Indigenous in the City

Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation

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Contents

Introduction

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The historic development of discourses that defined Indigenous peoples and their cultures as incongruous with modern urban life means that urban areas exert particular influences on struggles over the meaning of Indigenous identities.[1] The association of "authentic" Indigenous identities with non-urban locations positions urban Indigenous cultures and lifeways as in-authentic and less legitimate. Cultural innovations in cities are often not viewed as central to the production of contemporary Indigeneity, and individuals who do not have ties to non-urban Indigenous communities can face challenges in defining and asserting Indigenous identities. While scholars have provided alternative frames for thinking about contemporary Indigenous identities, issues of continuity in the context of diversity and change remain especially fraught in cities.

Issues related to the nature of urban Indigenous identities are especially important in the context of growing numbers of Indigenous people living in urban areas. In 2007, for example, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, acknowledging the growing number and proportion of Indigenous people living in cities, devoted a half day to the discussion of urban Indigenous peoples and migration. At the same time, it called for the special rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental free-doms of Indigenous peoples to undertake a study of the social and economic rights of Indigenous peoples living in cities. In many developed countries, most Indigenous people live in urban areas, yet relatively few researchers

work in this area and little is known about Indigenous urbanization patterns and experiences. Indeed, contemporary perspectives on Indigenous realities rarely focus on life in major metropolitan centres; instead, scholarship tends to focus on Indigenous lifeways in rural/remote locations.

Despite the dominant scholarly emphasis on Indigenous cultures and communities in rural or remote areas, some research is beginning to position urban areas as spaces of Indigenous resilience and cultural innovation. Urban Indigenous peoples have resisted expectations of assimilation by building communities in and beyond urban areas and by reformulating Western institutions and practices to support their particular Indigenous identities. Indigeneity survives, adapts, and innovates in modern cities.

The focus of this volume is Indigenous negotiations of identity in urban areas. This introduction provides a context for the chapters that follow by summarizing the development of colonial discourses of difference, which defined Indigenous peoples, and their contemporary implications in urban areas. Following from this, we briefly summarize alternative perspectives for thinking about Indigenous urbanization and the continuing challenges regarding ways of thinking about urban Indigenous identities. Contributors to this volume provide new ways of thinking about urban Indigenous identities, and, more specifically, they collectively emphasize both the overarching issues and concerns common to urban Aboriginal residents *and* their distinctive (and, in many cases, city- and region-specific) histories. By way of conclusion, we summarize the contributions of individual chapters.

Colonial Discourses of Difference and Their Contemporary Implications

Racialization has been a powerful tool in European cultural processes. Scholarly explanations of the work racialization does argue that it legitimized the sense of superiority felt by imperial and White settler groups (Anderson 2000). But, in order to understand particular discursive formulations of social groups in European thought, it is important to go beyond the general accounts of how the racialization of social groups supported imperial processes. A collective emphasis on certain markers of difference is key to shaping the relationships and experiences of particular racialized groups. Different groups have been defined differently under varying circumstances and on the basis of different signifiers of difference (Brah 1992; Mawani 2009). People's negotiation and contestation of these definitions also produce varied results. There is a need to look at specific accounts in order to

understand the effects of colonizing and counter-colonial discourses on different peoples (Thomas 1994).

The evolution of colonial discourses about Indigenous identities and urban space are significant in the production of difference in European thought. The massive migration of people in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries makes it less and less possible for cultural identities to be tied to particular places, assuming they ever really were (Appadurai 1988; Clifford 1988). The spread of media means that even people who stay in familiar and ancestral locations find that familiar links between places and identities have changed (Gupta and Ferguson 1992). Despite these ruptures, however, dominant interpretations maintain a stubborn association of "authentic" Indigenous identities with non-urban spaces, far from the metropolitan centres of society in distance and/or history. Feminist scholar Anne McClintock (1995, 40) describes mainstream perceptions of Indigenous cultures as existing in "anachronistic space ... prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity." In the introduction to their recent edited collection *Indigenous Experience Today,* anthropologists Orin Starn and Marisol de la Cadena (2007, 7) note that, despite the attempts of a variety of scholars, politicians, and common people to influence representations of Indigenous peoples, this activism "did not undo the opposition between the 'primitive' and the 'civilized,' which remained pivotal in indigeneity's field of meaning, practices, and politics."

