdino & Fullerton, 2010; Rahman, 2013; Wiltse, 2014).

Many students who leave home reserves to study find themselves suffering because of inadequate food, shelter and clothing. For example, insufficient housing allowances often mean low-rent accommodation in neighbourhoods that are high-risk for gang recruitment and violence. However, difficult and unfamiliar situations can readily arise and students, being away from home in a strange city, are without the means and skills to cope effectively (Fulford and Thompson, 2013). As well as adjusting to culture shock, they are often without a safe, protective environment that includes a loving family ambiance (CBC, 2016). Mackay and Myles, (1995, p. 170) state that, "the greatest factor affecting student boarders who drop out is simple homesickness. Not only do they pine for family and friends, they also long for their accustomed food and lifestyle".

Indigenous students experience high levels of emotional distress, and in attempts to cope, some engage in negative life-threatening activities. These include alcohol and drug experimentation, which exacerbates suicide ideation and death by suicide and other self-destructive behaviours. In Thunder Bay, Ontario, seven students who left their remote reserve homes to attend secondary school, died over a 10-year-period – their deaths unexplained in the largest inquest in the province's history (White, 2015). These deaths demonstrate the extreme circumstances that Indigenous students encounter when they pursue educational opportunities outside their home communities.

Even within reserve schools, students face difficulties that other Canadian children do not. The quality of on-reserve education is often considered inferior because underfunding results in a shortage of material and equipment, and inadequate curriculum (Anderson & Richards, 2016; Macdonald & Wilson, 2013). Bains (2014, p. 4) states that "unlike in provincial education systems, there are no minimum legislated education standards for on-reserve First Nations students". Particularly in the north, schools on reserves are profoundly underfunded and are so impoverished that, like the entire community, often do not have safe drinking water.

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) states that, "First Nations schools are funded under an outdated Band Operated Funding Formula (BOFF) created in 1987. BOFF does not include essential education components such as technology, First Nations language immersion, sports and recreation, student data management systems or libraries" (2012, p. 2). In 2012, the federal government provided nearly double the funding for a First Nation student "attending provincial or private schools than to those attending First Nations schools" (p. 1)[1]. Regarding the Aboriginal and Northern Development Canada's (AANDC)[2] 2012 Summative Evaluation of the Elementary/Secondary Education Program on Reserve, Drummond and Rosenbluth stated that, "British Columbia provides $2,029 and Quebec provides $5,953 more funding for their students than the federal government provides for First Nation students for instructional services" (2013, p. 10). Further, a 2005 joint study by the AFN and Indian and Northern Affairs Canada

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1. This funding goes to the institution that the students attend, not to the individual student.
2. This federal department is is now called Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC).

(INAC)[3] examined the instructional services category of educational funding and found a hefty shortfall to First Nations' reserve schools that was growing over time (AFN, 2012). For both elementary and secondary schooling, the cumulative funding shortfall to FN education was over $3 billion up to 1996, with a shortfall of $620 million in the year 2009-2010 alone (AFN, 2012).

Suppression of Indigenous Identities

Historically, colonial-inspired education was blatantly aimed at molding all Indigenous students into European-acceptable subjects (Deyhle & McCarty, 2007). This has resulted in acute cultural loss and generations of Indigenous people with significantly weakened identities. Contemporary education must now cultivate Indigenous pride and strength in identity because it is essential for student success (Burk, 2007; Lee, 2009) and dramatically increases one's sense of belonging (St. Denis, 2007). Without the security of "belongingness", students are susceptible to social isolation, anomie and loneliness—all of which distract from optimal learning (Furrer & Skinner, 2003). A strong identity facilitates minopimaatisiiwin and the wholistic development of Indigenous youth, particularly because they are situated on the outskirts of prevailing Canadian society and at higher risk of multiple oppressions.

Enhancing collective cultural identity also enhances the likelihood of recognizing opportunities for self-determination and initiates introspection about state dependency (Tauli-Corpuz, 2008). Strong cultural identity is so important that Indigenous cultural practices "became one of the central ways in which courts recognize and protect Indigenous rights under the Constitution" (Eisenberg, 2013, p. 91). Although state-protected cultural rights may be dichotomous to the goals of Indigenous self-determination, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people must both effectively respond and work towards improved coexistence. Developing equity while self-determination is being achieved among the Indigenous peoples can be expedited through appropriate education. Anaya (2004) placed emphasis on the freedom and equality aspects of self-determination; these are translated into freedom from dominant society's racism towards Indigenous people, and freedom from violence through a revision of gender relations.

For true knowledge production and reconciliation, school curricula must include an acknowledgment not only of colonial history and its intent, but also its present-day impacts on Indigenous identity and show the strengths of Indigenous peoples. Curriculum planners can counter the intergenerational processes that have divested the Indigenous peoples of the ways they passed on culture and language by constructing counter-hegemonic, fluid and transformative activities that empower and recognize Indigenous epistemologies. Some of these ways are by language reclamation, Indigenous heritage self-representation, utilizing various media to capture traditional oral storytelling, promoting healing in health-related topics and integrating spirituality into contemporary contexts (Demmert, Soleste Hilberg, Rawlins, Kamanä, French & Johnson, 2014; McCarty & Lee, 2015). Freire (1990, p. 175) stated that, "What the educator does in teaching is to make it possible for the students to become themselves". Indigenous people have always wanted their children educated and well-prepared economically for the present and the future (Royal Commission on Aborigi-

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3. The previous name for AANDC was Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC).

nal Peoples, 1996; Saunders & Hill, 2007).

An example of the need for strong identity is from Nunavut where rapid changes have been devastating to all Inuit, especially since the mid- to late-1940s when the Cold War era began. During this period, American military presence and political influence combined with Canadian exploitation of natural resources in the Arctic and, to the detriment of the Inuit, led to their forced relocation into permanent settlements (Diubaldo, 1992). To this day, there are uniquely debilitating effects on boys and men that relate to identity and gender roles from their older societies, for while many Inuit women's and girls' roles have transferred comparatively readily into the newer Western ways, those of men have not. Many Inuit men continue to suffer from subsequent identity dislocation in the contemporary economic world, and the new images of men from a Western perspective have little to do with life in the far North as they experience it (Stairs, 1992). This means that reinforcement of self-confidence and self-worth in Inuit males' identity is difficult, both individually and collectively. There is difficulty in being neither modern nor traditional (Légaré, 2002); transitional images often emerge blurred and ambiguous (Dorais, 1997; Patrick, 2008).

Looking at outsider views of First Nations, Inuit or Métis is often not helpful, either (Ball & Simpkins, 2004; Seale & Slapin, 2005). This outside perspective tends to be critical and expressed without the understanding of Indigenous cultural values and does not reflect the role that the foundation of colonialism is playing in the lives of these populations (Francis, 1992; Lischke & McNab, 2005). Such ethnocentric portrayals alienate youthful populations from society – whether it is Western or Indigenous society. Alienation perpetuates struggles for a clear self-identity and eats away at an individual's sense of well-being within everyday social, familial and educational contexts

and relationships.

Finding the right place for self-development among Indigenous youth within educational systems that is congruous to their sense of self may be extremely difficult, especially without guidance from Elders, or strong role modeling. Students need strong social relationships to help build an unshakable cultural identity – this enhances their well-being and sense of individual self-determination (Kulchyski, Angmarlik, McCaskill & Newhouse, 1999). Self-acceptance and self-awareness in the context of strong cultural identity should be a part of course offerings (Demerath & Mattheis, 2012; Harthun, Dustman, Jumper Reeves, Hecht & Marsiglia, 2008). As well, programs are needed for students to enhance their historical grounding, traditional practices and tangible concepts of their economic futures, and should include the participation of trusted Elders, leaders and mentors.

As part of their education, Indigenous students must teach themselves (and, where possible, each other) how to negotiate success within two epistemologies: their own, and that of the dominant society (Kerwin, 2011). For example, Professor Stonebanks (2008, p. 14) observed:

> *My students, Cree students who are registered in McGill's teacher training program, who when asked the question, "Who discovered North America?" answered "Christopher Columbus". When pressed with the same question again, they repeated Columbus, and then changed their answer to Cartier, trying to give it a more Canadian feeling. Finally, one student said, "Oh, you want the real answer." It was a strong indication of how they felt that their "real answers" were not acceptable in the school setting, even in higher learning.*

This passage indicates that Indigenous students know what is academically correct and factual according to colonial-inspired education (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004). This clash in knowledge reveals the difference from what they know as truth (Pløger, 2001; Torres, 2010) – that no one "discovered North America" since they themselves had always lived here – and the right answer in state education. Indigenous students also live with the pressure of having to prove they at least empathize with the serial collective called "Canadians" when their life experiences have shown that Canada does not value them and their histories as the First Peoples (Castleden, Daley, Sloan Morgan & Sylvestre, 2013).

Indigenous students are not given formal instruction on how to deal with the long-term suppression of their histories and identities with its corresponding dichotomies and ambiguities in mainstream educational curriculum (Aikenhead, 2001; Harrison, 2007). They are left to cope on their own. Indeed, the EuroCanadian method of addressing Indigenous ontologies and epistemologies has been to relegate them as primitive curiosities and irrelevant in a "modern world" (British Columbia Teachers' Federation, 2002; Howe & Lisi, 2013). This approach is condescending and ill-conceived, but convenient for educators. By virtue of only their identity and as casualties of colonialism, Indigenous students can become unwittingly enmeshed in mental and intellectual contortions because they have learned to be dismissed, not only at a singular, but also as at group levels (Aboriginal Education Research Committee, 2010).

Whole generations of Indigenous people have been discounted. An outcome of this type of empirical knowledge, both formal and informal, creates linkages within the entire People to turbulence from the oppressions into which they were born. Their realities are often overwhelming grief and loss for a heritage and traditions of another distant life that had always provided refuge, structure, knowledge and cultural and spiritual reality (Thompson, Ballard & Martin, 2014). They can now only view that legacy which they would have inherited, had it not been for the onslaught of colonialism, through a dark glass, and never come to live it out.

An essential as spirituality is to minopimaatisiiwin and wholistic development in Indigenous philosophy (Wotherspoon, 2015), it is not given credence in the classroom (Manitoba Education & Youth, 2003; Stonechild, 2016). Most courses, though, can be taught in the context of a rich sense of spiritual place since kinship relationships with the earth and land are fundamental to the students' lives. As such, common Indigenous spiritual worldviews should be reflected in the classroom, on both physical and spiritual levels (Bala & Joseph, 2007; Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2006). Acknowledging the cosmology of the First Peoples demonstrates respect for the belief in the anti-anthropocentric place of humans within Creation and the teachings on rights and responsibilities towards and from Creation (Grieves, 2009; Ritskes, 2011). Indeed, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) Calls to Action Report (2015) states that, "respecting Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination in spiritual matters, including the right to practice, develop, and teach their own spiritual and religious traditions, customs, and ceremonies" (p. 5), and "the need to respect Indigenous spirituality in its own right" (p. 7).

