



**INDIGENOUS
SCREEN
OFFICE**

CONSULTATION PROCESS: INDIGENOUS ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR FUNDING

FINAL REPORT

*Indigenous Screen Office, APTN, and
Archipel Research and Consulting Inc.*

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FORWARD

The Eligibility Report presented here is the product of much work -- emotional, intellectual and communal. We wish to thank Archipel Consulting for conducting the consultations represented here and for authoring the report. We also thank all of those who contributed their time, thoughts and spirit to the process, and we thank those who will contribute to future iterations of this work. This report represents a step in an ongoing journey, which will require the continuation of these important conversations among our communities and nations. It is not lost on any of the organizations involved in the work that this report is the result of issues arising from colonialism and, like so many facets of unpacking colonialism, it is Indigenous Peoples who are forced to do the heavy labour of resolving them. It is work we do because it is necessary to honour and uphold the efforts of our ancestors and of our future relations.

Eligibility for programmes and opportunities at the Indigenous Screen Office and APTN is a multifaceted process, in which identity is only a part, an essential part, but a part. Both organizations exist as the result of much community effort and advocacy, and as such, it is important we ensure their support and programming are directed to those same communities. This report is part of that ongoing process and we look forward to continuing this dialogue on that basis and in a good way. As organizations that uphold the sovereignty of First Nations, Inuit and Métis, we recognize that determinations of citizenship are the purview of those Nations, and that identity is distinct from citizenship. This report will help guide our organizations in determining eligibility for our programmes in a way that includes citizenship as well as notions of belonging and kinship that exist within our Nations, to ensure we are as inclusive of our relations as possible, while also ensuring our funding is directed appropriately.

This report was commissioned specifically for the Indigenous screen sector, thus the participants are largely members of that community. We recognize other sectors and organizations are also seeking clarity around eligibility for Indigenous specific programmes and while this report may provide some guidance, we would encourage those sectors and organizations to engage in the building of their own right relations with our communities and Nations in order to facilitate their own understandings and policy adjustments. The literature review provided with this report contains valuable resources that we encourage others to reference in their own efforts.

At the centre of this report, and all that we do, is community. Our communities have made it clear they expect our programmes to be directed towards community members. We recognize colonialism has separated many, however, we also recognize that understanding who people are and where they come from is an essential aspect of determining eligibility and we will continue to build our policies to reflect this. We expect those who seek out Indigenous-specific support

from our organizations to understand they must detail who they are and where they come from as part of entering into right relations with us. The care taken in the authoring of this report, is the same care we will extend to those applying to our programmes, and we will continue to encourage potential applicants to have done any work necessary to understand their own place within community before applying to our programmes. Telling stories comes with responsibility and one of them is ensuring we are open and honest about our own personal stories, and this is what we expect from those applying to our programmes.

It is with gratitude and humility that this report is presented. It is also with the confidence knowing our communities and Nations continue to face and overcome so many of the issues created by colonialism, and this process secures hard won victories within that larger decolonizing effort. The future of our stories and storytellers lies ahead, and it is rich and full of promise thanks to the efforts of so many. We look forward to helping bring those stories to light and supporting First Nations, Inuit and Métis storytellers as they envision our future and honour our past.

Miigwetch, Nia:wen

Indigenous Screen Office and APTN

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report was developed by Archipel Research and Consulting Inc., in collaboration with the Indigenous Screen Office (ISO) and APTN, as the final report for a national consultation process about Indigenous eligibility requirements for funding. This project intended to analyze and explore considerations for eligibility, including definitions, and criteria needed to identify Indigenous applicants for the purposes of Indigenous-specific funding and support, and to develop policy recommendations and a framework for Indigenous-specific funding. To do so, we connected with Indigenous industry professionals, cultural experts, traditional knowledge keepers, academics, artists, and media content creators from across Canada.

This report summarizes the findings from one-on-one interviews, focus groups, a survey, and open engagements conducted between July and October 2021. A total of 24 interviews and 5 focus groups comprising a total of 24 participants were conducted, along with 173 survey responses, in order to receive input on how funding agencies and organizations like the ISO and APTN should approach Indigenous-specific funding and support. The interviews, surveys, and focus groups led to the development of a brief discussion document, which was then presented back to the Indigenous community in three open engagement sessions with 32 participants. Through these consultations, key themes emerged relating to applicant eligibility and requirements, the application review process, and the remedy process for false representation. These, along with their subsequent recommendations, are explored in depth below.

INTRODUCTION

Indigenous-specific grants and programs from funding organizations are an integral and necessary support for Indigenous artists, filmmakers, and industry professionals across Canada. In recent years, the distribution and eligibility requirements for grants and Indigenous-specific opportunities have come under an increased amount of scrutiny as false claims to Indigenous identity have emerged. Many Indigenous people have expressed the need for eligibility criteria specific to Indigenous identity that is clear, rigorous, and consistent. There is a need to articulate the intricacies of how funding agencies, and organizations managing the distribution of Indigenous-specific resources, may approach eligibility requirements, application review processes, and potential remedial actions for Indigenous-specific grants and programs.

The overarching purpose of this national consultation process was to analyze and explore considerations for eligibility, including definitions and criteria needed to identify Indigenous applicants for the purposes of Indigenous-specific funding and support. The intention of the

research was to find ways to build stronger understanding and processes for organizations like the ISO and APTN that are responsible for distributing funds and resources for Indigenous peoples. This work was undertaken with the underlying belief that First Nation, Inuit, and Métis communities have the right to self-determination and control over their membership. While this project did not fully answer all the questions and complexities surrounding Indigenous identity, the intention was to find ways to build stronger understanding and processes so organizations that are responsible for distributing funds and resources for Indigenous peoples can ensure that resources are directed according to the organization's priorities.

To undertake this work, Archipel partnered with the ISO and APTN to collect and analyze input from Indigenous industry professionals, cultural experts, traditional knowledge keepers, academics, artists, and screen-based creators from across Canada. The results have been organized into key themes, summary recommendations, and policy guidelines to better understand how funding agencies should approach eligibility guidelines, application review process, and potential remedial actions for Indigenous-specific funding.

METHODOLOGY

This project collected data through four approaches:

- a) focus groups,
- b) one-on-one interviews,
- c) survey, and
- d) public engagement sessions.

All approaches prioritized Indigenous research methodologies, including participatory and conversational approaches. The project combined a quantitative, semi-structured research design for one-on-one interviews and focus groups and a stricter, quantitative approach for the survey. The production of the focus groups and one-on-one interviews was grounded in a “kitchen table talk” style meeting. This approach was chosen to encourage participants to join in a relaxed environment, and to facilitate, as best as virtually possible, a knowledge and energy exchange in a manner that we would have if we were able to engage in person. Researchers also ensured that during each step of the project a roundtable approach was used, ensuring that diverse perspectives and holistic approaches were incorporated. A guiding principle used included Etuaptmunk, a Mi'kmaq methodology and framework known as Two-Eyed Seeing. Founded by Mi'kmaq Elders Murdena and Albert Marshall, Two-Eyed Seeing is explained as learning to see

from the strengths of two eyes, as one. This approach involves starting with the Indigenous ways of learning and knowing and combining it with the Western/academic way and using both for the benefit of all. Engaging in two-eyed seeing is a hybrid approach that allows the team to benefit from the values of both Indigenous worldviews and Western academic principles. Researchers were also committed to undertaking this research using a lens of anti-racism and anti-discrimination.

The findings of this report are limited due to the short time frame of this project as well as the season in which the project took place. Summer months can be a challenging season to engage participants in research. The strongest representation of Indigenous voices are from First Nations and Métis, with lower representation from Inuit, Black-Indigenous, and Francophone Indigenous.

PARTICIPATION

a) Focus Groups

Group	Focus Group Attendance
First Nation	5
Métis	7
Inuit	2
Black-Indigenous	7
Francophone Indigenous	3
Total	24

b) Interviews

Group	Interviews
First Nation	18
Métis	3
Inuit	3
Black-Indigenous	2
Francophone Indigenous	1
Total	27

c) Survey

The survey was completed by 173 individuals. The majority of the survey respondents identified as Status First Nations (n=98) and Métis (n=57). There were also a minority of respondents who identified as Inuit (n=5) and non-Status First Nation (n=15). Four respondents indicated a dual affiliation as non-Status First Nation and another Indigenous identity. The majority of the survey respondents lived in or within commuting distance of a city (n=129). The remaining respondents living in a rural community, on-reserve, or in a remote community (n=75).

The sample was representative of people with disabilities in Canada. Approximately 36% of the participants identify as a person with a disability.

d) Engagements

A total of 53 individuals registered for three open engagement sessions, with 32 attending (26 English, 6 French). Participants included a diverse group of First Nations, Métis, Inuit, Black-Indigenous, and Francophone Indigenous individuals.

CONSIDERATIONS

The relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Canada has a rich history that is fraught with struggles, including the historical and ongoing colonization of Indigenous Peoples through forced cultural dislocation, relocation, and assimilation. These are important considerations, regardless of the topic, as Indigenous-specific issues are often not Indigenous-created issues.

One theme that appeared across the entire project is that the existence and need for this project is a result of a problem that Indigenous people did not create. Rather, this issue has resulted from the poor historical and ongoing relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples. To rectify this context, participants consistently approached the project through the lens of self-determination, Indigenous-centered concepts, and traditional governance. Considering this response, below we highlighted key concepts and calls to action from the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples to assist in guiding the interpretation of this work.

[United Nations Declarations on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples](#)

In 2007, The United Nations General Assembly made the decision to adopt the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). UNDRIP recognizes the equal human rights of Indigenous peoples to all other peoples against any form of discrimination and seeks to promote mutual respect and harmonious relations between Indigenous Peoples and Canada. The following are critical UNDRIP Articles:

Article 3

Indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Article 4

Indigenous Peoples, in exercising their right to self-determination, have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

Article 31

1. Indigenous Peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

The 1996 report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) investigated and proposed solutions to the challenges affecting the relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples. Regarding the establishment of Indigenous governance, the Commission concluded the following:

We call upon all federal, provincial, and territorial governments to recognize Indigenous self-determination and inherent jurisdiction over child welfare. Indigenous governments and leaders have a positive obligation to assert jurisdiction in this area. We further assert that it is the responsibility of Indigenous governments to take a role in intervening, advocating, and supporting their members impacted by the child welfare system, even when not exercising jurisdiction to provide services through Indigenous agencies.

Regarding the jurisdiction of Indigenous governments, the Commission concluded:

The right of self-determination is the fundamental starting point for Aboriginal initiatives in the area of governance. However, it is not the only possible basis for such initiatives. In addition, Aboriginal Peoples possess the inherent right of self-government within Canada as a matter of Canadian constitutional law. This right is inherent in the sense that it finds its ultimate origins in the collective lives and traditions of Aboriginal Peoples themselves rather than the Crown or Parliament. More specifically, it stems from the original status of Aboriginal Peoples as independent and sovereign nations in the territories they occupied, as this status was recognized and given effect in the numerous treaties, alliances and other relations maintained with the incoming French and British

Crowns. This extensive practice gave rise to a body of inter-societal customary law that was common to the parties and eventually became part of the law of Canada.

The inherent right of Aboriginal self-government is recognized and affirmed in section 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982 as an Aboriginal and treaty-protected right. The inherent right is thus entrenched in the Canadian constitution, providing a basis for Aboriginal governments to function as one of three distinct orders of government in Canada.

FINDINGS

A growing number of Indigenous people across Turtle Island are voicing concerns about the lack of guidelines for assessing claims to Indigenous identity for institutions that provide funding, grants, resources, and opportunities for Indigenous Peoples. The findings have been organized into five sections: The Powers of Storytelling, Approaching Funding Criteria Through an Indigenous Lens, Indigenous Approaches to Reviewing Applications for Eligibility, Remedy Process, and Creating a Path Forward. Each theme, and their subsequent recommendations, is explored in depth below.

Part 1: The Powers of Storytelling

Before exploring what was shared by participants in the interviews, focus groups, engagements, and survey, it is first necessary to situate these conversations within a broader discussion of the inherent responsibility of storytelling. Participants expressed that being able to tell their stories, and the stories of their communities, on film or television was an honour and a privilege that should not be made light of. Consequently, the opportunity to tell the stories of a nation, community, or family comes with a great deal of responsibility. Those who tell these stories need to be held accountable to their communities. The themes of responsibility and accountability are threaded through this report.

Participants felt that if someone is in the film or television industry, and therefore accessing grants intended for Indigenous film professionals, they have a responsibility to their nation and community. One participant summarized, “You’re in the public eye, therefore you can’t act negligently. You can’t misrepresent or abuse your powers as an Indigenous person or as a funding recipient.” That is why these consultations represent something so much more meaningful than a singular research project. The harm caused by misrepresentations of Indigenous nations or communities through storytelling is two-fold. On one hand, they have potentially taken funding from another Indigenous person. Further, promoting these narratives causes immeasurable harm because they are disseminating a potentially inaccurate representation of a nation, community, or family. This only serves to underscore how central Indigenous

communities need to be to these discussions because of the harm that has been caused to them. Simply put, “community problems need community solutions.” As such, participants were adamant that there is an inherent and reciprocal responsibility associated with storytelling for Indigenous peoples. As one participant noted, there should be “nothing about us if you’re not us.”

Due to the sense of responsibility that Indigenous storytellers have to their community and nation, the policy recommendations that have been developed through these consultations are intended to be specific to the film and television industry, which was the purview of this consultation process. Conversations were held primarily with individuals in digital media, however other experts adjacent to the industry were consulted. While there may be applications of these policy recommendations in other fields, such as in academia or job hiring, they have specifically been developed with film and television criteria in mind. The intention of focusing on the specific context of film and television was to address the harm that is caused when fraudulent claimants to Indigenous identity disseminate fabricated or misleading narratives.

The Significance of Now

There have been several high-profile instances of people fraudulently claiming Indigeneity for arts funding that have left many Indigenous people feeling exploited, targeted, and vulnerable. These are difficult conversations to have, and these high-profile cases have set a tone of sensitivity, anger, or uncertainty for many. The problems facing Indigenous people in terms of identity eligibility are complex and fraught and can be incredibly difficult and draining to address. It is difficult to undertake these conversations in a way that is not reactive to these high-profile cases. While it is vital that institutions like the ISO and APTN undertake these difficult conversations, it needs to be done with care and the acknowledgement that there is a current climate of hurt.

Many others felt that it was not the responsibility of Indigenous organizations to have to address these issues at all when they are settler-created problems. Some participants raised concerns for the capacity of Indigenous organizations to undertake this work, and how it should not even be their responsibility to begin with. Many Indigenous organizations are already understaffed and overworked, and it would not be fair to offload this responsibility onto them. Quite simply, they do not have the capacity to also undertake this additional work, which can be both time consuming and emotionally draining.

Rights of Stories and Art

When considering stories and art, participants felt it was important to distinguish and define individual property rights vs. collective property rights. Indigenous concepts of collective property rights can range from rights belonging to a specific nation, community, or families. Cultural icons and heroes would be an example of collective property rights of a nation, whereas family beadwork patterns (e.g., patterns, designs and colours that are unique to certain families within a nation/community) would be an example of familial collective property rights. Western understandings of individual intellectual property rights are often incongruent with Indigenous understandings because they do not consider responsibility to community.