Mappings of space and identity that increasingly represented cities as areas in which Indigenous peoples and cultures were "out of place" emerged in Europe in the 1700s. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, European societies began to draw distinct boundaries between the human and the non-human. Humanness was associated with the (supposedly) distinctive capacity to alter nature (Anderson 2003). Contact with Aboriginal people, many of whom did not appear to Europeans to engage in nature-altering activities, positioned them close to the nature side of the culture/nature divide that emerged in Europe at that time and defined them as being at the "ground-zero of the human, sitting at its extreme and limit" (Anderson 2003, 427).

Economist Robert Meek (1976) argues that, beginning in the 1750s, European thinkers accepted the idea that all human societies naturally progressed through four stages, each associated with a distinct mode of subsistence (hunting, pastorage, agriculture, and commerce) and with particular values, behaviours, laws, government, and conceptions of property. By the 1780s, these ideas were an integral part of Enlightenment social thought.

Characterized as existing primarily within a subsistence animal-harvesting economy (evidence of agriculture among some groups was dismissed as random and not significant), and perceived as not possessing systems of property, commerce, or government, Indigenous peoples of the Americas provided a "plausible working hypothesis about the *first* stage" (67 [emphasis in original]). Geographer Kay Anderson (2000, 302) provides an additional context for colonial discourses that positioned Indigenous peoples in terms of their "proximity to 'nature,' infantility, eroticism, and absence of civilised manners."

As towns began to emerge during the settlement processes of Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, dichotomies such as primitivism/civilization and nature/culture were translated into distinct practices and spatial arrangements. Historian David Hamer's (1990, 11-12) review of the perceptions of contemporaries during the emergence of nineteenth-century frontier towns in these countries shows that, "although towns played a major role in policies of subjecting and controlling indigenous peoples[,] ... the Maori, the aborigines, and the North American Indians were increasingly treated as not 'belonging' in this European form of community." Established on sites used by Indigenous peoples, many early settlements originally had large Indigenous populations, continuously or seasonally. However, contemporary Europeans viewed towns as replacing one way of life (characterized by savagery and the wilderness) with another (characterized by progress and civilization). Consequently, Indigenous people were viewed as part of the wild nature of the wilderness, and their presence in urban centres soon came to be viewed as incongruous. Frequent removal of Indigenous residents from towns was rationalized in terms of the supposedly "corrupting and demoralizing effect on indigenous peoples of a civilization with which, as people at a more 'primitive' level of social development, they were not fitted to cope" (217).

A detailed history of the mechanisms through which Indigenous people in different countries were excluded from urban spaces has yet to be written. In Canada, these practices included the enforcement of private property regulations; relocation of reserves when cities grew around them; illegal surrenders of reserve lands near city boundaries; the pass system, which confined First Nations people to reserves on the Prairies; and the intense hostility many Aboriginal people faced when they visited urban areas (Blomley 2004; Stanger-Ross 2008; Wilson and Peters 2005). Scholars have documented similar processes in other countries (e.g., Edmonds 2010; Jacobs 1996). According to Hamer (1990, 12), fewer and fewer Indigenous people

lived in towns, and "their presence in towns became more and more ghost-ly." The conceptual and physical removal of Indigenous people from urban spaces that accompanied colonial urbanization reinforced perceptions about the incompatibility of urban and Indigenous identities.

These ideas have retained much of their currency. In *The White Man's Indian,* an exploration of the history of US images of American Indians, historian Robert Berkhoffer (1979, 29-30) notes the lack of options for Indigenous people in the United States who were not living traditional sub-sistence lifestyles. He argues that, from non-Indigenous perspectives, American Indians who were neither assimilated nor "noble or wildly savage" were seen as "imperfect creatures, the degraded or reservation Indian." Postcolonial theorist Terry Goldie's (1989) survey of images of Indigenous peoples in the white literature of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand found that Indigenous cultures were presented as authentic only when they were practised in isolated areas, far from the metropolitan centres of society. Native studies scholar Renya Ramirez's (2007) summary of scholarship on American Indian urbanization finds that many writers consider movement to cities to be synonymous with assimilation. Historical anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1994) notes that the celebration of primitivized Indigenous cultures marginalized urbanized members of these populations. Anderson (2000) argues that the contemporary identification of Indigenous people with "wild" nature, in opposition to significations of "the city" as the hall-mark of "civilization," underlay the contrast between savagery and civiliza-tion that characterized protests against the establishment of Redfern, an Aboriginal housing development in central Sydney, Australia.