Racism

In Canada, racism towards Indigenous peoples is increasingly documented. Manitoba, in particular, has been identified as being discriminatory against Indigenous peoples with Maclean's designating Winnipeg as "Canada's most racist city" (Macdonald, 2015). By rac-

ism, we adhere to Memmi's explanation:

> *Generalizing definition and valuation of differences, whether real or imaginary to the advantage of the one defining or deploying them and to the detriment of the one subjugated to the act of definition whose purpose is to justify hostility and assault (2000, p. 100)*

As Macdonald (2015) indicates, Indigenous parents' and relatives' anxieties about their children going missing or being murdered is rooted in the violence of racism—particularly because those rates are much higher than for non-Indigenous children. The TRC's Calls to Action Report (2015) identified racism as a key issue and called for anti-racism strategies; key to those in education are on Aboriginal history, the history of colonization, the treaties and Indian residential schools as well as overall inclusive Aboriginal-focused curriculum (TRC, 2015). These educational revisions are necessary to counter the racist discourses and negative stereotypes perpetuated against Indigenous peoples by colonial powers through the media and other means (Rovito & Giles, 2016) because they are damaging to Indigenous students' identities. Certainly, mass media plays a formative role in constructing and reproducing Canadians' perceptions and understandings of the social realities (Knopf, 2010) that significantly contribute to poor self-worth among Indigenous students. These elements are a large and visible part of the structural and institutional racisms that make up the lived realities of Indigenous peoples.

In Canada, the federal Indian Act (1876) legalized racism against what it labelled "status Indians". This Act also established the reserve system, which physically enforced isolation of the First Nations from the rest of the emerging EuroCanadian society, and set

the example for the apartheid regime in South Africa (Kirmayer, Simpson & Cargo, 2003; Sayers, MacDonald, Fiske, Newell, George & Cornet, 2001). Long-standing state-approved racializing practices and policies resulted and have situated Indigenous people who make up about 4.3% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2015) as "other" relative to dominant Canadian society (Rhee & Subreenduth, 2006; Schick & St. Denis, 2005).

Racism has become institutionalized in education, evident in the chronically-under-funded education offered in reserve schools (Drummond & Rosenbluth, 2013) – sites in which contemporary Indigenous generations have inherited a colonial legacy of active racism (Mills & Clarke, 2009). As well, research is clear that the lack of education and employment opportunities accessible to Indigenous people plays a significant role in relegating Indigenous identities into further racial inferiority (Bernhardt, 2015; Galabuzi, 2008; Lock Kunz, Milan & Schetagne, 2000). In the context of Brade, Duncan and Sokal's statement, "… education is the most frequent vehicle to societal advantages such as wealth and power" (2003, p. 236), Indigenous students are surely at the forefront of racialized educational structures that work at excluding them from the prospect of sharing the advantages offered by the Canadian state (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009).

While many school districts and public schools recognize the failure of the education system regarding Indigenous academic achievement (Mendelson, 2006), little overall has been established to improve these outcomes, many of which result from racism (B.C. Teachers' Federation Aboriginal Education, 2002; Wane, 2009). Silver and Mallett (2002) report that, "The incidence of overt forms of racism—name-calling and stereotyping, for example—is high. Institutional

forms of racism are common" (p. 3). Elevated high-school drop-out rates are only one of the outcomes of racism against Indigenous people (Gibson, 2015; Huff, 2000). Deyhle (1998) observes that racism impedes Indigenous students' educational and economic opportunities and that "racism is a reality they live with daily, to ignore this is to place responsibility on the individual for identity problems of low self worth, alienation, and helplessness" (p. 4).

Gender Violence

The rates of gender violence against Indigenous women and girls in Canada is very high. According to Statistics Canada's 2004 General Social Survey (GSS), Indigenous women over 15 years of age are 3.5 times more likely to experience violence than non-Indigenous women. Indigenous women are very susceptible to all forms of gender violence as well as intimate partner violence (IPV): sexual assault, rape, sex trade work, sexual harassment and sex trafficking. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) state (2015, p. 3), "Police-recorded incidents of Aboriginal female homicides and unresolved missing Aboriginal females in this review total 1,181 - 164 missing and 1,017 homicide victims." Also, 24% of Indigenous women reported having been assaulted by a current or former spouse while the corresponding number for non-Indigenous women is 7% (Scrim, 2013). The long-term ill-health outcomes for IPV victims, including children who are the beginning of succeeding generations, are numerous: mental disorders, PTSD (including hypervigilance, heightened anxiety, sleep disturbances, eating disorders), chronic headaches, low self-esteem and poor self-confidence, and addictions (Dutton, 2009; Riel, Languedoc, Brown & Gerrits, 2016; Stampfel, Chapman & Alvarez, 2010).

Gender violence is patriarchal; it enforces control and maintains structural inequalities mostly between partners, through violent behaviours. A frequent type of gender violence is IPV by a man against his female partner (Simister, 2012), but it is also a woman against her male partner. In light of the extremely high incidence of IPV in Indigenous communities (Johnson, 2012; Pedersen, Malcoe & Pulkingham, 2013; Pope, 2004), educating for self-determination in the context of freedom from personal violence is very important.

Violence has always cemented alliances and complicities (Kebede, 2001; Robertson Cremer, 2008). In this case, colonialism initialized a conjoined oppression against women, particularly on reserve lands in relation to the disempowerment of gendered traditions, and the onslaught of misogyny. Turpel (1993) observes that the private and public divisions of gender and power are deeply intertwined with the history of imperialism and colonization, and that violence against women within the home ensures their long-term oppression. For these reasons, Western-based gender roles and understanding the journey of their intrusions into Indigenous cultural territory is important for youth to learn (Emberley, 1996). Youth must be taught that IPV is not traditional to Indigenous cultures and that its roots are in colonialism which found a site for dominance by disrupting the existing structures of Aboriginal populations, such as traditional gender roles (Olsen Harper, 2011). Indeed, the diminished status placement of Indigenous female bodies, are "an important site for achieving colonial rule and male relations of governance" (Emberley, 2001, p. 71). Gender history can help Indigenous youth recognize and unlearn harmful gender stereotypes and help reverse the production of gender that makes male privilege and power appear natural, rather than it being deliberately socially structured, produced and reproduced.

Anderson and Umberson (2001) observe that the accomplishment of gender is perpetuated by "cultural beliefs about underlying and essential differences between women and men, and social structures that constitute and are constituted by these beliefs" (p. 359). Stein (1999) emphasized the importance of teaching about gender violence in schools: "My research over the past two decades on peer-to-peer sexual harassment has confirmed that schools may well be the training grounds for domestic violence through the practice of and permission for sexual harassment" (p. 112). While such insights may be too intense for young children, they can still be involved in identifying gender prescriptions in media with which they are already familiar.

Foundational curricula can be established in earlier schooling so children can sequentially develop and link to deeper gender awareness and understanding for later ages and grades (Grant & Sleeter, 2009). As well, the exploration of various specific Western-based expressions that ground the inferiority and subjugation of women into cultural norms can be informally queried at any time among students (Genz, 2012). The values, ideals and suggestive prods that emerge from popular gendered portrayals meant for children and youth should be seriously examined and questioned. Skilled instructors can help students recognize the existing gender arrangements that enable bullying and violence, particularly in this age of social media which technologically facilitates gendered violence against mostly women and girls and is increasingly accessed by the very young (Henry & Powell, 2015). Maracle (2003) envisions the creation of "safe spaces for both genders to develop" (p. 77) and encourages educators to form environments that foster open and respectful communication between males and females, places that are conducive for further understanding of traditional gender and gender roles.

The legal categorizations of an "Indian" as defined in the Indian Act can become a study in gender discrimination against females that is relevant to all Indigenous communities. Creative teachers can help youth locate themselves within federal legislation, and develop curriculum that is interesting and personally involves students through a study of their placement in the Indian registry. From a broader perspective, such discussions can help students realize the violence of the Indian Act and also the resilience of the First Nations in withstanding the extermination efforts embedded therein. The journey from state-imposed identities to sustaining an internally-derived collective sense of identity must be known by all youth. This is an important part of an educational framework based on self-determination.

A Self-Determination Framework for Education

Educating the mind and life-style towards minopimaatisiiwin is a part of self-determination (Smylie, Olding & Ziegler, 2014); it is land-based and encompasses a people's epistemology, ontology and axiology (Brant Castellano, 2000). Papillon (2008), in his writings about the Cree Nation of Eeyou Istchee and the Inuit of Nunavik, emphasizes that "quality of life involves more than income and standard of living. For example, a healthy body and environment, as well as a supportive community, are increasingly considered integral to a good life" (p. 5). The concepts of health and well-being among the Whapmagoostui, a Cree First Nation in Quebec, are related directly to the land – specifically, it is the actual living off the land as a daily practice for meeting livelihood needs. Other aspects of well-being are strong social relationships and an unshakable cultural identity. Their own word for "well-being" directly translates as "being alive well" (Adelson,

2000, pp. 14-15). Native historian and philosopher Donald Fixico (2003) discusses the central place that the concept of balance plays in the interpretations of this word:

> Balance is between two things or more and it is the purpose in life for American Indians whose philosophy is inclusive of all things in the universe. At least five kinds of balance exist: (1) balance within one's self, (2) balance within the family, (3) balance within the community or tribe, (4) balance with external communities, including other tribes and the spiritual world, and (5) balance with the environment and the universe. (p. 49)

Education has always been the means through which cultural understandings transfer from generation to generation (Terán Maigua & Gutierrez-Gomez, 2016); among Indigenous peoples, it can help reverse colonial processes and move towards minopimaatisiiwin – what activist and educator LaDuke calls "continuous rebirth" (1999, p. 51). Brady (1997) discusses several activities that are germane to educational systems that lead to Indigenous self-determination: she identifies the overarching principle of controlling or governing an education system as the most salient of these. From historic times when the First Peoples were autonomous and self-determining, Indigenous people had been skeptical of European-based educational systems because of their own views about the purpose of education. For example, in 1744, the chief of the Iroquois Confederacy, Red Jacket (Seneca), was offered the gift of having six of his sons educated at Williamsburg, Virginia, a highly-prestigious educational facility in the EuroAmerican society. His response, from Carroll (Ed., 1997) was:

> We are convinc'd, therefore, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily But you, who are wise, must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things; and you will not therefore take it amiss if our Ideas of this kind of Education happened not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it Several of our Young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods, unable to bear either Cold or Hunger, knew neither how to build a Cabin, take a Deer, nor kill an Enemy, spoke our Language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for Hunters, Warriors nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, who' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take care of their Education; instruct them in all we know, and make Men of them. (p. 240)

This passage shows the Chief's belief that a mainstay of education was to provide youth with the capacity to meet their socio-economic needs in their own homelands. The graduates of the Williamsburg college, however, were not taught the skills to meet their basic livelihood needs from the land as their forefathers always had. Specifically in reference to graduates of the new system who could not build a cabin, kill a deer for food or defend themselves and their families—their outside education failed them and their entire People. Their cultural knowledge was also lacking since they, "spoke our Language imperfectly", and language is

imperative in the formation of self-identity (Corbiére, 2000; Norris, 2011). Education, from an historic Indigenous perspective, was meant to equip individuals with the strategies to live well within one's cultural heritage, and to show respect to those with different conceptions of life (Ma Rhea, 2015; Regan, 2011; Stairs, 1992).

