SHARING THEIR STORIES:

Narratives of Young Métis Parents and Elders about Parenting

Catherine Graham and Tanya Davoren

CHILD, YOUTH, & FAMILY HEALTH

Acknowledgements

CONTENTS

[Métis] traditions are clear: children are a gift from the Creator, on loan to us from the spirit world. It is their birthright to inherit cultures whose central tenets for thousands of years focused on how best to nurture young ones physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually.

(National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health [NCCAH], 2009, p. 2)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Over the course of its mandate, the National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health (NCCAH) has engaged in several projects aimed at documenting the stories and experiences of Aboriginal[1] parents. These projects have marked an important step in increasing knowledge and awareness, and addressing the current gaps in research[2] about current and historical Aboriginal families and parenting practices. This report aims to document and analyze the narratives of Métis parents in British Columbia about how to effectively parent their children in the face of historical and contemporary challenges. This project began in 2009 after being vetted through UNBC's Research Ethics Board. The NCCAH retained the services of consultants to engage Métis from across British Columbia for the purpose of collecting stories about Métis fatherhood. As evidenced in the findings, the discussion grew beyond that of fatherhood as a main theme into a more general discussion about Métis parenting, health, education, program and service needs, and how Métis culture and identity is important to each.

The report begins by providing some background information about Métis and their struggle to achieve recognition for their rights, as well as the socio-economic determinants that pose challenges to their ability to effectively parent. It then moves on to a discussion of findings from the research, including participants' childhood experiences of being parented and the impact this has had on the way they parent their own children, the issues and challenges they face in parenting their children today, and the supports and resources that are needed to assist Métis parents in effectively parenting their children.

---

[1] The term 'Aboriginal,' as used in this report, refers collectively to First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples in Canada, regardless of registered status or location of residence.
[2] While there has been some research conducted on the impacts of colonization on parenting, particularly with respect to First Nations parenting and fathering, formal research focused on Métis is virtually non-existent. One exception has been the inclusion of a small sample of Métis men in a research project led by Jessica Ball that began in 2003 that sought to explore the role of fathers in Aboriginal families in British Columbia.

2.0 BACKGROUND

About the Métis

Being Métis is not simply a matter of being of mixed First Nations and European heritage. Métis are a distinct people with a shared history dating back to the 18th century when the fur trade began its move towards the central western parts of North America, at which time fur traders and 'Indian' women entered into relationships with each other. As the offspring of these relationships grew up, they began to marry each other and settle into their own communities along fur trade route – around the Great Lakes, throughout the Prairie Provinces, and up to the Mackenzie River into what is now known as the Northwest Territories. The Métis within these communities had their own "unique culture, traditions, language (Michif), and way of life, collective consciousness and nationhood" (Métis National Council, n.d.).

Over the course of history, the Métis have often been referred to as the 'forgotten people.' Métis were reduced to a position of irrelevance within the fabric of Canadian society. They were denied full membership in mainstream society because they were Aboriginal, and were also denied status as Indians under the Indian Act. Politically powerless, denied education because they did not pay taxes on their 'road allowance'[3] homes, and forcibly kept away from the reserves, the Métis became increasingly marginalized (Shore, n.d., p. 1).

The Métis Nation has had to fight tirelessly for the recognition of their rights. In 1982, Métis rights were entrenched in Section 35 of the Constitution Act, although these rights still remain largely undefined. The exception to this is the recognition of harvesting rights that were affirmed in the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in R v. Powley. In their summary of the case, Pape and Salter Barristers and Solicitors (n.d.) state that in addition to affirming harvesting rights, the court also affirmed that the term 'Métis' did not apply to all persons of mixed European and 'Indian' ancestry. It also set out three broad criteria for identifying rights holders under Section 35. These are:

· Self-Identification, meaning that the individual must self-identify as a member of a Métis community and have an ongoing connection to that community;

· Ancestral Connection, meaning that the individual must be able to prove that they have an ancestral connection to a historic Métis community; and

· Community Acceptance, meaning that a modern Métis community must accept the individual. That is, "[t]here must be proof of a solid bond of past and present mutual identification between the person and the other members of the Métis community" (p. 5).

Today Métis represent one of the youngest and fastest growing populations in Canada. According to the 2011 National Household Survey, 451,795 people across Canada self-identified as Métis, with close to 70,000 calling British Columbia home. Vancouver is home to the third largest urban Métis population in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2013a).[4]

---

[3] Road allowance refers to the ditches on the side of roads where Métis who had no land of their own often built their homes. This is why Métis were sometimes referred to as the Road Allowance People.

[4] It is not clear how many of those who self-identified as Métis in the Census would also qualify as possessing Aboriginal rights under Section 35.

Historical and systemic factors impacting Métis families and parenting

Children and families are often thought of as being at the center of the Métis community. Historically they were raised by their parents, their extended family, and the community as a whole. Children remained in the family circle and when problems or challenges arose, a family or community member would intervene to provide support because "people felt a responsibility to look after children. Children were regarded as very special because they were everybody's future" (Métis Centre, 2008, p. 61). Furthermore, "learning how to look after children [was] considered an important teaching. Each child was recognized as having a unique talent or special gift. It was stressed that it [was] up to each of us to help children to explore and discover their talents and gifts.... Listening, caring, sharing, respect, and self-respect [were considered] qualities that need to be taught to help children and youth thrive" (Métis Centre, 2008, p. 56). Unfortunately, due to the ongoing process of colonization, the child-centred values of Métis communities began to dissipate over time. The dispossession of Métis from their lands through the often coercive and fraudulent scrip system,[5] and the subsequent forced surrender of their Aboriginal title in the west, dislocated communities and fragmented Métis families (Dorion & Prefontaine, n.d., p. 8). As Dorion (2010) argues, it became increasingly more difficult for Métis to live off the land, as they no longer possessed harvesting rights. As a result, traditional teachings related to the land were not being passed from one generation to the next as it had been in the past. This had a devastating impact on the identity of many Métis as their culture is intrinsically connected to the land. Métis men found themselves in a position of not being able to provide for their families in the way they traditionally had, which disrupted traditional family structures. Moreover, the dislocation of community and fragmentation of families meant that many Métis found themselves on their own without the family and community supports to which they were accustomed.

The emergence of residential and mission[6] schools dealt yet another blow to Métis family structures and the way in which Métis children were parented. Mission school children differed from residential school children in that

---

[5] Scrip was a certificate issued by the Department of the Interior that was issued exclusively to Métis for the purpose of awarding them land grants. Unfortunately, many of these certificates fell into the hands of non-Métis land speculators due to poor oversight, a lack of a registration system, and the low rate of literacy among Métis at the time. It is estimated that "as many as three quarters of [Métis] lost their scrip through such fraudulent practices or through outright coercion by land speculators and departmental officials" (Library and Archives Canada, n.d.).