Alternative Views of Contemporary Indigenous Cultures

Many scholars and activists, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, have challenged the implications of the strand of early European thought that as-sumed that it was impossible for Indigenous peoples to participate in the modern world without abandoning their Indigenous cultures and identities (Starn and de la Cadena 2007). Sahlins's work in particular puts forward a powerful argument that points out that all societies need to construct their existence in relation to external circumstances, natural or social, that they cannot control. He argues that, for all societies, the "more or less self-conscious fabrication of culture in response to impervious outside 'pres-sures' is a normal process" (Sahlins 2000, 489), and he asks how people can respond to external circumstances other than by "devising on their own

heritage, acting according to their own categories, logics, understandings?" As a result, "cultural continuity thus appears in and as the mode of cultural change. The innovations follow logically ... from the people's own principles of existence" (494). Recognizing the "terror that Western imperialism has inflicted," he nevertheless points out that Indigenous people create cultural coherence and continuity by assimilating influences from other cultures into a logic of their own (Sahlins 1999, iii). Sahlins also argues that Indigenous peoples worldwide engage with international commodities and relations in order to develop their own cultural orders and to create their own spaces in the world cultural order, a process that he terms the "indigenization of modernity" (x). Morgan (2005) makes a similar point in a context more specific to those we explore here, emphasizing that urban Indigenous Australian communities never merely mimic those of pre-existing non-Indigenous communities but, rather, "attach" themselves to these locales in ways powerfully embedded in their own traditions and histories while still producing novel and enduring social relations specific to the urban contexts in which they live.

Continuing Challenges in Defining Urban Indigenous Identities

Despite the useful interventions of Sahlins and other scholars and activists, contemporary formulations of what it means to be Indigenous continue to complicate interpretations of *urban* Indigenous experiences and identities. Indigenous people in UN forums have often challenged the need for a general definition of identity, arguing that seeking one "right" definition is both counterproductive and damaging (Niezen 2003, 19; United Nations General Assembly 2007). However, academics and policy makers have frequently found it necessary to produce definitions of the populations with which they are concerned. Despite apparent agreement that there are variations in how individuals and groups define themselves as Indigenous peoples, in these definitions a relationship or attachment to ancestral territories appears again and again as a marker of Indigenous peoples' identities.[2] Arguably, this emphasis affects contemporary interpretations of urban Indigenous experiences and identities.

For example, in a reflection on lessons learned in twentieth-century anthropology, Sahlins (1999, i) emphasizes that contemporary Indigenous peoples belie the "theoretical oppositions between tradition and change, Indigenous culture and modernity, townsmen and tribesmen." Challenging assumptions that urbanization resulted in detribalization, he refers to

studies that show the complementarities and interdependence of Indigenous homelands and metropolitan "homes abroad" (xvii). Sahlins argues that these connections also hold for Indigenous people living in cities away from their traditional territories within national territories. Further, even though they live in cities, urban Indigenous people are "symbolically focussed on the homeland, whence its members derive their identity and their destiny" (xix). Sahlins notes that linkages of kinship take on new functions in the city as community and tribal affiliations organize migration patterns, the care of dependents, and the organization of urban housing and employment. In other words, the characteristics of urban Indigenous identities and communities continue to be shaped by connections to traditional territories and communities through circular migration or other linkages. What this looks like in practice is, of course, a matter of empirical investigation, which several of our contributors undertake.

Clifford's (2007) recent formulation resembles Sahlins's in its emphasis on a connection to an Indigenous homeland.[3] Arguing that a "feeling of connectedness to a homeland and to kin, a feeling of grounded peoplehood" (205) is central to Indigenous peoples' identities, he recognizes that many Indigenous people, including those in cities, are not living in their ancestral territories. According to Clifford, the characteristics of tribal origins are reproduced in new locations for people living away from their tribal homelands: "The tribal home – its animals, plants, social gatherings, shared foods, ancestors, and spiritual powers – is not imagined from a distance. It is activated, 'practiced' ... made meaningful in a range of sites by seasoned rituals, social gatherings, visits, and subsistence activities" (213). Clifford recognizes that circular migration is not characteristic of all urban Indigenous residents: "Urban populations may or may not return to rural places for family gatherings, ceremonial events, dance festivals, subsistence activities, pow wows, and so forth. For some it is a matter of frequent visits; others go once a year, for summer or midwinter social activities; some return rarely or never" (205). However, the source of Indigenous identities, cultures, and social networks in the city, according to Clifford, is still the non-urban homeland.