Self-determination includes the implementation of multiple traditional cultural practices into education and community efforts (Ladner, 2009) and considers cultural and linguistic priorities (Audlin & Abbott, 2004: Ballard, 2012; Ballard, Klatt & Thompson, 2012; Kulchyski, McCaskill & Newhouse, 1999; Wall & Arden, 2006). Because self-determination is intertwined with respectful processes for Indigenous knowledge and knowing, it is imperative for sustaining socio-economic development, building capacity and fostering resilience. Indigenous governance has been defined as "the way in which a people lives best together" or "the way a people has structured their society in relationship to the natural world . . . seeing themselves as a part of the circle of life, not as superior beings who claim dominance over other species and other humans" (Ladner, 2003, p. 70).

Conclusion

Considering the impact of all decisions on the next seven generations is a tenet of the Great Law of the Haudenosaunee, and a governing ethic of many First Peoples in Canada. Pertaining to education, Indigenous teaching and learning must be re-conceptualized and re-imagined in such a way that the next seven generations will reap well-being and, according to the Anishinaawpe people, minopimaatisi-iwin. Clearly, addressing the multiple oppressions which impose barriers for Indigenous students in post-secondary and all education will result in higher educational achievement

and vastly improve minopimaatisiiwin among Indigenous individuals and communities. On a national level, all Canadians must be conscious of changing the dynamics that perpetuate the conditions that lead to the dire socio-economic status existing in most Indigenous communities today. Support, advocacy and changed environments are needed by Indigenous youth as they set out to make their way in the world, for they are part of the cycle of perpetuating the seven generations. Indigenous youth epitomize the will and resilience of all Indigenous peoples to survive the measures of colonialism, and to thrive into the future.

Strengthening personal cultural identity is vital to minopimaatisiiwin, which is cultivated by wholistic learning, and this is recognized by many youth living on reserves. In an interview conducted by the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), for example, INAC Minister Bennett stated, regarding her visit to Attawapiskat, a First Nation that suffers chronically from numerous social problems, including high suicide rates:

> *What was so clear was that youth wanted to focus on identity, their opening remarks were about their identity, about secure personal cultural identity, how they wanted to be back in touch with their culture, they wanted to be out on the land, they wanted to get the feel of fishing, and hunting and being able to live on the land . . . bringing back hope and bringing a way forward." (April 20, 2016)*

Education must actively involve the land-based, culturally-compatible practices that have always been the foundation of self-determination among the First Peoples. These ways-of-doing, beliefs and principles are an antidote that, over time, will address the oppressions that prevent Indigenous students' strong

educational achievement. Only by restoration of ancient traditions in a current context can Indigenous people renew their relationships with the land – a life-enhancing outcome that strengthens communities, and veers away from the ills of the grossly inadequate education that is offered to today's Indigenous people.

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Fourth World Nations in the United Nations?

By Rudolph Rÿser, PhD

The United Nations will in its 70th General Assembly consider a resolution on the modalities, criteria, and policies for the participation of indigenous institutions in the UN Organization. It will decide whether representatives of nations will in fact become active and consequential participants in the General Assembly. Furthermore, the decision will affect the Economic and Social Council, the various standing committees, and perhaps treaty bodies as well. That this decision will be made comes more than 370 years after the formation of the modern state system—that essentially denies the political legitimacy of Fourth World nations. That lack of political legitimacy may change significantly in 2017.

The UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) provided a key principle asserting that indigenous peoples must participate in decision-making that affects their interest and their rights on the international stage. The principle is supposed to apply to the centralized governments of UN Member States as well. In 2014, the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples (WCIP) set out specific mandates for the UN as measures to implement key principles such as the right of free, prior, and in-formed consent that indigenous nations should enjoy. This right, the principle affirms, must be applied in advance of international bodies and states' governments producing policy and practices in legislation, administration, and judicial matters. Political legitimacy may come to Fourth World nations in 2017. The active process of considering and implementing direct and consequential participation of indigenous nations and other indigenous institutions in the deliberations of the United Nations began in

2014. The long process may be finally settled in September 2017.

Accountability for implementing the UND-RIP by the United Nations is lead by the President of the UN General Assembly. There is no enforcement of any agreement that requires states' governments to implement the same provisions now so actively pursued by the UN General Assembly President. Yet, it cannot be denied that legitimate steps are being taken to invite the 1.3 billion[1] indigenous peoples of more than 6,000 nations into the international community as active participants.

Throughout eighteen months, the UN General Assembly President has engaged in consultations with indigenous non-governmental organizations and a small number of indigenous governments and states' governments. The purpose is assess what steps can be taken to "enable the participation of indigenous peoples' representatives and institutions in meetings of relevant UN bodies on issues affecting them."[2] What is actually meant by this expression is yet to be determined, but it is an effort following the principle enunciated in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Article 18:[3]

Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own

indigenous decision- making institutions.

This effort to "enable" nations to participate in dialogue and negotiations with other nations, UN Member States and representatives of multi-lateral organizations is laudable. But, there is a rather long history in the international community of excluding the voice of the world's nations from international decisions. Given this history (parts of which I recount below), we will do well to keep a skeptical eye on the process even as deliberate steps are taken to advance the process begun by the UN General Assembly and its presidents.[4]

Will Fourth Nations "join" the United Nations with the ability to veto UN decisions or Member State decisions that may have an adverse effect on the rights and interests of a nation or various nations? Will these nations only be permitted to offer their views, but not negotiation decisions? Can the United Nations, other multi-lateral "state" bodies and UN Member States act reliably and honorably to respect Fourth World nation's rights and authorities to block decisions or advance decisions in accord with the principle of free, prior and informed consent? Will UN Member States accept the denial of consent (access to

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1. The United Nations claims that there are 370 million indigenous peoples, but this figure is used as a matter of bureaucratic blindness resulting from some states such as Russia and China claiming they have no indigenous peoples and the United States claiming that only the American Indians, Alaskan Natives and Hawaiians it recognizes can be counted. (In the US the recognized population is about 1.7 million whereas the actual self-identifying population is in excess of 5 million people.)
2. Letter from UN General Assembly President Mogens Lykketoft, 27 April 2016 to "All Permanent Representatives and Permanent Observers to the United Nations. New York.

3. UN General Assembly (2007). United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. UN General Assembly: New York.
4. The UN conducted a Plenary Session of the UN General Assembly in September 2014 giving the two-day session the title of World Conference on Indigenous Peoples. The one-day session devoted to considering the language of an "Outcome Document" urged Member States to mandate specific actions to implement the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." The "action plan" included a mandate for the UN to identify a way for indigenous peoples to participate in "relevant UN bodies on issues affecting them" and underscored the importance of the principle of Member States and the UN itself to obtain the free, prior and informed consent of indigenous institutions in advance of approving policies or practices that affect the rights and interests of any particular indigenous nation or nations.

forests for development, storage of nuclear waste, for example) if that is the decision of a Fourth World nation?

The following discussion examines some relatively significant markers in international relations between Fourth World nations and international states. I briefly review the development of nations' laws and the modern state; and clarify the difference between nations and states and their respective political legitimacy in international law. I consider the UN General Assembly President's consultations on the topic of enabling indigenous nations and other institutions to participate in UN meetings on issues affecting them. Finally, I offer specific proposals made to the UN President and to the UN Permanent forum on Indigenous Issues that will be submitted to the United Nations General Assembly 70th Session for consideration in 2017.

History as Prelude

Not since the 17th century have indigenous nations played a political role in the international dialogue about the destiny of human society. Nations dominated the world's discourse along with empires for centuries until the brief period between 1648 and 1848 saw the transformation of multinational communities into centralized states. In 1973 the human family almost silently, but perceptibly, began to open up to a renewed dialogue that would engage nations—fully 19 percent of the world's population—in a discussion about the rights and roll of all peoples in the international community irrespective of their size, history, language, or culture. With a simple decision to study the "situation of indigenous peoples" the United Nations Commission on Human Rights then designated José Martinez Cobo, as Special Rapporteur, to undertake the "Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples." At that point the UN began a more than forty-year process aimed at including indigenous peoples in the global human rights regime.[5] Cobo's study became the foundational piece for the eleven-years of work by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations[6] and it was that body that wrote the first draft of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The UN Human Rights Council made modifications and then adopted the new Declaration and sent it finally to the UN General Assembly. The UN General Assembly adopted the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in September 2007. As a result of a Plenary Session byof the UN General Assembly that would be called the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples in September 2014, the United Nations formulated a work plan for implementing principles and mandates contained in the UN Declaration.

Nations have throughout history sought to resolve disputes by diplomacy or by war to achieve a political end. As the Prussian General and military theorist Carl van Clausewitz (1780-1831) wrote in his volume On War (1832), "War is merely politics by other means."[7] Before there were states or empires,

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5. Cobo, AM. (1983). Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations. United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.8. 30 September 1983. (Originally authorized by decision of the Sub-commission in 1971).

6. The United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations was established as a five-member body under the responsibility of the Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights that was the main subordinate body of the Commission on Human Rights (made defunct in 2006 and replaced by the Council on Human Rights – and elevation of the body in the UN system.

7. Clausewitz's original text in Chapter 1 Section 24 of On War was first translated into the English as, "We see, therefore, that war is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse carried on with other means. What remains peculiar to war is simply the peculiar nature of its means." It was later translated as "War is merely politics by other means." in the Princeton University Press edition in 1976.

there were mainly nations. Their contacts and struggles with each other essentially defined what would later be known as the law of nations that became the title even later for four books by the Saxon Minister to Bern, Switzerland, Emmerich de Vattel.[8] Vattel's Law of Nations essentially defined the structure of what is now the modern international environment. The first chapter of the first volume immediately defines "A nation or a state is, as has been said at the beginning of this work, a body politic, or a society of men united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by their combined strength."[9] The first volume chapter spells out the roll of "public authority" as the sovereign power of a nation or a state, thus providing a clear understanding of how the "body politic, or society of men" exercise their will. The language of the 18th century provided for the existence of both nations and states and by virtue of this reality allowed that some entities were understood to be nations and yet others were understood to be states—both of equal authority. These ideas affirm that in modern international relations nations preceded states, but in time states achieved a new status with Vattel's work and yet others, as the 19th century approached with theorists such as Clausewitz.

