A Holistic Framework for Aboriginal Policy Research

By

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The research and publication of this study were funded by Status of Women Canada's Policy Research Fund. This document expresses the views of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official policy of Status of Women Canada or the Government of Canada.

October 2004

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Status of Women Canada thanks those who contribute to this peer-review process.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Kenny, Carolyn Bereznak, 1946 –

A holistic framework for Aboriginal policy research [electronic resource]

Issued also in French under title : Cadre holistique pour la recherche en matière de politiques autochtones.
Electronic monograph in PDF format.
Mode of access: Status of Women Canada website.

ISBN 0-662-37959-4
Cat. no. SW21-114/2004E-PDF

1. Native peoples – Canada – Government relations.
2. Native women – Government policy – Canada.
3. Native peoples – Research – Canada.
4. Native peoples – Social life – Research – Canada.
5. Native peoples – Social conditions – Research – Canada.
6. Métis – Canada.

I. Canada. Status of Women Canada.
II. Title.

E92.K46 2004 305.897’071 C2004-980266-6

Project Manager: Vesna Radulovic, Amr Elleithy and Jo Anne de Lepper, Status of Women Canada
Publishing and Translation Co-ordinator: Cathy Hallessey, Status of Women Canada
Editing and Layout: PMF Editorial Services Inc. / PMF Services de rédaction inc.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES AND FIGURES iii

ACRONYMS iv

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE 3

3. ABORIGINAL WOMEN: HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND 4

4. A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO ABORIGINAL RESEARCH 8

5. CHALLENGES OF A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK IN ABORIGINAL POLICY RESEARCH 10
   - The Historical Challenge 10
   - The Political Challenge 13

6. FORMULATING DEFINITIONS OF A HOLISTIC APPROACH 15

7. DEVELOPING A MEANINGFUL APPROACH TO RESEARCH 16

8. RESEARCH METHODS 18
   - Community-Based Research 22
   - Sharing Findings with Aboriginal Communities 23
   - Case Study 25
   - Narrative Inquiry and Policy Analysis 28
   - Surveys 31
   - Experimental Studies 32
   - Mixed Methods Research 32
   - Classifying Types of Research 33
   - Ethical Research Considerations 34
   - A Holistic Framework for Aboriginal Policy Research 36

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY 38

APPENDIXES
   - A: Sample Application for Ethics Review 49
   - B: Research Process 50
   - C: Informed Consent 51
   - D: Sample Questionnaire 52
   - E: Contrasting Paradigms 53
   - F: Practical Issues For Doing Research 54

G: Transformative-Emancipatory Questions for Mixed Methods Researchers Throughout the Research Process 55
H: Eight Ethical Principles for Aboriginal Research 56

BIBLIOGRAPHY 57

FIGURES AND TABLE

Figures

1 Holistic Aboriginal Historical Journey and Changing Roles of Women 7

2 Holistic Model for Aboriginal Research..... 9

3 Community-Based Qualitative Research.....24

Table

1 Historical Elements of Participants' Lives 26

ACRONYMS

CRIAW	Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
ITC	Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now the Inuit Kanatami)
MRC	Medical Research Council
NCEHR	National Council on Ethics in Human Research
NRI	Nunavut Research Institute
NSERC	Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
SPSS	Statistical Process for the Social Sciences
SSHRC	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

1. INTRODUCTION

Our attempts to create a truly humane and just society are mediated by competing agendas. Public policy serves as the arena for this competition (Howlett and Ramesh 1995). Aboriginal scholars approach the debates with historical memory and a desire for positive change. The colonizing practices of policy makers are a matter of public record.

This historical reference invites scholars and policy makers into a discourse that has been called Aboriginal modernity. Such a discourse assumes the relinquishing of the labels of colonizers and victims. Yet it continues to emphasize the importance of considering the life worlds and lived experiences of Aboriginal peoples, traditional and modern.

At a recent Indian and Northern Affairs Policy Conference, Aboriginal scholar, David Newhouse, suggested that the complex understanding of Aboriginal realities will have to be achieved by integrating tradition and modernity. Only through such an approach can we find a way to encourage their constructive coexistence (Newhouse, 2002).

In November 2002, Status of Women Canada sponsored a roundtable discussion for gender-based Aboriginal policy research. Participants included Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women researchers working in an Aboriginal context as well as Aboriginal women working in grass-roots contexts, who wanted to learn about best practices for research in Aboriginal communities, and who did not have easy access to university research expertise. After a consensus was established among the participants that holistic research was the most appropriate type of research in the policy area, participants asked for a resource on this topic. Subsequently, Status of Women Canada commissioned a paper, to be written collaboratively by four researchers to provide this resource. The purpose of this paper is to provide a document to support Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers working in an Aboriginal context and to encourage them to adopt a holistic approach to Aboriginal policy research.

The participants in the roundtable discussions agreed that Aboriginal women, because of the nature of their roles and identities, should be in a position to recommend policies for all Aboriginal people.

> *When the women heal, the family will heal. When the family heals, the nations will heal* (Margaret Lavalle).

This quote from Margaret Lavalle, an Ojibway women and a participant in a Status of Women Policy Research project, represents a very old Indigenous principle (Kenny 2002). It positions women in the centre of change processes concerned not only with the lives of Aboriginal women, but the lives of the entire community. It implies that Aboriginal women must bring policy into focus through their nature as women. The women are the moral guardians of the society and the ones to lead initiatives for positive social change. This interpretation of the role of women in society re-positions the concept of "gender-based" policy and expands the realm of responsibility and action for Aboriginal women.

Of course, any public document will also become a context for debates in the broader public arena. Therefore, a secondary purpose of this paper is to position gender-based Aboriginal policy research in the schools of thought that will create a credible climate of understanding among policy makers and government officials who are in a position to represent Aboriginal people in the governmental systems where they do not have the privilege of representing themselves, even though they do have the rights and responsibilities as citizens of Canada and of distinct and sovereign nations.

The ideas expressed in this paper are predicated on the context of Aboriginal women living in Canada. Much of the literature regarding policy that is considered in this document relates to the First Nations people of Canada, in particular, policy issues regarding Aboriginal people. However many of these ideas can be easily reinterpreted and transferred to Indigenous women around the world. Increasingly, Indigenous women, in the international community are coming together to exchange ideas and develop a collective voice in the policy area, reflected by the First Indigenous Women's Summit of the Americas in 2002 (Declaration 2002). This summit was attended by a large group of Canadian First Nations women who serve as leaders in their communities. Aboriginal women's experiences in Canada may encourage an understanding of the conditions of Indigenous women around the world.

2. THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE

The craft of research begins with a desire to search for truth, illuminate knowledge and improve the quality of life on Earth. To be initiated into a community of scholars is to accept ethical responsibilities for these three tasks. (See Chapter 9.)

Since the beginning of human existence, debates have raged on these subjects. And today, no consensus has been reached about the nature of knowledge, as reflected in the imperatives of truth, knowledge and quality of life. History informs us that we can count on the influence of social contexts for their construction. Aboriginal people have a great deal of experience in the manifestation of knowledge claims based on political, economic and religious agendas. Social discourse around policy, until recently, has remained almost exclusively in the category of the Indian "problem" (Dyck 1991). Subsequently, very little attention was given to positive aspects of Aboriginal societies in formal scholarly work in the policy area.

The dismantling of sedimented ideas about the nature of knowledge, the construction of knowledge and righteous knowledge claims based on one system of truth has begun. With new generations of Indigenous scholars around the world coming into their own discourses about the nature of knowledge, we are seeing Aboriginal modernity and post-modernity rising up to meet the challenge of previously decolonizing methodologies (Smith 1999; Duran and Duran 1995). Indigenous scholars draw on experience and traditional teachings to address Indigenous epistemologies from a gendered position (Castellano 1993; Medicine 1988; Monture Angus 1995, 1999; Moreton-Robinson 1998).

Most Aboriginal researchers, as well as the non-Native researchers who stand beside or behind this new generation of Aboriginal scholars and researchers, are well-informed, well-educated and dedicated to subscribing to knowledge claims that make the bridge between traditional and contemporary knowledge as well as traditional and contemporary practices of research. Researchers address a broad spectrum of policy implications from Indigenous perspectives: education (Buchan and Johnson 1998; Cajete 1994; Stiffarm 1996) and health (Browne 1995; Browne et al. 2002; Castellano 1993; Hooper and Hagey 1994; Lederman 1994), early childhood development (Williamson 1988), criminal law and social justice (Anderson 2000; Chester et al. 1994), governance (Fiske et al. 2001; Goodleaf 1993; Redbird 1998) and international law (Dallam 1991).

The challenge today is to highlight Indigenous epistemology and means of knowledge validation in policy-based research and in policy implementation and practice. The key to policy success can be measured by the degree to which policy design and implementation conforms to this epistemology and the degree to which culturally appropriate research practices are used in the process of the scholarship of discovery to these means and ends.

Aboriginal research must begin with a serious examination of the historical and political influences that have guided research up to this point. Any holistic framework for Aboriginal policy research will only be legitimate if it employs the holistic attitude to which it subscribes. This integrity is the foundation that will bring substance and form into the research act.

3. ABORIGINAL WOMEN: HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

To carry out research effectively in Aboriginal communities, researchers must have a thorough understanding of the historical experience of Aboriginal people. This knowledge is crucial in conducting effective and relevant research. Researchers need to understand Aboriginal people, their history, their experience with research, their current situation and their vision for the future.

Research has a major role in the historical journey of Aboriginal people. Prior to contact, Aboriginal people were sovereign independent nations and possessed their own form of research that involved traditional systems of resolving issues and problems. Aboriginal methods of resolving issues involved everyone in the community including elders, women and children (Cohen 2001). Many of the opinions and positions about research in Aboriginal communities can apply to the varied groups within those communities. However, Aboriginal women have some unique situations that make them distinct from other groups. The traditional social structures of Aboriginal people were holistic, in that the roles of men and women were complementary. Each needed the other to survive. This balance of men and women's roles is more prevalent among those Aboriginal people who have maintained traditional social structures. The disparity of roles is more evident among those people who have lost their traditional structures and thus their traditional roles as men and women. Suppression of these roles came with European colonization when a different value system was imposed on Aboriginal people through legislation and government policies.

For example, in contemporary society, a larger percentage of Aboriginal women (55 percent) will never marry compared to 38 percent for non-Aboriginal women. This has huge implications not only for women in child-bearing years but also into old age. As younger women, Aboriginal women are more likely to live in single, female-headed households. As single parents, they are less likely to participate in the work force and are more likely to live in poverty. Non-participation in the work force has implications for pension size and availability in the later years of life. Aboriginal women are less educated than mainstream women and will have more children. Having lower levels of educational attainment impacts the type of jobs they are able to acquire and, subsequently, the amount of money they can expect to earn. Of course, more children in a family means more child-related expenses. These circumstances require that programs and policies be set in place to aid Aboriginal women. The voices of women in these situations must be heard to create potentially successful policies, not only for women, but for the entire community.

Traditionally, women were held in high esteem because they were viewed as being closest to Mother Earth and Creation. Spirituality is core to the Aboriginal world view. "Women's lives flowed into what they saw as the natural order of the universe" (Neithammer 1977: 1). Women were respected and were believed to be the foundation of the nation. The people knew that strong women made strong nations. The social structure was built on the complementary roles of its male and female members.

Upon contact with Europeans, Aboriginal people lost their independence through enforced legislation, namely the *Indian Act*, which set out regulations that affected virtually all aspects of their lives (Laroque 1997). The *Indian Act* created serious negative consequences for Aboriginal women (Cornet 2001). Colonization was aimed at the "displacement and elimination of indigenous culture: genocide…the elimination of language has always been a primary stage in a process of cultural genocide. This was the primary function of the residential school" (Haig-Brown 1988: 15). Government policies, such as the residential school system and the conversion to Christianity brought tremendous changes as to "how things were done" in Aboriginal communities. In residential schools, "expressions of aboriginal culture and individuality were harshly punished" (Fournier and Crey 1997: 57). The colonization process systematically compromised traditional systems of Aboriginal society including the ways in which issues and problems were resolved. Outside researchers, mainly government directed, studied Aboriginal people to come up with solutions to deal with "the Indian problem," a situation rooted in the traumatic impacts of colonization. The traditional role of Aboriginal women was greatly diminished through government legislation and policies and the influence of missionaries who worked closely with the newly formed government, which was based on European ideals. "The Jesuits who came…to convert the Huron and the Montagnais had very clear ideas about relations between men and women.… Woman were feebler than men…women were made to be governed by men"(Anderson 1991: 55). This intrusion of European beliefs had devastating effects on Aboriginal traditional structures. "It was through the attack on the power of Aboriginal woman that the disempowerment of our peoples has been achieved, in a dehumanizing process that is one of the cruelest on the face of this earth" (Armstrong 1996: x). When women were deprived of their traditional role and responsibilities, whole Aboriginal nations were weakened as traditional structures and systems were eradicated (Fiske et al. 2001).

Although the results of contact are still evident in Aboriginal communities, there is a gradual emergence of empowerment as Aboriginal people slowly regain control over their own destinies. There is a revival of traditional structures and systems as Aboriginal people rebuild their communities. Community-driven research is vital in identifying, examining and resolving current issues affecting Aboriginal people. The roles of all segments of the nation need to be re-established, which includes the vital role of women. For example, the "holistic participatory research" co-coordinated by Dickson (2000), led urban Aboriginal women to formulate health policy frameworks linking women's internal balance with socio-ecological environments of the past and present. Today, women are beginning to take meaningful roles in the advancement of their people. "We find our strength and our power in our ability to be what our grandmothers were to us: keepers of the next generation in every sense of that word — physically, intellectually, and spiritually. We strive to retain our power and interpret it into all aspects of survival on this earth in the midst of chaos" (Anderson 2000: xi). The women of Aboriginal nations will have a significant role in the empowerment of their people.