It is noteworthy that Sahlins's and Clifford's formulations rest on a particular geography that itself assumes the dichotomy of Indigenous homelands and urban sites. They fail to recognize that most cities are located on sites traditionally used by Indigenous peoples, including settlements equivalent in size and complexity of organization to that of European cities at the time. The creation of Indigenous "homelands" outside of cities is in itself a

colonial invention. Moreover, for many Indigenous peoples, ancestral home-
lands are not contained by the small parcels of land found in reserves, reser-
vations, and rural Māori and rural Australian Aboriginal settlements; rather,
they are the larger territories that include contemporary urban settlements.

The lived reality of many Indigenous people includes significant connec-
tions to ancestral homelands, close by or distant. For many this connection
includes frequent returns or circular migration. Moreover, an emphasis on
this relationship has supported Indigenous struggles for territory, resour-
ces, economic development, and recognition as distinct peoples. However, a
connection to Indigenous homelands as the primary marker of Indigenous
identities creates particular challenges for urban Indigenous communities
and identities. It also impedes the development of a scholarship that high-
lights the ways in which urban Indigenous people are reformulating Western
institutions and practices to support Indigenous cultures and identities so
that Indigenous people can continue to survive as distinct people(s) in con-
temporary societies.

Privileging a connection to ancestral homelands as a marker of Indigenous
identity reinforces dominant visions of Indigenous peoples as authentic
only if they live in remote areas and engage in "traditional" lifestyles or, con-
versely, only if we assume that these homelands are located exclusively in
such areas. When the source of Indigenous identities and the focus of life-
ways is located outside the urban milieu, innovations that emerge from
interactions with non-Indigenous society are positioned as less central or
even as less "authentic" than transplanted tribal traditions. Different In-
digenous relationships to ancestral lands are homogenized, and people who
may not possess these connections are excluded. In particular, an emphasis
on a connection to land and ancestral territories (as dominantly conflated
with rural or remote areas) generates questions about the identities of urban
Indigenous dwellers whose connection to tribal homelands may be spor-
adic, may not continue to exist, or may never have existed. It poses particu-
lar barriers for individuals with Indigenous and non-Indigenous ancestry
who may not have had a strong connection to traditional, rural Indigenous
communities (e.g., Lawrence 2004; Proulx 2006), and for many third- and
fourth-generation urban residents (e.g., Jackson 2001).

A focus on (non-urban) tribal homelands as the source of urban
Indigenous identities also ignores the ways many urban Indigenous people
have created organizations and communities across cultural and tribal
groupings. Clearly, participation in urban organizations that represent
Indigenous interests across tribal origins and participation in the life of

non-urban tribal communities are not mutually exclusive. Many urban Indigenous people have memberships in multiple social and political communities. However, the assumption that tribal societies organize and animate the social, economic, and political life of urban Indigenous people creates urban Indigenous groups and interests as necessarily fragmented and often in conflict with each other.

Viewing non-urban tribal communities as the primary influence on Indigenous peoples' lives in cities misses the complex ways in and through which Indigenous peoples selectively interact with urban societies to create meaningful lives in cities. Anthropologist Francesca Merlan's (2007) recent critique of the emphasis on an Aboriginal attachment to land as defining Aboriginal identities in Australia is relevant here. While she recognizes the achievements that have come about because of this emphasis, she also argues that this focus has "delayed recognition of the ways in which, now that Indigenous people are no longer chiefly dependent on land for their daily subsistence, their relations are recontextualized and revitalized to other aspects of their lives" (143). In other words, the preoccupation with an Indigenous relationship to land has deflected attention away from an understanding of the ways that many contemporary Indigenous people express their identities in contemporary urban settlements. Heather Howard and Craig Proulx (2011, 4-6) describe how urban Indigenous people who are unable to use expected identity markers, such as a traditional attachment to Aboriginal lands, choose from a variety of other resources to construct identities, including pan-Aboriginal cultures and activities in urban areas.