Between Nations and States

Nations are classically defined as "A people, or aggregation of men, existing in the form of an organized jural society, inhabiting a distinct portion of the earth, speaking the same language, using the same customs, possessing historic continuity, and distinguished from

other like groups by their racial origin and characteristics, and generally, but not necessarily, living under the same government and sovereignty."[10] This definition flows from Vattel's 1775 definition and draws on the *Latin* definition of *gent* (family, clan, people, folk), and *natio* (being born, tribe, the nation). In other words, "nation" in law and language defines the organic relationship between individuals comprising a "people." Fourth World nations are, therefore, Fourth World peoples.

The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia[11] classically defines states in the international sense. As a treaty intended to end the Thirty Years War and regularize the economic policy of protection and public credit, it was essentially a policy of *fair trade* as opposed to *free trade*. In other words, the Treaty establishing the modern definition of the state created artificial structures to settle economic competitions that gave rise to war resulting from the Austrian Hapsburg Empires' predatory Central Banking controls in the 17th century. The Treaty established that a state shall have: 1. a sovereign independent of other sovereigns (¶ 1), 2. an internal policing or military capacity to ensure security (¶ 19), 3. recognition by other states (¶ 2), 4. possess specific boundaries (¶ 19), and 5. maintain the Catholic religion as chosen by the sovereign or a Protestant chosen by other sovereigns. Black's Law defines the *state* thusly: "A body politic, or society of men united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage, by the joint

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8. Vattel, E de. (1758) The Law of Nations or the Principles of Natural Law in Four Books. Translated into English by Joseph Chity, Esq. (1833). The electronic edition © 2003, 2005 Lonang Institute.
9. p. 26

10. Black, HC (1910) Black's Law Dictionary (2nd Edition). West Publishing Company (Thomson Reuters: Minnesota.
11. Treaty of Westphalia," (http://www.tufts.edu/departments/ fletcher/multi/texts/ historical/westphalia.txt); "Das Verfassungswerk des Westfälischen Friedens 1748-1711," in Arno Buschmann, ed., Kaiser und Reich: Klassische Texte zur Verfassungsgeschichte des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation vom Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahre 1806 (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984), 285-590. Translation © David M. Luebke [based on the British Foreign Office translation of 1648]

efforts of their combined strength."[12]

Plainly, one can see that while theorists and scholars recognize the precedent set by the nation, efforts to describe and explain the *state* are readily dependent on the definition of *nation*. While they are similar, they are not the same. The nation springs from the organic relationship between members of a *people* seeking security, whereas the state is a social construct resulting from agreements between warring parties eager to solve economic and religious problems—seeking security.

As centralized states began to assume major dominion over international relations by the middle 19th century (owing to their capacity to centrally control military and economic forces) the understanding of what a nation entails merged with the idea of the state, thus reducing the actual nations to subordinate parts of states. Thousands of nations became submerged in the struggles between newly formed states. They found themselves challenging long established empires (British, Russian, Spanish, Ottoman, Prussian, numerous African empires including the Buganda, and the Ethiopian Empire and the Qing Dynasty in China as well). As empires melted away by the beginning of and during the 20th century, states came into their full weight. The Great War provided the explosives to ignite destruction of virtually all recognized empires and Europe, Asia, Russia and eventually the United States of America imposed the system of states through the formation of the League of Nations (though the USA did not join).

Despite all of this rapid transformation of human societies into centralized states and subordinate *suzerains* the world continued to sustain the existence of thousands of nations—albeit submerged nations and bisected

nations by newly formed states' boundaries. Today, those nations comprise more than 1.3 billion people.[13]

More than ninety-three years have passed since the Haudenosaunee sent Cayuga Sachem Deskaheh to Genève, Switzerland to obtain membership in the League of Nations for his people.[14] The Cayuga Sachem's initial objective was to achieve restitution and settlement of a Haudenosaunee claim against the Commonwealth of Canada.[15] A jointly signed letter by Delegates from Estonia, Ireland, Panama, and Persia petitioned the Assembly to permit Haudenosaunee membership.[16] Through Canada's direct interference into the internal affairs of the Haudenosaunee and Britain's connivance in the international arena the League of Nations Council was prevented from actually considering the four state Haudenosaunee petition.

Again in 1945 the Haudenosaunee sought to petition the international state system for admission as a full member of the human family through the newly formed United Nations at the San Francisco organizational meeting. Once again, they were denied—even though the signatory states and the UN Charter explicitly affirmed, "…friendly relations between nations based on respect for the principle of

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12. Black, HC (1910) Black's Law Dictionary (2nd Edition). West Publishing Company (Thomson Reuters: Minnesota)

13. This assertion originates with a 1990 estimate by the Center for World Indigenous Studies Fourth World Atlas Project that documented nations as small as 150 people to nations as large as 25 million. Linguists who have documented more than 7,000 different languages have largely confirmed the Center's documentation.
14. September 1923.
15. The Commonwealth existed under the tutelage of the British Crown and was not itself a state, but a political entity created by the United Kingdom. It would not become a state until 1982 when Pierre Trudeau "brought the Constitution home from England" while remaining a part of the British Commonwealth.
16. Lepage, P. (1994). "Indigenous Peoples and the Evolution of International Standards: A Short History." in Aboriginal peoples: toward self-government. Edited by Marie Léger; translated by Arnold. Montréal: Black Rose Books. pp. 3–6. ISBN 1-551640-11-2.

equal rights and self-determination of peoples."

Since then Haudenosaunee efforts to open the door to "…friendly relations between nations …." some movement has occurred in international bodies granting a modicum of respect for nations.[17]

UN Enabling Participation Consultations

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted including two operable principles:

Indigenous peoples have the right to participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures, as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous decision- making institutions. (Article 18)
and,
States shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them. (Article 19)

The United Nations decided in April 2010 to convene a Plenary Session of the General Assembly in September 2014 to consider specific measures intended to implement the

UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. In response the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues proceeded to take steps to organize participation in what would be called the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples.[18] Seven regions of the world were organized to produce recommendations to the UN General Assembly for agenda items and decisions.[19]

These principles were incorporated into the

17. Indigenous nations have participated in climate change negotiations (with very limited effect), changes in Intellectual Property Rights Convention protocols, development of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, development of the International Labor Organization Convention 189 as a replacement for the 1950 convention, and with very limited influence development of the Inter-American Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Populations.

18. See: http://www.un.org/en/ga/69/meetings/indigenous/#&panel1-1

19. As a result of that invitation the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues put out a call through a Global Indigenous Peoples Coordinating Group to organize regional meetings of indigenous peoples (Africa, South and Central America, North America, Pacific Region, Asia, Arctic, Europe & Russia and two special bodies the Women's Caucus and the Youth Caucus) to develop, over a period of two years, proposals for action issues to be considered by the World Conference. The regional meetings were held and more than 400 representatives from the regions and caucuses convened the Global Indigenous Preparatory Conference for the High Level Plenary Meeting of the United Nations that would be known as the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples in Sami Territory, Alta, Norway. The meeting produced the Alta Outcome Document on 12 June 2013 that including recommendations to the World Conference under four main themes:
• Indigenous Peoples' lands, territories and resources
• United Nations system action for the implementation of the rights of indigenous peoples
• Implementation of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
• Indigenous Peoples' priorities for development (free, prior and informed consent).
Under Theme 2 the Alta delegates recommended to the UN General Assembly' World Conference on Indigenous Peoples that it advance the proposition, "the creation of a United Nations body with a mandate to promote, monitor and review the implementation of the rights of Indigenous Peoples, including but not limited to those affirmed in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and that such a body be established with the full, equal and effective participation of Indigenous Peoples." This specific recommendation was incorporated in the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples Outcome Document adopted by the UN General Assembly on 22 September 2014 stating: "[Members of the General Assembly] commit to consider, at the 70th session of the General Assembly" a plan and "any concrete proposals" to "enable the participation of indigenous peoples' representatives and institutions" in meetings where decisions are being taken that affect the rights and interests of indigenous peoples.

Outcome Document of the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples.[20][21] Members States (except Canada) approved the document containing twelve specific UN Organization and Member States' commitments by consensus. These commitments include to:

• Consult and cooperate with indigenous peoples, appropriate measures at the central government level, including legislative, policy and administrative measure to achieve the ends of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (7).

• Cooperate with indigenous peoples, through their own representative institutions, to develop and implement countrywide action plans, strategies, or other measures to achieve the ends of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (8).

• Promote and protect the rights of indigenous persons with disabilities and improve their social and economic conditions (9).

Work with indigenous peoples to disaggregate data as appropriate, or conduct surveys, and to use whole indicators of indigenous peoples' well being (10).

• Ensure equal access to high-quality education that recognizes the diversity of the culture of indigenous peoples (11).

• Ensure that indigenous individuals have equal access to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. (13)

• Promote the right of every indigenous child, in community with members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, professes and practices of religion and language (14).

• Support empowerment of indigenous women and their organizations (17).

• Intensify our efforts, in cooperation with indigenous peoples to prevent and eliminate all forms of violence and discrimination against indigenous peoples and individuals—in *particular, women, children, youth, older persons and persons with disabilities*—strengthening laws, policy and institutional frameworks (18). [Italics added]

• Develop with indigenous peoples concerned, *and where appropriate* policies, programs and resources to support indigenous peoples' occupations, traditional subsistence activities, economies, livelihoods, food security and nutrition (25). [Italics added]

• Consider, **at the 70th session of the General Assembly, ways to enable the participation of indigenous peoples' representatives and institutions in meetings of the relevant United Nations bodies on issues affecting them, including any concrete proposals made by the Secretary General** (33). [Emphasis added]

• Respect the contributions of indigenous to peoples to ecosystem management and sustainable development—including knowledge arising from hunting, gathering fishing, pastoralism and agriculture as well as their s*ciences, technologies and cultures*. (35) [Italics added]

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20. High-level Meeting of the General Assembly: The World Conference on indigenous peoples: The World Conference on Indigenous peoples. 69/. 22 September 2014. UN Headquarters, New York City, NY.

21. In April at the request of the government of Bolivia the United Nations Third Committee agreed by consensus to convene a United Nations Plenary Session to be named the World Conference on Indigenous Peoples to consider an action plan to implement the 2007 Declaration. At the request of the UN General Assembly President and Member States' governments, Indigenous peoples were invited to begin organizing their participation or contributions to the UN Plenary Session that would be scheduled for September 2014.

It is noteworthy that the Outcome Document paragraphs specifically identifiable with UN Member States and not specifically an action by the UN Organization (7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17, and 25) fall to the UN Member States' governments and tangentially to the UN itself. Despite this, the primary work focusing on implementing the UN Declaration has fallen to the United Nations organization. The UN can only implement if the Member States agree. There is no current documentation indicating the extent to which states' governments have implemented the nine specific commitments.