[6] While many Metis attended residential schools that were funded by the government, others (mainly in the prairie region) attended church established mission schools as the government at the time refused to take responsibility for the education of Métis children (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008). These schools were established by the church within Aboriginal communities (Chartrand, Logan, & Daniels, 2006).

© Credit: iStockPhoto.com, ID 57264000

TRADITION   LANGUAGE   VALUES   POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS   RESPECT

they were not forcibly removed from their communities to attend school; nevertheless, both types of schools served as mechanisms for separating Aboriginal children from the perceived 'unhealthy' influence of their parents and for obliterating the Aboriginal culture of children, while providing substandard levels of education for students (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008; Chartrand, Logan, & Daniels, 2006). Whether a Métis child was forcibly placed in residential school by government authorities or was placed there by loving parents who saw no other alternative for educating their children, the results were often equally devastating. Children were separated from "family, home, culture, spiritual practices, tradition, language, values and political institutions. Further, the Indian residential school curriculum included efforts at brainwashing Aboriginal children into adopting the dominant society values, while trivializing and discounting Aboriginal people" (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008, p. 111). For many families, attendance at residential schools resulted in irrevocable damage to the parent-child bond and because children were often removed from their homes at a very young age, many "lost respect" for their parents entirely (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008). There was also a loss of parenting skills, and children suffered from a loss of self-esteem and an inability to express feelings. These impacts, along with the loss of identity, language and culture, have had long- lasting and intergenerational effects on Métis families and communities (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2008). The effects of these colonial practices have been compounded and perpetuated by systemic and societal factors such as racism, discrimination, high levels of Métis involvement within the child protection system (see for example Barkwell, Longclaws, & Chartrand, 1989; Manitoba Métis Federation and Métis Child and Family Services Authority, 2013), the ongoing ambiguity of Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1892, and jurisdictional issues related to Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867,[7] all of which in their totality have undermined the efforts of Métis to establish and maintain healthy family structures to this day.[8]

[7] Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act, 1867 stipulates that 'Indians' and lands reserved for 'Indians' lie within the jurisdiction of the federal government (*Constitution Act*, 1982, s 91). This has been interpreted to mean that jurisdiction for Métis lies with the provinces and territories. However, with the exception of the Northwest Territories which provides non-insured health benefits to its Métis population, provinces have not acknowledged any obligation to provide Métis specific programs or services (Métis Centre, NAHO, 2009). This may change, however, as the Federal Court of Appeal has upheld a lower court decision that ruled that Métis are considered Indians for the purpose of Section 91(24). It should be noted, however, that if this decision is appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada by the federal government, and if the court upholds the ruling, it would be some time before Métis will realize its impacts (Teillet & Madden, 2013).

[8] It is important to note that while First Nations and Métis may have shared many of the same historical experiences with colonization and while the impacts may vary, they are no less severe. In fact, differential treatment by government has resulted in Métis lagging behind First Nations in their pursuit of rights and justice. For example, the refusal by the federal government to take responsibility for the abuses endured by Métis at residential schools and to provide programs and services to Métis are two reasons why Métis have remained "forgotten people" to some people.

Contemporary factors impacting Métis families and parenting

Chase-Lansdale and Pittman (2002) argue that healthy child development depends on the ways in which people parent their children. Parents must express love and affection and be responsive to children's needs; they must set and consistently enforce age appropriate roles and expectations; they must provide cognitive stimulation and be involved in their school-related activities; they must model positive behaviours on a daily basis; they must serve as gatekeepers who make decisions about children's activities outside the home that influence a child's level of academic or social competence; they must maintain structure in their children's daily lives, and they must maintain religious and cultural traditions (pp. 169-170). The ability of parents to successfully parent is heavily dependent on a variety of factors or determinants, including parents' and children's characteristics, economic resources, family structure and size, parents' physical and mental health, quality of spousal relationships, and kin and social networks. Insight into the challenges facing Métis parents in their ability to effectively parent can be gained through an assessment of recent socio-economic indicators.

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, employment rates among Métis are slightly lower than that of the non-Aboriginal population and these rates are greatly influenced by the level of educational attainment (Statistics Canada, 2014). However the median income of the Métis population is still reported to be lower than that of the non-Aboriginal population. For example, in 2011 the median income based on highest level of education achieved for Métis was $33,274 compared to $37,101 for the non-Aboriginal population (Statistics Canada, 2011). As a result, Métis children are more likely than non-

Aboriginal children to live below the low-income cut-off. For example, in 2006, 32 percent of Métis children under the age of six lived in families who were below the low-income cut-off compared to 18 percent of non-Aboriginal children (Statistics Canada, 2008). As Chase-Lansdale and Pittman (2002) argue, this may cause parents to experience "psychological distress" due to increased levels of stress and that as a result, these parents are more likely to enforce stricter punishments on their children, and be less likely to provide a stimulating environment or show them warmth (p. 171).

Chase-Lansdale and Pitman (2002) go on to argue that family structure and size is also considered a determinant of parenting and this is interconnected with economic resources. For example, lone parents tend to have fewer financial and emotional resources at their disposal. As a result they "tend to have less positive interactions with their children" because they have "more stressors in their lives, poorer mental health, and no spousal" support (p. 171). Both single and two parent families with greater numbers of children tend to have "fewer financial resources available to them" and also less time to spend with their children (Chase-Lansdale & Pitman, 2002, p. 171). Statistics show that Métis children are more likely to live in lone parent homes than their non-Aboriginal peers (28.9 percent compared to 17.4 percent) (Statistics Canada, 2013a). Statistics Canada (2008) also reports that Métis children under six were more likely than non-Aboriginal children to live in a family with three or more children, and that these children were being raised by younger parents than non-Aboriginal children, with 22 percent of Métis children under the age of six having mothers between the ages of 15 to 24 compared to 8 percent of non-Aboriginal children.