Scope of This Volume

Throughout the twentieth century, urban locales have been understood in the academy and more broadly as places where Indigenous culture goes to die. In contrast, this book demonstrates the resilience, creativity, and complexity of the urban Indigenous presence, both in Canada and internationally.

Indigenous in the City explores how Indigenous peoples in cities produce ways of living that move beyond marginalization and the everyday realities produced by the legacy of colonial dispossession. It is impossible to deny the reality of socio-economic and cultural challenges that many urban Indigenous people face in their everyday lives. They are overrepresented in statistics on poverty, unemployment, poor health, and low levels of formal education. Although initiatives to restore or preserve Indigenous languages have often

emerged in cities, statistics show that urban Indigenous peoples are less likely to have an Indigenous language as their mother tongue than are rural residents (e.g., Norris 2011). Continued attention to these facets of Indigenous urbanization provides an important context for program and policy initiatives. However, the comparison of characteristics of Indigenous marginalization is not our focus.

While an analysis of the relationship between neoliberalism/globalization and Indigeneity in cities would produce some important insights into emerging forms of cultural identity, this is also beyond the scope of this book. Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) provide a critical analysis of the emerging characteristics of a relatively new emphasis on expressing cultural identity through the incorporation of ethnic groups and the commodification of cultural resources (social and natural). They argue that these forms of cultural identity emerge in the context of the neoliberal creation of entrepreneurial subjects, the increasing hegemony of intellectual property regimes, the globalization of the desire to express identity through consumption, and an increasing reliance on legal regulation through copyrights and patents. As Comaroff and Comaroff suggest, urban Indigenous peoples are largely excluded from these developments because of their lack of territory and their heterogeneity (12). An exploration of the connections between new forms of Indigenous identities in cities and the economic, political, and legal processes in contemporary societies would make an important contribution to our understanding, but we argue that, because the characteristics of urban Indigneity are still poorly understood, such an analysis is premature. The focus in this book is on how cities create challenges and opportunities for the creation of new forms of Indigenous identities that can provide a baseline for further research.

We cannot begin to claim comprehensiveness in covering the diversity of Indigenous experiences across different geographies or for different social groups. Our focus is on four developed settler nations – Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. While there are historical differences in the relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples in these countries, there are also commonalities rooted in histories of colonial dispossession and definitions of the relationship between urban and Indigenous identities. It is these commonalities that make this choice interesting. It remains for other researchers to explore similarities and differences in processes of urban Indigenous identity making in other countries. Even within the four settler nations that are the focus of *Indigenous in the City,* we cannot

possibly cover all variations of city size, location, and cultural diversity. For example, most of the chapters focus on large cities (Auckland, Brisbane, Denver, Sydney). In Canada, however, the emphasis is on Prairie cities, which contain the largest urban Aboriginal populations. We recognize the diversity of Indigenous populations reflected in cultural differences and varied histories and relationships to the state; a single volume cannot hope to address all of these variations, especially over four separate countries. Urban experiences also differ according to social characteristics such as gender, age, and socio-economic status. Our focus is not on describing and comparing similarities and differences in the urban experiences of all of these groupings; instead, we hope to identify important themes and insights that have broader application and that generate new research and understanding.[4]

Indigenous in the City explores the complexity of urban Indigeneity in Canada and abroad and, more specifically, the co-constitutive influence of urban locales on the production of Indigenous identities. While government policy has long attempted to deal with the Indigenous presence in urban locales, scholarly research has generally positioned it as incompatible with authentic Indigeneity (which was to be found in rural/non-urban locales). Indeed, "urban" and "Indigenous" are still largely seen as incompatible. We position urban Indigenous identities not as incomplete or diminished vestiges of more authentic Indigenous locales (like those of rural areas) but, rather, as complex, highly vernacular engines of Indigenous cultural power. This book explores the various geographical and temporal contexts within which urban Indigeneity not only exists but also continues to evolve, in all its complexity – sometimes in concert with the broader and non-Indigenous urban community, sometimes in direct and even deliberate tension with it.