Following the UN General Assembly Mandate Para. 33, General Assembly President Mogens Lykketoft (Denmark) organized a four-member advisory body to compile proposals and recommendations submitted between March 2016 and July 2016 as a special electronic consultation concerning the enabling of indigenous peoples to participate in the United Nations. The advisors were to include Permanent Representatives to the UN Ambassador Kai Sauer (Finland) and Ambassador Martha Arna Akyaa Pobee (Ghana); joined by Professor Claire Charters (Ngāti Whakaue/ Australia) and former UN Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Indigenous Peoples Professor James Anaya (Apache and Purépeche).

After three consultations ending in April 2016, the Advisory Panel had received twenty-six statements and submissions concerning the topic of "enabling indigenous peoples' participation in the United Nations." Of these submissions the Advisory Panel received documents distributed between nations, states, and non-governmental organizations illustrated in Table 1 (at right):

While five states delivered statements to the UNPGA invitation to consult on the question of enabling indigenous participation in the United Nations, six nations and fifteen non-

governmental organizations were among the contributors." In other words, the consultation conclusions drawn up by the UNPGA Advisors in July 2016 essentially reflected comments and suggestions from written submissions from March 2016 through April 2016 and then during "face-to-face" consultations on 11 May and two additional face to face consultations on 18 May and 30 June of 2016. In addition the UNPGA Advisors held meetings with UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Victoria Tauli-Corpuz),[22] Mr. Alexey Tsykarev, Chairman-Rapporteur of the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples;[23] and unspecified members of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and representatives of UN Member States.

The UNPGA Advisors outlined in general terms divided opinions between states' government representatives and the views of nations and most of the non-governmental organizations. Negotiations will be needed to settle the sometimes wide held views. The focus of comments and recommendations emphasize were submitted under four focal criteria:

> 1. Procedures and modalities that will make the participation of indigenous peoples' representatives meaningful and effective.

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22. Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples reports to the Council on Human Rights, seeks to promote "good practices" by states governments dealing with indigenous peoples and assesses human rights violations and conducts studies on the rights of indigenous peoples. Ms. Tauli-Corpus is the former president of Tebtebba Foundation (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education) in the Philippines. (See: http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/IPeoples/SRIndigenousPeoples/Pages/SRIPeoplesIndex.aspx)
23. The Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was established under the Council on Human Rights in 2007 with five members. Mr Alexey Tsykarev is from the Karelia Republic in the Russian Federation.

Fourth World Nations in the United Nations?

Table 1: Nation, State & Contributors to 2016 UNGA Consultations

Type	Number	Identity	State of Origin
Nations	6	Inuit Circumpolar Council	Denmark
		Maritime Aboriginal Peoples Council – Intergovernmental Body	Canada
		Sami Parliament & Sami Parliamentary Council	Finland, Norway, Sweden
		Vagahau Niue Trust and Pacific Women's Indigenous Network – Free Associated	New Zealand
		Wakerahkats:te, Iakoiane Mohawk Nation (SKennen Aken:hak)	Canada/USA
		Yamasi	USA
States	5	Australia	Australia
		El Salvador	El Salvador
		Kingdom of Denmark	Denmark
		Russian Federation	Russian Federation
		The United States of America	USA
NGO	15	Association of American Indians	USA
		Center for World Indigenous Studies	USA
		Confederación Nacional de Mujeres Campesinas Indígenas Originarias de Bolivia	Bolivia
		Confederación Sindical única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB)	Bolivia
		Council for the Rights of the Saraguro People	Ecuador
		El Tambo, Huanacayo	Peru
		Elleyada, Autonomous non-profit organization (Republic of Sakha-Yakutia)	Russian Federation
		Indian Law Resource Center	USA
		Indigenous Peoples Conferences	The Philippines
		International Indian Treaty Council	USA
		National Congress of American Indians, Native American Rights Fund (Joint Statement)	USA
		Saami Council	Finland, Russia, Norway & Sweden
		Sámi Education Institute	Sweden
		Southeast Indigenous Peoples' Center (Yamasi)	USA
		West Papua Interest Association	Indonesia
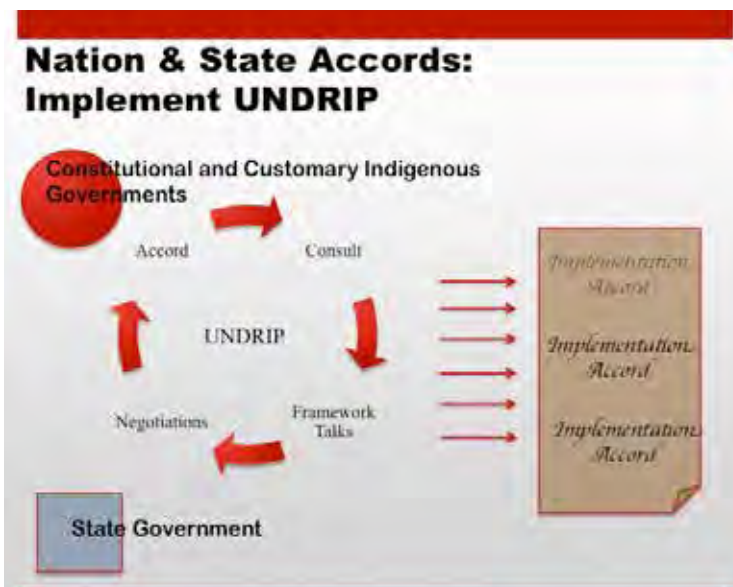
2. Criteria for determining the eligibility of indigenous peoples' representatives for accreditation.

3. Nature and membership of a body to determine the eligibility of indigenous peoples' representatives for accreditation.

4. Details of the process, including the information required to be submitted to obtain accreditation as an indigenous peoples' representative.

The Advisors reported in July 2016 the general flow of opinions, comments, and suggestions indicating from time-to-time that there "is a convergence," but often indicating that there are significant differences in the submissions. The Advisors summarized their findings and here (Table 2, pp. 77-80) I condense them to indicate their emphasis.[24]

It remains unclear at the publication of this article whether Fourth World nations will be engaged in negotiations among themselves, with non-governmental organization, or with states' governments to settle differences as to Fourth World nation participation. It may be that the UN Member States will finally decide that it is "their" organization and they should decide who could participate. It may be that since some indigenous nations are larger than many UN Member States in population, they may be recognized to have a significant part in deliberation about their participation. The exchanges with the UNGAP Advisors clearly suggests there are wide differences in perspective and positions between Fourth World nations and some Member States. Yet, it is also apparent that there are some criteria for participation where there is agreement or near agreement that can serve as a basis for further discussion.

One thing is quite certain; the questions will not actually be *(continues on page 78)*

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24. Condensed from the United Nations from the Advisors' report to the General Assembly: "Compilation of views on possible measures necessary to enable the participation of indigenous peoples' representatives and institutions in relevant United Nations meetings on issues affecting them, and of good practices within the United Nations regarding indigenous peoples' participation." UN General Assembly (27 July 2016) A/70/990 70th Session.

Table 2: Nation & State UN Participation Consultation Perspectives: Advisor's Summary   *(1 of 4 pages)*

Focal Criteria	Nation Perspectives (including NGOs)	State Perspectives (including NGOs)
1	The need for enhanced forms of participation for indigenous peoples in UN bodies affecting them	Support expressed for a separate category of participation in the UN-the UN system does not naturally or sufficiently accommodate the participation of indigenous peoples as indigenous peoples in UN bodies
Potential Agreement	Indigenous peoples' participation at the UN should not fall below that of ESOSOC-accredited non-governmental organizations and, further, should not in anyway undermine existing unique procedures permitting the participation of indigenous peoples' organizations in the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.	General Agreement
	Focus in this process is on the establishment of a new and unique category for indigenous peoples' participation in the General Assembly. Advice received indicates that the General Assembly has the authority to do so * * * it is potentially discriminatory to exclude indigenous peoples from an invitation to observe the General Assembly when other non-state actors have an invitation to observe the General Assembly. * * * these issues can be managed just as the participation of non-state-actors is managed in, for example, the ECOSOC and Human Rights Council and their respective subsidiary bodies. For example, spaces for indigenous peoples' speaking in the General Assembly might be managed by procedures setting out specific times and a set number of speaking spots for accredited observer Indigenous peoples' organizations. These speaking slots might be, under one suggestion, allotted by regions (understood from an indigenous-regions viewpoint).	Granting of observer status in the General Assembly should be confined to states and to those intergovernmental organizations whose activities cover matters of interest to the Assembly * * * the need for coherence and consistency in treatment of non-state actors and their rights to participate in the UN as well as how a new category might impact on the participation of indigenous groups and/or NGOs in the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and the Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. * * * Indigenous peoples are not states and thus should not be accorded a so-called "permanent observer status", which is similar to the view that the intergovernmental nature of the UN, and in particular participation in the General Assembly, should be maintained.
	Almost all issues addressed in the UN affect indigenous peoples. Many also maintain that indigenous peoples' representative institutions and organizations should have the right to participate in all UN bodies which indigenous peoples themselves judge to affect their interests. * * * the need to ensure that indigenous peoples' representative institutions from all regions have in practice and in principle the same rights and capacity to participate in the UN.	Some are of the view that mechanisms to enable unique forms of participation for indigenous peoples should be first established in only some UN bodies such as the ECOSOC, the Human Rights Council and their subsidiary bodies. * * * The clearer and stricter the rules and procedures to accredit indigenous peoples' institutions the more likely there would be agreement on enhanced levels of indigenous institutions' participation in the higher-level UN bodies such as the General Assembly.

Table 2: Nation & State UN Participation Consultation Perspectives: Advisor's Summary   *(2 of 4 pages)*

Focal Criteria	Nation Perspectives (including NGOs)	State Perspectives (including NGOs)
2	Specific forms of indigenous participation in the General Assembly should be consistent with those of the vast majority of current holders of observer status in the General Assembly, namely inter-governmental and other organizations. This would include, for example, the right to speak, but not the right to reply, the right to take initiatives or the right to vote. Others referred to the need for adequate seating and access to documents for indigenous peoples' representative institutions. *** specific times and a set number of speaking spots for accredited observer indigenous peoples' institutions could be created. *** Indigenous peoples should be including in resolution drafting and negotiation sessions in all relevant bodies of the UN. *** that indigenous representative institutions should be afforded some priority as representatives of peoples when issues especially relevant to indigenous peoples are addressed	Indigenous peoples should not be included in formal meetings for drafting negotiations on resolutions in the General Assembly context. *** Indigenous peoples' institutions should not take priority over ECOSOC accredited non-governmental organizations in speaking order or seating arrangements in the ECOSOC or Human Rights Council. ***
Potential Agreement	At a minimum, indigenous peoples' modalities of participation at the UN should not fall below that of ESOSOC accredited non-governmental organizations.	At a minimum, indigenous peoples' modalities of participation at the UN should not fall below that of ESOSOC accredited non-governmental organizations.
3	Establishment of a new body to recognize and accredit indigenous peoples' representative institutions as eligible for a new category of participation. Suggestions in this regard included that the new body would consist of both Indigenous peoples representatives and states or, alternatively, indigenous and state appointed independent experts *** new accrediting body be balanced by geographic area – including equality in membership of individuals from the global North and global South – and gender representation.	To qualify as an indigenous peoples' representative institution, state approval must first be obtained *** the accreditation body be composed of mainly states and/or the use of a "non-objection" procedure. *** a two-step process with recommendations from a new Indigenous accreditation body being reviewed by the General Assembly with the final decision resting with the General Assembly.
4 Partial Agreement	Qualification for a new category of participation should center on indigenous peoples' representative institutions. *** institutions should be limited to indigenous governance institutions while others express that such representative institutions should be understood broadly and flexibly to include different types of organizational structures.	Qualification for a new category of participation should center on indigenous peoples' representative institutions.