An individual's mental or physical health can affect his/her ability to effectively parent (Chase-Lansdale

& Pittman, 2002). This correlation is stronger between poor mental health and effective parenting than it is for physical health. Parents who suffer from psychological distress are less likely to show their children warmth and support, be consistent disciplinarians, and be effective in supervising their children (Chase-Lansdale & Pittman, 2002). Data from the 2007-2010 Canadian Community Health Survey (CCHS) reveals that Métis are less likely to report very good or excellent perceived mental health compared to the general population (67% of Métis compared to 75% of non-Aboriginal Canadians) (Gionet & Roshanafshar, 2013). Many Aboriginal Canadians continue to be impacted by past and ongoing trauma, brought about through colonialism (including the residential school experience), which has left devastating impacts on Aboriginal peoples, including high rates of suicide, alcoholism, violence and pervasive demoralization (see for example, Kirmayer, Macdonald, & Brass, 2000; Söchting, Corrado, Cohen, Ley, & Brasfield, 2007). These impacts have impaired the ability of many Aboriginal people to effectively parent (Bopp, Bopp, & Lane, 2003; Health Canada, 2003; Lafrance & Collins, 2003). Twenty-seven percent of Métis are heavy drinkers compared to 19% of non-Aboriginal people (Gionet & Roshanafshar, 2013). While there is a paucity of research on mental disorders in Métis, the 2006 Aboriginal Peoples Survey did reveal that 19 percent of Métis men and 28 percent of Métis women reported having felt sad, blue, or depressed for two or more weeks in a row during the previous 12 months (National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health, n.d.).

While the correlation between physical health and effective parenting is less well-established, Chase-Lansdale and Pittman (2002) suggest it may lead to increased rates of depression and stress within the family unit, which may result in "less effective parenting" (p. 171). Métis report poorer physical health than

non-Aboriginal Canadians. According to data from the 2007-2010 CCHS, approximately 54% of Métis aged 12 and over reported very good or excellent perceived health compared with 63% of the general population (Gionet & Roshanafshar, 2013). They were also more likely to report suffering from at least one chronic condition (Janz, Seto, & Turner, 2009). Seventy percent reported that they thought there was something they could do to improve their health (Ibid.). A study conducted by Statistics Canada also indicates that Métis, and in particular Métis women, have shorter life expectancies than their non-Aboriginal counterparts (Tjepkema, Wilkens, Senecal, Guimond, & Penny, 2009).

Maintaining familial connections is also considered important in the ability of parents to effectively parent (Chase-Lansdale & Pitman, 2002). Statistics show that some Métis families have strong familial connections. For example, according to the 2006 Census, 41 percent of Métis children were being raised in part by their grandparents and 21 percent had relatives such as siblings, cousins, uncles and aunts who were playing a role in raising them (Statistics Canada, 2008, p. 27).[9] Chase-Lansdale and Pitman also state that participation in cultural and traditional activities plays a role in healthy childhood development. It appears that at least some Métis children have such opportunities. For example, according to the 2006 Aboriginal Children's Survey, 28 percent of Métis children under the age of six had attended traditional activities such as drumming, jigging, dancing, singing, ceremonies or gatherings. The survey further indicates that Métis children living in rural areas were more likely than children living in urban centres to have participated

in activities such as hunting, camping, trapping, or fishing (63 percent versus 50 percent) or traditional gatherings (40 percent versus 26 percent) (Statistics Canada, 2008).

Healthy spousal relationships are also directly linked to effective parenting practices. Child development and the nature of parent-child relationships can be affected by ongoing conflict between parents, particularly when this conflict results in physical violence (Chase-Lansdale & Pitman, 2002). According to the Statistics Canada 2006 Census data, Aboriginal women are almost three times more likely than non-Aboriginal women to experience spousal violence and report more serious injuries than non-Aboriginal women (O'Donnell & Wallace, 2011).[10] While there is a dearth of research on the prevalence of spousal violence among Métis women, there is acknowledgement that like First Nations and Inuit women, spousal violence is considered to be an important issue for Métis women (Paletta, 2008; RCAP, 1996).

The characteristics of parents are considered to be an overarching determinant of parenting that has the potential to influence both parenting styles and all other determinants. A parent's characteristics are influenced by several factors including their own cognitive abilities and levels of educational attainment, as well as their personality and their childhood experiences of being parented (Chase-Lansdale & Pitman, 2002). For example, parents who are well educated and have a positive personality are more likely to provide their children with more cognitive stimulation, are more responsive to their children's emotional needs, and are more likely to explain consequences for inappropriate

behaviors (Ibid.). According to the 2011 National Household Survey, Métis are slightly more likely to hold a trades certificate, about as likely to hold a college diploma, but considerably less likely to have earned a university degree, compared to non-Aboriginal people (Statistics Canada, 2013b). These lower levels of education, combined with the intergenerational impacts of trauma experienced by many who attended residential or mission schools, are factors that impact the ability of Métis parents to parent effectively.

Finally, Chase-Lansdale and Pitman (2002) argue that while a child's "innate characteristics do not set in stone how a child will develop," they may influence the level of "positive engagement" between the parent and child or the way that a parent addresses inappropriate behavior (p. 171). For example, if a child is temperamental or continuously cries or whines, a parent may respond negatively by punishing the child more harshly than is necessary.

It is clear from the literature and research that Métis parents potentially face multiple barriers to being effective parents. The barriers they face emerge from both the historical and contemporary realities faced by Métis parents. What the literature does not explain, however, is how Métis parents themselves believe these barriers can be overcome and how they work to raise healthy and proud Métis children. The remainder of this report documents and analyzes the narratives of Métis research participants in a British Columbia study about effective parenting in the face of these challenges. It also provides important insight for parents, policy makers, and service providers alike about how to support the efforts of Métis parents to effectively parent.

[9] It is important to note, however, that according to Chase-Lansdale and Pitman (2002), parents can experience stress and/or feelings of depression when there is conflict within these relationships or when "kin are excessively demanding of parents' time and energy" (p. 171).

[10] There are currently no Métis specific statistics related to rates or severity of spousal violence.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

Recruitment and participants

Recruitment of participants was primarily conducted via a snowball sampling method by one of the consultants who also works as a Director of Health for the Métis Nation British Columbia (MNBC). Invitations were extended by word of mouth and via email to local Métis Chartered Communities across British Columbia. To ensure that research results were reflective of the geographic and cultural diversity of Métis citizens across British Columbia (BC) and to mitigate barriers to participation, researchers provided various opportunities for engagement. These opportunities included participation in either one-on-one key informant interviews that were offered face-to-face or via telephone, or participation in focus groups that were hosted via teleconference and at MNBC's annual Métis Health Symposium.

Between 2009 and 2010, one key informant interview, one large face-to-face focus group, and three teleconference focus groups were held with approximately 18 Métis participating in total. Participants were both male and female and ranged from young adults who were parents or planned to become parents in the future to older adults who had raised children, including those who had become grandparents. Participation was voluntary and upon being advised about the nature of the project, each participant was required to sign a form indicating they had given informed consent. Upon completion of the interview or focus groups, each participant was presented with a gift card as a gesture of respect and reciprocity.[11]

Interviews and focus groups

Researchers utilized open-ended questioning during interviews and focus groups, and these questions were organized around four primary themes: education; Métis concepts of health and well-being; fatherhood and parenting; and programs and services.