Chapter Summaries

The authors of the chapters in this volume pay close attention to the ways Indigenous people create their identities in the urban milieu and to how, in so doing, they "indigenize modernity." The chapters are grouped into four parts, each of which is organized by country: Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, respectively. Each part begins with an introduction to the institutional and policy context of Indigenous urbanization in the country under discussion, and the first chapter of each part provides a demographic overview of Indigenous identities and urbanization. The chapters that follow explore different aspects of urban Indigenous identities.

to come together in an urban environment to create Indigenous political communities that are distinctive from Indigenous political communities on reserves and settlements.

In Chapter 4, Evelyn Peters and Carol Lafond explore First Nations peoples' innovations in creating inclusive urban spaces where First Nations cultures and identities can be practised and adapted to the demands of city life. In-depth interviews with First Nations people living in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, highlight the challenges many First Nations residents face in appropriating urban spaces. These challenges include perceptions that traditional ceremonies are more appropriate in rural areas as well as every-day discrimination in the public spaces of streets, stores, and other institutions. First Nations resilience is apparent in the construction of spaces of cultural safety within the urban milieu, including the affirmation of First Nations cultures and identities in private home spaces, urban social networks, and the micro-spaces of shared language use.

In Chapter 5, Ron Laliberte describes some of the complex ways Métis identities are formulated in the Canadian Prairie city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. In western Canada, the Métis emerged as a distinct cultural and political Indigenous people during the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century. In other areas of Canada, though, the past century of legislative colonialism has meant that some individuals with European and First Nations ancestry have also begun to identify as Métis. Laliberte finds that both sources of self-identification are present in Saskatoon but that individuals from diverse backgrounds and locations formed a collective identity around the history and cultural traditions of the historic Métis. The emergence of a pan-Métis community in Saskatoon may provide a cultural home to Indigenous individuals who do not have strong ties to reserve or rural Métis communities and histories. In this way, urban Métis identities are dynamically constructed in response to the challenges and opportunities of urban life.

In Chapter 6, Pamela Ouart and the Saskatoon Indian and Métis Friendship Centre examine the changing focus in the design and delivery of programs and services at the Saskatoon Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (SIMFC) between 1968 and 1982. Created in an environment that assumed that Aboriginal cultures were irrelevant and even detrimental to successful Aboriginal adjustment to cities, friendship centres were initially expected to play a role only in referring migrants to mainstream services. Because of its assumed irrelevance, Aboriginal cultural heterogeneity was expected to

disappear. Over the two and one-half decades described in this chapter, the SIMFC was able to play a part in designing and delivering programs and services, and it played an important role in creating in the city an Aboriginal community that recognized and accommodated cultural diversity.

In Chapter 7, Ryan Walker focuses on how urban Aboriginal identities are recognized in urban planning and policy making in two Canadian cities: Winnipeg and Saskatoon. He describes two examples of the failure to engage Aboriginal community perspectives in planning and policy making and two examples in which Aboriginal people helped to co-produce, with government officials, urban services and design. Walker argues that, by adding depth to local civic identities, recognizing and including Aboriginal cultures and viewpoints contributes to the construction of a postcolonial city. Aboriginal participation in decision making also recognizes self-government, a central characteristic of Aboriginal identities.

Moving to a US context, in Chapter 8, Matthew Snipp reminds us that contemporary American Indian urbanization processes reflect earlier *de*-urbanization, which involved removing American Indians from urban areas and resettling them in rural areas. Snipp highlights the complexity of urban identities that emerge in cities, in part because of the increasing number of multiracial American Indian and Native Alaskan residents. Multiracial origins are linked to heterogeneity in socio-economic status; individuals with American Indian/Native Alaskan and non-Indigenous ancestry tend to have higher socio-economic status than those who report only American Indian/Native Alaskan ancestry. All of these elements support the idea that American Indians and Native Alaskans are challenged to find new ways of being Indigenous in the city.

In Chapter 9, in her in-depth interviews with four generations of five American Indian families in Denver, Colorado, Nancy Lucero finds that there is a growing divergence in the conceptualization of Indian identities across the generations. Some of these differences are associated with the integration of biculturality into urban identities and with changing relationships with reservation communities. Lucero's research supports the idea that living in urban areas shapes the context of Indian identity creation but that urbanization is not synonymous with assimilation. Instead, dynamic and distinctly urban Indian identities emerge as younger generations in particular spend a large amount of time and mental and emotional energy reflecting on, maintaining, and defining their own American Indian cultural identities.