Table 2: Nation & State UN Participation Consultation Perspectives: Advisor's Summary   *(3 of 4 pages)*

Focal Criteria	Nation Perspectives (including NGOs)	State Perspectives (including NGOs)
	Disagree with any attempt to define indigenous peoples or their institutions in any way. * * * Many indigenous peoples have multiple representative institutions within and across states and regions. There are often layers of representation that include local, regional, state and international levels	Indigenous peoples' representative institutions are required, citing ILO Convention No 169 criteria. * * * if states have a greater or final say in determining accreditation, there is less of a requirement for a definition
Partial Agreement	Indigenous peoples and their representative institutions need to be distinguished from non-governing organizations, organizations composed of indigenous voluntary members or non-indigenous peoples' organizations. The point was made that it would undermine indigenous peoples' governing institutions if other types of indigenous organizations were entitled to the same category of participation. * * * global indigenous peoples' institutions such as indigenous women and youth organizations should be eligible for enhanced participation in the UN system.	Indigenous peoples and their representative institutions need to be distinguished from non-governing organizations, organizations composed of indigenous voluntary members or non-indigenous peoples' organizations. The point was made that it would undermine indigenous peoples' governing institutions if other types of indigenous organizations were entitled to the same category of participation. * * * global indigenous peoples' institutions such as indigenous women and youth organizations should be eligible for enhanced participation in the UN system.
Difference between indigenous representatives	Should be confined to governance institutions, including governing councils, parliaments, and traditional authorities, while others claim that not all indigenous peoples' representative institutions can be accurately described as governing, in some cases because of the impact of colonization and/or dispossession, and should not be denied eligibility as a result. Some maintain that eligibility should extend to organizations that represent more than one indigenous people.	That eligibility does not extend to indigenous organizations that may be able to apply for ECOSOC accreditation as non-governing organizations but that do not actually represent indigenous peoples. Another expressed the view that one indigenous people might be represented by more than one indigenous peoples' representative institution and that there should be flexibility in accommodating multiple forms of indigenous peoples' organizational structures.
Partial Agreement	State recognition of an organization as representative of an indigenous people, although a relevant factor, should not be a prerequisite for eligibility for accreditation as an Indigenous peoples' representative institution. Many took the view that a necessary factor for qualifying as an Indigenous peoples' representative institution is that they genuinely represent one or more people/s that self-identifies as Indigenous. Other factors cited as relevant include that the institution represent a people with ancestral connections with their lands, territories and resources, who share history, language and culture, who exercise the collective rights of the people and who have the authority to practice self-government and, where relevant, who have entered into treaties, agreements or other constructive arrangements	State recognition of an organization as representative of an indigenous people, although a relevant factor, should not be a prerequisite for eligibility for accreditation as an Indigenous peoples' representative institution. Many took the view that a necessary factor for qualifying as an Indigenous peoples' representative institution is that they genuinely represent one or more people/s that self-identifies as Indigenous. Other factors cited as relevant include that the institution represent a people with ancestral connections with their lands, territories and resources, who share history, language and culture, who exercise the collective rights of the people and who have the authority to practice self-government and, where relevant, who have entered into treaties, agreements or other constructive arrangements

Table 2: Nation & State UN Participation Consultation Perspectives: Advisor's Summary   *(4 of 4 pages)*

Focal Criteria	Nation Perspectives (including NGOs)	State Perspectives (including NGOs)
	Indigenous peoples' representative institutions should have the exclusive authority to designate their own individual representatives in accordance with their own procedures but the said representatives should have appropriate credentials from the institutions that they represent. Similarly, there is support for the view that their own constituents should recognize Indigenous representatives as such.	Indigenous peoples' representative institutions should have the exclusive authority to designate their own individual representatives in accordance with their own procedures but the said representatives should have appropriate credentials from the institutions that they represent. Similarly, there is support for the view that their own constituents should recognize Indigenous representatives as such.
	Requested more information about the financial implications of the proposals to enhance indigenous peoples' participation at the UN pointing out that the budgetary implications of enhanced participation need to be considered. Others considered that, while relevant, the financial implications should not be a stumbling block on the road to enhanced participation for indigenous peoples at the UN.	

On the basis of what the General Assembly President's Advisors concluded, it may be fair to note that if there were negotiations between Fourth World nations representatives and UN Member States' representatives about the proposals there may be potential agreement in two areas, partial agreement in three areas and diametric opposition on one topical proposal. That results in five of twelve areas where there is a possibility for discussion and seven topical areas where there is fundamental disagreement. This could be an opening for negotiations "if there are negotiations."

resolved in one year - or even ten. It is clear, however, that Fourth World nations are moving to obtain a seat at the table to participate in dialogues with other nations and with states to assess what is to be done to achieve war and peace. ■

About the Author

Dr. Rÿser is the Chairman of the Center for World Indigenous Studies. He served as Senior Advisor to the President George Manuel of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, Advisor and Speechwriter to Quinault President Joe DeLaCruz, a former Acting Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, and a former staff member of the American Indian Policy Review Commission. He holds a doctorate in international relations, teaches Fourth World Geopolitics through the CWIS Certificate Program (www.cwis.org). He is heading up a special study on indigenous governance in the Middle East. He is the author of "Indigenous Nations and Modern States" published by Routledge in 2012.

Uyghur Meshrep Culture and Its Social Function

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ABSTRACT

The Uyghur Meshrep, as a specific cultural symbol, possesses great ethnocultural significance and it serves an important social function complementary to Uyghur people's customs of production, livelihoods, beliefs, rituals, and festival celebrations. The Uyghur Meshrep is referred to as the "Moral School" or "Art School" by Uyghur people. Knowledge of the Uyghur Meshrep culture is helpful for further understanding the unique culture of the Uyghur people.

Key Words: Uyghur; Meshrep; social function

Uyghur Autonomous Region

The majority of Uyghur people in China live in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (abbrev: Xinjiang), which is also named after the biggest minority of this region. With a territory of over 1,664,897 sq. km, Xinjiang is the largest Chinese administrative division. Located in the northwestern border of China, Xinjiang borders the countries of Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. The extremely rugged Karakoram, Kunlun, and Tengritagh mountain ranges (Chinese: Tian Shan) occupy much of Xinjiang's borders, as well as its western and southern regions. Xinjiang also borders the Tibet Autonomous Region and the provinces of Gansu and Qinghai. Urumqi is the capital city of Xinjiang, Uyghur Autonomous Region. Taklimakan Desert, which is the largest desert in China, and Turpan Basin, which is the lowest land below sea level in China, are all in the Xinjiang Region. Xinjiang has a typical temperate continental climate which is dry in the southern part of the region and rainy in the northern region – with an average annual temperature of 10.4 C° (50.72 °F) and average annual rainfall of 190mm. Wheat, corn, cotton, and silkworm cocoon are

Figure 1: The location of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

its main crops. It abounds in long staple cotton and fruits such as grape, melon, apple, pear, and licorice root. The most well-known route of the historical Silk Road ran through the territory from the east to its northwestern border. In recent decades, abundant oil and mineral reserves have been found in Xinjiang, and it is currently China's largest natural gas-producing region.[1]

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1. Starr, Frederick (ed.) 2003. Xinjiang: China's Muslim Frontier. (Central Asia- CaucasusInstitute Monograph Series, I.) New York, London: M.I. Sharpe.

Although Xinjiang has a vast territory—more than 4.6 times that of Germany—only about 4.3% of Xinjiang's land area is fit for human habitation. With a population of 22.64 million (2013), it is home to a number of ethnic groups including Uyghurs (47.45%)[1], Han (37.99%), Kazakhs (7%), Hui (4.6%), Kirgiz (0.9%), Mongols (0.8%), and a small percentage of Russian and other nationalities.[2] These ethnic groups have lived harmoniously in this region and each have distinct cultures. The Uyghur Meshrep culture is one of the most popular of these cultures.

Uyghur Meshrep Culture

A Meshrep (Uyghur: مەشرەپ) is a traditional male Uyghur gathering that typically includes "poetry, music, dance, and conversation within a structural context", and unique to its own social group depends on the participants' age group such as young adults or a mixed group of all ages and genders. Uyghur Meshrep is supplemented by a variety of comedy performances in the form of mass entertainment. It combines singing, music, dance, games and is widely spread among the Uyghur people in the north and south of Xinjiang as an integral part of Uyghur traditional folk entertainment. Meshrep typically include music of the "Muqam"[3] variety and ad-hoc tribunals on moral questions. Traditionally, Meshrep were only held on the harvest, weddings, circumcisions, and girls' comings of age ceremonies.

1. This percentage indicates the portion of whole population in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.
2. Statistics Bureau of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. Xinjiang Statistical Yearbook (2014). China Statistics Press, 2014.
3. The Uyghur Muqam is the general term for a variety of Muqam practices widespread among the Uyghur communities in Xinjiang. It has developed four main regional styles, namely the Twelve Muqam, Dolan Muqam, Turpan Muqam and Qomul Muqam. The Muqam includes songs, dances, folk and classical music and is characterized by diversity of content, choreography, musical styles and instruments used.

Each Meshrep consists of a leader (yigit bashi, an older man), a disciplinarian (passhap begi), and 30 younger men (ottuz oghul), who sit on a carpet according to seniority. As the Meshrep is primarily a male bonding event, the women and children of the host's family are to stay inside the house and only interact with the men to bring them food or to otherwise serve them. Music is an essential component of the Meshrep, and during the Meshrep, men play progressively faster Muqam melodies on the dutar (two string pear-shaped long-necked lute), while others compete to see who can perform whirling circle dances for the longest period of time. Some Meshreps also feature songs, skits, and lectures from religious leaders.

Meshrep is very popular among the Uyghur peoples' holidays, festivals, weddings, and friendly gatherings. As Meshrep is rooted in strong local characteristics, it has many forms. Despite these variations, they share an intimate relatedness. The famous local Meshreps are "Qatar Chay" (rotate tea) and "Seyle" (tour) in Kashgar, "Barawet" (Dinner Party) in Atush, "Kok" (Green Seedling) in Qomul, "Dadur" (Soybean) in Turpan, "Qarliq" (First Snow) in Ili, "Kachung" (Place name) in Yarkend, "Chipan" (Place name) in Qarghiliq, and "Dolan" (Place name) in Mekit. Uyghur people say that "life without Meshrep is no vitality" (Dawut 2003). Thus, Uyghur people have to organize Meshrep when an occasion is regarded as worth celebrating. Though Meshrep might be regarded by outsiders as sheer entertainment, it holds strong social and cultural functions among the Uyghur people.