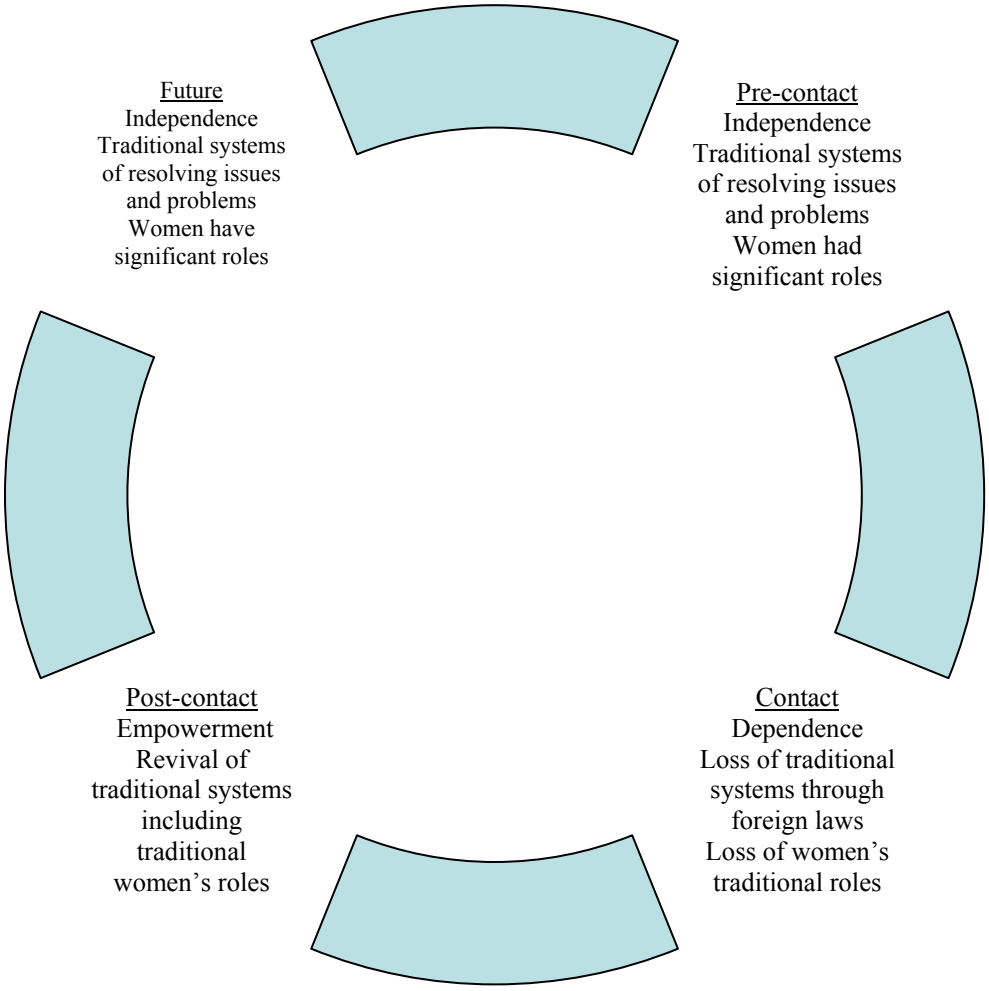
The future era symbolizes Aboriginal people's vision for the future; it represents what they are working toward. An important Aboriginal teaching points out that "we will not know where we are going, unless we know where we come from." This concept is vital when discussing the historical journey of Aboriginal people, which must be holistic, by including the past, the present and the future. "The traditional values that sustained First Nations for

thousands of years before contact are emerging as the foundation that will carry Aboriginal nations to recovery and renewal" (Fournier and Crey 1997: 207). Although there are variations among First Nations goals, common elements of a vision for the future include self-determination and independence in planning, developing and implementing systems, which will best meet their cultural needs. Revitalization of traditional systems of resolving issues and problems that include women as important elements of the community is imperative (Pauktuutit 1995; Redbird 1998). "Aboriginal women are actively participating in improving the quality of life in their/our communities. Many indigenous cultures embrace women as nurturers, care givers and leaders, and strive to strengthen women's roles within their communities. To do otherwise would be to foster a climate conducive to cultural suicide" (Chuchryk and Miller 1996: 4). "Some of the greatest stories are those told by Native people and serve as challenges to the rest of the world to be so strong. Native people have an unbreakable belief in the beauty and the significance of our cultures, and this is reflected in their stories" (Wilson 1998: 35)

However, as Chester et al. (1994) reminded us, gender relations are culturally specific and one must always question generalizations when generating social policies. One must also remain alert to Aboriginal women's own innovative integration of past and present as they seek to revitalize cultural traditions even as they strive to prepare their youth for the future.

Figure 1 illustrates the holistic historical journey of Aboriginal people and the correlation of the changing role of Aboriginal women.

Figure 1: Holistic Aboriginal Historical Journey and Changing Role of Women



4. A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO ABORIGINAL RESEARCH

Most traditional Aboriginal world views are planted firmly in the Earth. Aboriginal languages and cultural practices reflect this intimate connection. Traditionally, Aboriginal peoples thought of the Earth and their life on the Earth as an interconnected web of life functioning in a complex ecosystem of relationships (Cohen 2001). Great importance is based on the principle of "balance" in this delicate web of life (Cohen 2001; Kenny 2002). Elders are constantly reminding contemporary Aboriginal people about the importance of keeping our lives in balance. How "balance" is defined is, to a great degree, determined by people in specific bio-regions, with specific languages and cultural practices that reflect the land on which they live. As well, "holistic" is interpreted in specific ways depending on the location and context of each Nation, tribe or band. That is why research of any type demands considerable consultation and culturally appropriate protocol.

When considering the lives of contemporary Aboriginal people, it is important to remember that embedded in the core of this world view is a belief in adaptability and change.

This ecological world view is described profoundly by James Youngblood Henderson (2000: 264) when referring to Aboriginal knowledge.

> Aboriginal knowledge is not a description of reality but an understanding of the processes of ecological change and ever-changing insights about diverse patterns or styles of flux. Concepts about "what is" define human awareness of the changes but add little to the actual processes of change. To see things as permanent is to be confused about everything: an alternative to that understanding is the need to create temporary harmonies of interdependence through alliances and relationships among all forms and forces. This web of interdependence is a never-ending source of wonder to the Aboriginal mind and to other forces that contribute to the harmony.

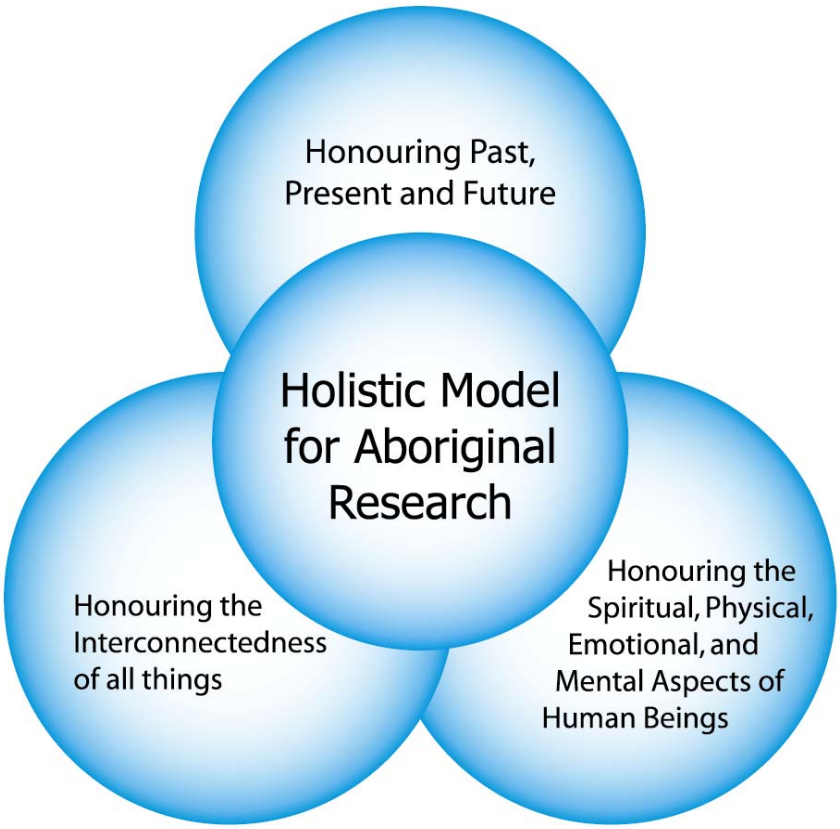
An Aboriginal world view that not only understands, but embraces change, is often left behind in policy discourse when Aboriginal people are characterized as living in the past. Often, the people are encouraged to relinquish traditional values and beliefs for modern ones. Rather than work with the traditional world view that acknowledges the complexities of a holistic, interconnected life and embraces change, Aboriginal peoples are asked to reject meaningful and critical aspects of their identities and sophisticated world views.

In general, a framework for holistic research would include:

- honouring past, present and future in interpretive and analytical research processes including historical references and intergenerational discourse;
- honoring the interconnectedness of all of life and the multi-dimensional aspects of life on the Earth and in the community in research design and implementation; and
- honouring the spiritual, physical, emotional and mental aspects of the person and the community in research protocols, methodologies and analyses.

It would be naïve to imagine a dearth of paradoxes and ambiguities in the Aboriginal context. Aboriginal people are not free from the internal and external conflicts created and expressed in any human life. It is only in the eroticizing of Aboriginal people that romantic notions of conflict-free existence emerge. This romantic image can be implied in both emic and etic expressions of research by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers alike. In a holistic model, researchers strive for "balance" among and between the diverse components of Aboriginal life in contemporary society. There are many reasonable alternatives to the Indian "problem" (Dyck 1991) or the "noble savage." The work of policy must be developed in a climate that takes these alternatives seriously.

Figure 2: Holistic Model for Aboriginal Research



5. CHALLENGES OF A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK IN ABORIGINAL POLICY RESEARCH

The Historical Challenge

The negative experience of Aboriginal people in the area of research is rooted in the intrusion of outside "experts" into their communities (Smith 1999). Aboriginal people had virtually lost control of problem solving and planning in dealing with their own situation (Alfred 1999). Outside experts decided "what was best for the Indians" which has proven to have devastating results (Dyck 1991). It is important to create criteria and guidelines for doing research with Aboriginal people that are culturally relevant and appropriate in each Aboriginal context.

Historical obstacles that have resulted from the Aboriginal research experience are:

- lack of partnerships with communities;
- researchers in control of all aspects of the research procedures;
- no meaningful participant involvement;
- lack of trust in researchers by the participants;
- conflicting world views of researcher and participants;
- lack of understanding by participants on purpose and impacts of research;
- failure to obtain informed consent;
- irrelevant research methods, which are not compatible to Aboriginal culture;
- community not involved in identifying solutions; and
- no follow-up or reporting back to the participants.

To carry out effective research, partnerships with Aboriginal communities and organizations are essential. Through development of collaborative relationships between Aboriginal communities and researchers, more productive and culturally relevant research can be conducted. Ann Bishop (1994) offers such a view of holistic approaches in her work as a community activist. She stresses that sound partnerships are grounded in empathetic relations that recognize and affirm shared interests, and the obstacles that multiple oppressions can lay in the path of community-based research. It is the responsibility of the researcher to undertake preliminary research about the community, the people, the history and the culture of the community in which the research will be conducted before the onset of research activities. Researchers need to understand the local history and culture to have a good grasp of the situation of the community of study. Researcher-controlled processes are characteristically one way and, quite often, only the researcher benefits while Aboriginal communities are left with neither practical nor relevant solutions to issues impacting their people. The past has shown us that intrusive research is not productive and only adds to the alienation of Aboriginal people.

The involvement of Aboriginal participants and communities should be incorporated into all stages of the research process. Aboriginal people should be the ones who determine the issues or topics to be researched as well as the design and development of the research components. Local people should be a part of the processes of designing research protocols, and the data collection, analysis and presentation of findings.

> The rights of the community being investigated must actively reflect Native commentary and assessment throughout all phases of research. Traditional leadership in the consultation process is vital in the establishment of recognized local expertise and is essential to complete the preferred role…as a co-investigator in the design strategy and structure for research (Webster and Nabigon 1991: 2).

Local experts of traditional knowledge along with those who possess related academic background on topics of study should be an integral part of research initiatives. There are also opportunities for training local people in areas of interviewing, organizational skills, scheduling meetings, transcribing and computer skills. Such skills are beneficial to community members for future research projects, and the community as a whole gains skilled people who will play an important role in community research.

Gaining the trust of participants and the community is paramount to effective research. Researchers have the obligation to ensure that they build a positive rapport. "Trust is crucial…and the researcher must have a deep sense of responsibility to uphold that trust in every way" (Weber-Pillwax 2001: 170). Building trust is necessary for gaining full participation of the community. Researchers need to keep in mind the historical experience of Aboriginal people in the area of research, and trust building is a key to ensuring positive outcomes for the overall research process.

Conflicting world views between the researcher and Aboriginal participants and communities originate in the lack of understanding of the important historical influences on Aboriginal people. "Tribal concerns and scholarly concerns do not always match when we look at present research" (Deloria 1992: 17). "Many Native people are beginning to make their voices heard about the importance of paying attention to these cultural differences when non-Natives are invited to participate in collaborative projects in Native communities" (Spielmann 1992: 2). If researchers have a clear understanding of the local culture, history, values and beliefs, they will be in a better position to work collaboratively. Aboriginal communities are becoming more adamant on addressing their needs with culturally relevant research processes.