Ethics

Prior to undertaking this research project, the National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health sought approval from the Research Ethics Board at the University of Northern British Columbia. This approval ensures that the project meets the ethical standards of the University as well as those outlined in the Tri Council Policy Statement Concerning the Ethical Conduct for Research Concerning Humans, including chapter nine which outlines practices for conducting ethical research with First Nations, Inuit, and Métis Peoples of Canada (CIHR, NSERC, & SSHRC, 2010).

Data analysis

Discussions were audio-recorded and transcriptions were coded (sorted) manually using an inductive method. Transcripts were originally coded by the categories of open questions that were explored in the interviews and focus groups. These included parenting and fathering experiences and practices, education, health, and Métis identity and culture. These categories were then broken down and coded by theme and sub-theme.

Limitations

This research is specifically limited in five ways. First, the snowball method may have limited participation to those Métis who either are or who are qualified to be citizens of the Métis Nation, or are connected to Métis Nation British Columbia and follow its work and attend its events through open invitation. This potentially excludes those who self-identify as Métis. Secondly, not all data collected was used in the analysis due to technical difficulties that resulted in at least one focus group not being recorded. It is important to note, however, that the comments made during this focus group were similar to those made in other groups; therefore inclusion would not likely to have resulted in different research outcomes. Third, due to time constraints, not all participants were able to provide answers to all of the questions that were being posed, thus limiting the amount and depth of available data on some themes. Fourth, the original objective of this research was to explore Métis concepts of fatherhood. However, as mentioned above, the concept of parenting emerged as a primary theme. This may have been due to the nature of the open-ended questions or the possibility that Métis may not view fatherhood in isolation, but instead as part of a more holistic or fluid activity that includes participation by other immediate family members, extended kin, and the broader community. Finally, as this research is based on a non-randomized sample that only Métis in BC were included in, the results may not be generalizable to all Métis, particularly those who reside outside of the province.

---

[11] While most participants graciously accepted this gift, others asked that the gift cards be given to individuals in need. In response, one of the researchers forwarded three gift cards to a young single mother in need at the request of the young men being interviewed.

4.0 SHARING THEIR STORIES

As previously stated, the questions that were discussed during the focus groups fell into four broad categories and once analysed, four themes emerged along with several sub-themes. Results are presented below by category and theme. These themes include culture and identity, parenting and family, health and well-being, education, and learning. It is important to note that while not intentional, each of these themes and their corresponding sub-themes aligns well with Chase-Lansdale and Pittman's (2002) dimensions and determinants of parenting as described earlier, with one exception. While these dimensions and determinants of parenting are based on western perspectives, this study highlighted the importance of Métis culture and identity as an overarching theme.

The theme of Métis culture and identity (which includes, but is not limited to, language, connection to the land, arts and crafts, symbols, and harvesting activities) crosscut all of the discussions that took place during the focus groups and interviews. Specifically, all participants expressed that culture and identities (and sometimes loss of culture and identity) were influential factors in their own experiences as children and/ or their experiences or aspirations as individuals and parents. It was seen as being intrinsically linked to healthy childhood development and a key to effective parenting. It was also seen as an important component of learning, health, and programs or services. For these reasons, the theme of culture and identity is not discussed as a theme unto itself, but is instead woven throughout the findings where appropriate.

Parenting and Family

When asked to reflect on their thoughts and experiences about parenting, two major themes and several sub-themes emerged. The first related to individuals' own experiences with being parented as children. Sub-themes that emerged within this theme included, family dysfunction, feelings of abandonment, the impacts of loss of culture and identity, family disconnect, abuse, alcoholism, feelings of not being loved, the positive role of extended family, and residential/mission schools.[12] The second major theme was related to aspirations and/or experiences with being a parent. The sub-themes that emerged within this theme included the importance of Métis culture and identity, family and community, having both positive male and female role models, and the challenges faced by parents today.

Childhood experiences

Many participants recalled having had negative childhood experiences as they related to being parented. This was particularly the case for older participants who had one or more parents that attended residential or mission schools. These experiences included deep-seated family dysfunction, including alcoholism, abuse, abandonment, and/or a lack of love displayed within the home. As one participant stated:

I never knew love. I was never told I love you by either parent. They weren't capable of showing affection. Consequently, my picture of a father's love was never there [...] physical discipline was very harsh. What has stuck with me is the verbal and psychological abuse. At my age, I am still going through healing.

While this statement is indicative of some of the experiences expressed by older participants, some also recalled positive experiences with at least one parent or with their grandparents during the course of their childhoods. Grandparents and/or extended family members were often remembered as loving and knowledgeable influences during childhood. One participant recalled her father and the time that she spent with her grandmother:

I never grew up hearing my mother say "I love you" and she was not an [affectionate] person with us. There were ten of us kids in the family hauling water, washing clothes [by hand] and physically working hard. I always contributed. She was so busy trying to raise us kids; it was difficult. Dad was away all the time but he made sure that he told us that he loved us and gave us hugs consistently.

---

[12] It is important to note that participants sometimes used the terms residential schools and mission schools interchangeably, and thus, it cannot be clearly ascertained which comments were made in reference to each. It is also important to note that while parents voluntarily sent their children to these mission schools, they did so because it was the only opportunity that Métis children had to receive an education at that time because the province refused to fund their education through the public school system. Finally, the voluntary nature of attending mission schools in no way negates the similarity of experiences between those who attended residential schools and those who attended the mission schools.

I always remember sitting on his knee but I never remember sitting on my mom's knee, but on my Kokum's.[13] [My Kokum] was a very important person in my life. She was always hugging and kissing, I slept with her every night. She was a traditional Métis woman with a scarf, long skirt and moccasins….

In addition to the dysfunction that often occurred as a result of attending residential or mission schools, some participants spoke about how their parents had lost or suppressed their languages and traditions, and how they struggle to overcome this legacy and to pass on their traditions.

I follow from a residential school. My mother went to residential school… she never spoke about residential schools to me. Talking to her I can see that it still bothers her and it's still on her mind. My mother lost a lot of her traditions in residential schools. We are from a Cree family... so it was really hard because I could see my mother trying to remember her traditions. My mother has instilled in me a proudness of my culture. She said to always remember who you are and where you come from. That's the one thing she instilled in me. Remembering where you're from is the greatest legacy you can leave for your children….