Meshrep and Mood Regulation

Dance serves an important function for human beings. As people cannot engage in never-ending work; they have created recreational activities (at the appropriate time) that mediate mind and body. Given that humans are often

Figure 2:
The comic performance on the Meshrep.

under physical and spiritual oppression in daily life, accumulated repression can become a destructive force that attacks the body and mind. During the Meshrep activities all people sing, dance, and/or play—as performers or audience members. In this way they can eliminate fatigue and emotional catharsis, make friends, and achieve the purpose of regulating mood and body.

In the countryside of Kucha region, there is a version of Meshrep called "cockfighting game Meshrep" which has been handed down from generation to generation. It is generally held in the period of planting and harvest season when peasants are tired of farm work. They gather in a large courtyard or an orchard to watch the cockfight and then perform the Meshrep. The peasants sometimes perform Meshrep frankly in the farmland in order to relieve the fatigue via entertainment. Typically, the Dolan people organize Meshreps during the idle time of winter, as well as in the busy

farming season. With the Meshrep, they believe that they can alleviate fatigue and reduce stress in their lives.

Kok Meshrep in Qomul is also intended to add variety to boring, long winter days. As winter days approach, every family in the hamlet will bring a green seedling of wheat, barley or garlic. Whichever family has grown the best seedling has the right to invite neighbours, relatives, and friends to organize "Kok Meshrep" at their home. The people usually play drums and the Ghijek (local music instrument) to perform Qomul Muqam and dance. During the Meshrep, people like to tell jokes, sing songs, and dancing. The dancing skills involve unique steps, rhythms, and formations as well as figures such as flower-picking by mouth, bowl-carrying on head and imitation of animals in solo dances. At the end of the Meshrep, the host dances two circulations with a plate of green seedling on their hand, and then gives it to someone who will prepare the

Figure 3:
Men singing
songs on the
"Dolan Meshrep"

next Meshrep.

Uyghur Meshreps enable farmers to endure amidst the hardships of stressful labor. This is why Uyghur people hold Meshreps in such high regard, whether they are older or younger, man or woman. In addition to various forms of Meshreps, there are folk Muqam which is also very suitable for performances in special environments. For example, Dolan people who live in the desert or swamp area are away from home for a long time when they need to gather firewood or to herd. During the long and lonely journey, they mostly like to sing at the top of their voice, so as to disperse the bitter loneliness. People usually like to sing the "Chol Bayawan (Desert) Muqam" of the "Dolan Muqam." Similar to the Meshrep, Muqams are rooted in folk like and have rich contents and diverse forms. The performing style is also lively and flexible; it combines singing, walking and dancing. Its relaxed, lively, and humorous characters that are expressed by the

artistic forms are handed down from generation to generation, and it becomes not only the primary means of adjusting the pace of life but also the essential spiritual nourishment in the oasis society.

Meshrep as Education

Meshrep serves as the carrier of culture and occupies an important position in an individual's socialization process. The Meshrep is regarded by the Uyghur people as "folk art school"; it not only carries various folk arts from generation to generation, it also produces new kinds. These folk arts have been verified in public activities, and continue to be improved upon and perfected. Through Meshrep activities, people are educated in art, morality, and social norms early in life. Children grow up listening to Meshrep music, attend dance venues, and understand the social relationships and various social etiquette via various

Figure 4:
The "Green seedling Meshrep" in Qomul Region

games in the Meshrep. Therefore, the Meshrep is a school where people - especially young people - learn traditional morals, folk customs, and ethnic indigenous knowledge. In addition, community members receive education in self-temperament concentrated in the expression of Uyghur kindness, modesty, sincerity, friendliness, modesty and other characteristics.

The process of giving a Meshrep has many moral rules: go to Meshrep with a gift when one is invited; warmly welcome guests; men and women are courteous to each other; show respect and etiquette for new customers; consciously give way to the elderly; guests ask the current situation of one another; obey seating and diet rules; do service; do not speak dirty words and taboo language; avoid verbal abuse, self-praise and loud noises; salute each other during the dance; politely invite a dance-partner (man, woman, young or old); keep a proper distance from the dance-partner; dance one-to-one; give thanks by bowing each other

at the beginning and at the end of dance; do not ballroom dance or play bizarre games; do not smoke; do not make trouble… and so on. Having a cheerful and pleasant Meshrep is the core moral norms of Uyghur Meshrep. These moral norms lead people to be honest, sincere, fair, and noble. Therefore, the moral norms of Meshrep are the best and most vivid classroom for educating the young people.

Every Meshrep has its own strict and mature rules and disciplines, and they are established on the basis of the social laws and regulations. The community has accepted and followed them in deference to the moral norms and traditional customs. The rules of the Meshrep ensure every Meshrep is held in accordance with the requirements and certain procedures on the one hand, and maintain social moral norms and restrict social deviance on the other hand. Therefore, the rules and disciplines of the Meshrep are an effective method for maintaining social order, and edu-

Figure 5: Comic punishment of those who violate Meshrep rules.

cating the young on local customs and ethnic culture. If someone violates the rules and disciplines of the Meshrep by doing any kind of impolite behavior, he will be "punished" severely. The impolite behaviors are: be late; destroy the dancing order; make in violation of morality; unexcused leave; absence in turn of the Meshrep…and so on. The various games and theatrical performances, which combine punishment and education, teach young people how to behave, how to live with others, and how to deal with the problem. In this way, Uyghur young people are educated to obey the rules and the discipline; not do things against the customs; distinguish right from wrong; be conscious about justice, fairness, and equality before the law; and be able to recognize lack of self. Thus, they can complete the basic knowledge for future socialization and becoming a real member of the ethnic group.

The Meshrep produces various new songs that are full of entertainment and a sense of life. Songs narrate the difficulties of life, praise the labor and harvest, and express the longing and desire to love. In all, they express the people's feelings and love for life. The Muqam texts also include important elements on moral education and dissuasion. For example, the preface of the "Dolan Muqam" indicates such dissuasions:

> Even if you have a position like Solomon, do not be proud,
> The modesty should stay with you, give respect to others.
> The people never forget the one who throws his bread to the water,
> Evil person and wicked things are always cursed by the people.

There are abundant elements that involve such enlightenment and ethics. Meanwhile, Meshrep disciplinary rules are in accord with the social norms and morality, and play an active role in improving the young people's character and emphasizing their ethnic or group identity.

Meshrep and Group Solidarity

The folk Meshrep has the social function to strengthen the solidarity of ethnic groups or local communities, and moderate the relationship between individuals and between individuals and the group. Aside from Meshreps in wedding ceremonies, people spontaneously gather

Figure 6:
Collective dancing on the Meshrep in the field.

at nights to organize parties as Meshrep. This kind of Meshrep not only plays an important role in exchanging useful experiences of life, strengthening mutual understanding and awareness in a joyful and peaceful atmosphere, and increasing the friendship among group members, but also provide a good place for young men and women to meet and to find a partner for love. The merit-based principles of Meshrep encourage members to follow in everyday life. The major virtues included respect for parents and elders, maintaining strong family ties, being good to neighbors, caring for children, being well-mannered, offering hospitality to guests, visiting the sick, being patient and sincere, and greeting people correctly (Campo 2009). For example, in the "Chillaq Meshrep" (Kucha region), the "Chillaq" means "invite guests" in Uyghur. The hospitable people in Kucha have a Meshrep tradition that the dwellers of a village invite the dwellers of a neighboring village to hold a Meshrep—a tradition that still continues. At the beginning of the Meshrep, the hosts will stand up to dance and invite the guests to dance,

then sing and dance together. The guests will also find a suitable time to invite the host villagers to hold a Meshrep in return. In this way, the villagers foster the friendship and mutual cooperation among the villages and create a harmonic atmosphere.

The "apologizing Meshrep" is a special form of Uyghur Meshrep that eliminates misunderstandings, begs forgiveness, releases grudges and mediates the relationship between two people. If there is a divide between group members because of mistakes or misunderstanding, they will hold an apologizing Meshrep to rehabilitate the former good relationship after they find a mediator. At the beginning of the Meshrep, the one who made the mistake publicly offers an apology to the other, using the traditional way of handing over a cup of tea in a saucer. Taking the teacup means accepting the apology. He also hands over a cup of tea in a saucer to express his apology in order to end up the unpleasant time and to enjoy harmonious relationship. The guests of the Meshrep will express their wishes to them to keep the friendship

permanent. Normally, the costs and fees of the apologizing Meshrep are paid by the punished person who violated moral norms of the group. The people do not welcome and even do not tolerate people who still have not rehabilitated their relationship after the apologizing Meshrep.

Chipan is a remote township of Qarghiliq county which is located in Kunlun Mountain. The Chipan Meshrep has a unique character as it has eight different types, and the most distinctive one is "Meshrep to exorcise trauma". Various unpleasant and frictions among neighbors, relatives, or among friends is inevitable in daily life. If these frictions are not erased immediately, it will reduce solidarity, and play a passive role in keeping the group's harmonious relationships. Therefore, the Chipan people organize a Meshrep to eliminate the friction as soon as they come across it. People offer each other tobacco or tea and invite each other to dance during the Meshrep. In the end, a dinner is prepared for the guests, one of the local elites will give a speech on the importance of solidarity; reminding guests that without unity and harmony, the hometown will not flourish and there will be no peace or joy in life. Then, people at the Meshrep persuade the individuals in conflict to forget the unpleasant issues and create a good friendship as soon as possible. Both sides of friction give their acknowledgements to the people who organize the Meshrep and express their forgiveness to each other. This kind of activity plays a crucial role in exorcising trauma.

Conclusion

The question about how societies are held together has long been discussed in sociology and cultural anthropology. Durkheim used the term "mechanical solidarity" to refer to preindustrial societies that are held together by strong traditions and by the members' shared moral beliefs and values (Kendall 2006). Social solidarity is the glue that binds individuals together, whether by mutually identifying and sharing certain norms and values, or by contributing to some common good, or both (Komter 2005). Elements that create solidarity within a community are homogeneity (Sievers 2002), power relations, shared values, and economic reciprocity (Turner and Rojek 2001). While the act of hosting Meshrep is often viewed by outsiders as a celebration or entertainment, Meshrep serves as an important vehicle for making and maintaining community, and occasions for reciprocal exchange. Moreover, it implants in the group members a desire to obtain an education in community identity and increase the solidarity of the community through various ways of reciprocity encompassed in the Meshrep.