The lack of understanding by Aboriginal participants and communities on the purpose and impacts of research conducted in their communities is an area of concern. This issue can be prevented by participant and community involvement in the research process from conception to the recommendations of the researcher. In discussing the importance of community involvement, Spielmann (1992: 6) stated: "it is the community itself which ought to establish the ground rules for any collaborative research, including the definition of the purpose of the research, who controls the elicitation of information and data collection, and the questions surrounding data analysis and presentation." Creating awareness in participants and the

community about research intentions is an area in which researchers must take responsibility in collaboration with Aboriginal researchers and leaders. The issue of properly informed consent can also be addressed through collaborative research initiatives. “The process for communicating informed consent must be guided by principles which reflect a community partnership in creating the framework for participatory research” (Webster and Nabigon 1991: 1). Instances where participants are not totally informed of the impacts of their participation should no longer occur and can be resolved by clearly defined explanations before data collection.

Although there is much qualitative data collected within the Aboriginal community, quantitative data are not entirely absent. Quantitative data also have merits and are seen as a valuable resource, providing rich and much-needed information on the day-to-day life within the community, which helps community leaders and administrators make decisions about the future. For example, quantitative data on age demographics of a community help determine whether facilities, such as seniors’ centres or recreation programs, should be a priority. Quantitative data help in the allocation of scarce resources by offering the “big picture.” On the other hand, the past has shown that research methods that focussed solely on quantitative methodologies are not always conducive to “the way things are done” in Aboriginal contexts. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods produces results, which can provide a holistic picture of the research context. Although quantitative research provides the framework and facts, the gathering of information through survey forms has not always resulted in an in-depth understanding of the issues. “The research methods should optimally emanate from the community itself in order to be culturally sensitive and community-relevant” (Spielmann 1992: 6). The topics of research conducted in Native communities usually need discussion and personal interaction. Topics are usually social in nature and deal with challenges in dealing with suicide, violence, school dropouts, alcohol abuse and other problems. The types of questions used in such research need to answer why the problems exist and how to deal with them. The gathering of information through survey forms has not always produced in-depth understanding of the issues. Quantitative research, nonetheless, can contribute to community policy goals when framed within community perspectives and goals, and used to supplement or substantiate policies and practices arising from community-based qualitative research (Glor 1987). Although qualitative research methods usually require more time for actual data collection, first-hand and in-depth information is gathered resulting in a clear picture of the situation. Qualitative research methods that include individual and group interviews, focus groups and participant observation are often more compatible with Aboriginal culture than survey instruments. Qualitative methods that incorporate the oral traditions, personal interaction and group consensus promote direct input of participants not only in identifying problem areas but in determining solutions as well. Language barriers are removed, because data are gathered through oral communication. Participants can be interviewed in their own language through translators who can be easily used in qualitative methodologies. Participants express their experiences, thoughts and aspirations allowing the research to focus on participant feedback on “what is best for them,” which is in contrast to past research in which researchers analyzed findings and determined solutions without complete participant input.

A common scenario of past research in Aboriginal communities has involved outside researchers coming into the community, gathering the needed information and leaving, never to be heard from again. As Aboriginal people regain control over their own research processes, Aboriginal researchers are often sought out to implement research initiatives with Aboriginal people, because the people tend to be more comfortable with Aboriginal researchers who usually have both the cultural and academic research background. Aboriginal researchers can also relate to their own nation as well as those of other tribal affiliations. Connecting with others by sharing knowledge is a tradition in Aboriginal culture. In discussing cultural aspects of research, Smith (1999: 161) stated: "Sharing is a responsibility of research…. For indigenous researchers sharing is about demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community…. Oral presentations conform to cultural protocols and expectations." Continuous participant awareness is important, which includes significant follow-up after the research has been completed. The trust, co-operation and collaboration established between the researcher and the community must be supported with proper and culturally relevant "reporting back." If researchers are truly "collaborating" with the participants and the community, they stay in constant communication at every stage of the research process. After all, lives will be affected by the changes the research may bring.

The Political Challenge

How can policy analysis consider the world as indivisible? This is the challenge posed in formulating a holistic approach to gender-based policy research that engages study of policy implications for Aboriginal women.

The research culture certainly has its political dimensions. Arguably, one of the most dramatic political shifts in the philosophy and theory of science was introduced with the notion of *crises of representation*. Marcus and Fiuscher (1986) proposed this notion in *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*. In a postmodern climate, this concept grew like a wildfire across the social sciences and is particularly relevant today in research with all marginalized populations. "It sought new models of truth, method, and representation. Issues such as validity, reliability, and objectivity, previously believed settled, were once more problematic. Pattern and interpretive theories, as opposed to causal, linear theories, were now more common, as writers continued to challenge older models of truth and meaning." (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 16).

Combined with the postmodern critique of rationalism as the basis for "all" knowledge claims, the methodology wars began. These wars continue and remind us that there are many competing claims on knowledge. The crises of representation inform us that Aboriginal voice must represent itself or have thorough and respectful representation from non-Aboriginal researchers, especially in the policy arena.

By its very nature, rationalist policy is not holistic in its intent or application. Rather, it is grounded in a divisible world in which people are placed according to a range of implicit and explicit categories that are socially divisive. Gender, class, geography, age and other categories typify the taxonomy of the divisible citizen that policy seeks to serve in a world that is itself divided in myriad ways that are always distinct and separate from human existence. Dichotomous thinking marks policy development. Very often, as is exemplified

in the work of Rutman et al. (2000), researchers are called upon, because the "problem" has been identified not as lying in structural relations but as arising from Aboriginal women themselves. Beatrice Medicine (1988) turned this problem on its head by restating the goal of research as empathetically identifying the responses of women of all tribes and nations to the common experiences of oppression and drawing from their unique experiences to postulate culturally appropriate constructs and hypothesis for informing public policy.

Dichotomous positioning of the problem and solution leads to linear progressive strategies that can be evaluated through time to monitor change and progress. This manner of thought not only fails to embrace holistic approaches, it positions itself *against* holistic world views precisely because they are not marked by linear progression and evaluative norms grounded in before/after differences.

Integration of a holistic approach with gender-based policy research carries its own irony: gender-based policy analysis presumes a dichotomous division of male and female subjects and anticipates that this will lead to a hierarchy of power and benefits. This has been demonstrated to be true in analyses of state policies intended to address the universal needs of a state's citizens or, more particularly, the needs of all First Nations or Indigenous citizens which, nonetheless, resonate with gender biases that disadvantage Indigenous women (Fiske et al. 2001; Rutman et al. 2000). Gender-based policy research is especially salient when governments seek to address issues perceived as social problems or as matters of universal safety and well-being, such as incarceration or health practices designed to protect the unborn and newly born (Frank 1992; Lazarus 1988; Shroff 2001). Findings such as these may lead non-Indigenous researchers in particular to anticipate universal gendered hierarchies. However, gender analysis can, and many would argue *should,* embrace a more complex understanding (Hooper and Hagey 1994). Premised in the dictum that gender is not just female and male, gender analysis is about complex social constructions of identity carried out in complex relationships that are ever shifting. Gender analysis embraces an understanding of human emotions and values; the nature of being *in and of* the world and knowledge that arises from and gives meaning to experience. While this understanding of gender, which is commonly posited by cultural anthropologists and sociologists, moves closer to a holistic ontology than the rational philosophy that underpins most policy research, it presents its own challenges for the policy researcher. It seeks an engagement in highly nuanced, often very abstract representations of the world that may limit its influence over the formulation and evaluation of policy on the ground. Researchers face the challenge of incorporating highly abstract approaches to understanding the representation of gender within critical and postcolonial frames (Acoose 1995) and representing these in a manner directly applicable to policy, both nationally and internationally as Rutman et al. (2000) and Dallam (1991) have done.

The call for holistic methods of research grounded in Aboriginal world views and experience presents a unique challenge. Should a methodological framework seek to synthesize Aboriginal world views into a single approach grounded in explicitly framed principles? If offering a single "universalized" framework is inappropriate, how can the researcher adapt the research methods and principles to culturally specific Aboriginal epistemologies and ontologies? Is it possible to embrace holistic approaches in all forms of policy research, for example, critical discourse analysis, quantitative surveys and longitudinal impact studies?

6. FORMULATING DEFINITIONS OF A HOLISTIC APPROACH

Holism, as a concept, is understood differently by different people in different contexts. For some researchers, it speaks to the need for an integrated research approach that will, as much as possible, address human relations and practices within the social and physical ecology. Holistic research is likely to use a range of methods for collecting and analyzing data. From this perspective, holistic research is framed by an interdisciplinary strategy that integrates research concepts and practices from a number of disciplines. This claim to holism is not necessarily grounded in working from an Aboriginal perspective. Yet, a holistic perspective favours such an approach.

Just as holism is integrated into dominant research from several perspectives, so it is understood and implemented by Aboriginal researchers in a myriad of ways. They may integrate Indigenous and non-Indigenous concepts of ecology (Cajete 1994; Chester et al. 1994; Dickson 2000); formulate research practices grounded in traditional cosmology, such as the medicine wheel (Nabigon et al. 1999), which may re-emerge as a "research wheel" (Young 1999); address the totality of the human being through incorporating postcolonial and psychotherapeutic theories (Duran and Duran, 1995); and deconstruct the political context to reveal how all issues affecting Indigenous women are interrelated (Trask 1995). These differing perspectives share an understanding of *unifying relationships* and the indivisibility of the human, material and spiritual. Holistic research approaches resonate in health, education and social justice research in particular. Derived from traditional or modern views of the whole person, holistic research in these areas seeks to reintegrate human integrity in all its dimensions within a changing socio-ecological context (see Figure 2). Holistic approaches emerge as central to policy research because, as Miliani Trask makes clear, the consequences of social, health and public policies are experienced as interconnected: this balance of relationships can neither be revealed by a fragmented research approach nor best served by fragmented policies that seek to address singular aspects of individuals' lives or community processes.

7. DEVELOPING A MEANINGFUL APPROACH TO RESEARCH

It is important to remember that the selection of a set of research methods to use in any scholarly work must begin with self-examination of personal beliefs. Aboriginal people have suffered a great deal from researchers who do not situate themselves with regard to their biases, personal beliefs, social and political agendas, and any number of other contextual determinants (Bishop 1994). Researchers also have a responsibility to know about the choices in research methodology in order to select the best possible research methods and practices available to them.

Bentz and Shapiro (1998) recommended searching for what they called "a good fit" between the style and world view of the researcher, the context to be studied and the set of research methods to be used in the study. Feminist researchers (Lather 1991) recommended "situating oneself" to ground the study in real people and to create research that is trustworthy. In scholarly discourse, norms and protocols are shifting. There is an increasing reluctance to accept research from seemingly objective observers who do not reveal their human identities as part of their research activities, which is good news for Aboriginal people.

There are many different cultures of inquiry and many different methods from which to choose. More and more methods and approaches are being created daily. *The Art and Science of Portraiture* (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis-Hoffman 1997) compares the researcher to an artist who portrays a research context like a painting. This method emphasizes the hermeneutic or interpretive aspect of the research act. New mixed-method approaches bring the promise of compensating for the fallibility of any one method by triangulating studies. Creswell (2003: 139) offered an example of transformative-emancipatory mixed methods study. In this type of research, a theoretical lens or perspective guides the research. (See Appendix F.) Greene and Caracelli (1997) were the first to mention the use of a transformative design as a particular form of mixed methods research in evaluation.

> This design gave primacy to value-based, action-oriented research such as in participatory action research and empowerment approaches. In this design, they suggest mixing the value commitments of different traditions in research (e.g., bias-free from quantitative and bias-laden from qualitative), the use of diverse methods, and a focus on action solutions in research (Creswell 2003: 136).

This type of research is particularly relevant to Aboriginal peoples in a postcolonial period, because it can help to create a level playing field between existing power systems like big government and Aboriginal communities, in which Aboriginal researchers and their respectful non-Aboriginal colleagues are able to express the diversity of values and preferred approaches in Aboriginal communities. The idea of transformative-emancipatory perspective is thoroughly discussed by Mertens (2003) as it pertains to the politics of human research and the value of mixed methods in shifting power differentials in the society to create discursive spaces for marginalized groups. (See Appendix F.)

Complementing Creswell's conception of mixed methods is the work of Ledermen (1994) who turned to grounded theory to advance a "naturalistic" approach that foregrounds community knowledge and intergenerational transmission of knowledge and social practices. Critical social theory emphasizing the work of Paulo Freire (1990) and other scholars from cultures that have been colonized through research practices often inform these approaches. Arising from Freire's work are research approaches grounded in, and contributing to, adult educational practices (Haig-Brown 1988; Buchan and Johnson 1998). This integration of research and praxis shares fundamental assumptions of empowerment with feminist participatory research (Maguire 1987; Morris 2002) and is a preferred blend of method and development praxis with many Indigenous women's organizations and independent Indigenous scholars (Dickson 2000; Pauktuutit 1995; Rutman et al. 2000).

Research methods originating in the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, such as the critical case study, are sometimes used by Indigenous scholars to situate them in an appropriate philosophical school of thought (Smith 1999). "Critical case studies are grounded in a critique of existing social structures and patterns. They assume theoretically that oppression and domination characterize the setting and seek to uncover how patterns of action perpetuate the status quo" (Rossman and Rallis 1998: 106). The value of this research approach is that it positions the researcher in a stance that accepts the facts of historical oppression from the onset, without the need to justify the historical context as part of the case study. In the policy area, such a liberating method allows the researcher to get on with the business of making recommendations for policy design and implementation without the burden of repeating the unfortunate history yet one more time as background to justify the study.

The debates about research are many. However, there is no doubt that research acts are political acts when it comes to Aboriginal policy research. These acts are weighted by the history of research practice in our communities and with individual participants who may not be vested in Aboriginal communities but do come into contact with policy processes because they are Aboriginal. This latter type of participant may be found in friendship centres around Canada or may not even be affiliated with any centre.