Childhood memories varied among younger participants. While some indicated they too had fathers who suffered from alcoholism and/or were absent while they were growing up, others recalled having been brought up in very stable and loving environments. Younger participants also varied in the role that extended family played in their upbringings. One participant had

indicated that he had been purposely raised away from his extended family due to what he described as their dysfunction.

I know my father specifically was abused a lot as a child and he was picked on quite a bit by his siblings and his extended family, hence the [dysfunction]. I would say that it led to some serious detachment issues from my father's point of view and thank god it didn't lead to abusive issues because he wasn't ever abusive to our family. But I would say it was the biggest thing that affected our family. It probably didn't help that the way my parents were raised as well, everything was kind of more acceptable to a certain degree, certain things anyways.

Some younger participants who had indicated a connection with extended family stated that maintaining that connection sometimes required a great deal of effort. This was largely because their families had migrated to BC from different areas across the Métis Homeland. For these individuals there was no day-to-day contact with extended family, but special efforts were made to visit during the summer and for special occasions. Participants who maintained their connections in this way acknowledged the important role that these visits played in shaping their Métis identities. Many of the younger participants who had indicated they had grown up close to extended family also indicated they had been raised knowing they were Métis and participating in traditional activities, even though some considered themselves as reluctant participants.

[W]e're a really strong hunting and fishing family. Every year we still go hunting and fishing. Like at the end of this month [I will go] fishing and hunting with my grandfather and my father. It's always a multigenerational kind of event. [Being] with your family and learning about hunting safety and different things about natural resources and what [your] family had done in the past, I don't know, it's interesting when you're at that age. I definitely look back on stuff that I've done like that now and knowing kind of my thoughts then were like why do I have to do this and then now going wow, I know so much about this, that it's interesting.

Growing up in close proximity to extended family was not associated with a strong Métis identity for all participants. In fact, some younger participants noted that even though they had grown up with extended family, they had not participated in cultural activities and some expressed they had grown up not knowing about their Métis heritage at all. Still others reported they had grown up participating in traditional activities such as hunting, but they had never been told of their heritage largely due to the stigma that was attached to being Métis and/or the desire to protect children from discrimination.

I knew there was something different about me, but we didn't have anything to call it, you know, because of my grandpa….

---

[13] Kokum translates to grandmother in Cree.

Parenting: experiences and aspirations

In addition to reflecting on their childhood experiences and how they were parented and/or fathered, participants were invited to discuss their own experiences and future aspirations as parents and/or fathers. All participants indicated that the way they parent or plan to parent has been heavily influenced by the way they themselves had been parented. Participants who described having had negative childhood experiences indicated they wanted to ensure their children did not grow up in the way that they had.

I look at the way I was raised as a child and I don't want [my daughter] to be raised like that. My father wasn't in the picture much, as he was an alcoholic. I was raised more by my mother and my older brother. The one thing I would promise myself when we knew we were going to have children one day, I was never going to do that to our children whether it was a boy or a girl. I look at it as being a father is the one gift you can give to yourself…. She's your life, for me she's my life now….

I look at how I grew up myself. I just don't want [my daughter] to experience that – not knowing when your father is going to show up.

An older participant who had raised her children as a single mother after her spouse died expressed similar feelings about ensuring that her children were not raised in the same way that she was:

I guess maybe at about twelve or thirteen years old, I would tell myself when I grow up, when I have children, they will not live in a home like this. They would not experience what I am experiencing. My children lived in a stable environment.

Contrarily, many of the participants who had grown up in positive environments indicated they were either raising or would raise their children in much the same way they had been. The importance of raising children in a way that exposed them to Métis culture/traditions and ensuring they were raised to have a sense of pride in their Métis identity was frequently identified as a parenting priority. Activities such as hunting, participation in community and family gatherings, learning or passing down a traditional language, being exposed to traditional teachings, and spending time on the land were just some of the activities that were cited as being important components of positive Métis parenting. In describing the importance of land and identity one participant stated:

You have to ground yourself in the earth and I really do believe that feeling that connection spiritually, and perhaps physically on occasions, is definitely an important factor; feeling like you're from the land and it is really important to understand that we were the first Canadians and we have to be proud of that. We are Indigenous peoples; we're not something that came later. We are Indigenous, we were here and I think that's it.

Some participants indicated that it was also important for children to have the opportunity to explore and develop pride about not only being Métis, but about the diversity of cultures that make up Métis today.

Whenever I have children, I would want them to grow up from a young age being proud of who they are and know who they are and to know both cultures because my fiancé is not Métis. I would want them to grow up with both cultures and be proud of both of them and be able to experience both sides and not be ashamed of one or the other or be ashamed of being mixed.

Participants also engaged in discussions about parenting in more general terms. Among the issues that emerged was the importance of involving both positive male and female role models in the lives of their children. While some participants suggested that these roles should ideally be fulfilled by a child's parents, participants also acknowledged that for various reasons co-parenting may not be an option.

[I]t's important for children to have positive examples from both men and women.... I'm not too sure if that has to come from a parent.... I know people who come from single-parent families that have done okay and I talked to them about some of their experiences. I think of my cousins for instance. They come from single parent families but there was always a strong role model through my grandma or my grandpa who provided that sort of social link to what was missing from their childhood growing up.

Participants provided varying comments when asked about how male and female children might be parented differently. While it was acknowledged by some that

male and female children may require different types of parenting and that the roles of the mother and father were equally important, it was also suggested that parenting should be adapted based on the needs of the individual child and not his/her gender.

I guess it really depends on the card you're dealt and the child you get and then you sort of adapt your parenting.... Only so much is dictated by parenting and in the end, a lot of it is genetic and who you get. But, yeah, I think they both have their differences and challenges and I think it's important to have two role models if you can. Have a mother and a father to address the sensitivity and the differences.

Well there are different aspects for different genders; they are interested in different things. But really, you just try according to their interests and try to develop that. Usually boys are more interested in kind of outdoorsy things when they come out to hunting camps. Girls too, but not in the same respect as I guess young boys…I don't know, I usually try to focus on what they are interested in at that age and try to develop that.

Above everything else, however, participants expressed the importance of love and ensuring that their children knew they were loved.

The importance of love; I think love in a family is one of main things that we share with our children — their love for us, our love for them and from that love flows protection, support, and all the other things that love brings with it, including good relationships with our children.

In addition to sharing their childhood and adult experiences about parenting, participants also shared their views about some of the challenges that may be faced by young parents today. These included, but were not limited, to:

· financial challenges,
· a lack of awareness about available services and access to culturally safe services,
· unemployment,
· low educational attainment,
· lack of daycare,
· poor financial management skills, and
· lack of social and familial supports.