In Chapter 10, Jay Johnson makes a broadly allied argument in that he emphasizes the important role of the powwow in expressing a Native North

American identity in urban space. Johnson describes how tribally specific dance styles, regalia, face painting, and dance techniques help to connect urban Natives to distant tribal homelands. However, powwows have also developed intertribal dances as dancers borrow from each other and new dance styles evolve. He argues that, through tribally specific and intertribal dances, clothing, and techniques, the powwow creates "togetherness" from different segments of Native society. The urban powwow allows urban Natives to create temporary bounded Native places that help to preserve culture, community, and identity. And, again, they do so according to contexts and social relations that are often city-specific.

In Chapter 11, in an Australian context, John Taylor identifies three main factors contributing to Aboriginal urbanization: migration, natural increase, and increasing self-identification. Most of the recent growth of Australian urban Aboriginal populations reflects increases in the enumeration of already urban-based Aboriginal residents; migration to urban areas was not a major component of growth after 1976. Rather than breaking ties with communities of origin, Aboriginal people in Australia are building broader communities of association based on commonalities in Aboriginal life in both urban and rural locations. Taylor argues that, contrary to expectations, processes of urbanization have reinforced Aboriginal identities, as evidenced by the steady rise in Aboriginal urban numbers based on self-identification.

In Chapter 12, Kelly Greenop and Paul Memmott's case studies of Australian Indigenous peoples in Brisbane show, in rich, concrete detail, how Indigenous peoples are weaving together Indigenous and non-Indigenous cultures and traditions and shaping Indigenous identities in urban life. Greenop and Memmott focus on the evolution of contemporary identities through kinship relationships, socio-spatial behaviours, song and dance, and a variety of classical symbols used in place making within the intercultural space of urban Brisbane. In contrast to prevailing narratives about the cultural loss that is concomitant with urbanization, Greenop and Memmott describe new Indigenous identities and expressions that have roots in the past but that also reflect Indigenous peoples' interactions with non-Indigenous urban society. They see the city as a site for the production of varied and complex Indigenous identities.

In Chapter 13, George Morgan explores how four young Aboriginal men in Redfern, Sydney, define their Indigenous identities in relation to employment strategies based on narrowly constructed notions of cultural entrepreneurship. His analysis highlights the complexity of these urban identities, the ways they are refracted in and through individual histories, and how

they are intertwined with other axes of identity such as gender, gang culture, class, and education. The resistant identities developed by these young men suggest that it will be difficult for them to take advantage of niche employment/small enterprise opportunities available to people from culturally diverse and, particularly, Aboriginal backgrounds.

In Chapter 14, Tahu Kukutai's examination of Māori urbanization patterns introduces the New Zealand-focused chapters. Kukutai questions whether binaries such as urban/rural and urban/tribal are relevant for understanding contemporary urban Māori realities. She suggests that spatial differences do exist with regard to age structure, socio-economic status, Māori language use, and *iwi* (tribal) identification. However, these variations are outweighed by differences within cities and across regions. While qualitative sources associate "authentic" Māori identities with rural areas and iwi affiliations, Kukutai cautions against the use of urban/rural or urban/tribal binaries and points to the need to use more nuanced frameworks if urban Māori structures and the richness of urban Māori realities are to be fully understood.

In Chapter 15, Brad Coombes looks at urban Māori identities through the lens of environmental justice research. Coombes's focus is the pollution of Otara Creek, a culturally important fishing resource for the pan-Māori community in Otara, South Auckland. The Māori community positioned its requests for assistance to rehabilitate the creek within the context of their treaty rights to and authority over resources. Environmental agencies have been ambivalent towards these efforts. Rejecting an explanation based on overt biases towards marginalized groups, Coombes argues that this response seems to reflect the view that these urban Māori are "out-of-place" migrants, whose treaty rights to resources are weaker than those held by Māori who remain in rural areas.