The community of Meshrep is based on notions of shared culture and territorial concentration. This shared identity contains a normative appeal to potential respondents and provides them with the means of understanding themselves, or being understood, as members of the community. This identity "tells" the people not only how they are related to one another, but also how they should behave if they were to achieve this particular form of interrelation (Donahoe et al. 2009). Participating in a Meshrep reminds participants of their culture, belonging, and even their locality, so as to form a community that comprises elements such as "(1) structure—interaction patterned in terms of statuses and roles, (2) history—some frequency and regularity of interaction over time, (3) interdependence—some degree of members' mutual reliance on each other for needed or valued material and nonmaterial resources, and (4) common identity—grounded in shared meanings, values, experiences, and goals" (Shotola, 2000).

The gift and the emotional exchange performed by the Meshrep contribute to cementing social relations among the group members. As Mary Douglas argues, the theory of the gift

Figure 7: Neighbors baking bread for Meshrep.

is a theory of human solidarity (Komter 2005). The exchange of gifts and support between members during Meshrep manifests the community, proves its existence and effectiveness, and contributes to the existence and duration of this social structure and its institutions (Kolm & Ythier 2006).

All in all, the Uyghur Meshrep is an important complement to the folk society. It encompasses social functions such as entertainment, psychological modification, emotional exchange, educating new group or community members, enhancing friendship among members, strengthening the community's solidarity, and forming group or ethnic identity.

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A peasant market in the southern part of the Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous region

George Sword's Warrior Narratives: Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition

Review by Wilson Manyfingers

The subject of this volume is about understanding the oral poetic form and content of the Lakota narrative written by an Oglala man expressing his thoughts from the late 19th century. George Sword (*Mi-Wa-Kan Yu-Ha-La*) was a Lakota man born in 1847. He was a *wičaša wakan* (Holy Man) conducting on numerous occasions the Sun Dance among the Oglala. He lived through the 19th century period when the United States and Lakota battled in sometimes-horrific confrontations. During that time, he took the name "Sword," noticing as he did that the attacking "white people" wore swords on their sides. In 1896, Miwakan Yuhala (his Lakota name) dictated his life story to Bruce Means, describing his social responsibilities. He later learned to write using the phonetic alphabet in the manner of "old style" Lakota. It is this text on which Dr. Delphine Red Shirt depended for her study of ancient style Lakota. His narrative was presented in the formal style of Lakota. George Sword died of tuberculosis in 1911-12 as measured by the Lakota winter, but his oral tradition survived to become a modern-day view into the old Lakota world.

Oral tradition is the means by which history and historical events, current events, family relationships, dreams, philosophical ideas, rituals and ceremonies, explanations of natural phenomena, and common inter-personal expression of thoughts are conveyed in society. It is a practice of human communications that preceded any and all literary traditions. Oral "literature" recalls Delphine Red Shirt in this remarkable volume includes some of the most revered works from the past 2,500 years: the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, *Beowulf*, the *Iliad*, and the O*dyssey*, and the Mayan *Popol Vuh* to which Red Shirt adds *George Sword's Warrior Narrative*—none of which originated in textual form. Red Shirt points out that no one can actually know how and for what purpose these works were composed since as oral renderings they were presented during a specific time, in a specific context that remains unknown. However, it is clear to the author that these are "oral poetry" evidenced by virtue of accounts describing how they were "composed and performed on the one hand, and structural symptoms of oral composition and performance on the other." Relying on John M. Foley's *Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology (Indiana University Press, 1988)* and Foley's *How to Read and Oral Poem (University of Illinois Press, 2002),* Red Shirt applies the "oral composition theory" in her study of George Sword's Lakota oral poetry originally delivered in the 19th century and reframed textually by

George Sword himself.

Several central issues affecting the interpretation of oral poetry pointing to Red Shirt's study include the "structural symptoms of oral composition, aspects of "residual oral performance … [that remains] when an oral poem becomes a text" and the repetition of phrases and themes. George Sword's narrative is said in this volume to be an "oral composition" due to its use of "formulaic phrases and recurrent scenes."

Red Shirt takes the reader through the theoretical basis for her study of the "old Lakota" as presented by Sword. Of particular importance in this theoretical framework are John Foley's four models: oral composition, oral performance in front of a live audience, voices from the past no-longer practiced, aural reception and written oral poems composed in writing. As Red Shirt affirms, George Sword's written narrative is a voice from the past in a language no longer practiced. The author further describes how this range of oral poetic forms appear in George Sword's narrative rendering the narration a significant expression of old Lakota thinking and recitation.

Red Shirt's rendering of the Sword manuscript concentrates on 2000 words of text the major portion of which describes the Sun Dance. His narrative describes the role of the *wičaša wakan* standing behind the Sun Dancer singing sacred songs. The *wičaša wakan* sings, "Day sun, in a good way listen and accept this prayer, when the grasses or plants, their faces appear all different then young boys about that time, these faces you shall see" (taken from George Sword's narrative.)

The author explains that one who speaks modern Lakota will "translate" old Lakota inaccurately since it is essential to understand the context in which the oral recitation was given. Without understanding the context (including the audience, the relationship between the singer and the audience, the repetitions, the pauses and more) the translation will not be accurate. This is perhaps the most profound insight Red Shirt gives to her reader leading to the conclusion that the same must be true of ancient poems and songs presented by speakers of numerous other indigenous languages from the past and no longer practiced. That Red Shirt's inquiry is suggestive of an effective and appropriate approach to inquiring into other ancient poems and songs is clear. She has accomplished an important step toward revealing the ancient knowledge systems of not only Lakota, but also other indigenous peoples.

It is also clear reading the English narrative written by the author throughout her book that the *old Lakota* creeps into her own writing. She uses "repetition" and an oral style in writing that echoes Sword's style. This is helpful to appreciate the process of iteratively assessing the meaning of ancient oral literature. For this Dr. Delphine Red Shirt is to be celebrated.

Dr. Red Shirt is an Oglala lecturer in Stanford University's Native American Studies, Special Languages Program. She is herself a native Lakota speaker. She is the author of two volumes: Bead on an Anthill: A Lakota Childhood (Nebraska, 1977) and Turtle Lung Woman's Granddaughter (Nebraska, 2002). In her study of George Sword's oral poetry, Red Shirt elevates the Lakota oral tradition to the highest level of literature. As such, Sword's oral poetry, Shirt suggests, should be recognized and respected by scholars the world over. By raising George Sword's oral poetry to the classical level, she opens scholars and readers of classical literature to the prospect of having access to oral poetry created by the world's indigenous scholars from the ancient past. This is not only a wonderful book to read, it is stimulating to view through an old language how the world looked through oral poetry. Read this book. ∎

About the reviewer:

Wilson Manyfingers is a long-time contributor to the *Fourth World Journal* and to other works by the Center for World Indigenous Studies extending back more than thirty years.

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The Fabric of Indigeneity: Ainu Identity, Gender, and Settler Colonialism in Japan

Review by Bertha Miller

Ann-Elise Lewallen's volume is a fascinating and much needed work revealing the tenacious bond between ancestral Ainu women and the contemporary Ainu society in the face of Japanese colonization. *The Fabric of Indigeneity* is at once loving and sensitive while offering a bold and forceful narrative of Ainu women reclaiming their ancient culture. At the same time they are registering protest against the continued colonization of their home land *Yaun Mosir* (Ainu language term for their territory meaning "country land" labeled by the Japanese [*Wanjin* is the Ainu term used for the settlers] Hokkaido – the farthest north Island complex of Japan.

The Ainu women resist what they consider to be a political, cultural and physical invasion into Yaun Mosir by the Wanjin by observing and practicing ancient "protocols with *kamuy* and ancestor." Through cultural protocols, applied to language, food gathering and preparation, ritual, cloth work and oral literature Ainu women systematically act to restore Ainu culture. By applying handwork to the design and making of cloth the women see themselves as giving tangible life to ancient traditions, knowledge and ways of life to inform modern Ainu. The women adorn themselves in personally embroidered ancestral clothing in patterns, "weaving (from tree bark, hand woven sashes and mats), twining (baskets, cords, thread, and ropes), and needlework (embroidery and sewing). By so doing they engage in an intimate connection to their ancestors. Not only does this cloth work provide personal earnings, they provide clothing and other adornments for weddings, ceremonies, rituals and other social gatherings. Cooking in the traditional fashion further enhances the importance of these Ainu women to the restoration. As author Lawallen firmly writes: "Today it is ancestral Ainu women whose voices resonate within contemporary cultural revival."

The Japanese government claims authority to define what is "Ainu tradition" in a manner that is both unintelligible and nebulous. This pattern of government policy renders the Ainu cultural reality like cardboard—colorless, opaque and bendable to the Japanese whim. It is this pattern of policy that the Ainu women seek to overcome. That the Japanese state insists on distorting Ainu culture gives rise to the demand for ancestral Ainu women to train younger Ainu to become cultural carriers who will take the knowledge into the future.

The peoples of Japan (Ainu, Japanese, and Okinawans) can all be accurately described as "indigenous to Japan" since the 1,800 to 40,000 years of compiled evidence seems to

support the theory that the Jomon culture (term originated to the period by American zoologist **Edward S. Morse** in 1877) arose first between 40,000 and 12,000 years before the present, followed by the Yayoi culture between 3,000 and 1,700 years before the present. Geneticist **Kinishi Shinoda** theorizes with some justification that genetic measures confirm the Ainu and Okinawans as earlier arrivers followed by the Japanese—all from mainland south China and the Korean peninsula. Researchers confirm distinct genetic differences (along with some similarities) that render each population as distinctive. While all of these peoples are essentially indigenous, the Japanese have set about dominating and expanding into Ainu and Okinawa.

The Japanese government maintained until recently "there are no indigenous peoples in Japan." Fearing that Ainu and Okinawans would claim special rights if the government recognized them, Japan's legislative body (Diet) consistently remained disinterested in official recognition. The Japanese government's Diet voted to recognize the Ainu as an indigenous people on June 6, 2008 following adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in September 2007. This acceptance came about 139 years after imperial Japan's initial colonization of *Yaun Mosir* (Ainu language term for their territory meaning "country land.")

Ainu artifacts and archaeological objects have long been held in Japanese museums, and instead of demanding to reclaim the objects; Ainu have simply used the museums as the source of cultural restoration. The Ainu women spend time in the museums translating the ancient textiles and then render the history as contemporary design in cloth. It is by this means that the women "wear their heritage."

Ann-Elise Lewallen has authored a wonderful narrative that tells the story of struggle and restoration, shame and pride. Her book includes sixteen full color photos of the Ainu women conducting a protest demonstration in front of Japan's Parliament in 2008 wearing the clothes they made with designs and colors from Ainu heritage. Other photos illustrate the beautiful designs taken from ancient fabrics to modern cloth. The story of Ainu revived provided by the women of *Yaun Mosir* is thrilling to read and restorative even to non-Ainu. Whether you are from an indigenous nation or not, you must read this book—a saga of great importance. ∎

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Bertha Miller is an American Indian and anthropologist.

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