Research methods are not created in a vacuum. They come out of a historical context, represent a philosophy or world view and are created in a specific social context. Beneath each culture of inquiry, there is an entire world view and a belief about the nature of knowledge and truth. (See Appendix E for contrasting paradigms of research.)

There is a need for research in every culture of inquiry. Aboriginal scholars know that to create the important discursive practices or conversations that will help in studying Aboriginal worlds in meaningful and enduring ways, they must consider diverse approaches to research that can address the complex worlds we inhabit. Aboriginal people have their own epistemology or science of knowledge that can only be revealed by a thorough reflection on lives and traditions. Claims on knowledge cannot be limited by one approach. The primary goal of research must be the improvement of the quality of life for Aboriginal people.

8. RESEARCH METHODS

> Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses…. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and indigenous practices (Smith 1999: 143).

As stated earlier in this paper, the policy research culture relies heavily on quantitative methods. However, qualitative research is often the method of choice among Aboriginal people. This relates directly to the problem of "extinction," or social movements which attempt to take away the identity of the people. Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) provided guideposts for researchers who choose the path of Aboriginal modernity and suggested that qualitative research plays a central role in the discursive practices of Aboriginal researchers and their non-Aboriginal counterparts who approach the task of research with respect.

Her primary claim was that qualitative research is appropriate for researching the lives of Aboriginal peoples precisely because the purpose of qualitative research is to reveal the identities and stories of the people and the meaning of these stories, giving the viewpoint of the participants in the research. This research gesture, she claimed would, in fact, decolonize, bringing the power of people over their own lives back to Aboriginal populations. There can be no doubt that the primary goal of policy regarding Aboriginal peoples must be ongoing improvement in their quality of life. Indicators for quality of life must highlight self-reports considered within historical and contemporary contexts.

Meaning must be considered within the context of daily life. Alasuutari (1995: 27) stated: "Reality *is socially construed* through and through; it is composed of interpretations of meanings and rules of interpretation on the basis of which people orient themselves in their everyday life." He reminded us that this is, in fact, a "theory of knowledge" intimately linked to the practice in which people produce the basic necessities of their lives.

Throughout history, we have seen that women are at the centre of the basic necessities of the lives of Aboriginal peoples. They are knowledge keepers and often guardians of the morality of leaders in their communities and educators for the young children (Kenny 2002). They exercise their interpretations of the quality of life of their people from a position of necessity as well as elevated status, in traditional Aboriginal societies. What happened to these stories? And how can modern Aboriginal women play a role in the creation of policies to improve the lives of themselves, their families and their communities?

It has been found that in any social context "the methods used by qualitative researchers exemplify a common belief that they can provide a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena than would be obtained from purely quantitative data" (Silverman 2001: 32). Qualitative methods devote large amounts of time to participants during the data-gathering phase. Therefore, substantive information is obtained from those who are most affected by the issue of study. In Aboriginal communities, "people always do have ideas about what is

best for their community" (Erasmus and Ensign 1998: 46). In the Native community, the direct input of the people is crucial in designing and implementing policies that work, because the expression of these policies in funding and services are usually the responsibility of grass-roots Aboriginal workers in the communities.

Qualitative research methods, such as interviewing, focus groups and participant observation, are relevant to the oral traditions and personal interactions in the Native community. Interviews and focus groups involve person-to-person interaction; data are gathered directly from the source, from people who actually "live" the topic being studied. In the interview process, participants are in control of what information is relayed and how it is expressed; thus, they feel valuable and respected. Interviews should "place the interviewee at ease, acknowledge the value of the information, and reinforce continued communication" (Fetterman 1998: 57). Interviewing methods may be transformed as researchers come to understand the role of story telling in the transmission of knowledge; Jo-ann Archibald brought this front and centre in her work with elder Ellen White (White and Archibald 1992). Focus group interviews "allow researchers to access the substantive content of verbally expressed views, opinions, experiences, and attitudes" (Berg 2001: 114). Focus groups are equivalent to talking circles in Aboriginal society; thus participants are often comfortable with this method (Kenny 2002). Participant observation involves the researcher being immersed in the research setting and becomes part of the participants' world. By becoming directly involved in the daily life of the participants, the researcher becomes familiar with the situation as well as the world view of the participants. Participant observation makes it possible "to describe what goes on, whom or what is involved, when and where things happen, how they occur, and why" (Jorgensen 1989: 12). Learning by observation is a key element in Aboriginal teaching methods.

The oral tradition is emphasized through interviews, group discussions, and first-hand observation and participation by the researcher. Personal contact and interaction between researcher and participant is a vital aspect of qualitative research, and is closely related to traditional social practices. The language barriers prevalent in many Native communities are easily eliminated in qualitative research through the use of local translators. Furthermore, since more time is allotted to the gathering of data, more meaningful quality information can be gathered. A deeper understanding of the topics of study is achievable when time allotments are flexible; the researcher can keep gathering data until all possible angles are covered. In qualitative research, this is called "purposeful sampling" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Thus a holistic perspective can be obtained to get a clear picture of the situation. By revealing the substance of the issue, researchers are in a better position to recommend realistic, relevant and practical changes. Qualitative research that emphasizes story telling implicitly directs the interpretation or analysis of the shared information and may lead, as Dallam (1991) learned when addressing policy and international law, not only to new understandings, but new ways to express and implement powerful laws that intrude into, but may appear to be far removed from, community life (e.g., international banking and development policies).

Other advantages of qualitative research include the opportunity to involve the community at all stages of the research process. Partnerships can be developed with the community through

their input in the planning, designing, data gathering and even analysis of the results. This process allows for meaningful input; thus, the community becomes a crucial player in the research, rather than just providing the data for research. Community members become invested in research activities and respond in a different way. They can feel that it is "their" research. Indeed, most Aboriginal researchers consider participants as co-researchers and co-owners in the research results. Given the history of misappropriation of Aboriginal knowledge by researchers (Smith 1999; Kenny 2002), this approach helps to create a more respectful and receptive research context for all concerned. Training opportunities can be provided for local people in interviewing skills, developing questionnaires, setting up meeting schedules and presentation skills. Community-driven research promotes the use of Aboriginal expertise — both academic and traditional experts — throughout the research process. Non-Aboriginal researchers, nonetheless, may limit the value of participatory community-based research by focussing too narrowly on observable social phenomena at the risk of overlooking the dynamics of oppression, in particular the gendered consequences of power relations (Whitmore 1994).

Qualitative research has a critical role to play in advancing the agenda for policy research and gender studies in Aboriginal communities. The stories of women are core stories that will reveal the specific ways to reduce suffering, create opportunity and improve the quality of life for Aboriginal peoples. The stories can answer hard questions, teach behaviour, purge emotions and put order into the world (McDermit 1999; Kenny 2002). The stories of women are holistic. They include the lives of children and men and their own stories. They include history, the transmission of important cultural knowledge, guidance for character development, ideas about how to generate business, how to keep the spiritual life of the people in order, and how to stay in balance with the forces of the living world. Qualitative research provides a threshold through which this knowledge can pass.

Qualitative research is a specific way of approaching the empirical world. In the broadest sense, qualitative research is research that produces descriptive data: people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour (Taylor and Bogdan 1984).

Qualitative research seeks to understand "how" things happen, not only "what" happens. It is concerned with process. It is particularly suited to Aboriginal communities, because in discovering the "hows," the devastating results of colonization can be deconstructed. The dilemmas of integrating traditional and modern values, beliefs and lifestyles can be revealed. The setting of priorities of meaning can be accomplished. And practical life and quality of life can be addressed. Qualitative research goes beyond the surface and studies substance.

There are, however, drawbacks to qualitative research. It can be time consuming. Some methods require the gathering of thousands of pages of transcripts and elaborate coding. Though some coding can be done through computer programs, like Nudist and N-Vivo, researchers still must put endless hours into refining the analysis. Certain methods, like Moustakas' phenomenological research methods (1994), require that participants be interviewed two, three or even four times to discern the essence of their stories. The effect is that a researcher may have up to four interviews and four transcripts to analyze for just one person. Phenomenological research requires a deep reflection on the researchers own stance

in the research and the development of suspended judgment (epoché) in order to conduct ethical research. In Aboriginal research, there are complex protocols for ethical research, including involvement with the community from the onset of the study to collaborate in identifying research questions and designs. (See Chapter 9 and Appendix H.) Consultation with elders and advisors, as well as community leaders is essential if the research is to be meaningful and useful to the community, and also to keep the power over the lives in the community within the community.

Qualitative research can be very expensive. Not only must researchers be paid, but sometimes it is appropriate to pay participants. In national research, community liaisons are responsible for setting up the research activities. They must be paid. Interviews must be transcribed. Transcripts must continuously be mailed out to participants for member checks, a mechanism to guarantee trustworthiness of the data and respectful inclusion of the Aboriginal voices of participants.

Often, qualitative researchers are accused of researcher bias. Because qualitative research is intersubjective by nature, researchers must put research protocols into place which address these potential pitfalls. There are three types of bias, according to Schwandt (1997: 9):

- bias resulting from over reliance on accessible or key informants;
- selective attention to dramatic events or statements, or both;
- biasing effects of the presence of the inquirer in the site of investigation; and
- biases stemming from the effects of the respondents and the site on the inquirer.

However, much of the critique of qualitative research does not take into account the very nature of qualitative research and its methods, like “purposeful sampling” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000) or the principle that the “researcher is the primary instrument of the research” (Taylor and Bogden 1984) much less the social and political discourses in the philosophy and theory of science that question research objectivity in any research practice (Schwandt 1997).

The lack of sophistication in these critiques flies in the face of scholars like Hans-Georg Gadamer (1972) who argued in his influential work, *Truth and Method*, that bias or prejudice cannot be eliminated or set aside in any method. Method does not protect researchers from bias or prejudice. As human beings, prejudice is something that pervades our existence. No one is free from it. Gadamer insists that prejudice (of bias) is an inescapable condition of being and knowing. “In fact, our understanding of ourselves and our world depends on having prejudgment. What we must do to achieve understanding is to reflect on prejudice (prejudgment) and distinguish enabling from disabling prejudice” (Swandt 1997: 10).

Quantitative research is not designed to consider the life world of the individual. It is meant to make knowledge claims based on statistical formula that infer generalizability to participants outside of the study through algorithmic reduction. Credible quantitative studies must include large numbers of participants to obtain statistical significance. Furthermore, these studies are fashioned after studies in the natural sciences in which laboratory conditions

allow for the control of variables. In human life, laboratory conditions are difficult to simulate. Lincoln and Guba (1985) proposed a "naturalistic inquiry" for studies in the social and behavioural sciences. This type of inquiry would take into account the lack of predictability of human lives and the unique situations outside of laboratories, and establish a separate set of criteria more appropriate to life outside the laboratory.

Debates in competing knowledge claims will continue. In Aboriginal policy research that is holistic and balanced, the diverse positions on knowledge claims must all be considered in an ethical research practice. And they must be scrutinized for how they can best represent the Aboriginal world view, Aboriginal systems of knowledge and balance in a holistic perspective on policy research.

Community-Based Research

Because of the decimation of Aboriginal communities through colonizing practices historically, there is a tendency in the Aboriginal research culture to favour community-based research as a way to bring communities back together. The negative effects of colonization continue in modern and postmodern times. Perhaps this is a political, as well as a psychological reality. Community-based research can represent the reality of many Aboriginal people living on reserve.

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has built the scholarly case for this approach. Smith asserts that a community approach is reasonable given the tribal nature of Indigenous communities, and that an understanding of this reasoning can help guide the research process. Community members are empowered with rights and responsibilities. A collective power base can be established to encourage positive changes for Aboriginal people living within or outside of these communities.

It is crucial for researchers to ensure that the meaningful participation of women is integrated into the whole research process. Because Aboriginal women have lost their traditional roles which were recognized and respected as complementary positions to those of men, there needs to be a focus on ensuring that women have opportunities to be involved throughout the research process. Although women have more domestic responsibilities and are less active politically, Aboriginal women, in general, seem to be attaining higher levels of education than the men and, increasingly, are taking political positions (Sayers and MacDonald 2001; Voyageur 2002). Women should be encouraged to participate in local research by conducting interviews, providing translation, and taking roles as the main liaisons for researchers.

Community-based research must include research ethics of the Aboriginal community. These ethics centre on building collaborative relations, creating awareness, using relevant methods and involving Aboriginal expertise.

Examples include the following.

Collaborative relations:

- Learn about the local culture, history, values, beliefs and practices.

- Develop collaborative partnerships with communities.
- Build trust with the community.
- Promote community involvement at all stages of the research.

Creating awareness:
- Create awareness of the purpose and implications of the research.
- Obtain informed consent by ensuring people understand the research.
- Keep the community informed on progress throughout the research process.
- Share the research findings with the community in culturally appropriate ways.

Aboriginal expertise:
- Use local expertise including both traditional and academic experts.
- Provide research training opportunities for local people.
- Retain Aboriginal researchers whenever possible.

Relevant methods:
- Use research methods relevant to the culture and acceptable by the community.
- Remove language barriers by using translators.
- Allocate as much time as needed into data collection to accommodate participants.
- Ensure that participants feel free to express themselves.

Collaborative relations refer to the meaningful involvement of the community so people feel they are an important part of the research process. Creating awareness is necessary to show respect to the people and to keep the community informed about the research steps and processes. The use of Aboriginal expertise allows for direct local participation and has a vital role in the empowerment of people. Culturally relevant research methods are essential in ensuring that in-depth data are gathered on issues affecting the community.

This model illustrates how community-based qualitative research can work effectively in Aboriginal communities, where policy is often applied.