Health and Well-being

While there was some discussion about biomedical health conditions and concerns expressed about physical conditions such as diabetes, obesity, and hypertension, they were very limited in nature and scope and are therefore not elaborated upon further in this report. The majority of discussion centered on holistic health and well-being. Under this theme, several sub-themes emerged, including access to culturally relevant services, the connection between health and culture, the importance of community approaches to health, and prevention and promotion.

> *For me health means being healthy in a holistic [way]. I take it fairly seriously. To be not only happy with my health from a physical standpoint, but I think on a mental front too. I think that they are just as important….*

Participants also felt that positive health and well-being was directly connected to culture and identity and in particular, a cultural connection to the land.

> *Connection to our heritage is so strongly imbedded in our landscape and we have to reconnect with that. I think a large part of that [can] be achieved by connecting with the urban use [of the land]. That's what I did with an essence of pride that exists in that shitty part of our history. I think [that's what] health is and for me, I think it's tied to that connection and knowing that you can hopefully have a healthy lifestyle by making your relationships with the land.*

Another participant added to this by suggesting that individual health cannot be improved unless issues related to community health are also addressed.

> *[I]n the same way, health is holistic and you can't really talk about individual health without talking about community health. I think a lot of the challenges that are facing urban centres are essentially related to the fact that there are so many people disconnected from the land and I think there is the potential to overcome some of [our] health problems by either sharing knowledge or creating opportunities for people to reconnect with the land.*

Many participants identified the important role that the Métis Nation British Columbia (MNBC) and its Métis Chartered Communities played in fostering health and well-being, citing that they often participated in well-being related activities including gatherings, opportunities to learn about culture and participate in cultural activities, opportunities to participate in physical activities, and health screening and promotional activities. They also offered suggestions on how they thought Métis health and well-being could be improved. These suggestions included:

· Providing opportunities for Métis, including those who live in urban centers, to reconnect with the land in rural settings and within their urban environments

· Increased opportunities for knowledge sharing

· Encouraging physical activity through organized sporting and community activities

· Promoting healthy eating that includes the harvesting and consumption of traditional foods

· Providing opportunities for children and parents to learn about healthy food choices

· Developing culturally safe programming and services

· Creating awareness around the availability of existing programs

· Hosting gatherings that offer the opportunity for youth to engage with positive role models

Education and Learning

Participants were asked to discuss their thoughts and concerns about education. Through this discussion two main themes emerged. The first related to formal education and the second related to the broader concept of learning. Under the theme of formal education, three sub-themes emerged: negative experiences in residential schools and within contemporary educational settings; the importance of providing opportunities for learning about Métis culture within formal educational settings; and the need to acknowledge the legitimacy of life experiences and assessing one's level of educational attainment or qualifications to teach in formal educational settings. Under the theme of learning, the following sub-themes emerged: the importance of lifelong learning and learning beyond the classroom; the importance of the Elders' contributions to learning; and the importance of learning traditional languages and learning from the land.

Many participants indicated they or their children have had negative experiences within formal education systems. For older participants, these experiences were similar to those experienced by residential or mission school attendees and included, but were not limited to, racism, bullying by teachers, and strict discipline for students who spoke their languages at school. More contemporary issues that were faced by students were related to racism and a lack of awareness about Métis, which highlights suggestions as noted by one participant, that "it is important for us to educate the educators."

Despite these often negative experiences, most participants acknowledged the importance of obtaining formal education or training. Participants, however, also acknowledged the importance of less formal opportunities for learning. For example, one participant thought that those who did not have a formal education but had experience or unique skills were often not acknowledged for their skills and contributions. Another highlighted the role that participation in extracurricular activities played in developing character and a sense of responsibility. Still others highlighted the importance of providing opportunities for individuals to develop essential life skills such as how to manage personal finances.

The most frequent comments that emerged with respect to education and learning were those related to the importance of learning about Métis culture and traditions. Elders and traditional knowledge holders were seen as being important to educating Métis both inside and outside of formal school settings. Concerns were raised, however, about the lack of legitimacy given to Elders because many lacked a formal education. Participants also stressed the importance of learning on and from the land. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, several participants expressed the importance of recovering and passing on traditional languages.

[B]oth my parents are Métis, so I grew up from a very young age [knowing] that I was Métis, and knowing the history of it and the ancestry of it, and I remember all the culture of it. I always remember my parents speaking the language but I didn't really understand it. I could pick up some words, but unfortunately, I don't know the language which is something I would like to work on because I think that's a really important thing to pass on.

[When] I look back, it was probably my own immaturity growing up not realizing how important it was to really spend time, to inherit that skill and that knowledge that's so embedded in language, and I don't have it now but my mom was raised with that. Language is so fundamental to your worldview. It's something that I feel like I never quite had.

5.0 CONCLUSION

This research marks an important step in developing a better understanding of the parenting experiences and aspirations of Métis across British Columbia. While more research in this area is needed, it does provide a starting point for the development of policies and programs aimed at addressing the unique needs of Métis. It also acknowledges the stories of those whose lives have been impacted by the intergenerational effects of colonial processes, including the residential and mission school systems. These stories highlight that the struggles faced by Métis with respect to preserving and recovering their cultures, including their traditional languages, have also profoundly affected their family structures and the abilities of some to effectively parent. For many, an immense sense of resilience and determination has emerged from their negative experiences. Many participants vowed not to parent the way that their parent(s) had and expressed their commitment to ensuring that their children are raised in a way that instills a positive sense of identity by incorporating Métis culture and values into their day-to-day lives.

Culture and identity emerged as a theme that crosscut all of the other themes that were explored during the course of this research. Participants stressed the important role that culture and a positive sense of Métis identity plays in raising children and in one's ability to achieve positive well-being. Participants also stressed the important role that extended family and other social supports play in ensuring that Métis children are raised in a healthy and nurturing environment. During discussions about education, participants highlighted the importance of obtaining both a formal education and an understanding of traditional knowledge, specifically as it relates to language and re-establishing connections to the land. While participants acknowledged the role that MNBC and its Métis Chartered Communities play in ensuring the positive well-being of its citizens, they also indicated that more programming and a greater awareness of existing programming and services is needed.

6.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations were developed based on the key findings and suggestions that emerged as a result of the current research study and available Métis statistics. They have been developed with consideration of the factors that affect parenting and the overarching theme of culture and identity that emerged during the focus groups and key-informant interviews.

