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Ryan is a lecturer in urban planning and an associate at the new Centre for Indigenous Governance and Development in the School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University, Palmerston North. From Canada, he has a Ph.D. in Geography from Queen's University, a M.A. in planning from the University of Waterloo, and a B.A. in Urban and Regional Studies from the University of Lethbridge. His Ph.D. thesis (*Urban Citizenship and Aboriginal Self-determination in the Winnipeg Low-cost Housing Sector*) examined the intersection of Aboriginal self-determination and social housing policy transformations in the urban context. Ryan is an associate member of the New Zealand Planning Institute.

Aboriginal/Indigenous Self-determination in Urban Programs: Challenges and Opportunities From a Canadian Housing Perspective

Many indigenous peoples in settler nations such as Canada, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia and the United States live in urban centres. The political and cultural evolution of Indigeneity has transformed the terms of citizenship in these settler nations dramatically over the past three or four decades. This has led to measures of self-determination (amounting to self-government in Canada) that vary within and between countries, in rural/reserve and urban contexts. Central to the evolution of Indigeneity over the past few decades has been the re-affirmation of the special relationship, often forged through historic or recently negotiated treaties, between indigenous peoples and central governments.

During the same time period, state-society relations in social welfare states have been greatly altered, affecting the ways in which social citizenship is experienced by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Rather than a firm commitment to the protection of social *rights* in some sectors by central governments, locally derived social *goals* are pursued through programmes forged in partnership between an active civil society and a partner state, often centred on the urban experience.

My paper examines the intersection of changing indigenous and social citizenships, using research conducted from 2002-2004 on affordable housing programs initiated locally in Winnipeg, Canada. Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal population (i.e., First Nations, Métis, Inuit) of Canadian cities and one of the most well-developed sets of Aboriginal institutions (e.g., social, cultural, political) in urban Canada. The project had several parts, each conducted either in partnership or in consultation with the (Winnipeg) Centre for Aboriginal Human Resource Development and National Aboriginal Housing Association. Methods included qualitatively analysed personal interviews with 37 Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal stakeholders, and a policy/document analysis.

I argue that as the federal (central) government has shifted much of its former responsibility for setting and safeguarding national social objectives to local actors, particularly in the voluntary sector, it has created new challenges for institutionalising measures of self-determination in urban social programs. My results show that the right of indigenous self-determination was not embedded in local processes that led to the creation of new affordable housing programs over the past few years in Winnipeg. The results reveal that some deeply rooted ideological issues stand in the way of seeing self-determination woven into locally derived programs, where before this occurred by virtue of the fact that social welfare and the institutionalisation of Aboriginal rights were both central government responsibilities (e.g., the federally legislated Urban Native Housing Program). These ideological hurdles are discussed in terms of 'democratic racism,' and the prevailing view of cultural neutrality in non-indigenous mainstream programs.

The empirical work is used to make a broader argument about the challenges involved in interweaving rights of self-determination with local social welfare processes driven largely by self-organising networks of mostly non-indigenous organisations. The paper concludes with a discussion of how models of self-determination might be implemented in urban areas given the context discussed above, according to communities of interest (e.g., pan-Aboriginal, pan-Māori) or tribal affiliations (e.g., band, iwi).

A central objective of mine at the conference is to engage with Māori scholars in particular about some of the common features between Canadian urban indigenous and urban Māori experiences, particularly as I aim to extend this work in Aotearoa/New Zealand.