While collective property rights are important, they should not be used to dismiss the validity of individual property rights within Indigenous communities as these also exist within a traditional Indigenous lens and a contemporary one. An artist's work surrounding subjects that would generally fall under the concept of "collective property rights" needs to have the weight of the individual interpretation considered, and the individual property rights that encompass that interpretation. An example of collective property rights entwined with individual property rights could be a children's book that tells a traditional story from a certain nation with illustrations done by a member of that community. The content of the story itself would be the part that falls under collective property rights, while the illustrations—the individual interpretation—would be an individual property right of the artist. Therefore, it is vital to understand the balance between individual property rights and collective Indigenous property rights when addressing issues concerning Indigenous eligibility. An Indigenous artist may be responsible for and representing their entire nation, community, or family in their art, specifically when it contains traditional or communal stories, songs, dances, or cultural expressions.

Part 2: Approaching Funding Criteria Through an Indigenous Lens

All research participants—from First Nations, Inuit, Métis, Francophone Indigenous, and Black-Indigenous communities—agreed that funding organizations need to take more care to ensure they do not financially support those who fraudulently claim to be Indigenous. The consensus amongst participants was that the current eligibility criteria of self-identification is not adequate to ensure funding and resources are legitimately allocated. Participants asserted that there is a need for change in terms of the eligibility and requirements for Indigenous-specific funding and that these changes must be led by the broader and diverse Indigenous community.

Specificity Questions

Participants nearly universally expressed that the first step in determining the eligibility of an applicant to Indigenous-specific funding should be a simple series of questions. Simply put, applicants should immediately have to answer what nation, community, or in some cases tribe, they belong to. The general consensus was that if an applicant is eligible, they should have little trouble or hesitancy answering these questions.

Some participants expressed that funding applications should also include questions such as where an applicant grew up, their lineage, if they grew up on a reserve, and whether they had personal or familial experience in the residential school or child welfare systems. Questions could also include asking about the meaning of community to the applicant and how an applicant actively participates in and contributes to their community. Participants suggested that any applicants with legitimate ties to an Indigenous community would be willing and able to answer these questions. As one participant noted:

By definition it is an exclusionary process, any time you create a criteria you are doing it for a reason to exclude people who are not members of that group. If there were no issues with fakery, false claims of identity, and impacting collective rights of the communities, we wouldn't have to go through this process.

However, participants also flagged potential issues with this line of questioning about identity, family, and life experiences. Questions concerning one's own or familial experience with racist institutions like the residential school system could be very triggering for some applicants. Importantly, this line of questioning may not be in line with the harm reduction approach underlying this research, and instead can leave applicants retraumatized, exhausted, and over-exposed.

Citizenship & Membership

Although many formal membership cards, such as the Indian Status card, are tools grounded in and directed by colonial constructs, there was clear consensus that membership in recognized First Nation, Métis, and Inuit communities is one valid and acceptable form of identification for funding purposes. Participants were also clear that expired membership cards should be accepted as well; as one participant put it, "Indigenous people don't expire." The critical consideration here was what constitutes a recognized First Nation, Métis, and Inuit membership card?

For First Nations, membership cards are Indian Status cards. Contention arises when considering what constitutes a valid membership for Inuit and Métis applicants. Participants from each of these groups spoke clearly on this: all agreed that the only valid Inuit and Métis organizations are those who are accepted by the larger Inuit and Métis communities.

Métis participants opposed the co-opting of their Métis identity by those not from the traditional Métis homelands, particularly those in Eastern Canada. Many Métis participants were also deeply concerned about their identity being co-opted by those with only a distant Indigenous ancestor. To combat these issues, most participants supported requiring applicants who claim to be Métis to have citizenship cards from any of the five recognized provincial Métis governments (Manitoba Métis Federation, Métis Nation of Saskatchewan, Métis Nation of Alberta, Métis Nation of British Columbia, or the Métis Nation of Ontario). The Métis Settlements of Alberta is also acceptable. The definition of community authenticity, as suggested by the collective Métis Focus Group, should encompass recognized Métis organizations. Currently there are five recognized provincial Métis organizations:

- Métis Nation of Ontario
- Manitoba Métis Federation
- Métis Nation of Saskatchewan
- Métis Nation of Alberta
- Métis Nation of British Columbia

There is also the Métis Settlements General Council (MSGC), which is a collective representative body of the eight provincially recognized Métis settlements in Alberta outside of the Métis Nation of Alberta (MNA). Future considerations could be made in instances where a new Métis governing body gains recognition by the Métis community. The issue of Métis identity is still fluid and should be re-assessed on a continuous basis as more information and recognition evolves within the community itself.

Inuit participants felt that Inuit membership under one of the recognized Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami groups was representative of their traditional governance concepts. One Inuit participant articulated:

Our membership [is] based off of the three-generation rule. It is more inclusive than the Indian Act and is better representation of our values... the three-generation rule means that whoever is the last person to have lived in community, practiced our ways of life, spoke our language, then membership extends to their grandchildren automatically... [An example] is that I live in my community and speak Inuktitut and even though I am mixed-blood, membership will extend to my grandchildren – no matter what.

While participants were almost universally in support of the need to provide supporting documents confirming Indigenous identity, participants were also clear that those without membership cards should not be discriminated against or excluded because there are many

barriers to obtaining membership cards. Many participants acknowledged the role that colonialism has played in displacing some Indigenous peoples from their communities. For instance, assimilationist policies like the Indian Act, residential schools, and the child welfare system have led to the erasure of necessary identifying documents for many Indigenous peoples and the historical and ongoing separation of Indigenous people from their communities. In these cases, finding birth certificates may be difficult and may leave the eligibility of some potential applicants in question if this documentation is required.

Further, several First Nations participants raised concerns about the gender inequalities present in the Indian Act that have specifically affected Indigenous women. The Indian Act of 1876 contained a significant number of sex-based discriminatory provisions, such as denying Indian status to Indigenous women who married non-Indigenous men. Although there have been several amendments to the Act to correct this discrimination, the most recent being the 2019 Bill S-3 that targeted eliminating known sex-based inequities in the Act, participants were still concerned that there remain adverse impacts on Indigenous women. Concerns were equally raised that status cards were colonial constructs based on outdated and discriminatory criteria. One participant noted:

The government often have too much power – documentation is all up to the government, they say people are more native than others and often people more “native” than others are thrown in the gutter...Resulting from various barriers which have accumulated within Indigenous-related policies being defined, described, and implemented from the government, Indigenous communities have faced barriers to Indigenous Sovereignty and self-governance.

Some participants suggested that denying potential funding to anyone who could not provide these documents due to current and historic colonial processes would serve only to further entrench the harm that these processes have caused.

To prevent this harm, some participants were supportive of measures that allowed non-recognized Indigenous individuals who do not have membership in a First Nation band to potentially provide other forms of proof. One participant explained how their community has addressed such membership issues: “I have seen our Chief and Council have band resolutions for someone who doesn’t have membership just so that person can apply to certain scholarships or funding programs.”

However, many First Nations participants were adamant that the majority of funding should still be awarded to those who could provide this documentation. While most participants supported a funding model that was inclusive of those who may have been displaced from their community by the colonial state, doing so should not come at the expense of robust measures to ensure that

the system is not taken advantage of. In short, as one interviewee noted, “inclusivity should not override the essential basis to what it means to be Indigenous.”

Connections & Accountability to Community

Many participants discussed community connectedness as an application requirement throughout the project. However, the definition, considerations, and mitigating factors of being connected to an Indigenous community in relation to eligibility criteria were vast and diverse. In particular, each identity group surveyed—i.e., First Nations, Inuit, Métis, Francophone Indigenous, and Black-Indigenous—presented different perspectives on community connectedness and the implications of this application requirement.

From the First Nations perspective, there was an overwhelming consensus that Indigenous identity is inseparable from connection to one’s home or ancestral community. Several participants noted that identity is defined in the Indigenous context by, in the words of one participant, the “relationships we have with people and place, that one’s relationship to people and place is their identity and that is community.” Community was defined by another participant as a “sustained collective relationship that involves people and place.”

Francophone Indigenous participants agreed that applicants should have an established link to an Indigenous community and that Indigenous communities should be involved in determining an individual’s eligibility. One participant highlighted their desire to see space on applications where they could describe their community relations and connections:

I prefer [application] questions that require and encourage lengthy and elaborate responses in order to start a conversation and not just be reduced to a box to check off. A space where I can explain who I am, my history, connections to my community as well as gaps and how I wish to rectify those gaps. Here are the people that I’m responsible to and accountable to. People claim me and I claim them and here’s how we are accountable to each other.

It was generally accepted among Francophone Indigenous participants that an applicant with a legitimate claim to Indigenous identity would be able to clearly explain their claim even if they could not provide supporting documentation.

Inuit participants firmly reiterated the importance of belonging to the Inuit community through cultural relational ties and membership. The Inuit approach to kinship and family is distinct from that of other Indigenous groups. Participants were clear that having one parent who is Inuit indefinitely makes the children Inuit. Simply put, if one parent is registered as an Inuit community member, the child is eligible. However, Inuit participants, like other participants, still stressed the need for more insight on the difference between relationship and statistical criteria.

To prevent individuals from making false claims of being Indigenous based on stated community relationships, participants suggested that communities themselves—with the support of funding organizations—should guide these processes of validating identity. For instance, applicants may need to provide names from their community to vouch for and affirm these community connections.

While many expressed the importance of community relationships to Indigenous identity, all participants were also aware of the colonial violence that Indigenous people have faced in this country and the struggles of disconnection from community, staying connected to community, and reconnecting to community. One participant noted, “When we remember that people are disconnected, they were scooped from actual people and actual places.” In the struggle to stay connected, some participants noted that community relations are not always healthy and positive. Participants shared that sometimes Indigenous people cannot be in good relations with their community.

Feeling disconnected from community and unable to maintain healthy community relations was a particularly prevalent issue among Black-Indigenous participants. Black-Indigenous participants were especially concerned with the intergenerational impacts of colonial trauma on community relations. For instance, many openly shared experiences of being treated as “pretendians” (i.e., “pretend Indians”) because of their intersectionality as Black and Indigenous. Colonial understandings of identity assume that an individual cannot be recognized as “fully” Black-Canadian and “fully” Indigenous at the same time, and this ideology has infiltrated wider societal understandings of community membership and identity. Many participants felt that as Black-Indigenous people they do not belong in either community and are often overlooked, under-mentioned, and excluded from the Indigenous community. Black-Indigenous individuals experience a profound lack of recognition within the Indigenous communities they are a part of. This experience contributes to undermining the Indigeneity of Black-Indigenous peoples that can be especially problematic if community connection is centered as a requirement for funding eligibility.

Another group that expressed concerns about including community connection in eligibility criteria were those who identified as 2SLGBTQIA+. These participants shared that not all Indigenous communities are inclusive towards sexually and gender diverse people, which has resulted in some Indigenous peoples not being able to maintain connection or relations with their communities.

The majority of participants echoed that relational responsibility is not just about being responsible to Indigenous people within your community or nation, but that it also extends internationally. There’s a responsibility to care and respect each other and not cause further harm

through lateral violence. There was one specific instance during the project where it was evident that there are still misunderstandings of Métis identity among non-Métis people. This misunderstanding led to laterally violent comments toward the Métis. One Metis¹ participant stated:

A lot of the comments stemmed from a basic misunderstanding of Metis identity, such as claiming we rely on one long distant ancestor from the 1600s to call ourselves Indigenous and undeservedly take grant money. They also used this misunderstanding of Metis identity as their main reasoning for why they felt that First Nations and Metis funding pools should be divided, saying they didn't feel as though Metis people with such disconnected ancestry deserved to be accessing the same funds as them. They also doubled down a few times on their comments saying they didn't know enough about Metis people to form an opinion on us. I was bothered by the comments being made as the group were fully aware that there was a Metis person on the call with them, as I had introduced myself and affiliated myself to my nation and community

Participants shared that applicant eligibility must consider the nuanced relations that people have both to the community of their families and ancestors and the ways individuals have had to adapt to their personal contexts—which may include not maintaining relations to community.

Reconnecting to Community

Throughout this project, interview and focus group participants worked to balance the inclusion and interests of Indigenous people who are still experiencing dislocation from their communities and cultures while also honouring the process of reclamation and reconnecting to community.

In doing so, a significant number of participants expressed clear concerns regarding providing funding for Indigenous peoples who “do not know their story.” Knowing one’s story was defined by one participant as “knowing your nation, community, family, culture, language, and kin ties.” Many participants acknowledged that given the current efforts of Indigenous-led revitalization and reclamation, many communities and Indigenous individuals are doing the work to reconnect and learn their stories, and those that do know their stories should be honoured and prioritized. Focus groups and interview participants were particularly concerned that allowing those still in the process of reclaiming their identity to receive funding would lead to individuals with too weak or too distant a claim receiving funding instead of legitimately Indigenous people.

The survey results presented a different perspective on this issue from the interviews and focus groups, with most survey participants suggesting that providing funding to those in the process

¹ The use of “Metis” here is the preferred spelling of Metis according to the participant’s nation. It differs from the standard Métis.

of reconnection, or in the process of learning their stories, would result in more Indigenous people returning home, or returning to their stories. From this understanding, allowing those in the process of reclaiming connections to community to be eligible for Indigenous-specific funding may bolster processes of Indigenous revitalization more generally.

Indeed, there was a general sense of people wanting to support those who had been disconnected from community. Many participants felt there is a need to bring those who are disconnected back into the community and a need to support them. As one participant put it, “I don’t know all the stories or situations. I’m always surprised at how displaced they are. How do we bring our own people back?” While there was a sentiment among many participants that those who were reconnecting to their communities should be supported in their journey, participants were also adamant that this support does not come without a responsibility to work towards relationship with their community. As one participant noted, “we’re changing our language from a right to a responsibility.” Simply put, it is not someone’s right to access funding without also working on creating and maintaining relationships to community.

The question remains of whether funding agencies like the ISO are responsible for providing funding for individuals who, while they may have legitimate ties to an Indigenous community, are still on a journey of reclaiming their Indigenous identity.

Supporting Documents

One method repeatedly raised was to require applicants without membership to submit letters of support from various Indigenous leaders, individuals, or organizations. Participants suggested that letters of support were acceptable from Chief and Council members and community leaders such as program directors and managers. Additionally, some participants suggested allowing letters of support from off-reserve Indigenous organizations like Friendship Centres and Elders. This method would involve an element of accountability and responsibility to the broader Indigenous community, as well as provide opportunity for those who are not able to acquire membership.

Participants also insisted that cautionary approaches must be taken when soliciting supporting letters, particularly from Indigenous organizations and Elders. When considering accepting letters of support from organizations such as Friendship Centres, issues such as capacity limitations and legislative restrictions may arise. Furthermore, participants raised concerns around non-Indigenous peoples using urban organizations as way to assert claims to Indigenous spaces.

Caution also needs to surround letters of support from Elders, as Elders within Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities may be targeted for exploitation and undue influence. The Métis Focus Group was particularly concerned that letters of support could further the vulnerability of Elders, with one participant noting, “[I have watched] individuals bully Elders within the community to support their claims to being Indigenous. I don’t want them to be targeted for letters of support when they many are working to share teachings and stories. Elders should be cherished and valued, not exploited.” Elders should not be the primary or only substantiating document.