Programming Recommendations:

Participants indicated that their life experiences have been deeply impacted by their ability or inability to develop a strong sense of Métis identity. They also indicated that they either lacked an understanding of, or access to, culturally safe programs and services that addressed their unique day-to-day needs in a way that will result in positive life changes for them and their children. These include, but are not limited, to:

· Financial challenges,

· Employment opportunities,

· Education opportunities across the life span,

· Adequate daycare,

· Job readiness,

· Improved health,

· Healthy and safe family structures,

· Access to cultural activities and supports,

· Life skills, and

· Social and familial supports.

To address these needs the following is recommended:

✓ Development of sustainable and culturally responsive education and lifelong learning programs and services. This programming should target Métis across the life span but pay special attention to supporting young parents and increasing high school completion rates.

✓ Expansion of existing programs aimed at reducing barriers to employment for Métis parents. These efforts should include job readiness training, job subsidies, and job training. Such programs and services should also address needs such as transportation, childcare, housing, as well as appropriate interview and work attire.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programs and services that aim to provide social, cultural, and parenting support to young parents. These programs should consider the specific needs of single parents and fathers.

✓ Development and implementation of policies that ensure the provision of adequate income support benefits.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programs and services aimed at promoting and supporting healthy intimate relationships and healthy co-parenting relationships after separation. These programs and services should also focus on addressing and preventing intimate partner violence.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programs and services that aim to assist young Métis parents in establishing positive and supportive social networks.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programs that aim to support the development of positive and supportive relationships between Métis parents and their immediate and extended families.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programs that focus on bringing Métis communities and families together for the purpose of sharing, learning about, and reinforcing Métis culture and a positive sense of Métis identity.

✓ Development of sustainable Métis specific and culturally safe programming aimed at reducing chronic disease and promoting health and well-being.

Research and Policy Recommendations:

As previously mentioned, this research provides much needed insight into the parenting experiences and aspirations of Métis in British Columbia. It highlights the resilience with which many Métis have lived their lives and how their experiences of being parented as children have impacted the way they parent or hope to parent their own children. It also describes what participants see as unmet needs and challenges that impact their ability to raise their children in a positive environment that supports healthy development. Many of these challenges have emerged as a result of historical and contemporary policies such as jurisdictional issues that impact or have impacted the day-to-day lives of Métis. While this research does provide some of the evidence required to begin discussions about how to better address the very distinct needs of Métis, further research is required if sustainable and meaningful change is to be made.

The following recommendations are made for further research and policy development:

✓ That Métis be provided with the support required to develop and implement a research agenda that further explores Métis child and family development. This research agenda should be based on a social determinants of health approach to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the diverse needs of Métis. This research should also be national in scope and should include the identification of promising practices and lessons learned.

✓ That the federal and provincial governments work together with the Métis Nation to address existing policy gaps and develop and implement policies that support the establishment of adequate systems to ensure culturally safe, healthy and nurturing environments for Métis families both inside and outside of the home.
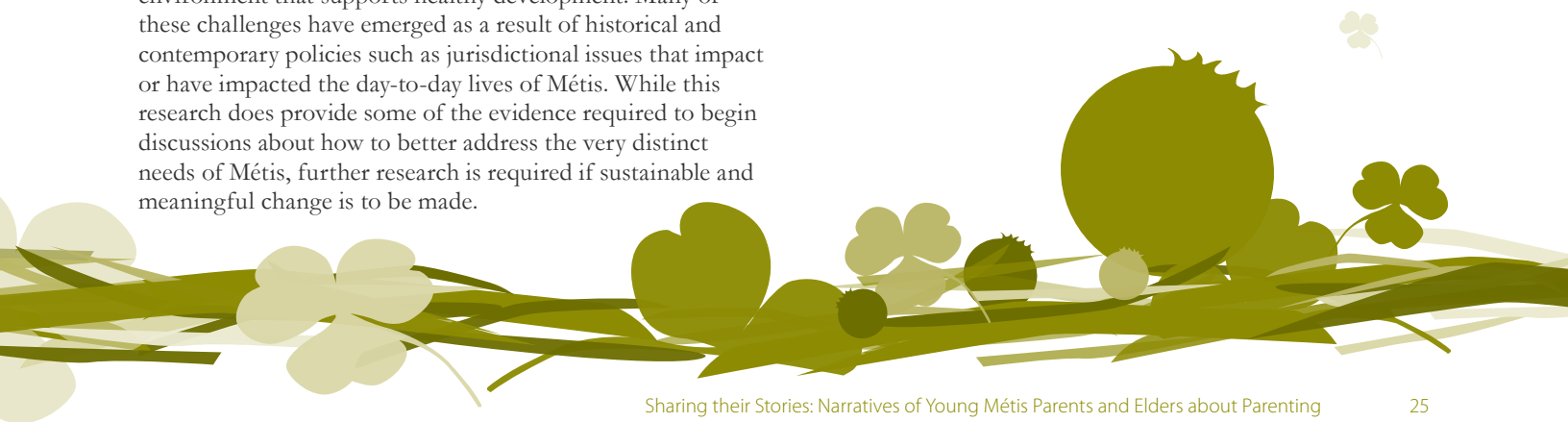
REFERENCES

Aboriginal Healing Foundation. (2008). *From truth to reconciliation: Transforming the legacy of residential schools*. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Retrieved March 27, 2013 from http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/Métiseweb.pdf

Barkwell, L.J., Longclaws, L.N., & Chartrand, D.N. (1989). Status of Métis children within the child welfare system. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 9(1): 33-53.

Bopp, M., Bopp, J., & Lane, P. (2003). *Aboriginal domestic violence in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Retrieved February 10, 2015 from http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/domestic-violence.pdf

Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. (2010). *Tri-Council policy statement: Ethical conduct for research involving humans*. Ottawa, ON: Authors. Retrieved May 12, 2014 from http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf

Chartrand, L.N., Logan, T.E., & Daniels, J.D. (2006). *Métis history and experience and residential schools in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Aboriginal Healing Foundation. Retrieved on February 10, 2015 from http://www.ahf.ca/downloads/Métiseweb.pdf

Chase-Lansdale, P.L. & Pittman, L. (2002). Welfare reform and parenting: Reasonable expectations. *Children and Welfare Reform*, 12(1):167-185. Retrieved on May 12, 2014 from http://futureofchildren.org/futureofchildren/publications/docs/12_01_07.pdf

Constitution Act, 1982, Schedule B to the Canada Act, 1982 (U.K.), 1982, c. 11. Retrieved on May 12, 2014 from http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/CONST/page-4.html#h-18

Dorion, L. (2010). *Opikinawasowin: The life long process of growing Cree and Métis children*. Athabasca, AB: Unpublished Master's Thesis. Retrieved March 26, 2014 from http://www.communityschools.ca/documents/FinalPaperMAIS701-5.pdf