Sharing Findings with Aboriginal Communities

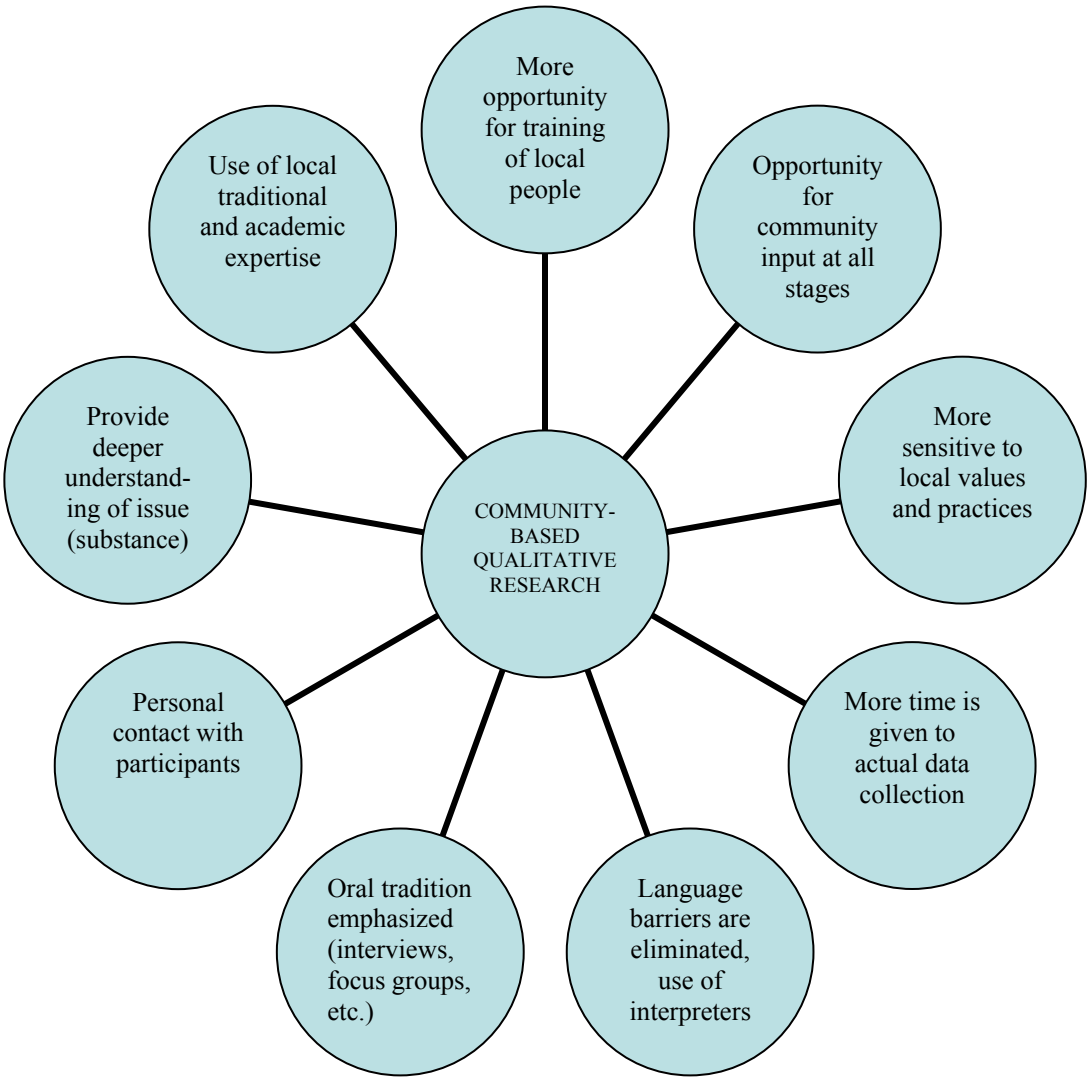
Oral presentations that are holistic in nature are an effective way to present research findings to the community. Although the research is compiled into narrative reports, it is essential for researchers to prepare specific presentation formats for a variety of audiences. There are four general segments of the Aboriginal community to which findings should be presented:

- the whole community;
- leadership;

- special groups (elders, women, youth); and
- individuals.

The whole community includes all community members even those who were not actual participants. Because any issue or segment in the community affects the other, all community members need to know about research results and impacts. The leadership of the community is responsible for the advancement and well-being of community members; therefore, it is imperative that they are fully aware of the findings and implications of any research conducted in their communities. Presentations should be made to special groups within the community, such as elders, women and youth, who may be interested in, or impacted by, specific research. Individuals who were participants in the research definitely should be recognized and informed of research results to which they have contributed.

Figure 3: Community-Based Qualitative Research



Oral communication and visual formats are most useful in presenting findings. Sharing research results with large groups can incorporate Aboriginal practice, such as feasting and social gatherings. Groups and individual meetings should always be set up on the community members' preferences of where and when they want to meet.

Case Study

McNeill (1985: 88) stated that inquiry is considered a case study when it:

> involves an in-depth study of a single example of whatever it is the person wants to investigate. It may prompt further, more wide-ranging research, providing ideas to be followed-up later, or it may be that some broad generalisation is brought to life.... There is no claim to representatives, and the essence of the technique is that each subject studied, whether it be an individual, a group, an event, or an institution is treated as a unit on its own.

Case studies allow for in-depth research into a subject. For example, a case study could be used to determine a company's efforts to increase its number of Aboriginal employees. Corporate literature, public documents, magazine and newspaper articles, scholarly publications and interviews can be used to examine the initiatives taken by the company. Analysis can focus on company reports and other related documentation. In addition to the secondary analysis of documents, interviews can be conducted with human resources personnel and upper management using an interview schedule to conduct a semi-structured interview. Interviews can be either face-to-face or on the telephone. "If writers want to find out about what Indian women think, they should ask Indian women. If they want to know about past events and cultures they should do the same thing" (Mihesuah 1998: 46).

This case study examines the lives of three women in the theme areas of birth and home location, traditional Native education, formal education and language fluency. By examining the lives of these women, we can see the changes of the past century. By learning about the changes that Aboriginal women have experienced, and continue to encounter, we have a better understanding of the impacts of European contact on Aboriginal women, as well as on Aboriginal people in general.

This comparative study involved three Aboriginal women whose lives span three generations: grandmother, mother and daughter. (To maintain anonymity, they are referred to as Grandmother, Mother and Daughter in this report.) The participants are from the Cree nation of the James Bay area, all of whom are full-blood Cree.

Methodology

The interview method was used to gather data for this study. Informal interviews were held with Mother and Daughter. Grandmother had passed away in 1983, but mother provided the necessary information needed to compare the lives of the women. The interview process itself was holistic in the sense that both participants were interviewed together providing an intergenerational context. Informal interviews were held on two different occasions. The

first interview focussed on the birth situations and on traditional Native education backgrounds of the women. The second interview consisted of discussion on formal education and language fluency.

Findings

The following chart illustrates an overview of each aspect of the lives of the three women.

Table 1: Historical Elements of Participants' Lives

Aspects	Grandmother	Mother	Daughter
Birth and home location	Born in 1890 Place of birth: in a traditional camp out on the land Method of delivery: by an Aboriginal midwife	Born in 1927 Place of birth: in a tent outside a small settlement Method of delivery: by an Aboriginal midwife	Born in 1952 Place of birth: in a hospital beside the Indian reserve Method of delivery: by a non-Native medical physician
Traditional native education	Totally immersed in traditional Native education, expert in knowledge and skills of Native culture	Immersed in traditional Native education, but was placed in residential school for part of childhood	Learned about traditional Native education, but was not raised out on the land, was raised on an Indian reserve
Formal education	No formal education at all	Grade 4 education received at residential school	Completed elementary, secondary and university education
Language fluency	Totally fluent in the Cree language, did not speak or understand English	Bilingual in the Cree language and English	Totally fluent in English, not fluent in the Cree language but understands it

Analysis

Both women felt that sharing their life stories was important to help people understand the social impacts of colonization. Changes that have happened through the generations are very evident in the findings of this study.

The first aspect was the birth and home locations of the women. Grandmother was born before the major treaties were signed and lived in an era where she had the opportunity to live as her ancestors had since time immemorial. Only in her elderly years did she live on a reserve. However, Grandmother witnessed major changes that greatly affected her people. The first major change was the relocation of her people to Indian reserves in which the people had to adjust to a sedentary way of life that was foreign to them. Although Mother was raised as her ancestors had lived in her childhood years, she experienced government intrusion when she was taken away from her family and placed in residential school. She moved to the reserve as a young woman and raised all her children on the reserve; only her two oldest children were delivered by an Aboriginal midwife at birth. Conventional birthing in a hospital became a common practice on the reserve. Daughter was the first child in her family to be born in a non-Native institution and was raised in a non-Native living environment. To this day, all babies are delivered in a hospital and all children are raised either on the reserve or in an urban centre. This change was significant in that traditional birthing methods and living on traditional territories out on the land were virtually brought to an end. In comparing the birthing and living situations, it is clear that the traditional ways have been lost through the generations.

Traditional Native education represented the passing on of Aboriginal culture from generation to generation. Grandmother was of the last generation to be raised out on the land and was educated only in the ways of her people. She held a vital role as teacher of the Cree beliefs, values and practices to her large extended family of about 500 people up to the time of her death. Although the mother was provided with a strong foundation in the Cree teachings, she did not have the same impact in passing on such teachings as Grandmother, because reserve life did not offer an appropriate environment for traditional learning. Mother taught her children to the best of her ability considering the circumstances; however, she felt she could not effectively teach her children about their own culture, because of influential factors such as formal education, which did not include Aboriginal language and cultural teachings. Daughter felt that although she did get a solid grounding in her culture and identity, the foreign-imposed systems, such as the school and influence of non-Native society, prevented full learning of the Cree teachings. Again, it is apparent that the traditional Native education is diminishing throughout the decades.

Formal education was a very new concept to Grandmother; her first encounter was when her children were taken to residential school. Grandmother's attitude toward education was shaped by this negative experience. Therefore, formal education was a very foreign concept, which was difficult to grasp. The residential school experience had more traumatic effects on Mother who was literally swiped away from her parents. This experience affected Mother's attitude toward non-Native people as they represented the alien institution which "kidnapped" children. Mother was reluctant, at first, to allow her children to attend high school, because they would have to leave home for long periods of time, as there were no high schools in the community or in the surrounding area. It was mainly through the persuasion of her husband who had a different view of education that she decided to let her children leave to pursue higher education. Her husband saw education as a key to self-reliance as well as a way that his children could contribute to advancement of their own people. Therefore, Daughter was sent away to obtain her high school education at the age of 13. Her journey through the secondary and university systems was a difficult one. Leaving home at such a young age was traumatic mainly due to displacement from family and community and having to adapt to living in a completely unfamiliar living environment in a city. Despite the difficulties, Daughter was able to complete her education and was very successful in obtaining her credentials as a teacher, a position she has held for years. Because of her education, she has definitely played an important role in the advancement of her people, and she also serves as a positive role model to young people. The change of attitude toward education is evident among the women, as it seems to have become more positive in regards to the long-term results of Daughter getting an education. It is obvious that formal education took on, and will continue to take on, a major role in shaping the lives of Aboriginal women. Education is seen by the women as paramount in the realization of personal goals and it is key for the progress of Aboriginal people in gaining self-determination.

Language fluency

The shift in language usage is shown in the literacy of the women. The Cree language was the only means of communication in Grandmother's era, while bilingualism became apparent in Mother's generation. On the other hand, the Cree language is greatly diminished in Daughter's generation as English became the main language. These findings reflect the immense influence

of outside society through the English language. The women felt that diminishment of the Cree language is due to tremendous influx of English communication through the schools, television and other media.

In conclusion, the changes in the lives of the Cree women in the James Bay area are clearly reflected in the life stories of these three women. In her lifetime, Grandmother witnessed immense changes, some positive and some negative. The way Native people have been influenced in birthing methods has resulted in the virtual loss of traditional birthing, which has now become institutionalized, as all babies are brought into the world in a hospital. The implications of this situation show how Native people have lost control over their lives in regards to the symbol of beginning life in an institution. The women had similar views in the importance of natural childbirth in natural settings as it represents the traditions of the Cree people and their connection to natural Creation. Similarly, the gradual loss of the traditional Native knowledge and skills reflects the loss of Cree traditions, although traditional Native education appears to be the most prominent in regards to retention of Native culture. Formal education has taken on a crucial role among the Cree people mainly as a tool to gain self-sufficiency as well as taking a key role in working toward rebuilding the Cree nation. Through education, the people will be in a better position to establish systems that will address their needs as Cree people. Systems in education, health, social services, justice and economic development can be best promoted by the Cree people themselves, as only they know what is best for them. However, the issue of language is an area of most concern; the rapid decline of the Cree language is clearly evident in this case study. Within three generations, the language has been diminished to a point where it appears that the present generation will not be in a position to pass on their ancestral language to their children. The retention of the Cree language is definitely an area in which action is needed.

Narrative Inquiry and Policy Analysis

Narrative inquiry is a research method that is particularly suitable for Aboriginal research, because it is predicated on the importance of story. As the research culture turns to include more and more literary elements in qualitative research, this type of inquiry encourages researchers to gather stories in a respectful manner and turn these stories into texts that can be shared, analyzed and archived as the Aboriginal story (Smith 1999; Cruikshank et al. 1992; Bruner 1986, 2002; Clandinin and Connelly 1999; Polkinghorne 1991).