Although most participants supported the use of supporting documentation and letters, questions remained concerning what constitutes a valid letter of support. Concerns were raised that urban Indigenous organizations or Friendship Centres may not have the legitimacy or knowledge required to determine who has a rightful claim to Indigeneity. On the other hand, others argued that those who had been disconnected from their community relied on urban organizations and Friendship Centres as their community. Some participants, especially those in urban communities, felt that excluding urban Friendship Centres could further harm those who were disconnected from their communities and unable to obtain other letters of support.

Family Lore

Participants in all aspects of this project stressed that family lore or distant ancestry is not a legitimate means by which to claim Indigenous identity for funding. Participants noted that some applicants may not have access to letters of support from community, Indigenous organizations, and Elders if they have been separated from Indigenous communities. For example, this separation may occur because of individuals being adopted into non-Indigenous families or for reasons such as lateral violence within communities. In these cases, multiple participants suggested alternatives such as sworn affidavits or sworn statements from family members may be appropriate. One person noted these alternatives may provide accountability, stating:

There may be barriers I don’t even know of... so, if you can have a few family members vouch for what you’re claiming, there is some recognition happening... where the person claiming is being held accountable to... it probably makes it less likely someone would falsely claim funding.

However, some participants were worried these kinds of statements could leave too much space for those with family folklore to be eligible applicants. This concern could be addressed through specifying clear requirements of what the letter of supports must say—for instance, applicants may be required to name their nation and ancestral community or communities.

Part 3: Indigenous Approaches to Reviewing Applications for Eligibility

With the historied and nuanced landscape of Indigeneity, it is important to develop an application review process that adequately accounts for these complexities in the eligibility criterion. From the focus groups, interviews, engagements, and surveys, the necessity to include all Indigenous reviewers or jurors into the application process became evident. From these discussions numerous suggestions for how to review funding, including a triage framework, an independent review panel, and distinction-based reviewing were developed. Each is explained in the following section.

Triage Framework

Participants unanimously agreed that applications for funding should be reviewed only by other Indigenous peoples. In this review process, participants suggested that emphasis should be placed on ethics and the recognition of individuals as a “human person” as opposed to an applicant number. While many participants suggested that a panel should review all applications, others proposed that the review of applications could be approached through a “triage framework.” This framework would require an Indigenous case manager to identify those who are “approved” for funding through the predetermined requirements, and those who are in a “grey area.” Any application that was placed in the “gray area” category would be required to be further assessed by the review panel before they would be eligible to be considered for funding.

Questions were raised about who the Indigenous case manager would be and how they would be selected. In theory, they would be subject to the same Indigenous eligibility requirements laid out in this document, including membership in a First Nation, Métis, or Inuit organization, and supporting documentation. However, concerns were raised over having a single Indigenous case manager, as that person may be overwhelmed with applications, and they would not necessarily be familiar with the intricacies of belonging in each Indigenous community across the country.

Independent Review Panel

For the reasons previously stated, many participants suggested that all applications should be evaluated by an independent review panel instead of an Indigenous case manager. This panel would be responsible for reviewing the eligibility elements of each application, including specificity questions, citizenship, or membership, and supporting documentation. Criteria for who could be a member of this panel are explored below.

However, some participants raised concerns that many juries were already stretched thin and would not have the time or capacity to evaluate the Indigeneity of all applicants in addition to evaluating their applications. It should be noted that this approach would include a separate panel

from the jury evaluating the applications, and thus would not present an additional burden for application juries that may already be overwhelmed.

Considerations for Who is Reviewing

Many participants championed the idea of having diverse Indigenous peoples—from a broad range of communities and identities—as opposed to having a panel consisting only of local Indigenous community representatives. It was suggested this approach would work towards evading notions of pan-Indianism. Additionally, though it was acknowledged that recognition of eligibility can be best supported by people who come from the same nation or community, this method of validity was referred to as a “reverse conflict of interest,” where reviewers may privilege those who they know.

Research participants also identified the inclusion of diverse community members on the review panels as a key priority. Participants cautioned against only the inclusion of “big activists” or academics because utilizing an academic definition of Indigeneity will not offer a solution that is directly tied to the community and the community’s knowledge of the applicant’s authenticity and involvement. Rather, academic approaches can perpetuate generalized understandings and definitions. One Black-Indigenous participant captured this concern about using only prominent people to define eligibility, sharing that these people “leave us out... Academia does not look to other lines or definitions of criteria for community.”

The route to avoid this exclusion suggested by the participants is the inclusion of diverse community members in the review process, such as Elders, youth, 2SLGBTQIA+ people, community members, program directors, Indigenous leaders, urban Indigenous community members, and intersectional Indigenous persons (e.g., Black-Indigenous, mixed heritage, and other intersectional people). Additionally, participants advocated for the inclusion of and partnership with local Indigenous communities in the application process to recognize and represent the communities on whose lands organizations operate.

Distinction-Based Reviewing

Some participants suggested that this panel be comprised of Métis, Inuit, and First Nation reviewers, with each reviewing applications according to their background. For example, an Inuit person would review an Inuit person’s application, and a Métis person would review a Métis person’s application. After the application has been reviewed by the specific community members, it should be reviewed by a collective group panel, representing diverse Indigenous Nations. Participants advocated for this method of application review as it was understood that Indigenous people would have a better understanding of who might be falsely claiming

Indigeneity. The inclusion of a peer review process was recommended across the research process. One participant summarized:

All of our problems, our identifiers and our cultures or languages are very unique and very different. And I, as First Nations person cannot speak about Métis or Inuit issues or their membership or citizenship, and vice versa. So, I think we need to stop the pan-Indigenous way of thinking and the one shoe fits all way of looking at things because we're so distinctive. That would allow us to deal with our issues that are specific to our Nations and peoples.

Avoiding Funding Fatigue

Concerns were raised by some participants that increased scrutiny in terms of eligibility could lead to funding fatigue for some applicants. In many cases, the funding application process is already very time-consuming, and many participants shared that they do not feel as though they have the capacity to provide additional supporting documentation on all their funding applications. Further concerns were raised for the capacity of community members to be asked to repeatedly provide letters of support or documentation for applicants. For these reasons, it is recommended that an applicant would only have to undergo this review once, for their initial application, and then they would be “greenlighted” for subsequent applications. If concerns were raised about an applicant after that had already received funding, they would have to undergo this process again.

Recommendations for Application Review Process

Participants unanimously agreed that Indigenous community membership and identity support documents should be reviewed by a panel of Indigenous peoples. The ideal construction of a review panel includes a diverse group of Indigenous community members that have lived experience within a variety of Indigenous communities. This includes ensuring panelists from First Nation, Inuit, and Métis community members, as well as youth representatives, and Elders. This diversity was seen as essential as it is the best way to affirm Indigeneity and community ties, and it is congruent with Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination.

Additional elements that must be included are: (a) ensuring there is a mechanism to avoid conflict of interest, such as panelists excusing themselves when there is an application from a person(s) they have relations with; (b) considering limitations on the length of a term for each panelists; and (c) including demographically and geographically diverse panelists.

Part 4: Remedy Process

Developing a remedy approach for fraudulent claims to Indigenous identity requires a two-pronged approach. Collectively, participants spoke passionately about the need for a remedy process when there is a possibility that a funding recipient has falsely claimed an Indigenous identity. It must first be determined whether a fraudulent claim has been made and, if there was, what an appropriate remedy would be. Before discussions of repayment or restitution can take place, it must first be determined if and when a fraudulent claim has been made.

Identifying Fraudulent Claims

To determine if a funding recipient has falsely claimed Indigenous-specific funding, several participants suggested funding agents develop a third party, comprised of one or more Indigenous persons, who would lead an investigation and make a determination.

Alternatively, many participants proposed that the community the accused has claimed to be from should have the opportunity to be involved in the remedy process. Participants suggested that the community should be given an opportunity to determine whether they wish to investigate the person themselves or have the ISO conduct the investigation.

Many participants who suggested communities be allowed to determine the results of the investigation were also aware that not all communities have the capacity or the ability to undertake an investigation. Additionally, as spoken to in the Connections and Accountability to Community section of this report, there are many reasons why applicants and communities could have poor relations with their communities, and the outcome of investigations should not be impeded by communities.

Some participants called for more transparency in this process, stressing that all funds granted by the ISO should be made public, not just those that were later determined to have been awarded to an applicant falsely claiming to be Indigenous. These announcements would include the community to which an applicant was claiming to belong. While the list of grant winners is currently available, it does not include the community to which the winners claim to belong, something that participants stressed was important to ensure accountability. This would provide avenues for the broader Indigenous community to be included in and up to date on funding processes and distribution.

Remedying Fraudulent Claims

After a false claim has been determined, participants suggested several remedial actions that could be considered. Across all groups, the consensus was that funds granted to those who were

later determined to be co-opting an Indigenous identity needed to be paid back. Participants felt that when enough false claimants had been forced to repay the money they had received, others would be discouraged from falsely claiming to be Indigenous on future applications. Many participants also felt that whatever money was recovered from false claimants should be redistributed to applicants with rightful claims to the community from which the original applicant claimed to belong.

There were clear competing views amongst participants on if these findings should be made available publicly. Some participants advocated that these findings needed to be publicly released as doing so may prevent further fraudulent claims from that individual and would hold them accountable to their peers and the public. However, concerns were raised that publicly announcing these findings would raise significant privacy concerns and could risk harm to the applicant and the community to which they were claiming to belong. Simply put, many felt that publicly shaming someone was not in line with Indigenous ways of being. This sentiment was especially strong amongst participants in the open engagement sessions. Ultimately, if the ISO chooses to make public a claim that has been determined to be fraudulent, it must be done with care and with the desires of the community at the forefront.

Part 5: Creating a Path Forward

Summary Application Recommendations

These recommendations come from digital story tellers and are specific to the experiences of the digital media industry, however other sectors could also draw from them. Throughout this project, it became clear that there is a growing collective voice from the Indigenous community calling for the recognition of Indigenous self-determination. The best way to support self-determination is to honor the voice and direction of the Indigenous community.

Although false identity claims and dislocation are not an Indigenous-created issue, Indigenous groups and communities are willing to speak up to address this. It is now only a matter of listening.

Despite the diversity within the Indigenous community itself, common approaches to demonstrate community membership and eligibility become evident throughout the process. Through intensive and active listening, collective discussions, and applying an Indigenous and anti-racism lens, the following are the consolidated policy recommendations.

Applicant Eligibility & Requirements

Although participants made it clear that membership cards are not the only means of proving one's Indigenous identity, they are still a valid and acceptable form of identification. Participants were also clear that expired membership cards should be accepted.

For First Nations, membership cards are an Indian status card. Contention arises when considering what constitutes a valid membership for Inuit and Métis applicants. Participants spoke clearly on this: both groups agreed that the only valid Inuit and Métis organizations are those who are accepted by the larger Inuit and Métis communities.

Alternatively, if an applicant does not have a membership card, they must (1) submit a letter explaining their story, which includes identifying their nation, ancestral and/or contemporary community, as well as their reasons as to why they are not able to obtain membership; and (2) submit a letter(s) of support. For (2), participants were clear on who these letters of support can be from:

i) An applicant can submit a letter of support for one's identity, which must identify the name of the applicant's nation and name of their community and their relational connection to that community. These letters can be from:

- A Band Council Resolution;
- A program director and/or manager of the claimed Indigenous community;
- Chief and/or Council member;
- Potentially from a board member and/or executive director of an Indigenous Friendship Centre (though further study and discussion should be done to determine if this should be considered).

ii) If the applicant is not connected with their community (whether by means of being adopted out and/or other reasons) they can submit a minimum of two sworn statutory declarations from family members (including customary adoptive and legal adoptions) that clearly identify their nation, community, and reason they are not connected to their Indigenous community. However, these testimonies need to be carefully examined so that they do not make way for family lore or distant ancestry to be accepted to claim funding.

It is worth noting that there are competing thoughts on whether it is acceptable to have letters of support coming from Indigenous Elders. On the one hand, survey participants were advocates for such inclusion. But on the other hand, many interview and focus group participants were concerned that including letters from Elders could leave Indigenous Elders further vulnerable to exploitation. Based on balancing these two competing interests, we recommend against requiring or encouraging letters of support from Indigenous Elders.

Application Review Process

Participants agreed that Indigenous community membership and identity support documents should be reviewed only by other Indigenous peoples. This could take the form of an initial Indigenous case manager or program manager who could flag potentially problematic applications or a review panel.

The ideal construction of a review panel includes a diverse group of Indigenous community members that have lived experience within a variety of Indigenous communities. This includes ensuring panelists from First Nation, Inuit, and Métis community members, as well as youth representatives and Elders. This diversity was seen as essential as it is the best way to affirm Indigeneity and community ties, and it is congruent with Indigenous sovereignty and self-determination. There were also calls to consider distinction-based review, meaning the panel would review applications according to their background.

Additional elements that must be included are: (a) ensuring there is a mechanism to avoid conflict of interest, such as panelists excusing themselves when there is an application from a person(s) they have relations with; (b) considering limitations on the length of a term for each panelists; and (c) including demographically and geographically diverse panelists.

Recommendations for Remedy Process

Collectively, participants spoke passionately about the need for a remedy process when there is a possibility that a funding recipient has falsely claimed an Indigenous identity. This process has been broken into two parts: (a) the process to determine if there is a false claim; and (b) remedies available for rectifying a false claim.

a) Determining if there is a false claim

When an issue of whether someone has falsely claimed an Indigenous identity comes to light, participants advocate that funders should promptly assign a third party (an individual or a jury/committee) to complete an investigation into said person. During the initial stages of this investigation, the community the accused identified with should be approached and invited to participate in the investigation.

Once this investigation is completed, if the person is found guilty, funders should move to determine an appropriate remedy. Whether or not the identified Indigenous community opted to partake in the initial investigation, they should also be invited to assist in determining the appropriate remedy measures.

Considering the divide among participants on whether the results of the investigation should be published, it should be a decision left to the Indigenous community the accused is affiliated with (or claims to be affiliated with) to decide.

b) Remedies for a false claim

In determining appropriate remedy processes, participants grounded themselves in Indigenous restorative justice approaches. A variety of recommendations were presented. These recommendations fall into three categories:

1. Indigenous Practices of Harm Reduction
2. Returning Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights
3. Restitution

The process to determine which remedy would be appropriate must be decided on a harm-reduction basis. A combination approach to remedies was advocated for by participants, as each category addresses a different element of harm.

1. Indigenous Practices of Harm Reduction

Ensuring there are Indigenous practices of harm reduction available in the remedies was prominently discussed among all participants. There is a desire to see those who have caused harm to Indigenous communities by falsely claiming Indigenous identity to participate in relevant Indigenous ceremonies, with the goal to understand their wrong.

These suggestions included: delivering written and/or oral apologies to the community; partaking in blanket ceremonies; community gatherings; active listening; and healing circles.

The appropriateness of these recommended remedies would need to be entirely determined by the Indigenous community and/or nation harmed.

2. Returning Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights

It is crucial that funders support The United Nations General Assembly decision to adopt the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) in 2007. UNDRIP is clear about the importance of Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights (IIPRs).