Dorion, L., & Prefontaine, D. (n.d.). *Métis rights and self-government*. Saskatoon, SK: Gabriel Dumont Institute. Retrieved on May 15, 2014 from http://www.Métismuseum.ca/media/db/00725

Gionet, L., & Roshanafshar, S. (2013). *Select health indicators of First Nations people living off reserve, Métis and Inuit*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 82-624-X. Retrieved October 16, 2014 from http://nbatc.ca/en/uploads/file/Select%20Health%20Indicators%20of%20First%20Nations-eng.pdf

Health Canada. (2003). *Acting on what we know: Preventing youth suicide in First Nations*. Ottawa, ON: Health Canada. Retrieved April 20, 2014 from: http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fniah-spnia/alt_formats/fnihb-dgspni/pdf/pubs/suicide/prev_ youth-jeunes-eng.pdf

Janz, T., Seto, J., & Turner, A. (2009). *Aboriginal Peoples Survey, 2006: An overview of the health of the Métis populations*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, Catalogue no. 89-637-X—No. 004. Retrieved March 26, 2014 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-637-x/89-637-x2009004-eng.htm

Kirmayer, L.J., Macdonald, M.E., & Brass, G.M. (2000). *The mental health of Indigenous peoples*. Montreal, QC: Proceedings of the Advanced Study Institute, The Mental Health of Indigenous Peoples, McGill Summer Program in Social and Cultural Psychiatry and the Aboriginal Mental Health Research Team, May 29-31. Retrieved October 15, 2014 from http://www.mcgill.ca/files/tcpsych/Report10.pdf

Lafrance, J., & Collins, D. (2003). Residential schools and Aboriginal parenting: Voices of parents. *Native Social Work Journal*, 4(1): 104-125.

Library and Archives Canada. (n.d.) *Métis scrip: The foundation for a new beginning*. Ottawa, ON: Library and Archives Canada. Retrieved May 11, 2014 from https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/Métis-scrip/005005-2000-e.html

Manitoba Métis Federation and Métis Child and Family Services Authority. (2013). *Métis children and families, and the child welfare system*. Winnipeg, MB: Prepared for the Commission of Inquiry into the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Phoenix Sinclair. Retrieved February 10, 2015 from http://www.mmf.mb.ca/docs/Métis%20Children%20and%20Families,%20and%20the%20Child%20Welfare%20System%20An%20Urban%20Winnipeg%20Perspective.pdf

Métis Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization. (2008). *In the words of our ancestors: Métis health and healing*. Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization.

Métis Centre, National Aboriginal Health Organization. (2009). *Métis fast facts*. Ottawa, ON: National Aboriginal Health Organization.

Métis National Council. (n.d.). *The Métis Nation*. Ottawa, ON: Métis National Council. Retrieved May 11, 2014 from http://www.Métisnation.ca/index.php/who-are-the-Métis

National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health [NCCAH]. (2009). *Messages from the heart: Caring for our children*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health. Retrieved March 26, 2014 from http://www.nccahccnsa.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/33/MFTH_EN_web.pdf

National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Health [NCCAH]. (n.d.). *During the past 12 months, was there ever a time when you felt sad, blue or depressed for 2 weeks or more in a row? by sex for the Métis identity population, Canada, APS 2006*. Prince George, BC: National Collaborating Centre for Aboriginal Peoples Health. Retrieved September 23, 2014 from http://www.Métiscentreresearch.ca/stat_tables/during-past-12-months-was-there-ever-time-when-you-felt-sad-blue-or-depressed-2-weeks-or

O'Donnell, V., & Wallace, S. (2011). *First Nations, Métis and Inuit women*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved March 26, 2014 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11442-eng.pdf

Paletta, A. (2008). *Understanding family violence and sexual assault in the Territories, First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples*. Ottawa, ON: Department of Justice. Retrieved February 10, 2015 from http://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/aj-ja/rr08_1/rr08_1.pdf

Pape and Salter Barristers and Solicitors. (n.d.). R. v. Powley a summary of the Supreme Court of Canada reasons for judgment. Toronto, ON: Pape and Salter Barristers and Solicitors. Retrieved on May 12, 2014 from http://www.pstlaw.ca/resources/Powley%20summary-final.pdf

Royal Commission on Aboriginal People. (1996). Volume 3: Gathering strength. *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People*. Ottawa, ON: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Retrieved February 10, 2015 from http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/webarchives/20071211053544/http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/si7_e.html

Shore, F. (n.d.). *The Métis: The forgotten years 1885-1960*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba. Retrieved May 10, 2014 from https://umanitoba.ca/student/asc/media/Pamphlet_11.pdf

Söchting, I., Corrado, R., Cohen, I.M., Ley, R.G., & Brasfield, C. (2007). Traumatic pasts in Canadian Aboriginal people: Further support for a complex trauma conceptualization? *BC Medical Journal*, 49(5): 320-26.

Statistics Canada. (2008). *Aboriginal Children's Survey, 2006: Family, community and child care*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved March 27, 2014 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-634-x/89-634-x2008001-eng.pdf

Statistics Canada. (2011). *National Household Survey*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada.

Statistics Canada. (2013a). *Aboriginal peoples in Canada: First Nations People, Métis and Inuit*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved March 25, 2014 from http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-011-x/99-011-x2011001-eng.pdf

Statistics Canada. (2013b). Data tables, Highest Certificate, Diploma or Degree by Aboriginal Identity. *2011 National Household Survey*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, catalogue 99-011-X2011037.

Statistics Canada. (2014). *The educational attainment of Aboriginal people in Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved May 18, 2014 from http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-012-x/99-012-x2011003_3-eng.cfm

Teillet, J., & Madden, J. (2013). *Plainspeak on the Daniels case*. Ottawa, ON: Métis National Council. Retrieved May 15, 2014 from http://www.Métisnation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Daniels-Plainspeak-FINAL-REVISED.pdf

Tjepkema, M., Wilkens, R., Senecal, S., Guimond, E., & Penny, C. (2009). *Mortality of Métis and registered Indian adults in Canada: An 11-year follow-up study*. Ottawa,ON: Statistics Canada. Retrieved March 26, 2014 from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/82-003-x/2009004/article/11034-eng.pdf

sharing knowledge · making a difference
partager les connaissances · faire une différence
ᖃᐅᔭᖅᑲᐃᖃᖅᑎᑦᓯᓂᖅ · ᐱᕚᓪᓕᖅᑕᑎᑦᑎᓂᖅ