In a study sponsored by the Status of Women Canada Policy Research Branch, *North American Indian, Métis and Inuit Women Speak about Culture, Education and Work* (Kenny 2002), Aboriginal women participated in focus groups and one-on-one interviews for the purpose of making policy recommendations that would improve their ability to conduct a meaningful cultural life and access modern education and work. Aboriginal women had previously reported the unfortunate dilemmas that fragment their lives, because of the double binds encountered when attempting to be both traditional and modern. Though policy publications had addressed this topic, the focus had been on the analysis of paper documents. Madeleine Dion Stout and Gregory D. Kipling, in their paper *Aboriginal Women in Canada: Strategic Research Directions for Policy Development* (1997) conducted a thorough analysis of documents. However, empirical data were not included. There were no interviews, no

narratives, no stories of the lived experiences of Aboriginal women that would give voice to their immediate concerns and recommendations for policy. *North American Indian, Métis and Inuit Women Speak about Culture, Education and Work* was intended to build on the Dion Stout and Kipling study by providing such empirical evidence.

Three researchers visited eight research sites across Canada and interviewed 140 Aboriginal women in single interviews or talking circles (focus groups). Transcripts were analyzed for values, themes, policy recommendations, and secondary or implied themes. Narrative inquiry provided an appropriate research method in a context in which stories were often the natural mode of communication. Four questions were posed to participants.

- What have you experienced in attempting to advance your education and find meaningful work?
- Have you experienced conflict between realizing your work goals and living a "cultural" life? What have they been?
- What do you recommend in terms of policy changes that would diminish these conflicts?
- What do you need in a general sense to support coherence between your cultural life and your work life?

In urban-setting focus groups, participants often answered the questions directly and quickly. Individual interviews in the urban settings were sometimes as short as 30 minutes. However, in rural settings, participants often revealed entire life histories. Some of the individual interviews were as long as four hours. Researchers took a respectful stance in settings where asking questions was often interpreted as rude behaviour. Narratives of elders and others who gave four hours to the interview process revealed not only answers to the four research questions, but detailed historical accounts and valuable traditional knowledge. The lengthy interviews provided valuable knowledge for understanding the lives of Aboriginal women in both a local and a global sense, and became the heartbeat of an evolving story method (Kenny 2004). Aboriginal elders guided this project, and arrangements for research activities were conducted by liaisons in each of the eight sites.

Core values discovered across the eight sites in the data were respect, trust, knowledge and balance. A secondary analysis discerned critical themes emerging from all sites: healing, diversity, safety, education, governance, work and discrimination.

Frustrations over the lack of implementation of meaningful and effective policies were expressed by one participant, a woman well-positioned as a leader in her community, who said:

> *It scares me because I travelled around a lot with my grandmother when I was small and heard her fights and some of the issues way back then. I look now; and I don't know, maybe it's because I've got such a newborn daughter, I say, well, I am fighting the same fight my grandmother is fighting. And I said that at a treaty workshop. At the time, she was 12 weeks old. And I said,*

> *is she going to have to stand here in 20 years time and fight this same fight?"* (as quoted in Kenny 2002: 59).

Sixty-three different policy recommendations were collected from the data. These were reduced to one primary policy recommendation and 16 secondary recommendations. Unique policy recommendations for specific sites were also offered. For example, policy recommendations for Nunavut were very specific to the context of the Nation.

The primary policy recommendation was offered as a singular recommendation to emphasize the importance of giving Aboriginal women the power over their own lives.

> Our primary policy recommendation is for policy makers to conduct policy workshops in each community and create policies that are regionally based and created through a process of discourse within the communities. The policy makers must be the women themselves. Funds need to be spent on sending facilitators into each community, who can spend time experiencing the daily lives of the women, networking with agencies and individuals to become immersed in the context of the women's lives. These facilitators must have the skills to help women in policy design and implementation. A guarantee of implementation of these policies would be required (Kenny 2002: viii).

A general task of academics and policy makers is the creation of "categories" of thought. In this study, the categories revealed by the women through qualitative analyses highlighted the power of categories to shape the women's lives for better or worse. In general, policy makers rarely critique or deconstruct the lexicon and procedures embedded in the policy culture itself. Standard policy language and procedures are perceived to encourage economy and efficiency. However, economy and efficiency can often compromise depth and diversity. This primary policy recommendation was offered intending to shift the power to the women themselves, who could create their own categories that represented their own experiences of the world. If policy makers were present in the communities where these categories had been created, perhaps they would be able to better enable the policy-making process by using Aboriginal women's categories as classification systems in the creation of meaningful policy.

A fourth level of analysis revealed more implied themes: coherence, paradoxes, limitations and freedom. The striking feature of the findings as a whole was the tension between asking the government for support and the desire to be independent and self-governing. This is one of the most profound dilemmas of the human condition for all marginalized peoples. This tension is reflected in the critical themes and the policies asking for support on the one hand and autonomy on the other. The solution to many of these dilemmas is an active receptivity, on the part of policy makers to the voices of Aboriginal women and problem-solving responses resulting from such respectful listening. Women want an active engagement in the policy-making process and are prepared to fulfill their responsibilities in this area if they are given respectful technical assistance (Kenny 2002, 2004).

A key element of our research design was the reporting of research findings in eight distinct chapters so "contexts" of communities could be easily accessed, studied and implemented at each research site, and women could compare their distinct experiences between the eight communities. External readers of our original report rejected this approach based on the rationale that the "national" character of the grant should dominate the presentation of the findings. This is a serious problem for communities attempting to develop sovereignty and self-governance. How will the unique characteristics of each community be revealed if they must conform to general categories in an attempt to design pan-Indian policies? This is a dilemma, not only for communities participating in community-based studies, but also for the federal government, since it does not have the benefit of a serious analysis based on constructs discovered within distinct communities. So, the final published report did not reflect this important aspect of our study.

Surveys

Surveys are used when there is a need to collect information about populations, to get a sense of the overall territory. Asking people (respondents) a series of questions about a particular topic collects data. Babbie (1995) described survey research as used for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purposes in studies with individuals as the units of analysis. He further stated: "Survey research is probably the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly" (pp. 203-204). It is used by political and governmental bureaus and is, therefore, very important in policy research.

The questionnaire is the instrument used for collection of data. The questionnaire can be either closed-ended questions (the answers are provided) or unstructured (open-ended questions that people answer in their own words) (Henslin 2001).

The questions can be self-administered or through a telephone or face-to-face interview. Self-administered surveys are useful, because respondents can complete it when they have the time. There is also a chance that respondents may not understand the question. This form of data collection can have a low response rate. Telephone interviews can be beneficial, because physical and psychological distance is maintained between the interviewer and the interviewee. This space sometimes gives interviewees a sense of anonymity and allows them to be more candid. Face-to-face interviews allow the interviewer to *read* the interviewee's responses more accurately as one is able to observe and listen. In this situation, the interviewer can note non-verbal indicators, such as voice intonation and body language. These valuable signs of emotion or conviction can be missed in a telephone conversation.

The inquiry might deal with community administrators wanting to know who lives in their community. This information then might be used to provide the community with quantitative information to formulate future employment and training strategies. The population sample (those interviewed) would include community members over the age of 15 years.

The use of computers is a must in quantitative data analysis. After the data are collected, they are entered into a data management program such as Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The data are made machine readable in a process called coding. This process divides the data into individual categories using numerical assignments. The data input process must be checked for errors in a process called data cleaning. A code book (a list of variables with all their possible answers) is also created. The data can then be read and manipulated by the computer to produce a variety of statistical analyses including frequencies and cross-tabulations.

Survey studies were used effectively by Carole Levesque (2001) and her colleagues in a Status of Women Canada document *Aboriginal Women and Jobs: Challenges and Issues for Employability Programs in Quebec*. They were also used by Madeleine Dion Stout and Gregory D. Kipling (1998) in a Status of Women Canada policy study *Aboriginal Women in Canada: Strategic Research Directions for Policy Development*. In both studies, survey methods were used to describe demographics and specific factors over large populations that influence the quality of life for Aboriginal women. Often, this type of survey material is very important for policy recommendations, because it gives us an opportunity to have a scope, if not a depth, of the issues in the lives of Aboriginal women.

Experimental Studies

Experimental studies are rarely used in Aboriginal research. The exception is in health. To test the efficacy of health interventions, experimental studies are designed and implemented with variables that can be strictly controlled. An experiment is used to show a causal relationship between variables. It asks: "Does X cause Y or does X have an effect on Y?" Experiments involve an independent variable (factors that cause a change) and a dependent variable (factors that are changed) (Henslin 2001). Experiments require an experimental group (the group of subjects exposed to the independent variable) and a control group (the group of subjects not exposed to the independent variable). The results of this interaction are observed and measured. Experimental studies are designed to prove that there is a result of an effect. Statistical analysis of small samples uses probability and inferential statistics to generalize to a larger population than the one in the experiment. Random sampling is often used to validate these experiments. But in general, it is very difficult to make knowledge claims from experimental studies unless there are large samples. Another criticism of experimental studies is the dilemma of drawing conclusions from studies that are done only once. Long-term or longitudinal experimental studies are more convincing.

Mixed Methods Research

There has been a recent interest in creating mixed methods research or research that uses both qualitative and quantitative methods (Creswell 2003; Greene and Caracelli 1997; Long and Curry 1998). Triangulating a study or using several methods to investigate the same phenomenon has the advantage of building on strengths and compensating for the weaknesses of various methods. Earlier, the dilemmas of historical and political contamination of research were thoroughly explored. Many Aboriginal people are suspicious of just becoming another number in a statistical study out of context from their lives and communities.

The mixed method approach has the advantage of fulfilling many of the requirements of policy research "in context," because they are usually accompanied by important stories about Aboriginal peoples' lives.

Claudia Long and Mary Ann Curry (1998) did a mixed method study *Living in Two Worlds: Native American Women and Prenatal Care*. They conducted focus groups of Native American elders and young women in conjunction with the Rural Oregon Minority Prenatal Project, a public health nursing intervention aimed at improving the birth outcomes of rural Native American women. The purpose was to explore traditional beliefs and practices related to pregnancy and childbirth among Native American women.

Multiple methods were used in this study, including qualitative ethnography software coding of verbatim transcriptions, field notes, journals, observations of videotapes, member checks and review of analysis by experts in qualitative methodology and Native American culture.

The results described effects of federal assimilation policies. Researchers made one recommendation for health care policies.

> Our recommendation for improving use of prenatal care is grounded in the reality that Native people live in two different worlds. As one elder noted, "We look at our young people and feel our morals and values are lost because we live in two different worlds." This is compounded by the perception of many Native women that the Western model is not a culturally appropriate or trusted place to receive maternity care. Thus, we recommend that contemporary prenatal care be re-conceptualized to strengthen partnerships between the Native American community and the Western health care providers to reintegrate traditional Native American natural helpers, including elders, grandmothers, and aunts in collaboration with licensed providers such as nurse practitioners, nurse midwives, and physicians. The focus would be for health care practitioners to empower Native American communities to transmit traditional health beliefs by providing education, support, and services that will address the social issues that Native American women identify as most important to them (Long and Curry 1998: 215).

In this study, researchers took the same political stance as the researchers in the Status of Women Canada project *North American Indian, Métis and Inuit Women Speak about Culture Education and Work* (Kenny 2002) by stating one comprehensive policy recommendation.

Classifying Types of Research

The concepts, examples and analyses of approaches in this paper describe a range of choices for doing Aboriginal policy research. The authors have addressed the discourses and debates around research methods that are in accord with a holistic approach to Aboriginal policy research from a gender-based perspective. By examining these ideas, the reader will be well-

positioned to critique standard research methods from a holistic perspective. In general, types of research fall into two broad categories. Qualitative studies are generally considered to be "constructivist" or "naturalistic." Case studies and studies using narrative inquiry are examples of constructivist and interpretive work. Quantitative studies are usually positivistic or post-positivistic in nature. Experimental studies are positivistic. Surveys also are positivistic but when they include qualitative elements, they can be considered mixed methods. In this case, they are considered "interactionist," combining elements of both positivistic and constructivist/naturalistic inquiry. (See Appendix E.)

How do the strengths and weaknesses of different approaches relate to the *crises of representation* for Aboriginal people? Do they address power differentials as the ones suggested by Paulo Freire and the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory? Do they embody appropriate Aboriginal consultation protocols as articulated in the guidelines for research from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples?

The selection of specific research methods must be a deeply reflective process which seeks a good fit between the researcher, the context of the research, and the method/s of choice in order for the research findings to be credible, meaningful and effective.

Ethical Research Considerations

Since the report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1996 there has been an active discourse on research ethics in Aboriginal communities. This discourse is particularly important, because of the enduring effects of colonization, the recent emergence of strong voices of Aboriginal scholars in all fields, and the interest of government agencies to assist in the creation of respectful ethical practices in all disciplines through legislation when it comes to Aboriginal people. Topics in this discourse range from abuse and misappropriation of Aboriginal traditional knowledge to sovereignty, to individual rights to privacy. In addition to the national movement to secure ethical research practice, individual nations have also created research agencies, which monitor research activities and encourage appropriate research, based on the needs of each individual nation. For example, the Nunavut Research Institute requires the submission of all research plans for review and approval by its licensing body (Kenny 2002; Nunavut Research Institute 1998).

The Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada (SSHRC) has published a position paper, available on the SSHRC Web site entitled *Opportunities in Aboriginal Research: Results of SSHRC's Dialogue on Research and Aboriginal Peoples* (McNaughton and Rock 2003). The purpose was to publish the results of "a thorough, multi-stage public dialogue with all stakeholders interested in research on, for, with and by Aboriginal peoples. Over 500 individuals from a wide variety of Aboriginal, academic, government and non-government organizations participated in SSHRC's Dialogue" (McNaughton and Rock 2003). This paper described the need for strong partnerships with Aboriginal communities, the imperative to support research in Aboriginal systems of knowledge, and ways to encourage Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal researchers interested in careers in Aboriginal research. The report gives special attention to the small number of Aboriginal researchers and suggests measures to improve this situation. The SSHRC report offered a wealth of

information to researchers wishing to conduct ethical and successful Aboriginal research (McNaughton and Rock 2003).