UNDRIP Article 31 states that Indigenous people “have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions.” Indigenous people maintain both individual expressions of IIPRs through their life experiences and creations, as well as communal IIPRs.

Participants suggested that once a recipient of funding is found to have falsely claimed an Indigenous identity, the rights and revenue for the work they completed and/or created should be returned to a) the community they claimed; or b) other Indigenous persons who were heavily involved in the project. This ensures accountability by funders and funding recipients to Indigenous communities. This accountability is a critical theme throughout the project.

3. Restitution

The third category is restitution. Participants discussed in length their interests in seeing the funding returned and then re-distributed to other Indigenous artists and/or communities.

Although large funding grants may not be able to be restored, participants focused on the principle of giving back. The concept hinges less on the actual amount of money and more on the act of giving back something that does not belong to you. This is the form of restitution that is desired to be seen.

Ongoing Recommendations

While participants were pleased to see that the ISO and APTN had undertaken this consultation process, most wanted it clearly communicated that the end of this phase of consultation did not mean the end of the conversation concerning eligibility for Indigenous funding criteria. Some participants felt that the number of people who had been consulted, 27 interview participants, 24 focus group participants, 32 engagement participants, and 173 survey participants, was not a full or accurate representation of all Indigenous Peoples. This series of consultations and research report need to be considered only the first of many steps towards an ongoing exploration of Indigenous eligibility requirements. The interview, focus group, engagement, and survey participants in this consultation process represent only a fraction of those who wish to engage in this discussion concerning eligibility for Indigenous-specific funding. As one engagement participant noted:

I really hope that [funding agencies] have given themselves some freedom, a new way to try different things, to not be so rigid to try to understand that this isn't going to be a perfect system in the first year, there's process and review built into their system, it's going to change over time, even in the short term. So, experimenting a little to finding ways or methods or processes. I think they should really have that built in there somehow. We're inheriting something and we're creating something against a process. Acknowledge there's going to be mess ups. We can't be perfect especially at the outset. Don't be afraid of trying things, adjusting mid-cycle. I know so many people who are fully eligible for these programs who are going to benefit immensely from it.

Eligibility of Indigenous-specific grants is a living and ongoing issue that is quickly and vastly evolving. This report is only a small step towards an ongoing exploration of Indigenous eligibility requirements and should only be understood as the beginning of a much longer process.

Conclusions

Archipel Research and Consulting Inc., in collaboration with the ISO and APTN, conducted a national consultation and engagement process to better understand how funding agencies should approach eligibility guidelines, application review process, and potential remedial actions for Indigenous-specific funding. We conducted interviews, focus groups, an online survey, and open engagements with diverse Indigenous artists, filmmakers, and industry professionals across Canada.

During July and August of 2021, 27 interviews, 5 focus groups, 3 open engagements, and 173 survey responses were conducted. The specific feedback from the interviewees was varied and reflected their unique and individual perspectives. Overall, participants expressed their desire to see stronger application guidelines relating to supporting documentation, demonstrable ties to an Indigenous community, an application review conducted by Indigenous people, a greater involvement of Indigenous communities in the process, and the potential for financial consequences and remedial action for those determined to have made a false claim. Participants also widely expressed that this consultation process was only a first step of many in a much longer and continuous process of dialogue and discussion with Indigenous peoples.

The implementation of these measures will rely on the continued collaboration, investment, and advocacy of individuals during all phases of the funding process and, ultimately, rests on the absolute self-determination and sovereignty of Indigenous communities to determine their own membership. In moving forward, we hope that the knowledge and expertise shared with us from Indigenous peoples will lead to the implementation of clearer and more stringent guidelines that can prevent someone from falsely claiming ties to an Indigenous community before, not after, the funding has been granted.

APPENDIX

Methodology

Data Collection

This project collected data through four approaches:

- a) focus groups,
- b) one-on-one interviews,
- c) survey, and
- d) public engagement sessions.

All approaches prioritized Indigenous research methodologies, including participatory and conversational approaches. The project combined a quantitative, semi-structured research design for one-on-one interviews and focus groups and a stricter, quantitative approach for the survey. The production of the focus groups and one-on-one interviews was grounded in a “kitchen table talk” style meeting. This approach was chosen to encourage participants to join in a relaxed environment, and to facilitate, as best as virtually possible, a knowledge and energy exchange in a manner that we would have if we were able to engage in person. Researchers also ensured that during each step of the project a roundtable approach was used, ensuring that diverse perspectives and holistic approaches were incorporated. A guiding principle used included *Etuaptmunk*, a Mi’kmaq methodology and framework known as Two-Eyed Seeing. Founded by Mi’kmaq Elders Murdena and Albert Marshall, Two-Eyed Seeing is explained as learning to see from the strengths of two eyes, as one. This approach involves starting with the Indigenous ways of learning and knowing and combining it with the Western/academic way and using both for the benefit of all. Engaging in two-eyed seeing is a hybrid approach that allows the team to benefit from the values of both Indigenous worldviews and Western academic principles. Researchers were also committed to undertaking this research using a lens of anti-racism and anti-discrimination.

a) Focus Groups

Due to this project’s sensitive topic of Indigenous identity, Archipel approached the Focus Groups through a critical anti-racism lens. To do so, and specifically to create spaces for honest and open dialogue, we held 5 distinct focus groups of 8 to 10 participants per group: First Nations; Métis; Inuit; Francophone Indigenous; and Black-Indigenous. The focus groups were

conducted with a distinctions-based approach so participants would feel comfortable sharing their experiences without worries of lateral violence.

Focus group recruitment was conducted with consideration and input from the ISO and APTN, and with specific attention to the inclusion of diverse demographic representation and arts professionals, community members, youth, and Elders.

Focus groups were grounded in a “kitchen table talk” style meeting. This methodology is to encourage participants to join in a relaxed environment. This approach was taken to facilitate, as best as virtually possible, a knowledge and energy exchange in a manner that we would have if we were able to engage in person. Researchers also ensured that during each step of the project a roundtable approach was used, ensuring that diverse perspectives and holistic approaches were incorporated.

b) One-on-One Interviews

The second stage of data collection was 27 one-on-one interviews. Interviews were conducted in French, English, and Inuktitut.

Interview recruitment was conducted with specific attention to the inclusion of the following: Indigenous professionals, producers, directors, writers, language and cultural experts, Elders, traditional knowledge keepers, Indigenous artists from all disciplines, and Indigenous organizations.

As with the focus groups, interviews were conducted in “kitchen table talk” style meetings.

c) Survey

The third stage of data collection used a survey to engage a broader range of experiences and perspectives. The survey questions were designed to capture the project objectives and the preliminary themes that were emerging from the interviews and focus groups. These questions focused on Indigenous identification (including Indigenous identity and ancestry, maintaining community relations and ties, and feeling included in community), access to public funding for Indigenous communities, and the consequences of illegitimate claims to Indigenous identity. The survey was administered through an online platform and was available in French and English.

d) Engagements

Using the one-on-one interviews, focus groups, and online survey, researchers developed a discussion document outlining what had been heard. Three two-hour long public engagement sessions were held over Zoom in late October 2021. The purpose of these engagements was to

allow the Indigenous community to provide feedback on this document. Two of these sessions were held in English and one in French.

The engagement sessions were opened and closed by an Indigenous Elder, which was then followed by a presentation of the discussion document by Archipel team leads. Participants were then placed in breakout rooms facilitated by an Archipel researcher where participants were able to openly discuss the presentation and work to build consensus-based recommendations. Participants were then brought back into a larger group discussion of all participants.

e) Feedback Form

The broader Indigenous community was also able to provide feedback on the discussion document through an anonymous feedback form on the Archipel website. This form was found on the same webpage where participants registered for the open engagements and participants in the engagements were made aware of it as an option to provide further feedback. This was done so that participants could share any thoughts they did not have the chance to share during the two-hour long public engagements, and to ensure that participants could share anything they did not feel comfortable saying in the larger groups.

Recruitment

a) Focus Groups & Interview Recruitment

Recruitment for the focus groups and interviews was developed using a two-pronged approach. Archipel researchers developed a list of potential participants using their extensive network of Indigenous community members and organizations from across Canada. Additional participants were also suggested by the ISO and APTN. In total, a list of 122 diverse Indigenous industry professionals, cultural experts, traditional knowledge keepers, academics, and artists was compiled and contacted for participation.

b) Survey Recruitment

The recruitment process for the survey included sharing the survey on various social media platforms, including using the ISO's and Archipel's social media networks. Additionally, the survey was distributed to past participants as well as through internal networks.

c) Engagement Recruitment

Archipel researchers undertook a considerable recruitment effort for the three public engagement sessions. This included sharing an online poster within numerous Indigenous Facebook groups, as well as on Twitter and Instagram. The engagements were also promoted by the Indigenous

Screen Office through their networks. Additionally, an email was also sent to those who had participated in an interview or focus group to ensure they knew about the engagements.

Analysis Protocol

The analysis and preparation of this report are based on Indigenous-specific research methodologies rooted in Indigenous ways of knowing (epistemologies) and ways of being (ontologies). The analytical methodology we used to identify the themes included a combination of inductive and deductive coding strategies to best describe and organize the participant responses. The themes are based on conceptual codes that emerged from the participants in the interviews, focus groups, public engagements, and survey responses. The interviews, surveys, and focus groups led to the development of a brief discussion document, which was then presented back to the Indigenous community in three open engagement sessions. The open engagement sessions were intended to allow community feedback on the initial report. Through this coding process, both explicit and implicit dimensions of the participants' personal narratives and experiences were captured. The findings were explored in each of the stream of data collection, compiled and analyzed, then synthesized into this report.

Limitations

The length of this project was a great barrier—not only the shortness in duration but also the season it fell in. Summer months tend to be a time where many professionals take vacation and are unavailable for commentary. Furthermore, Inuit participants noted that there was a Nunavut election taking place during the same time period as this project, which could have resulted in lower numbers of Inuit participants.

Despite efforts to ensure participants felt as comfortable as possible, including access to Elders and a commitment to providing a safe space, these conversations can leave some feeling hurt, vulnerable, and exposed. Due to centuries of historic and ongoing colonization, some participants may find that dealing with institutions, even those not directly connected to the government, is incredibly triggering. Several others noted how holding these conversations in a theoretical way was out of touch with the realities that many Indigenous peoples face every day. As one participant noted, “It’s not theory, I deal with this every day.”

Participants, as well as Indigenous research team members, also raised concerns for how difficult it is to try to fit hundreds of Indigenous nations across Canada, all with unique ways of being, into a single policy document. Many felt that this project was trying to reconcile too many differing perspectives into a single report.

Literature Review

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Introduction

Indigenous identity is a complex area that must be approached with a critical, anti-racist, and inclusive lens. This literature review explores both broad and nuanced perspectives of Indigenous identity, specifically as it relates to the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. This document is intended to analyze and explore considerations for the requirements of the ISO/APTN Indigenous Eligibility and Identity Consultation process, including theories and discussions that might inform definitions and criteria needed to identify Indigenous applicants for the purposes of Indigenous-specific funding and support. The intention of the consultation process is to find ways to build stronger understanding and processes so that organizations that are responsible for distributing funds and resources for Indigenous peoples can ensure that resources are directed accordingly and that strong relationships are built. In centering the purpose of this project, this literature review does not address identity in terms of belonging or community membership, but rather explores and reviews the dominant narratives, complexities, and considerations for the requirements, definitions, and criteria needed to identify as First Nations, Inuit, or Métis.

Methodology and Limitations

This literature review is divided into five (5) sections to honour the distinct conversations and scholarly work regarding Indigenous identity. Section one (1) addresses general and dominant narratives, often specific to First Nations. Section two (2) focuses on Black-Indigenous identity considerations, an intersection that is often overlooked and under-considered in relation to First Nations, Inuit, and Métis identity. Sections three (3) and four (4) speak to the discourse on the complexities and conceptualizations of Métis identity today, which is often a central strand in discussion of the complexities surrounding Indigenous identity. Section five (5) focuses on Inuit identity, and the effects of relatively recent colonization processes.

This literature review looks to amplify community positions and narratives and historical considerations, and to expose misleading colonial narratives influencing discussions of Indigenous identity. This has been accomplished through having the sections compiled by researchers who are community members and through emphasizing Indigenous authors throughout the process. Each section has thus been authored by an Archipel researcher with lived experience from the group discussed in each respective section.

Some of the limitations for this literature review include a lack of available research on the specific intersectionality of Black-Indigenous identity in the Canadian context and the relationship between Black and Indigenous communities within Canada. A second limitation is the time constraint of the research project, and this is especially difficult considering the nature

of Indigenous knowledge and oral transmission. Due to time constraints, the team has had to rely primarily on published academic sources. This review will benefit from its further integration with the Indigenous knowledge that will be gathered through interviews, focus groups, and community feedback. Despite these limitations, this literature review does not shy away from the complexities of Indigenous identity and serves as a foundation for deepening the conversation around this many-dimensional topic.

I: General Considerations and First Nations Identity

There is a broad spectrum of opinions and conceptions when determining Indigeneity and in defining who is an Indigenous person. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues does not have an official definition of *Indigenous*; however, they have published this understanding of the term: “self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member” (2006). This conceptualization of determining Indigenous identity as *who you claim and who claims you* is also reflected in the statement on Indigenous identity fraud released by the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (2015).

The scope of this research project work includes a review of definitions and criteria put forward to define Indigenous identity within the boundaries of Canada and emphasizing First Nations, Inuit, and Métis identity. There are two specific issues that emerge from this understanding of Indigenous identity that further complicate attempts at a definition.

Firstly, processes of colonialism including Indian Act policies, residential “schools,” the child welfare system, and other institutions have contributed to the historical and ongoing separation of Indigenous people from their communities. The second complication is the issue of self-identification through Indigenous ancestry but without any community ties. Often individuals claim Indigenous identity without any ancestors that have had ties to the community in the past century. This literature review is separated into two sections, the first being self-identification and the second being acceptance by community and Nation.

Self-Identification

The method of self-identifying as Indigenous poses risks when some may take on a false or exaggerated connection to Indigenous identity. This can be described as settler nativism, a non-Indigenous move to innocence to position themselves as blameless in the erasure and genocide of Indigenous people by finding or inventing a long-lost ancestor; this is also noted by Vine Deloria Jr. as the Indian-grandmother complex (Tuck and Yang 2012) and as playing Indian (TallBear 2021; Deloria 1998). Many scholars assert that the right to self-identify as Indigenous comes with a responsibility and accountability to the community one claims. Wilson and Wilson

describe relational accountability as a deep sense of responsibility and accountability stemming from a relational worldview and connections to community (1998).

Many Indigenous people are disconnected from community as a result of a long history of scooping Indigenous children from community during the residential school era, the “Sixties Scoop,” and the continued overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the child welfare system. Many Indigenous people also moved away from or were forced out of community for reasons such as loss of Indian status, Bill C31 gender discrimination, and a lack of economic opportunities. Many thinkers thus emphasize the importance of distinguishing between those disconnected as a result of colonialism and those who may have one or several Indigenous ancestors from the nineteenth, eighteenth, or even seventeenth centuries (TallBear 2021; Lee 2018). As many Indigenous people have to deal with colonial traumas and have had to reconnect and reclaim their identity, TallBear stresses that those with only distant ancestors do not have the capacity to connect with a living community (2021). Also, in our current era of DNA testing, TallBear contrasts genomic articulations of indigeneity and Indigenous articulations of indigeneity (2013). Indigenous articulations are based on kinship and political status and are dynamic, while genomic articulations are grounded in exclusively genetic ancestry. However, because of colonial policies like the Indian Act, there has been more overlap by discerning who belongs by the Indian status system.