In Chapter 16, Brendan Hokowhitu addresses the constructed nature of Māori Indigeneity. When state urbanization programs failed to absorb urban Māori into dominant, Pākehā (white) culture, new cultural forms were produced. Coming into contact with resistance, civil rights, and decolonizing discourses from other places, urban Māori produced new radical Indigenous subjectivities that drastically complicated New Zealand's political landscape. According to Hokowhitu, the threat to the nation-state posed by radical urban Indigeneity overdetermines urban Māori subjects as a corrupt aberration. Through a series of legal decisions that excised urban Māori collectives from treaty claims, urban Māori subjectivities were increasingly defined as inauthentic forms of Indigeneity that, in turn, have

been positioned in terms of a necro- (rather than bio-) political imperative. This has affected the forms of governance through which urban Māori are recognized collectively and has shaped their ability to operate within such confines.

Conclusion

The international focus of *Indigenous in the City,* its emphasis on urban Indigenous issues, and the participation of Indigenous scholars in writing about Indigenous urbanization means that it fills a unique niche. More than half of the authors are Indigenous, and the majority are leaders in their fields. While most researchers who focus on cultural groups in urban areas emphasize ethnic groups and immigrants, these authors and their research interests ensure that urban Indigenous peoples are not conflated with ethnic groups. While the difference of Indigenous peoples' from a white normativity means that, bureaucratically, they are often treated similarly to other ethnic groups, their histories, identities, rights, and entitlements, both nationally and internationally, differ from those of the latter (for additional discussion, see Andersen forthcoming; Sawchuk 1998[5]). A focus on urban Indigenous peoples adds an important and original dimension to theoretical frameworks for understanding urban cultural groups, increasing our understanding of the social, economic, and political dynamics of cities. While there are a few books on contemporary urban Indigenous communities and identities, most focus on one city, and there is no work available that addresses urban Indigenous identities in four countries. The interdisciplinary nature of this book provides readers with varying lenses through which to view Indigenous cultures and identities in urban areas. Together, these chapters make a unique contribution to our understanding of contemporary Indigenous identities in cities.

Notes

1 We capitalize the terms "Indigenous," "Native," and "Aboriginal," in keeping with the capitalization of words such as "European" and "American" when referring to specific peoples.

2 A survey of contemporary definitions of Indigenous identities is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a number of frequently referenced examples are listed here to support this point. The report to the UN Economic and Social Council of the Special Rapporteur, Mr. José Martinéz Cobo, notes that Indigenous people "are determined

to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity" (Martinéz Cobo 1987, 29). The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues emphasizes that Indigenous peoples around the world have sought recognition of their identities, their ways of life, and their right to traditional lands, territories, and natural resources (United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues n.d.). One of the characteristics of Indigenous peoples recognized by the World Bank (2005) is "collective attachment to geographically distinct habitats or ancestral territories in the project area and to the natural resources in these habitats and territories." On the basis of an overview of a variety of definitions of Indigenous peoples, Coates (2004, 14) suggests that some commonalities are "small size, attachment to the land, value system and culture rooted in the environment, commitment to a sustainable lifestyle, mobility, and cultural conservatism."

3 The situation of urban Indigenous peoples is not Clifford's or Sahlins's main focus, nor do they elaborate on this issue in other writing. However, despite their valuable critiques of dominant discourses about the inevitable disappearance of cultures in the modern world (see, for example, Clifford 1988), they reproduce assumptions about the relationship between Indigenous people and the city that impedes a fuller understanding of the ways contemporary Indigenous peoples are managing their relationships with urban places.

4 Some suggestions for additional reading on the four countries that are the focus of this book follow, with the caveat that many urban Indigenous experiences in these countries remain to be explored. Readers interested in urban Inuit identities in Canada are referred to Tomiak and Patrick (2010) and Patrick and Tomiak (2008). Ramirez (2007) provides an ethnographic account of urban Indigenous experiences in the US Silicon Valley and other US cities. Cowlishaw (2010) provides another perspective on Aboriginal people in Sydney, Australia. Marek's (2010) thesis explores aspects of Māori identity-making in Auckland.

5 Sawchuk (1998, 26-27) argues that, although "Canadian" Native leaders legitimately balk at the idea of being understood as "simply part of an ethnic group," the processes of identity reformation that have occurred in the last four decades constitute a specific instance of larger processes of ethnic identity negotiation. Thus, he coins the term "ethno-Aboriginality" to capture both the distinctiveness of Aboriginality and its conceptual links to the larger processes that shape ethnicity temporally.

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