In 1998, The National Council on Ethics in Human Research (NCEHR) convened three institutional review boards to create the Tri-Council Policy Statement on "Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans." The three partners in this initiative are the Medical Research Council (MRC), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council (NSERC) and the SSHRC. Building on principles of respect for human dignity and on an awareness of the complexity of research in small, and often easily identifiable communities, the Tri-Council identified "good practices" in research. While the Tri-Council document makes a concentrated effort to address difference, it falls short of applying good practices to gender-based policy research. Differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal respondents' needs are limited to cultural, property and institutional needs, not to women's experiences of difference as these intersect in their gender/cultural/social intersubjectivity. The paper also falls short of addressing the issues of holistic research, but leans toward replicating mainstream, dominant views of research that are inherently hierarchical and grounded in western epistemological categorical practices rather than in Aboriginal holistic world views and practices.

In an article in the *Journal of Aboriginal Health* entitled "Ethics of Aboriginal Health" Marlene Brant Castellano elaborated on the essential characteristics of the discourse on ethical research with Aboriginal peoples. She proposed eight principles for conducting ethical research in Aboriginal communities, which embody the guidelines from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, the SSHRC and the Tri-Council Policy Statement principles to offer a substantive and succinct set of guiding principles for all researchers who conduct research in Aboriginal communities, with Aboriginal people in urban centres, and with individual Aboriginal people who are not associated with a particular nation or community. (See Appendix H.)

Ethics approval is also required for university research when human participants are part of the inquiry. Accordingly, the outline of research design and methodology for study is presented to the affiliated university's ethics review board. Clearance must be given to the project before any research activities can begin. (See Appendix A for a sample ethics review application.)

In qualitative research, there is a particular ethical responsibility, on the part of the researcher, to honour stories. And this brings an entirely different thread of the discourse on ethics into consideration. In 2003, the Australian government amended its copyright law to protect the artworks and stories of Aboriginal people (Crabb 2003). Aboriginal people in Australia obtained "moral rights" to their artworks and stories in 2000. However, the new law, described as a kind of cultural copyright will allow communities to sue in cases where their stories or legends are misused, distorted, or exploited by purchasers, even if the artist is dead. "The new legislation, drafted as an amendment to the Copyright Act, will create a class of collective rights for Aboriginal communities" (Crabb 2003).

An article by Gordon Christie titled "Aboriginal Rights, Aboriginal Culture, and Protection" (1998) described the debates on "cultural rights" of Aboriginal peoples. Christie argued that the authority to monitor and protect these rights should be within Aboriginal communities themselves and should not rely on federal or provincial governments for such protection. And, of course, many nations, such as the Inuit, are doing just that.

Cultural sensitivity and cultural respect is expressed in the protocols of researchers in Aboriginal communities. The shift in the cultural discourse, particularly when it comes to ethics, guarantees that stories belong to the people who tell them. This implies a co-operative partnership between Aboriginal participants who are telling their stories and researchers who are listening. This principle reflects Aboriginal values and a strong message that post-colonial research practice has arrived. This protocol of mutual exchange is very far from the attitude of the past, which was based entirely on the "purchase" of stories by researchers, as if a person's life story could ever belong to someone else. The very idea that stories can be bought is antithetical to Aboriginal world view and values. Best practices by non-Aboriginal researchers are represented in works like *Lives Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Cruikshank et al. 1990). In this case, participants agreed to tell their stories, which they continue to own, but also to share their stories through the researcher, who had the ability to bring these stories to a broader audience. Participants in such partnerships usually share their stories, because they believe others can benefit from them. This is the case when it comes to women's stories (Kenny 2002). In Australia, the rights of Aboriginal persons to always own their own story are now guaranteed through legislation.

A Holistic Framework for Aboriginal Policy Research

In a recent presentation for the Indian and Northern Affairs Canada Aboriginal Policy Conference, The Honourable Jean Augustine, Secretary of State (Multiculturalism, Status of Women), emphasized the importance of developing a holistic model in research on Aboriginal issues (INAC, Nov. 2002). This paper is an expression of the consensus at a roundtable of Aboriginal researchers and Augustine's suggestion to develop such an approach.

When agencies can work together with Aboriginal peoples in designing and implementing research agendas, decolonizing and holistic models emerge. In this paper, a general approach to such holistic models provides a starting place. Specific aspects of applied holistic frameworks must be designed in consultation with Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal scholars when research opportunities arise. This paper is a resource to help initiate this process through a well-informed approach to research practice with accompanying resources to further facilitate these endeavours.

Only when Aboriginal women and respectful non-Aboriginal partners can work together as equal partners, will the policies proposed by authorities begin to be effective. In this paper, gender-based Aboriginal policy research is described as research which positions Aboriginal women in the centre of authority for improving the lives of Aboriginal people, women, men, children and communities. As Margaret Lavalle suggested: "When the women heal, the

families will heal, and when the families heal, the nations will heal" (As quoted in Kenny 2002: 54).

The "Declaration and Platform of Action proposed at the First Indigenous Women's Summit of the Americans in Oaxaca, Mexico, in 2002 states:

> Recognizing, that the richness of our Peoples has its origins in the transmission of values through community education, in which women have played a central role as midwives, counselors and spiritual guides, allowing the transmission of traditional values and teachings, which are crucial to the development of models in keeping with our cultures and traditions. . .
>
> Affirming, that in order to ensure the full and effective participation of Indigenous women, we must take control of the development of alternative solutions to problems, including raising the consciousness of men, which in many cases represents the first barrier to full participation faced by Indigenous women. . .
>
> Demanding, that Indigenous women be full participants in the struggles and processes in constituting the development of our nations and cultures depending upon equality between women and men in decision-making at all levels, including the experiences, values, principles and knowledge of our elders and the enthusiasm of our youth. . .

The strength and commitment of Indigenous women are reflected in this declaration. Indigenous women are prepared to take their place in the creation of meaningful and effective policies and to "take back" the traditional roles in the societies as the guardians of the safety and well-being of all members of Aboriginal communities, a role that was largely dismissed though colonizing practices like residential schools and colonizing policies like *The Indian Act.* A holistic approach to Aboriginal policy research that positions women in the centre of the design and implementation of policy will put policy research on the right path toward a humane and just society for Aboriginal peoples because, as this paper has indicated, a holistic approach reflects the values and practices of Aboriginal societies. In a holistic approach, the fragmentation of life through separating and alienating policy processes will be bound back together with integrity. This integrity will facilitate ongoing healing for Aboriginal people that demonstrates the possibility that we can all learn from history. And we can all change our ways in the face of the roles forced upon us through historical events. Research can be a productive arena in which to relinquish the roles of colonizer and victim as a level playing field emerges between research partners through responsible and respectful research practice.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following annotated bibliography seeks to offer a sample of holistic, gender-based research methods, principles and applications. This is of course by no means a complete overview of relevant research. Rather, the works have been selected from about 100 books and articles in an effort to provide literature that addresses challenges to holistic work, offers practical guides to research, describes gender-based policy studies that explicitly or implicitly incorporate holistic methods or explicate holistic understandings of policy impacts and policy reform alliances, and positions non-Aboriginal researchers in collaborative research alliances.

Acoose, Janice (Misko-Kisikawihkwe: Red Sky Woman)

1995. *Iskwewak: Kah'Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princesses Nor Easy Squaws*. Toronto: Woman's Press.

The extent to which non-Aboriginal literature pervades Canadian life is discussed within the contexts of racism and sexism. In particular, stereotypical images of Indigenous women are deconstructed and readers are called upon to question their own epistemologies. The powerful relationship between text and reader is highlighted through a social history of Western-assigned images of Aboriginal women. The connection between language and memory, feeling and being is made evident and both Aboriginal and non-Indigenous readers are encouraged to challenge the inequalities offered by Euro-Canadian literature and society. The critical reading strategies employed by Acoose can usefully be applied to a discursive analysis of policy.

Anderson, Kim

2000. *A Recognition of Being: Reconstructing Native Womanhood*. Toronto: Second Story Press.

Anderson's personal journey to understanding her own identity is intertwined with the conditions and challenges present in other Native women's lives. Negative Native female identity is connected to European contact and the consequences for Aboriginal women are discussed. Gender relations and issues surrounding abuse and violence toward women are revealed through stories of Indigenous women's lives from across Canada. Contemporary Native women are encouraged to reclaim Indigenous cultural traditions to create their own powerful images, and this process to self-definition is outlined. This is the first step to formulating policy reform in the interests of Aboriginal women.

Bishop, Anne

1994. *Becoming an Ally: Breaking the Cycle of Oppression.* Halifax: Fernwood.

Holistic policy research grounded in gender-based perspectives requires non-community researchers to position themselves carefully with the community seeking policy reform and structural redress to social problems. Although Anne Bishop is not writing specifically about policy research or holistic methods, her perspective on research and community development relationships provides a clear and empathetic approach researchers will find helpful as they position themselves in research projects. The recognition of shared interests

between and among groups of oppressed people is said to place power directly at the margins. Information is organized into a step-by-step process.

Browne, Annette J.
1995. "The Meaning of Respect: A First Nations Perspective." *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*. 27(4): 95-109.
Although Annette Browne does not purport to be using a holistic methodology, her study of respect illustrates how researchers can come to understand holistic world views and the importance of integrating these views into policy and practice. In this instance, understanding "respect" within the frame of First Nations experiences of being "treated with or without respect" provides understanding of the cultural, gendered and ethical impact of policy and practice that does not build from and work within holistic framing of human relationships.

Browne Annette J., Jo-Anne Fiske and Geraldine Thomas
2002. *First Nation Women's Encounters with the Mainstream Health Care System.* Vancouver: BC Centre of Excellence for Women's Health.
This community-based study addresses gender and racial implications of local, provincial and federal health policies. Participants present their views and describe their experiences from a holistic perspective. Recommendations for policy changes are embedded in women's narratives, which link the individual experience, cultural community, and health policies and practices within a framing of colonial impacts on governance. The authors advance the need for policy grounded in "cultural safety," a concept coined to address Maori holistic health goals.

Buchan, Shari and Ingrid Johnson
1998. "Culture, Gender, Power: Revisioning Northern Education." *Canadian Woman Studies.* 17(3): 47-51.
Education policy and reform are addressed from the perspective of Yukon elders. Research incorporates both interviews and reciprocal relationships between the two educators and the elders in developing women's studies curriculum at the college level. This work sets out principles of curriculum and pedagogy that are applicable to community-based and participatory research projects.

Cajete, Gregory A.
1994. *Look to the Mountain: An Ecology of Indigenous Education*. Colorado: Kivaki Press.

Set within an American Indian context and the values associated with tribal education, the author offers his personal experiences as an educator, artist and Native resident of Santa Clara, New Mexico regarding the present condition of education in the United States and his hopes for the future. Tribal values for teaching and learning are offered as culturally informed alternatives for education. Contemporary educational systems are critiqued from an Indigenous perspective and key elements of the spiritual ecology of tribal education are laid out. The relationship between Indigenous education and community wholeness is presented as an integral part of Aboriginal ideology and necessary for Native people's

survival as human beings. Native people are identified as being the ones responsible for the future of Aboriginal education.

Castellano Marlene
1982. "Indian Participation in Health Policy Development: Implications for Adult Education." *Canadian Journal of Native Studies.* 2(1): 113-128.
Development of policy, in this instance health policy, must engage meaningful and empowered Aboriginal participation, to be successful. Although this is an older article, it remains useful for the author's insights, which have been developed further in her later work on participatory research.

Castellano, Marlene Brant.
1993. "Aboriginal Organizations in Canada: Integrating Participatory Research." Pages 145-156 in *Voices of Change: Participatory Research in the United States and Canada*. Edited by P. Park et al. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
Participatory research is presented from the perspective of First Nations women and its value to Aboriginal organizations is set out. Implicit in this piece is the value of framing research and community development in Aboriginal world views and the positive consequences for framing social policy and actions in a holistic manner.

Chester, Barbara, Robert W. Robin, Mary P. Koss, Joyce Lopez and David Goldman
1994. "Grandmothers Dishonoured: Violence Against Women by Male Partners in American Indian Communities." *Violence and Victims*. 9(3): 249-258.
The holistic, multidisciplinary approach used in this study embraces a social ecological and cultural understanding of violence against women. The researchers stress that gender relations are understood and enacted in culturally specific ways, and that these understandings must inform analysis and policy strategies that are solution oriented. The researchers stress the need to integrate the physical, mental and social to develop the integration of mental health, substance abuse and social service programs.

Dallam, Elizabeth
1991. "The Growing Voice of Indigenous Peoples: Their Use of Storytelling and Rights Discourse to Transform Multilateral Development Bank Policies." *Arizona Journal of International and Comparative Law.* 8: 117-131.
Elizabeth Dallam provides a unique exploration of storytelling within policy analysis. Her integration of Indigenous knowledge drawn from oral narratives with a discourse analysis of rights-based principles leads to both an analysis of bank policies and an alternative vision of development. Her work offers a model for gender-based policy analysis that moves beyond the local or national level to global impacts and international powers of monetary and development policies.

Dickson, Geraldine
2000. "Aboriginal Grandmother's Experience with Health Promotion and Participatory Action Research." *Qualitative Health Research*. 10(2): 188-203.
Participatory action research with Aboriginal women attending a health promotion program was carried out over a 2.5 year period. The participating women grounded their research

activities in a holistic tradition that sought links between the internal balance of the women and their relationships to the socio-ecological factors implicating health status. The women's advocacy re-asserted the holistic frame of reference that initially underlay health promotion and in so doing sought to refocus attention on socio-ecological forces and away from "narrow, behaviour change, short-term initiatives." Dickson describes the success of the project in terms of the value of "holistic participatory research."