Self-identifying as Indigenous has ramifications at the individual level through the potential to take opportunities from Indigenous people. Beyond the individual, there are collective-level issues, as many groups have claimed Indigenous identity in the past several decades that are contested by the established First Nations, and which followed Supreme Court cases favourable to granting Indigenous rights. Concentrated in eastern Canada, many of these contested groups have claimed Métis identity and a growing number have claimed Algonquin Anishinabeg identity, among other Nations. These Nations have not recognized the validity of these claims in return. Being claimed by a group that is not recognized by the Nation they are claiming to be part of has its own set of implications. This is the case for nine of the ten communities that are part of the Algonquins of Ontario. It was found that nearly half of the Algonquins of Ontario membership had only genealogical connections to a single ancestor in the seventeenth century and that this ancestor may have been Abenaki rather than Algonquin; furthermore, the main part of the Algonquin Nation does not recognize these communities (Hafez 2021). These issues with self-identifying as Algonquin have been raised recently with the Amikwa Algonquin who were charged with fishing illegally on Lake Nipissing, claiming that Nipissing First Nation were infringing on their Indigenous rights (White 2021). There have also been cases of membership issues with First Nations such as the newly recognized Qalipu Nation in Newfoundland where there a massive volume of applicants led to controversy over their

membership process, including claims that some applicants allegedly falsified documentation or exaggerated their Indigenous identity (Brake 2018). Although many of these people are recognized by the Qalipu Nation and by proxy the Canadian government, it further complicates the line between individual and collective self-indigenization. Indigeneity being a collective identity, it is important to recognize potential self-Indigenization from alleged “Nations” falsifying Indigeneity.

Acceptance by Community and Nation

The Indian status system as a marker for Indigenous Identity as a First Nations person has historically been rife with gender inequity, which was partially addressed with the introduction of Bill C-31 wherein women regained their Indian status from the loss of it by marrying non-status men. The creation of Section 10 Bands after Bill C-31 allowed bands to define their own membership lists which came with its own set of problems. Over 200 bands opted into becoming Section 10 and were obligated to set their own criteria in the years after Bill C-31. The criteria set by these bands remained strikingly similar to the previous Indian Act criteria by predominantly using lineal parentage, blood quantum, and Indian status in their membership codes. Aside from the one-parent rule these sets of criteria excluded and denied status to many Indigenous people who would otherwise belong (Jackson 2020; Lee and King 2020; Napoleon 2001). Some of the reasons why band-controlled membership was restrictive in ways that reflected the Indian Act system stems from a scarcity mentality and economic anxieties of people returning back home to community without the resources to support all on-reserve members (Lee and King 2020). These biologically essentialist ways of determining membership through blood quantum and lineal parentage specifically exclude those who pursue family making outside of the heteropatriarchal mold through assisted reproductive technologies and adoption (Lee and King 2020). Lee and King also write how this disproportionately impacts queer and Two-Spirit couples and heterosexual couples who have fertility issues (2020).

Lawrence speaks about ‘forgotten Indians,’ which describes non-status Indian, Métis, mixed-bloods, or descendants of these people (2004). Non-status community members are often spatially excluded from living on-reserve and are excluded from any financial support from the federal government administered to status members of communities. Non-status Indians people sometimes face lateral violence from status Indians and are sometimes made to feel non-Indian (Lawrence 2004). However, many non-status Indians are claimed by community through their kinship networks. There are multiplicities of reasons why people never received Indian status or had their Indian status revoked (Jackson 2020; Lee and King 2020). Non-status First Nation identity is also now being appropriated and used incorrectly as it only applies to First Nation people post-Indian Act, since 1876. Before that, there was no such thing as status and non-status

Indians. Yet, many people will claim to be a non-status Indian based on an ancestor pre-1876. Another issue with Lawrence's (2004) conceptualization of 'forgotten Indians' as mixed-bloods and descendants is that it is conceptualized through blood quantum, which is an ethnic model of defining Nationhood that Napoleon (2001) describes as being advanced by colonial governments to diffuse the political power of First Nations.

Traditional ways of defining citizenship in communities have been much more dynamic historically, where people moved and were naturalized into other communities. Innes (2014) speaks to this through his community's history of traditional kinship practices prior to the creation of reserves. Others were naturalized, or what he states as *incorporated*, into the Cowessess people easily, including through adoption. Lee speaks about his own adoption as an infant into Fort Williams First Nation, and although he identifies as racially white, he positions himself as belonging to Fort Williams First Nation (2017). Through these stories of adoption in First Nations, Lee (2017) defines Anishinaabe citizenship through principles of "full inclusion, accountability to community, non-essentialism, and decentralized decision making" (i). Another traditional form of defining citizenship is through families discerning belonging (Innes 2014); in this way, family is defined as a set of kin that extends beyond the boundaries of marital and parental ties. The continued maintenance of these elements of kinship networks challenges mainstream society's notions of kinship. Innes (2014) argues that his community has maintained some elements of traditional kinship and citizenship. This is illustrated through his reflections on the roles of Elders as agents of socialization, relating to one another through who you are related to in community.

Conclusion

Within the existing literature there is an emerging body of work on self-indigenization at the individual and community level, although it remains controversial in some spaces. There is also a growing body of work that addresses the impacts of colonial legislation and practices on Indigenous communities and the internalization of these colonial ideologies. There is a smaller body of literature that speaks to traditional ways of defining citizenship, turning away from the often biologically essentialist colonial ideologies of what an 'authentic' Indian is and is not. Traditional ways of defining citizenship have been fractured by colonization, but many aspects have been maintained and are reflected in our kinship networks, culture, and old stories. Indigenous identity is still an emerging field of study grappling with deep-seated wounds from the Indian Act policies that continue to impact communities. There are still major gaps in the literature in Indigenous identity regarding false and alleged claims to Indigenous identity. Addressing such claims is a necessary field of study because of the threat to Indigenous sovereignty and the colonization of Indigenous identity. Research on Indigenous identity is

important for reversing the colonizers' gaze and working towards decolonizing belonging in Indigenous communities, strengthening our political power through our traditional forms of citizenship, and rebuilding our Nations.

II: Black-Indigenous Identity

This portion of the literature review explores the historical relationships between Black and First Nations, Inuit and Métis communities, the ways Black-Indigenous peoples have been displaced, and how they understand identity and belonging. Black-Indigenous peoples have been on Indigenous lands in Canada for over 400 years (Beals and Wilson 2020). Yet there is a lack of research and academic work on these experiences; this elision is informed by the absence of recognition of these historical relationships and identities within the general Canadian context and within Indigenous communities. These intersectional identities are not often considered within conversations around Indigenous identity, belonging, and community in Canada and this contributes to both a historical and contemporary erasure of the impacts of colonial policies that sought to “address the Indian problem” and assimilate Indigenous peoples into mainstream Canadian society. The themes that emerged from the literature review are historical and contemporary erasure, fractured identities, and reclamation of identity, and are summarized below.

Historical and Contemporary Erasure

The lack of literature and research into Black and Indigenous identities within Canada has contributed to these stories and experiences being undermined and not recognized (Beals and Wilson 2020). In particular, the intersections of these communities are not recognized within Canada, as Ann Marie Beals and Ciann L. Wilson discuss (2020). The same can be said about Black and Indigenous histories within the United States of America, where relationships between these identities and communities are ignored and even erased, as highlighted by the Center for Native American Youth (2021). This is echoed by Bonita Lawrence and Zainab Amadahy when discussing the ways colonial control from Britain and Canada isolated Indigenous communities from one another, and the pressure for historic Black communities to “whiten” themselves prevented racialized Black people with Indigenous heritage from turning to their Indigenous relatives for support (2009). This forced disconnection resulted in historical and ongoing legacies of silence around Black-Indigenous identities with Black-Mi'kmaq in the Maritimes and Black-Ojibwe in Central Ontario.

As noted by Beals and Wilson, the lack of contemporary recognition and historical erasure of these identities affects Black-Indigenous peoples in multiple ways, including how they think about their own identities and how historical and current events can either shape, break, or re-

shape their identities (2020). Lawrence and Amadahy (2009) acknowledged that this manifests through the presence of Black-Mi'kmaq and Black-Ojibwe never being mentioned in either Black or Indigenous histories, and the roles Indigenous peoples played, such as the Haudenosaunee, in guiding enslaved Black peoples on the Underground Railroad and adopting them into clans remaining unacknowledged. This silence contributes to Black-Indigenous peoples who claim Indigeneity having their identities undermined or challenged, subjecting them to anti-Blackness and displacing them from their communities.

Through their series *Racism Lives Here Too* (2020), APTN Investigates explored the shared history of Black and Indigenous communities within Canada, and how racism continues to impact these communities today. In *Writing Myself Into Existence*, Etanda Arden (2021) highlights that if Black-Indigenous perspectives were included into Indigenous curriculum it would challenge the erasure of Black and Indigenous history, and also educate Canadians on not only the scope of Indigenous identity, but also how colonization impacted them.

Fractured Identities

In the *Proclaiming Our Roots* research project, Beals and Wilson (2020) discuss how participants in their research study felt ashamed for not acknowledging either their Black or Indigenous identity and felt that not knowing who they are, or the stories of their people, caused them to feel as though they have a fractured identity. As colonial policies such as the Indian Act defined Indians using colonial understandings, Lawrence and Amadahy emphasized that Indigenous identity would be difficult for Black-Indigenous peoples to maintain as their relationships to community and land were interrupted, and that it would be inevitable that Black-Indigenous peoples would stop openly identifying as Indigenous (2009). As constructs of race were enforced and Black and Indigenous peoples were categorized, Beals and Wilson explain that colonial cultural and racial constructs attempted to dictate the identity of Black-Indigenous peoples based on how they were perceived by others (2020, 29-37). These concepts are still expressed today by Indigenous peoples who attempt to discredit or challenge Black-Indigenous peoples' claim to Indigeneity by telling them they “don't look Indigenous.” Conversations around the ways anti-Blackness manifests today within Indigenous communities are an important step that must be taken to address the forced displacement and isolation of Black-Indigenous identities that has been ongoing for generations.

Reclamation of Identity

Black-Indigenous peoples must be empowered to reclaim their identities and challenge the silence around these stories. Beals and Wilson (2020) state that by Black-Indigenous peoples refusing to participate in the silence and erasure of their heritage, they are actively participating in the process of decolonization. Part of this process also requires Indigenous communities to

navigate and unpack why these identities have been excluded and forgotten and intentionally create space for Black-Indigenous people, and for Black and Indigenous Elders and Knowledge Keepers to come together and share teachings and stories. This is further highlighted by Beals and Wilson when they discuss how a key component of decolonization is the retelling of truths and stories, especially of erased histories (2020).

A contentious issue worth highlighting is the idea of “indigenous blackness,” a term used by George Elliot Clarke (see Madden 2009) to situate those who are the descendants of Black Loyalists or enslaved Africans within Canada and distinguish them from more recent Black immigrant populations. Paula C. Madden (2009) investigated and analyzed this idea and asserts that the recovering of Black histories and identities should not come at the expense of erasing Indigenous histories by using the term *Indigenous*.

Conclusion

Black-Indigenous identities have been subjected to historical erasure, and they continue to be unacknowledged within contemporary conversations around Indigenous identity and what it means to belong (or not to belong). The colonial project that sought to disrupt these relationships and displace Black-Indigenous peoples from their communities and identities resulted in untold stories that have been forgotten by many. The retelling of these stories, rebuilding, and reconnecting of relationships between Black and Indigenous communities is essential for Black-Indigenous relations to feel safer in reclaiming their identities and reconnecting to the community. Mi’kmaw Elder Albert Marshall says that the foundational basis for any relationship is an exchange of stories (Bartlett and Hogue 2018). It is time for us to remember the stories we once held together and honour them because our ancestors have never forgotten, but are waiting for us to remember.

III: Big “M” Métis Identity

(Also known as Otipemisiwak, Halfbreed, Michif, Bois-Brûlés, The Road Allowance People, Les Gens Libres, and La Nouvelle Nation)

This section of the literature review provides a brief overview of “Big M” Métis identity within the current Canadian context. The ancestors of “Big M” Métis formed distinct communities prior to colonization in Canada’s Northwest and along the Medicine line. This section will look at how Métis kinship and identity formed using the Michif/Cree concept that Brenda Macdougall identifies as Wahkootowin. Wahkootowin helped guide how many Métis communities created distinct relationships with the other Indigenous communities around them, as well as with the land, and animals within their territory. Next, the literature will

examine how Canada constrained Métis identity and divided communities, causing a period of suffering for families between 1885 and the 1980s. Next, this section examines how despite hardships, Métis identity continued in small communities and resisted Canadian oppression. Finally, this section concludes with looking at the current landscape of “Big M” Métis identity in Canada, highlighting their current advancements and barriers.

Early History

Jean Teillet (2019), Métis scholar and lawyer of the *Powley* (2000) decision, describes the first emergence of Métis identity occurring in North-West Canada. Teillet describes how “Big M” identity began within the fur trade in Canada, with trading companies like the Hudson’s Bay Company or Northwest Company hiring young Europeans to participate in the fur trade. A small portion of these men would go past the edges of colonial control on the Great Lakes to gain access to new furs and settle in the Northwest. This began a slow migration of workers and settlers Westward to the Plains (Teillet 2019, 13). A small portion of the fur traders in particular began to marry First Nation women both for love and to develop relationships necessary for trade. Trading companies encouraged these men to winter with their wives to save costs (Teillet 2019, 13). In their attempts to communicate in Indigenous languages, a new language began to develop, to describe their work and growing experiences with the land. Mixing the French language with mostly Cree and Ojibway words, they began to lay the groundwork for what would become the Michif language (Teillet 2019, 21). While an initial community was forming with the voyageurs, they did not consider themselves distinct from their Indigenous or European cousins, and still worked and regularly maintained contact with the colonial authorities. Decline began for the voyageurs after the war of 1812 with the hardening of the US-Canada border, with many resettling in the Red River area as well as further West after the 1820s, gradually reducing their presence in the Great Lakes region (Teillet 2019, 12). Teillet provides an account of how “Big M” Métis culture initially started from small groups of voyageurs who began to intermarry with Indigenous women, thus beginning the ethnogenesis of the “Big M” Métis.

Michel Hogue (2016) discusses how once on the Western plains of Canada in the 19th century, a growing population of the voyageurs began to break free or go for long absences from their trading company and helped to create the first “Big M” Métis settlements (Hogue 2016, 21). With families in small groups working, intermarrying, and sharing stories together, they developed a connection with the areas that they settled (Hogue 2016, 22). As decades passed, the communities began to be recognized by other Indigenous communities and settlers around them as separate entities, with names emerging for the growing population such as Otipemisiwak, Halfbreed, Bois-Brûlés, and Les Gens Libres (Hogue 2016, 24). The first and subsequent generations of Métis children were raised in what scholars call “enculturation

circumstances” (Hogue 2016, 21), meaning circumstances different from both their parents. In the 19th century, children were born in communities away from exclusively First Nations or European influences, where their parents could raise them with their own developing language and culture. Métis families increased their bonds with each other through marriage, generationally fusing the European and Indigenous cultures to fit their unique circumstances on the plains (Hogue 2016, 22). Métis communities such as Pembina would become central supply routes in the fur trade, with its key position on what is now the US and Canadian border (Hogue 2016, 24). Hogue’s account helps highlight how, once on the Plains, the voyageurs were transformed into the buffalo hunters that would become the “Big M” Métis, and how unique communities began to form.

Métis scholar Brenda Macdougall (2006) uses scrip, church records, and historical accounts to highlight the Cree term *Wahkootowin* to conceptually describe the shared cultural identity of the Métis who settled in Northwestern Saskatchewan. Macdougall’s account of the Métis generations in Saskatchewan illustrates how male outsiders arriving at different times followed a pattern of marrying into the existing Métis population already established and became a part of the large *wahkohtowin* (Macdougall 2006, 462). The men and women of the first generation lived and worked together, establishing “labour cohorts that drew upon genealogical connections, which in turn established community cohesion” (Macdougall 2006, 458). Through established families’ strategic marriage alliances with other Métis families, they created spider web-like networks that served as an economic conduit. Brenda Macdougall’s (2006) theoretical concept of *wahkootowin* helps describe how Métis communities were constructed in the 19th century and how Métis family networks were the core of the community.

Resistance and Dispossession

The Battle of the Seven Oaks in 1816 was a pivotal event that helped to establish a collective Métis identity, as J.M. Bumsted notes in his book *Fur Trade Wars: The Founding of Western Canada* (1999). The Battle of Seven Oaks was the culmination of the tension that arose when Lord Selkirk and the HBC attempted to establish a colony within the Assiniboia area in 1811-12, close to the Métis communities (St. Onge 2004, 94). In their attempt to settle in hostile territory, they entered into conflict with the local population (St. Onge 2004, 95). At the suggestion and provisioning from the Northwest Company (NWC), a rival fur trading company, the Pemmican war began, with the NWC augmented by Métis fighting the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) (St. Onge 2004, 99). The Battle of Seven Oaks resulted in a major loss by the HBC. Ens (1996) describes how after the battle, the “Big M” Métis began to realize their strength as a collective and boosted their overall confidence. A famous song emerged from Pierre Falcon named “Chanson de la Grenouillere” that describes how the Bois-Brules defended their territory against

the encroachment of Englishmen and celebrates the group's acts of valour (St. Onge 2004, 107). Métis scholar Chris Andersen explains that "the Métis Nation is often narrated to have been born during a crisp spring day on 19 June 1816, on the expanses of what is now southern Manitoba" (Andersen 2014, 135.) However, while Andersen (2014) asserts the importance of the Battle of Seven Oaks on Métis identity, he also explains that it should likely not be considered the "birth of the Métis Nation," as Métis identity was already forming for quite some time before 1816.

Nonetheless, this growing collective identity would assert itself more prominently after the merger of the HBC and NWC in the 1820s, when more English settlers began to move to the Red River settlements to participate in the fur trade (St. Onge 2004, 109). By 1827, the Métis in the area began to push back, arguing that it infringed on their liberty and sovereignty on their soil. They would petition Canada that since they were their own lords and masters, that they had no need to follow the white man's jurisdiction and that the settlers should abide by their norms (St. Onge 2004, 110). Ens highlights a petition authored by the Métis that asserted themselves as distinct Indigenous peoples that have the rights of both British subjects and an Indigenous Nation (St. Onge 2004, 111). Overall, these works help to highlight how a collective political and national identity began to emerge for the Métis in the 19th century and how they began to assert their rights against a growing colonial presence.

In the late 19th century, this growing Métis Nation would have to resist colonial encroachment in Red River in 1869-70 and in Batoche in 1885. Both resistances ultimately would fail against the overwhelming colonial state which forced the Métis to accept the scrip land and benefits program to dispossess them of their traditional territory and erode their rights. Hogue (2016) reads the accounts of the colonial scrip writers in his book and traces the confusion and inadequacy of the dispossession process and how the colonial state largely operated without a clear definition of who the Métis were. The mobility of Métis families and the reality that many Métis resided in the US, on reserves with First Nations family members, or lived long periods away from their settlements created further confusion and mismanagement in the process (Hogue 2016, 187). What resulted was an inadequate extinguishment of Aboriginal title that left some families with scrip allotments and many without (Hogue 2016, 188). Federal policies only allowed scrip writers to accommodate communities living in fixed locations and clear-cut divisions between Indigenous Nations, also relying on local colonial authorities to help identify Métis communities, and to distinguish who would not be allowed scrip. Many families would be marginalized and forced to live on the edges of Canadian society. Hogue's (2016) work helps demonstrate how the Métis were dispossessed by the Canadian state and going into the twentieth century many Métis would experience dark times.

The Dark Time

Métis author and activist Maria Campbell's autobiography *Halfbreed* (1973) provides first-hand insight into how Métis families continued through years of struggle after the resistances of nineteenth century. At this time, many families were forced to live on the small pieces of Crown land between the farms and the highway called the road allowance, eventually giving rise to one of the "Big M" Métis' many names, the *Road Allowance People*. Persecuted on both sides of the border, many "Big M" had no economic opportunities and held deep-seated shame in their identity (Campbell 1973, 9). Campbell's father, like many others, made a meagre living labouring around farms where their territory used to be and illegally trapping in protected areas. Campbell describes how the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) would harass her family regularly (1973, 59), taking away their food and abusing her community. Campbell (1973) was able to resist the dangers imposed on her by the colonial state through her own strength and perseverance. Her story helps provide a narrative of what was occurring for many Métis during the times of struggle after the resistances, and how despite all their hardships and struggle their identity still endured.

Métis Identity in the 21st Century

Adam Gaudry (2018) highlights how Métis identity has become contested in the 21st century by self-identifying non-Indigenous people who have little to no connection to the historic Métis communities. Gaudry (2018) examines the growing discourse around the emerging phenomenon of self-identifying Métis or "little m" Métis in his article "Communing with the Dead: The 'New Metis,' Metis Identity Appropriation and the Displacement of Living Metis Culture" (2018). Gaudry argues that the "little m" do not situate themselves in long-standing historic Métis communities as is the practice in the West (2018, 163). Instead, these claims are made only through written genealogical reports linking them to long-dead Indigenous ancestors, who may or may not have understood themselves as Métis (Gaudry 2018, 164).

Further, Gaudry asserts that these self-identifying settlers disregard the living communities, for a promise of cultural revival in the dead, that generates kinship by connecting those who are disconnected but whose sole commonality is a distant, often unrelated Indigenous ancestor (2018, 166). Gaudry also highlights how two definitions for Métis have emerged, the first being "Big M" representing the living Métis communities and collective experience and "little m" identity primarily relating to those self-identifying and whose ancestors hid their identity (Gaudry 2018, 171). "Little m" Métis see themselves as the own arbitrators of their own identity, however, Big M scholars largely reject the self-identifiers' claims to identity because these claims undermine the living Métis' self-determination and matters of citizenship. Overall, Gaudry (2018) highlights the dangers and harm that self-identifiers have done to

living Métis communities and the disconnection and individualized nature of “little m” Métis, and their preference to identify with dead rather than living communities.

Darryl Leroux argues how these new self-identifying Métis are using or remaking their ancestors to claim Indigenous rights and to support their claims to Métis identity, with one Indigenous woman serving as the basis for a majority of self-identifiers’ connections to Métis identity (2019, 42). One possible explanation for this phenomenon that Leroux (2019) highlights is that this allows white settlers to avoid accountability from the ongoing violence of the state system from which they benefit, as individuals more concerned about their own self-journey than actually connecting with the living community, as well to gain control again over Indigenous lands. Overall, Leroux (2019) and Gaudry (2016) argue how detrimental these self-identity claims are to both Métis identity, and Indigenous identity as a whole, highlighting how these claims are often advanced by white settlers, connecting to dead ancestors rather than the living communities of the Métis.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the “Big M” Métis are a distinct Indigenous group within Canada, whose identity was born in the communities made by the voyageur and Indigenous women. These communities, through generations of marriage and following the wahkootowin way of life, developed a distinct community separate from their Indigenous and European ancestors. This community fought several resistances against the Canadian state, and while ultimately failing, they retained their distinctiveness as a nation and still made communities within the cities such as Rooster Town in Winnipeg, or on the road allowances of the Prairies. “Big M” Métis identity persisted through the dark times and surged vibrantly in the 21st century. However, new problems have emerged for the Métis with “little m” Métis challenging “Big M” citizenship discourses and criteria.

IV: Little “m” Métis Identity

(Also known as Eastern Métis, Quebec Métis, Acadian Métis, Acadian-Mi’kmaq, Inuit-Métis)

This section highlights the “Eastern Métis” movement within Canada, examining their claims to identity and attempts to gain recognition. The “Eastern Métis” movement does not share a historical or contemporary connection through kinship, identity, and culture with the recognized Métis Nation or any the five provincial affiliates that make up the Métis National Council. This section will provide an understanding of the “Eastern Métis” movement and the methods that are used to form identity. Additionally, it will highlight the “Eastern Métis” movement in the courts, where they have been continuously unsuccessful in substantiating their claims.

The Movement

The “Eastern Métis” movement continues to assert claims to Indigenous kinship and ancestry. It is important to understand how these claims are constructed by individuals and organizations. Sociologist Darryl Leroux (2019) identifies three main ways that claims to Indigenous identity are justified by “Eastern Métis”:

- a) Lineal Descent: invocation of an Indigenous ancestor from the 16th and 17th centuries as a justification for claiming an “Indigenous” identity in the present.
- b) Aspirational Descent: use of a long-ago ancestor who has been reimagined and designated as Indigenous without any proof of ancestry.
- c) Lateral Descent: use of a connection through a distant relative who is connected to someone Indigenous, such as an aunt, uncle, or cousin by marriage.

Proponents of the “Eastern Métis” movement claim that they are the first Métis due to the historical east to west trajectory of European contact and colonization in Canada. As a result, their argument is that their Indigenous lineage dates back many more generations than other Indigenous groups. This narrative justifies the rationale that one needs only to have mixed ancestry to be Métis. However, Leroux (2019) and other scholars assert that a single Indigenous ancestor is not sufficient to claim Métis identity.

In the Courts

While researching the creation of “Eastern Métis” organizations and their endeavors in the courts, Darryl Leroux (2018) explains, “Six cases have been brought forward by organizations or individuals seeking recognition as Métis people under the Powley Test in Québec since 2006: *Bolduc* in 2011, *Corneau* in 2015 and 2018, *Noël* in 2016, *Paul and Vallée* in 2017, and *Marchand-Oakes* in 2018” (Leroux, 2018, para. 25). These represent a small fraction of the “Eastern Métis” cases that have been brought forward in Québec and the Maritimes. None of these cases have resulted in the recognition of distinct Métis communities in the east.

Justice Daillaire (2016), who presided over the Seguin trial (a trial concerning the existence of a Métis community in Maniwaki, Québec), said the following in regards to the claims being made by the defense: “The genealogical elements submitted during the hearing show that in the case of the majority of members of the community, it often takes ten or twelve generations to find the presence of an Indigenous people, sometimes thousands of kilometers from the Maniwaki region, without being able to conclude subsequent integration into a Métis community” (Québec (Attorney General) v. Séguin, 2016, para. 143). Justice Dallaire was pointing to an example of how lineal descent was used to create a community where there was no historic record of one.

Rather, the claims relied on distant Indigenous ancestry with no geographic or cultural ties to the region where rights were being claimed.

In regard to providing proof of the existence of a Métis community in Québec (specifically in the Maniwaki region), Justice Dallaire (2016) remarked, “It would be easier to nail Jell-O to a wall than to locate the ins and outs of the remarkably vague and elusive allegations found therein as to the existence of a Métis community” (Québec (Attorney General) v. Séguin, 2016, para. 158). This commentary alludes to the lack of irrefutable proof provided when seeking to recognize the existence of a Métis community in Maniwaki and the failure to pass the requirements set forth in Powley (2003). The inability to provide proof of a Métis community echoes Métis scholar Adam Gaudry’s (2018) explanation of how “Eastern Métis” organizations determine membership, stating, “These organizations unanimously equate a history of mixed descent with ‘Métis’ identity rather than a common culture, making descent from an Indian ancestor, even if quite distant, the requisite qualification for membership rather than a connection to living Métis relations” (Gaudry 2018, 172).

Conclusion

Métis identity is defined by both the Canadian court system as well as by Métis communities themselves. The “Eastern Métis” movement has no substance in regard to the claims asserted by the organizations representing individuals claiming “Eastern Métis” identity. At the root of the movement, the claims to identity and kinship are tenuous at best. Invoking lineal descent based on ancestors from the 1600s, with no proof of a historical and continued community consciousness through the ages, does not constitute as a Métis community. Presently, there has yet to be a single court case affirming or supporting the existence of such a community or people, which supports the scholarship by respected Métis academics and allies alike.

V: Inuit Identity

As stated by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Inuit live in 51 communities within Canada, divided into four regions (Inuvialuit, Nunatsiavut, Nunavik, and Nunavut) across Inuit Nunangat (ITK). Although Inuit may be seen as different groups because of the division and borders of the different territories and provinces in which the regions are located, Inuit still consider themselves to be very interconnected, as they have been since time immemorial. Inuit have been colonized very differently and more recently than that of First Nations and Métis across Canada. Therefore, Inuit have been able to maintain their language, traditional practices, and connectedness with each other, without some of the disruptions experienced by First Nations and Métis.

Inuit are strong, resilient, and proud of who they are and where they come from. Inuit stand in solidarity with each other across Inuit Nunangat, and with all Indigenous peoples globally (Dybbroe 1996). Inuit share valuable teachings on how to approach Indigeneity and self-determination within their four different land claim areas (Dybbroe 1996). Inuit methodology revolves around Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (IQ). IQ or Inuit traditional knowledge is the foundation of Inuit ways of being and what makes Inuit who they are as a people. IQ includes Inuit governance, laws, relationship to land, animals, and with each other. IQ is the foundation of what makes Inuit *Inuit*. Inuit across Inuit Nunangat share concerns for the need of Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit to be acknowledged and implemented, which includes, but is not limited to, Inuit teachings, ways of being, knowledge about the environment and history, and the Inuktitut language being preserved, to ensure that self-determination in the path of reclaiming Inuit identity is honored and respected. Inuit leadership shares that “Our languages are the foundation of our culture and identity” (ITK). Inuit communities hold fast to the necessity of uplifting communal relationships in claiming identity, resisting colonial denial and governmental categorization of Indigenous teachings. Governmental categorization of indigeneity has been practiced in a variety of ways, including archives containing racist photographs or written content, the lack of oral historical documentation, and the lack of Inuktitut within the documentation (Obed 2021).

Colonialism

The colonial institution has forced Inuit to choose how to define Inuit identity, and how they are to shape these concepts to accommodate the colonial system into which Inuit have been forced. Inuit communities realize the impact of colonial violence, assimilative policies and legislation, and colonial governmental funding frameworks fall outside the traditional boundaries of what it means to be Inuk (Snow and Tooto 2021). Searles shares ‘rules of relatedness,’ where, “cultural identity can be increased or decreased depending on upbringing, living conditions, life circumstances” (2008, 242). In this reality, traditional concepts such as connection to community, language, traditional teachings, traditional ways of being, and land are included in the various aspects which influence the upbringing, living conditions, and life circumstances of an individual’s Inuk identity.

Gombay acknowledges that Inuit continue to face multiple barriers to self-government, self-determination, and reclamation of identity on a provincial and federal level (Gombay 2000 127). As a result, when Inuit seek funding and support opportunities from the institution, the process becomes more complicated due to the effects of colonialism and the requirement of a State-centred process of identity formation. Inuit therefore have been seeking self-governing ways to demonstrate their individual and collective identities while maintaining the teachings and ways

of being of their ancestors. Within the research, it was also found that Inuit from different ancestral lands (known by governments as Nunavut, Northwest Territories, Labrador, and Quebec) have differing guidelines for individuals to affirm their identity within their land claims. Searles observes that “Inuit living on Baffin Island do not consider blood and soil to be the determining elements... Inuit of Iqaluit and adjacent outpost camps refer to a wide range of criteria sum based on measures of parentage, some based on tests of knowledge, skills, and values” in describing the complex nuances within community-centred identity affirmation (2008, 240).

Within this report, there is specific recognition of the influence of an individual’s expression of their identity through Inuit Qaujimaqtuqangit, language, relationships and governance, cultural reclamation and traditional teachings, and geography or location. In accessing funding opportunities for Inuit, these variables are central to the reclamation process of Inuit identity, and in seeking who is eligible for funding within colonial frameworks.

Language

Indigenous peoples around the world have many values in common, one being the sanctity and significance of their ancestral languages, a reality that has faced generations of challenges and destruction. As ITK affirms, “our languages are the foundation of our culture and identity,” acknowledging the crucial role of language in Inuit communities and exhorting people to commit to the revitalization of Inuktitut (2019). There is a dire need for institutions to realize the importance of providing spaces, resources, finances, and opportunities for Inuit to show self-determination by teaching their communities the language spoken before English and French were heard on these lands. Language is also central to many of the traditional teachings and cultural practices within Inuit communities. Therefore, for one to show dedication and connection to their culture and ancestors, language is often seen as a requirement to be integrated within these initiatives.

Within the family, Inuit expect that adults teach and guide the children and youth along their path to language learning. Natan Obed shares his “proudest achievement” is in the fact his “children are speaking Inuktitut” (CBC 2015). However, not all members of the Inuit community have access to the opportunities and education required to guide them along their language learning journey. Due to colonization, many Inuit children and adults are dispersed or isolated from their communities and integrated into wider Canadian society which does not include opportunities to know Inuktitut. However, this does not mean that they should automatically be exempt from the ability to apply for Inuit recognition within resource-seeking applications. While language is the core of the community, it is difficult to quantify the ability to learn Inuktitut within the colonial systemic frameworks which are the reality of many Inuit.

Relationships and Governance

Familial and regional background are fundamental for Inuit communities; the affiliation with family and acknowledgment of one's roots are important for giving "a child an Inuit ethnic identity, a family or community identity, and a personal identity" (Searles 2008, 241). This influences the effect of land claims; according to Gombay, northern communities "exhibit a form of communitarian nationalism rather than regional nationalism" that is based upon the concept that one's Inuit identity is immediately tied to Inuit collective identity and collective responsibility, which underpin self-determination (2000, 128-133). Self-governance efforts such as the Nunavut Agreement and the Nunavut Implementation Commission (NIC) recognize that embracing collective identity is essential for dismantling the hierarchical structures that can become problematic in defining identity within colonial institutions, as seen elsewhere in Canada in the form of the Indian Act (Gombay 2000, 128-130). The four regions across Inuit Nunangat have their own ways of determining who is Inuk and who will be accepted into the community as per their land claims agreements.

Cultural Reclamation and Traditional Teachings

Cultural reclamation is essential for individual commitment to collective communal identity. Cultural ways of being, such as hunting, food sharing, naming of kin, language use, storytelling, and traditional teaching are experiences which are inherently linked to Inuit identity (Searles 2008, 239-241). Inuit identity is traditionally linked with the land; likewise, harvesting practices and sustenance teachings are foundational to "sustain and enhance Inuit cultural practices" (ITK 2019). Within inter-ethnic marriages, generational divides, and societal results of colonialism, there has been an interruption of how culture is transferred among Inuit. Edmund Carpenter shares how Inuit cosmology is centred on the importance of collectivity: "the life principle – life is hard and may have to be sacrificed in order for others to survive" (Gombay 2000, 130). Being affiliated with and participating in cultural practices is therefore a method in which people demonstrate their connection to their cultural and collective identity and many hold this to be essential in discussions of Inuit identities.

Land, Geography, and Location

Indigenous identity is inherently connected to land: "Inuit identity is a physical property of geographical location" (Searles 2008, 241). Inuit communities acknowledge that their ancestry is inherently linked to the "ties of blood to ancestral soil" (Kuper 2005, 218 and Searles 2008, 239). Often self-government, an important aspect of identity, is linked to one's space in the connection to land claims (Gombay 2000, 127-128). Often, institutional organizations for funding and recognition require a connection to what is understood as traditional Inuit land. Institutions need to acknowledge how colonialism assimilated communities through systemic measures such as

the relocation of Inuit, residential schools, tuberculosis sanitariums, and foster care systems, thereby separating them from the lands that are at the centre of their conceptions of identity.

Conclusion

Identity is a nuanced topic and is not as categorical as some systems and institutions may promote; however, Inuit remain strong and resilient in centering their teachings (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit) upon the necessity to remain connected to community. Because of colonialism and relocations, the specific story of an Inuk may be influenced by systemic barriers in connection with the community. It is important to recognize the personal efforts and actions which demonstrate individual responsibility to demonstrate Inuit identity within their individual journey, however, it is not always a requirement by the recognizing community for an individual to be involved in overt cultural practices. Nonetheless, the claimed Inuit community still needs to acknowledge their individual identity by recognizing them as being a part of the said Inuit community.

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Environmental Scan

ISO-APTN Project on Indigenous Funding Eligibility Environmental Scan

Introduction

The following environmental scan examines how funding organizations in Canada approach claims to Indigenous identity. Amongst art institutions and funding organizations, three main categories regarding approaches to Indigenous identity are revealed: grants that require only self-identification; grants that require identification through government-issued documentation; and grants that require community support. These are examined below. Some additional approaches, for instance from universities and business development grants, are also explored because they offer alternative means to determine Indigenous identity.

Organizations that require only self-identification

Most major artistic grant giving institutions in Canada operate primarily under a self-identification model. The exact form with which this self-identification takes varies slightly from grant to grant. Some programs require only that applicants say that they are First Nations, Inuit or Metis, with no further explanation. Some programs offer minimal explanation for what is required to claim Indigenous identity. For example, the Toronto Indigenous Fashion Week states that applicants “must be an Indigenous person, meaning First Nation, Inuit or Metis in Canada or international Indigenous person as defined by the United Nations.” ArtsNB (New Brunswick) requires that applicants demonstrate some form of connection to Indigenous artistic practices, by stating that “Applicants must demonstrate a clear commitment to the creation, public presentation, dialogue and appreciation of Indigenous arts practices.” Nonetheless, artists must only state that they are Indigenous to be considered for this grant. Another stipulation that some art organizations may have introduced in an effort to combat false claims to Indigenous identity is the requirement that “New applicants to the Indigenous Arts program are advised to contact the Indigenous Arts Program Manager prior to completing an application form in order to confirm eligibility.” However, it is unclear what steps the Indigenous Arts Program Manager takes to determine an applicant’s eligibility, or if these require more proof of Indigenous identity than self-identification.

Organization: **Canada Council for the Arts**

Grant: Creating, Knowing and Sharing

Purpose: “This program supports Indigenous individuals, groups, Indigenous-led arts organizations and arts/cultural sector development organizations that foster a vital and resilient Indigenous arts ecosystem.”

Eligibility: “Self-Identified Indigenous People”

Source: <https://canadacouncil.ca/funding/grants/creating-knowing-sharing>

Organization: **Alberta Foundation for the Arts**

Grant: Indigenous Arts Individual Project Funding

Purpose: “This funding provides up to \$15,000 to support the development of an individual Indigenous artist, arts administrators, or an ensemble of artists in Alberta by providing funding for a specific cultural or artistic project.”

Eligibility: No self-identification requirements

Source: <https://www.afta.ab.ca/funding/find-funding/indigenous-arts-individual-project-funding>

Organization: **Ontario Arts Council**

Grant: Indigenous Arts Projects

Purpose: “Supports Indigenous artists to research, develop and create new work and engage with their communities, as well as opportunities for Indigenous organizations and communities with the arts.”

Eligibility: “professional artists who self-identify as First Nations, Métis or Inuit, and are Ontario residents”

Source: <https://www.arts.on.ca/grants/indigenous-arts-projects>

Organization: **Inuit Art Foundation**

Grant: Indigenous Visual Artist Materials (for Ontario Residents)

Purpose: Grants of \$500 or \$1,000 are available to help cover the cost of the following expenses:

- materials and art supplies, such as wood, fabric, thread, stone, leather hides, sinew, beads, needles, photographic printing, inks, metals, paint, canvas, paper, pencils, etc.
- small tools for making the artwork or for harvesting or gathering materials, such as blades, carving tools, awls, scissors, etc.
- purchase of materials or tools required to run or participate in workshops
- delivery: cost of transporting or shipping materials and supplies
- travel costs for gathering natural materials

Eligibility: “Applicants must self-identify as First Nations, Métis or Inuit”

Source: <https://www.inuitartfoundation.org/artist-programs/ivam>

Organization: **First People’s Cultural Council (British Columbia Indigenous Arts Programs are administered by the FPCC)**

Grant: Indigenous Arts Program, Arts Vitality Micro-Grant, Community Arts Infrastructure, Sharing Traditional Arts, Organizations & Collectives

Purpose: These programs support the development of First Nations, Métis, and/or Inuit artists and arts practitioners residing in B.C. with funding for their art.

Eligibility: “‘Indigenous artist’ refers to a person with Indigenous descent or heritage, and includes First Nations, Métis, or Inuit practitioners of both traditionally base and/or contemporary/experimental art forms. Registered Indian Status is not required.”

Source:

https://fpcc.smartsimple.ca/files/640907/f123747/Individual_Artists_Guidelines_2020.pdf

Organization: **Manitoba Arts Council**

Grant: Creating, Learning and Sharing Grants

Purpose: Supports learning and artistic development activities, the creation of new works of art, or the presentation of art for professional Indigenous artists, arts and cultural professionals and Knowledge Keepers.

Eligibility: Self-Identification only (Professional artists, Knowledge keepers, Professional arts groups, Professional arts organizations, Professional arts service orgs., Non-artistic not-for-profits orgs.)

Source: <https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/grants/arts/ici.html>

Organization: **ArtsNB (New Brunswick)**

Grant: Equinox Program for Indigenous Artists

Purpose: Supports Indigenous artists, curators and groups to engage in artistic creation and professional development.

Eligibility: “Indigenous artists, curators, collectives and groups are eligible to apply. This program is open to emerging, midcareer and senior artists working in all disciplines. Applicants must demonstrate a clear commitment to the creation, public presentation, dialogue and appreciation of Indigenous arts practices.”

Source: https://artsnb.ca/web/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Desc_EQNX.pdf

Organization: **Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts and Recreation**

Grant: Indigenous Culture Heritage Program

Purpose: Supports Indigenous projects that involve the safeguarding of traditions and culture, including language; traditional knowledge and skills; storytelling, music, games and other pastimes; knowledge of the landscape; customs, cultural practices and beliefs; food customs; and living off the land.

Eligibility: Indigenous arts organizations with a cultural focus, or professional Indigenous artists. Self-identification only.

Source: <https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/funding-programs/indigenous-culture-heritage-program/>

Organization: **Conseil des Arts et Lettres du Québec**

Grant: Inuit and First Nations Arts

Purpose: “The CALQ is seeking to support initiatives undertaken by Indigenous artistic organizations with a view to developing and consolidating their organizational capacities.”

Eligibility: Self-identified Indigenous artists

Source: https://www.calq.gouv.qc.ca/en/aides/indigenous-arts-microgrants/?profil_0=160&profil_1=&disciplines=222®ions=&typesAide=

Organization: **Arts Nova Scotia**

Grant: Arts Equity Funding Initiative

Purpose: “The Arts Equity Program is designed to help both emerging and established professional artists from designated communities that have historically faced barriers to accessing funding support.” (Including Indigenous peoples)

Eligibility: Applicants must complete a self-identification form to demonstrate eligibility.

Source: <https://artsns.ca/sites/default/files/2020-08/Arts%20Equity%20Funding%20Initiative%20-%20Self%20Identification%20Form.pdf>

Organization: **Indigenous Fashion Week Toronto**

Purpose: To be showcased in Toronto’s Indigenous Fashion Week, as a runway designer or marketplace seller.

Eligibility: “Must be an Indigenous person, meaning First Nation, Inuit or Metis in Canada or international Indigenous person as defined by the United Nations.” Self-identification, but “New applicants to the Indigenous Arts program are advised to contact the Indigenous Arts Program Manager prior to completing an application form in order to confirm eligibility.”

Source: <https://ifwtoronto.com/apply/>

Organization: **Toronto Arts Council**

Grant: Indigenous Arts Projects

Purpose: “The Indigenous Arts Projects program is an annual multi-disciplinary project grant specifically for Indigenous artists, collectives and organizations.”

Eligibility: “For the purpose of this program, ‘Indigenous’ is defined as a Canadian Aboriginal person who self-defines as First Nations (Status or Non-status), Métis, or Inuit.” Self-identification, but “New applicants to the Indigenous Arts program are advised to contact the Indigenous Arts Program Manager prior to completing an application form in order to confirm eligibility.”

Source: <https://torontoartscouncil.org/grant-programs/tac-grants/indigenous-arts>

While most art grants continue to operate primarily under self-identification, some organizations are adding additional conditions for applicants. Most notably, the Indigenous Screen Office uses self-identification to determine eligibility, but states that “applicants must attest that they are not misrepresenting their identity.” This applies to the numerous grant programs that the ISO funds, including the Amazon Studios & Indigenous Screen Office Series Pitch Competition, Emergency Relief Fund for Productions, Solidarity Fund Application, Indigenous Development Grants, and the ISO Partnership Program. The ISO’s application process further states that “loss of eligibility for future funding, repayment of any funds already advanced, criminal prosecution, in the case of fraud.” Applicants still do not have to provide any tangible evidence that their claims to Indigenous identity are valid, such as copies of a status card or letters of support from their community.

Grants that require proof of Indigeneity through government-issued documentation

Although most major artistic grant giving institutions rely primarily on self-identification to determine an applicant’s eligibility, some institutions do require proof of identity as a First Nations, Métis, or Inuit person. For most organizations that require proof of identity, this generally takes the form of status as a First Nations person or proof of citizenship or membership in an approved Inuit organization. Most notably in this category are the grants from Indspire, a national Indigenous charity, which has a very rigorous system in place:

Organization: **Indspire**

Grant: Building Brighter Futures: Bursaries, Scholarships, and Awards

Purpose: “Arts Training: studies in fine arts and performance arts, including visual, performing, media, graphic, and literary arts.”

Eligibility:

- First Nations: means a person who self-identifies as an Indian or as First Nations, whether Status or Non-Status. Applicants are required to provide proof of First Nation identity by providing a valid Certificate of Indian Status (a “Status Card”) or a citizenship, membership, registration or enrolment card issued by:
 - 1) the Registrar of the Federal Government’s Indian Register;
 - 2) a Band within the meaning of the Indian Act that has control of its membership list; or
 - 3) by an Indigenous group under a modern land claims agreement.
- Inuit: means a person who self-identifies as Inuit. Applicants are required to provide proof of Inuit identity by providing a valid Inuit identity card issued by:
 - 1) an Inuit organization that is recognized by the Government of Canada,
 - 2) an Inuit organization that is recognized by the Government of Nunavut;
 - or
 - 3) an Indigenous group under a modern land claims agreement.
- Métis: means a person who self-identifies as Métis. Applicants are required to provide proof of Métis identity by providing a valid Métis citizenship, membership, registration or enrolment card issued by:
 - 1) one of the Métis Settlements in Alberta,
 - 2) a provincial organization that is a member of the Métis National Council, which includes the Métis Nation British Columbia, the Métis Nation of Alberta, the Métis Nation Saskatchewan, the Manitoba Métis Federation and the Métis Nation of Ontario;
 - 3) an Indigenous group under a modern land claims agreement; or
 - 4) a Métis organization that is recognized by the Government of Canada,”

Source: <https://indspire.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Approved-BBF-Policy-Sept-26-2014.pdf>

Organization: **Dreamcatcher Foundation**

Grant: Dreamcatcher Charitable Foundation

Purpose: “The main focus of this sector is on arts (including performing arts), cultural and language activities, and special events that create opportunities for youth to participate in a wide range of activities with the goal of developing our youth into future leaders.”

Eligibility: Requires “proof of membership” (copies of Status Card)

Source: <https://www.dcfund.ca/site/applications-requirements>

Grants that require proof of relationship with community

As explored, demonstrating proof of Indigenous identity generally requires only self-identification of applicants. When arts organizations or funding institutions do require more, few, if any, major arts institutions or funding organizations require applicants to establish any tangible or demonstrable connection to community. While it does not exclusively provide arts funding, the NIB Trust is the only grant giving organization that requires community support to access funding opportunities:

Organization: **NIB Trust Fund**

Purpose: Funding for programs aimed at education, healing and reconciliation.

Eligibility: Confirmation of First Nation/Metis citizenship and a letter of support from an Elder or Cultural Support

Source: <https://nibtrust-apply.smapply.io/>

Universities and other organizations

While self-identification of Indigenous identity is the primary means for determining Indigenous identity for arts organizations, it should be noted that other types of organizations require documentation of Indigenous identity. For instance, university funding programs generally have more robust mechanisms for determining a student’s Indigenous identity. While these funding opportunities are not specific to art or culture grants, they provide examples of what other institutions are doing to ensure the authenticity of claims to Indigenous identity. These organizations are included in this environment scan in order to provide potential alternatives to determining claims to Indigenous identity.

University: **University of Waterloo**

Program: Indigenous OSAP Supporting Documentation

Eligibility: Students who cannot provide a Status Card (or other official documentation) can provide:

- “A letter from an Indigenous organization (for example, Métis Nation of Ontario, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Tungasuvvingat Inuit) on the organization’s letterhead that confirms the student’s name and Indigenous identity. The letter should be signed and dated by a senior representative of the organization and include their name, contact information, and position within the organization; or
- A letter from an Indigenous Friendship Centre, on the organization’s letterhead that confirms community involvement, the student’s name and Indigenous identity. The letter should be signed and dated by a senior representative of the organization and include their name, contact information, and position within the organization; or
- An affidavit from the student confirming their Indigenous identity, including an explanation of why official documentation is unavailable.”

Source: https://uwaterloo.ca/stpauls/sites/ca.stpauls/files/uploads/files/indigenous_fact_sheet_-_indigenous_self-id_february_24_2020.pdf

Organization: **Waubetek Business Development Corporation**

Program: Waubetek offers a variety of business loans to establish, expand or purchase a business in North Eastern Ontario.

Eligibility: “First Nation registered members must provide a copy of their Certificate of Indian Status card issued by First Nation/Government of Canada (may follow-up with First Nation to confirm). Applicants of Inuit ancestry will provide a letter of confirmation from the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. Non-Status Indians must provide a birth certificate proving a genealogical link to a First Nation registered member. Metis citizens must apply to the Metis Voyageur Development Fund for financial assistance.”

Source: <https://ontariobusinessgrants.com/loans/waubetek-business-development-corporation-business-loans-2021/>

Conclusion

This environmental scan has determined that the primary mechanism used by art institutions and funding organizations to determine an applicant’s claims to Indigenous identity remains self-

identification. Most major arts institutions, notably the Canada Council for the Arts and provincial arts organizations, use this method. Some organizations, including the Indigenous Screen Office, are beginning to adopt some more stringent methods. These could include the requirement to attest to one's Indigenous identity or risk losing future funding or having to pay back any funding that is awarded. Very few organizations require applicants to provide proof of First Nations status, Métis citizenship, or membership in an Inuit organization, and fewer still require any proof of tangible connection to community. By examining other funding sources, including universities and Indigenous business development opportunities, this environmental scan has also provided context for other means by which arts organizations could require applicants to authenticate their claims to Indigenous identity.

Focus Group and Interview Questions

Core Questions

- a. What criteria is needed for applicants to “authentically” receive funding allocated to Indigenous applicants?
- b. What are “legitimate” Indigenous communities?
- c. How should funders respond when it is discovered that someone has received funding and is not Indigenous?

Formal Questions

Introductory Questions:

- 1) We are going to do a round of introductions - when you introduce yourself, if you are comfortable, please tell us about your relationship to the land, your community and/or nation?
- 2) How would you describe community in the Indigenous context?
 - a) Narratives for prompts, i.e., where you’re from, where you live
 - b) Narratives of examples of community, i.e., street engaged youth, C31, Scooped, Reconnecting, Indigenous accepted or government accepted, or all descendants.

Applicant Eligibility Questions:

- 3) What would an inclusive system for eligibility criteria look like to you?
 - i) How do we honour our values around trust in this process?
- 4) Do you think that creating criteria around Indigenous identity is an exclusionary process?
- 5) How should this system be approached and considered by funding organizations?
- 6) What are your thoughts on the need for eligibility criteria?
 - i) Is it needed?
 - ii) Why/Why not?
- 7) What are key or baseline questions funding bodies should ask applicants?

- a) Should documentation be required and if so, what would be appropriate?
 - b) Should applicants be required to provide an oral or written statement to define their connection to community/Nation?
- 8) What type of community connection do people need to have to be considered active, acknowledged members of community?
- i) Immediate family
 - ii) Two generations – grandparents
 - iii) Beyond two generations?

Application Process Questions:

- 9) Situating oneself as an Indigenous person is very important to many. Storytelling is a way to share one’s truth, position, and identity. How can this be supported and portrayed through an application process?
- 10) When thinking of a just and fair application process, who should be reviewing and approving or denying applications for Indigenous funding?
- i) How do we build relationship in the application process?
 - ii) How could the process work?
- 11) How can Indigenous funding organizations be clear, honest and transparent about priorities?
- i) How can they encourage honesty from applicants?

“Authentic Community” Question:

- 12) There are hundreds of Indigenous communities across Canada, the majority of which are historically recognized First Nation, Métis, and Inuit communities, however, there are some in grey areas where community legitimacy is being questioned. How do you feel about the grey areas?
- i) Prompts: Consider some contentious Eastern Métis organizations, the context of urban communities and Nation organizations created for the purpose of land claims.

Remedy Process Questions:

- 13) How should funders respond when it is discovered that someone has received funding and is not Indigenous?
- 14) How can funding bodies and organizations better prevent harm from false claims and facilitate healing processes with the community when unjust claims have been made / been successful?
- 15) Before we conclude, is there anything we did not touch on today that you would like to share with us?

Survey Questions

Part A: Tell us about yourself

Instructions: This first set of questions will ask you a few details about you. Please use the response options provided for each question and answer as many questions as you feel comfortable.

1. Please select your affiliation (you can select more than one):
 - Status First Nations
 - Non Status First Nation
 - Inuit
 - Métis
2. With which specific Nation(s) or communities do you identify?

3. Is there another cultural community with whom you identify?

4. In what kind of region do you live and work: (select one or more options)
 - Urban (in a city)
 - Suburban (in a community within commuting distance to the city)
 - Rural (in a small community)
 - Remote (in a community with limited or no road access)
 - On-reserve (in a First Nation community)
5. How would you describe your profession?
 - a. Artist from any discipline
 - b. Scholar
 - c. Elder
 - d. Traditional Knowledge Keeper
 - e. Representative of an Indigenous Organization

- f. Language and Culture Expert
- g. Producer or Director
- h. Writer
- i. Actor
- j. Other

Part B: Indigenous Identification

Instructions: We understand an authentic Indigenous experience represents a broad spectrum of realities with varying levels of community and kinship connections and lived experiences. The questions in this section explore how you understand Indigenous identification and what identifying as Indigenous means to you.

- 6. What do you consider to be necessary to identify as Indigenous? (Pick all that apply.)
 - a. Self-identification
 - b. Membership in a community (First Nation, Metis or Inuit) organization
 - c. Living in community
 - d. Connection to community
 - e. Customary adoptions
 - f. Immediate family connections
 - g. Indigenous ancestry (within 4 generations or great-grandparents)
- 7. Indigenous ancestry can be identified through an Indigenous ancestor with ties to a community (pick all that apply)
 - a. Within 3 generations (grandparents)
 - b. Within 4 generations (great-grandparents)
 - c. Within 5 generations (great-great-grandparents)
 - d. Historical Indigenous ancestry (over 8 generations or 200 years ago)
 - e. Current ties to an Indigenous nation and / or community through legal or customary adoption

8. In what ways does your relationship with your community and/or nation shape or impact your identity as an Indigenous person?
 - a. (Open ended answer)
9. How central is community and kinship ties to your Indigenous identity?
 - a. Not central
 - b. Somewhat central
 - c. Very central
 - d. I do not have community or kinship ties
10. In what ways do you establish and maintain a relationship with your Indigenous community?
 - a. Living in or visiting community
 - b. Volunteer or work in community (programs, activities, ceremonies)
 - c. Working with community members outside community
 - d. Attending events and social gatherings
 - e. Contribute resources (time, skills, financially)
 - f. Consistent communication and interactions
 - g. Active interest in community issues and needs
 - h. Other: _____
11. Do you feel included in your Indigenous community?
 - a. Completely included
 - b. Somewhat included
 - c. Neither included nor excluded
 - d. Somewhat excluded
 - e. Completely excluded

Part C: Access to Public Funding for Indigenous communities

Instructions: We want to hear from you and your perspective to better understand what it means to identify as Indigenous and the ways public funding access can be used to best support Indigenous people and communities.

12. Have you received public funding? Please select which of the following options applies to you:
- a. I have received public funding from Indigenous funding agencies
 - b. I have received public funding from non-Indigenous funding agencies
 - c. I have not received public funding
13. How would you describe your experience accessing grants?
- a. Very positive
 - b. Generally positive
 - c. Somewhat positive with some challenges
 - d. Generally challenging
 - e. Very challenging
14. I have access to sufficient opportunities for financial support and career opportunities in my area/region
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
15. Who should be evaluating Indigenous applications for funding? (pick order of preference, first being most preferred).
- a. A review panel comprised of all Indigenous people
 - b. A review panel comprised of some Indigenous people
 - c. An individual Indigenous person
 - d. The community the applicant identified with

- e. Does not matter
16. What should funding agencies consider as proof of Indigenous identity and / or ancestry for Indigenous funding purposes? (Pick all that apply.)
- a. Self-identification
 - b. Membership in a community / nation (First Nation, Metis or Inuit)
 - c. Letter of support from a Band / Community Association
 - d. Letter of support from an Elder or Knowledge Keeper
 - e. Letter of support from other community members and / or family members
 - f. Letter of support from a Friendship Centre
 - g. No evidence should be required
 - h. Other, please specify
17. Do you think that membership in a recognized First Nation, Inuit organization or Metis Nation should be necessary to be considered for funding?
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
18. The current assessment and judging procedures in funding agencies are equitable and recognize the Indigenous context in Canada.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
19. Public funding for Indigenous people needs to prioritize anyone who identifies as Indigenous, regardless of their level of current involvement with a community.

- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
20. Public funding for Indigenous people needs to prioritize individuals connected to Indigenous communities and have a strong relationships with kinship ties
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
21. Funding agencies have a responsibility to support Indigenous peoples in their process of connecting or reconnecting with ancestral Indigenous communities.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree
22. Funding agencies have a responsibility to support Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty.
- a. Strongly agree
 - b. Somewhat agree
 - c. Neither agree nor disagree
 - d. Somewhat disagree
 - e. Strongly disagree

Part D: Consequences of illegitimate claims to Indigeneity

23. Funding agencies need to verify the legitimacy of an Indigenous membership claim for any application.
- Strongly agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Strongly disagree
24. In cases when Indigenous identity is questioned, funding agencies need to verify the legitimacy of the Indigenous membership claim
- Strongly agree
 - Somewhat agree
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Somewhat disagree
 - Strongly disagree
25. Do you think applicants with fraudulent claims to Indigeneity who receive a grant for Indigenous-specific funding should have to repay any funding that they've received?
- Do you think there should be consequences for people who have received funding for Indigenous peoples and are later found to have fraudulent claims to being Indigenous?
 - What should those consequences be for people who claim incorrectly?
26. What consequences, if any, should there be for a person who received funding while falsely claiming Indigenous identity and membership?
- No consequences
 - Fee penalty
 - Public announcements or documentation
 - Legal or criminal action

- e. Repayment of funding, if awarded a grant
 - f. Another method of reparation
 - g. Other, please specify
27. How should funding agencies address those who have lost their connection to community through residential schools, the 60s scoop, unstated paternity, or other assimilationist policies?
28. Should funding agencies financially support Indigenous peoples who are currently in the process of connecting or reconnecting with Indigenous communities?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. If yes, how should this be approached by funding agencies?

Part E: Overall Demographics

Instructions: This final set of questions will ask you a few details about yourself so we can better understand you. Please use the response options provided for each question and answer as many questions as you feel comfortable.

1. Please self-identify your gender:
2. What is your primary language:
 - a. English
 - b. French
 - c. Other, please specify:
3. What is your age:
4. Do you identify as a member of the 2SLGBTQQIA community?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

- c. Prefer not to answer
5. Do you identify as a person who is Deaf, partially deaf or hard of hearing?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Prefer not to answer
6. Are you a person with a disability? For the purposes of this questionnaire, disability includes persons who have a long-term or recurring physical, mental, sensory, psychiatric, or learning impairment or chronic illness.
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Prefer not to answer