Duran, Bonnie and Eduardo Duran

2000. "Applied Postcolonial Clinical and Research Strategies." Pages 86-100 in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision.* Edited by Marie Battiste. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Advocating incorporation of non-linear thinking in postcolonial expressions of subjectivity, Duran and Duran explore ways of integrating Western psychoanalysis and postcolonial philosophy with Indigenous holistic thought. They apply their insights specifically to their clinical work and research. They seek development of a postcolonial paradigm that validates Indigenous knowledge and reveal colonial impacts on Aboriginal subjectivity. Their approach has valuable implications for gender-based holistic policy research as it places Aboriginal knowledge and experience at the forefront, albeit integrated with other epistemological foundations.

Fiske, Jo-Anne, Melonie Newell and Evelyn George

2001. "First Nations Women and Governance. A Study of Custom and Innovation Among Lake Babine Nation Women." *First Nations Women, Governance and the Indian Act: A Collection of Policy Research Reports.* Ottawa: Status of Women, Canada.

In this community-based study of governance, elders and hereditary chiefs of the Lake Babine Nation guided three researchers, one of whom is a member of the nation, to view policy reforms and the development of community governance in a holistic frame. Specifically, these leading women addressed the interconnections between family relations, traditional governance and the limits of federal government policies. Taking leadership within the research process, the hereditary chiefs and elders moved beyond the focus group methods favoured by the researchers by directing their meetings with the team in accordance with traditional principles and contemporary governing practices.

Frank, Sharlene

1992. *Family Violence in Aboriginal Communities: A First Nations Report.* Victoria: Ministry of Women's Equality.

A holistic frame of reference is implicit throughout the analysis and offered solutions to family violence. Sharlene Frank stressed the need for policy shifts that will link Aboriginal women's world views, experiences and state actions. She argues: "If solutions are going to work, they have to be made by, and within, the community, however that community may be defined" (p. 17). These solutions must arise from "[h]olistic approaches...which deal with all aspects of spiritual, emotion, mental and physical needs regarding the individual, family, and community."

Glor, Eleanor D.
1987. "Impacts of a Prenatal Program for Native Women." *Canadian Journal of Public Health.* 78: 249-254.
Applying holistic frames of reference to quantitative work can be frustrating as they arise from epistemologies in opposition. However, as is the case with this analysis, quantitatively based evaluations of public programs and policy can substantiate the impact of holistically based innovations. In the study presented here, a Native women's organization had considerable success in delivering a prenatal program in Regina through its impact on the clients' health and nutritional status.

Goodleaf, Donna Kahenrakwas
1993. "Under Military Occupation: Indigenous Women, State Violence and Community Resistance." Pages 225-242 in *And Still We Rise: Feminist Political Mobilizing in Contemporary Canada.* Edited by Linda Carty. Toronto: Women's Press.
In 1990, Kanienkehaka women led their nation's resistance to the appropriation of sacred lands at Oka. Donna Goodleaf shares her holistic view of resistance by telling her story of involvement at Oka in conjunction with a gendered analysis of state violence. She locates her nation's resistance in a holistic analysis of historical colonialism, present-day Euro-sexist imperialist attitudes and "left" resistance strategies. She calls upon social movements to "go beyond the human to a vision rooted in a spiritually- and politically-based worldview of Indigenous people that encompasses the four-legged, the waters, the air, the earth-...." Her vision calls for new policies and governance formed within a holistic understanding of the earth's ecosystem.

Haig-Brown, Celia
1992. "Choosing Border Work." *Canadian Journal of Native Education.* 19(1):96-116.
Research relationships are the key issue addressed. How should ethnographic methods be used, if at all, to remedy imbalances of power in educational situations? Haig-Brown lays out what she did and how she did it in her "border" work as an ethnographer. Holistic principles are centred and applied to her position as a non-Aboriginal researcher.

Hooper, Barbara J. and Rebecca Hagey
1994. "Control Issues in Native Health Care: Perspectives of an Urban Community Health Centre." Pages 221-265 in *Health, Illness, and Health Care in Canada.* Edited by Bolaria Singh and Harley D. Dickinson. Second edition. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.
Anishnawbe Heath Toronto, an urban Native health centre explicitly builds its policies and practices on a holistic foundation that values the coexistence of conventional biomedical and traditional approaches. The holistic view is presented diagramatically in images of concentric circles depicting the organizational structure of the centre. Holism is represented as a circle, "a control principle through balance," that eschews opposition and duality. The significance of gender-based policy analysis is stressed and the power of this approach to have a direct impact on policy is illustrated.

Kenny, Carolyn
2002. *North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit Women Speak About Culture, Education and Work.* Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Three researchers conducted focus groups and interviews with 140 Aboriginal women in eight sites across Canada to study the barriers created by policies, which do not support Aboriginal women to maintain full cultural lives while pursuing contemporary education and work. Sites included rural and urban Manitoba; Toronto, Parry Sound and Ottawa, Ontario; Vancouver and Merritt, British Columbia; Iqualuit, Nunavut; and rural and urban Nova Scotia. Researchers worked closely with advisors and site liaisons in each community. Participants answered questions and offered stories and policy recommendations. Interviews were taped, transcribed and analyzed for values, critical themes, policy recommendations and a fourth layer of analysis which revealed double-binds for Aboriginal women. A serious critique of the *Indian Act* and other policies affecting the lives of Aboriginal women is provided by participants and researchers' analysis of policy documents.

Lazarus, Ellen S.

1988. "Theoretical Considerations for the Study of the Doctor-Patient Relationship: Implications of a Perinatal Study." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly.* 2(1): 35-59.

Studies of doctor-patient relationships can inform health policy reform. Ethnographic methods merged with interview surveys reveal policy implications linking women's personal experiences of health care encounters to the structures of the broader health system and beyond. Lazarus stressed the need to observe power relationships in health institution to address how policies are implicated in patients' lack of control over their health care. This study, with Euro-American and Puerto Rican women in an American public clinic offers methodological approaches that resonate with gender-based policy studies in Aboriginal health care in Canada.

Lederman, John

1994. "Trauma and Healing in Aboriginal Families and Communities." *Native Social Work Journal.* 2(1): 59-90.

Lederman applies "naturalistic" methods to an integrated strategy of healing and research. Naturalistic refers to a research methodology that adheres to the "natural ways of each community, its tradition and its members." Healing circles form the basis of research. By working within models informed by "grounded theory," circle stories provide knowledge that is inter-generationally and cross-culturally significant. Research and healing are linked to policy in the struggle to confront the continuing cycle of re-traumatization of Aboriginal families and communities. Lederman overlooks the need for a gender-based analysis; however, the methods described can readily be grounded in a gendered analysis.

Maguire, Patricia

1987. *Doing Participatory Research: A Feminist Approach*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

The current condition of research theory and methodology are characterized as androcentric and recognized as mainstream. The reasons behind *why* this type of research is in the mainstream and *why* one particular paradigm dominates society are discussed. The characteristics of the dominant paradigm are examined in detail to present an alternative methodology for social research. Theory, methodology and research goals are reconsidered within a framework of feminist participatory research. This text contains the author's own experience of challenging traditional research biases and practices, which are revealed in a

case study with Navajo women centred in Gallup, New Mexico. This study has been influential in the development of participatory action research by Aboriginal scholars.

Medicine. Beatrice

1988. "Native American (Indian) Women: A Call for Research." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. 19: 86-92.

Beatrice Medicine is an honoured Native American anthropologist whose research has contested the masculinist Eurocentric research findings that shape public policy in a wide spectrum of fields from education through social services through to governance. In this piece, she sets out the need for Native women to "begin formulating constructs and tentative hypotheses based upon our own unique experiences" and to locate these within "the superordinate society's parameters and influences [in order to] focus upon the reactions of females of all tribes to the common experiences of oppression in U.S. society." Her goal is to have gendered cultural-specific accounts of life experience that can inform public policy and cultural interpretations.

Monture-Angus, Patricia

1995. *Thunder in My Soul: A Mohawk Woman Speaks*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

This collection of works that developed over time is aimed at communicating the Aboriginal experience within Canada. The history of oppression, racism and colonialism are presented in the Mohawk traditional methodology of storytelling. Issues of society, such as law, politics, justice and change, are included. The author's own "intellectual evolution" is shared through the inclusion of personal and academic writings. Aboriginal experiences with education, racism, the criminal justice system and feminism are discussed and traditional knowledge is presented as essential to Aboriginal survival as human beings.

1999. *Journeying Forward: Dreaming First Nation's Independence*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Through an examination of her own experiences of colonialism, Monture-Angus offers the perspective of independence in place of Aboriginal self-government as a way to offset oppression. Canadian law is identified as a mechanism that allows colonialism to flow rather than a source of answers. Written in the context of family, sharing, creativity, history and hope, "Aboriginal pathways away from oppression" are presented in the form of human rights, which are linked to land rights and the right to be responsible. Primarily written for a Native audience, this work speaks to all Canadians alike.

Moreton-Robinson, Aileen

1998. *Talkin' Up to the White Woman: Aboriginal Women and Feminism*. St. Lucia, Queensland (Australia): University of Queensland Press.

Ethnographic constructions and White-feminist images of Aboriginal women are set in contrast to Indigenous women's self-presentations. Perception and anthropological/feminist knowledge are discussed in terms of social standing, where White-feminist knowledge is presented as partial despite its position of power and dominance. Inter-subjectivity, or the importance of seeing through Indigenous eyes, is offered as a solution to the biases created from within feminist writing and for developing less partial knowledge. This work offers an

integrated view of research grounded in Indigenous thought that draws on global issues and research strategies among Indigenous women.

Morris, Marika

2002. *Participatory Research and Action: A Guide for Becoming a Researcher for Social Change*. Ottawa: CRIAW/ICREF.

This guide offers a step-by-step approach to participatory research grounded in feminist, community-based actions. While explicit in its gendered approaches, links to holistic thought are implicit. Nonetheless, its principles and practices can be adapted to holistic approaches. Feminist participatory action research has as its goal policy reform and action, and in this approach it "recognizes and takes into account the multiple and intersecting impact of policies and practices on different groups of women because of their race, class, ability, sexual orientation, refugee or immigrant status, age, and other status." Examples of research principles, concerns and practices are drawn from Aboriginal researchers.

Nabigon, Herbert, Rebecca Hagey, Schuyler Webster and Robert MacKay

1999. "The Learning Circle as a Research Method: The Trickster and Windigo in Research." *Native Social Work Journal.* 2(1): 113-137.

The authors open their article with a statement of assumptions defining Native research as a project in seeking the roots of a given problem and convening the voices "needed to remember the history and assess the future." From this perspective research is by its very nature holistic and integral to policy and governance and inseparable from the principles and visions of the medicine wheel. The authors make connections to Maori concepts of cultural safety as they explore dimensions of power within and beyond communal healing practices. They do not explicitly address questions of gender or gendered dimensions of power relations.

Pauktuutit Inuit Women's Association

1995. *More Than They Say: Unreported Crime in Labrador.* Ottawa: Pauktuutit.

Pauktuutit is a leader among Aboriginal women's organizations with respect to gender-based research directed to policy implications and social change. In this participatory research project, Pauktuutit builds on Inuit traditional knowledge and values and feminist praxis to record, report and analyze criminal behaviours endangering Inuit women in remote communities.

Ponting, Rick J. (ed.).

1996. *First Nations in Canada: Perspectives on Opportunity, Empowerment, and Self-Determination.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

A collection of writings from 11 diverse First Nations individuals that reveal the social and political issues facing Indigenous peoples in Canada today. A multitude of theoretical orientations are presented including identity and self worth, "total institution," social constructionist, colonialism, "world systems," Marxism and "structures of accommodation." Ethnocentric biases of the Western world and the effects on First Nations societies are examined within the context of the Royal Commission's recommendations for restructuring Canadian society to build a better relationship between Aboriginal and Western Canadians.

Redbird, Elsie B.
1998. "Honouring Native Women: The Backbone of Native Sovereignty." Pages 121-141 in *Popular Justice and Community Regeneration: Pathways of Indigenous Reform.* Edited by Kayleen Hazlehurst. Westport: Praeger.
Redbird deconstructs the term "sovereignty" through a holistic lens. Tracing historic violation of Native women through American colonization, she reveals how contemporary American Indian policy continues to constrain women. Her remedy is to develop policy that will place true power — authority and responsibility — in the hands of women's organizations to ensure the revitalization of society grounded in traditional knowledge and "the genuine sovereignty, which comes from the family and clan — the basic institutions of native society."

Rutman, Deborah, Marilyn Callahan, Audrey Linquist, Suzanne Jackson and Barbara Field
2000. *Substance Use and Pregnancy: Conceiving Women in the Policymaking Process.* Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.
The authors describe their project as an examination of "how policy in Canada deals with the issue of substance abuse during pregnancy." In fact, their project is far more complex. It draws together a range of research methods from discourse analysis to community-based participatory research in a gender-based analysis of law and policy. The holistic, multidisciplinary project carefully balances culturally specific Aboriginal world views with feminist and critical theories to offer a unique deconstruction of policy and a set of recommendations for development of empowering policies directed to participatory action by Aboriginal woman and culturally appropriate holistic health services.

Shroff, Farah M.
2001. "Forget Reform — We Need a Revolution! Better Health for Canadian Women Through Holistic Health Care." In *Care and Consequences: The Impact of Health Care Reform.* Edited by D. Gustafson. Halifax: Fernwood.
Drawing from an eclectic understanding of holism that is informed by Indigenous and Eastern precepts, Shroff analyzes issues of health care policy within a social justice frame of reference. She calls for a revolution in health care that includes structural changes to resource distribution, attention to social, political and economic determinants, and individual actions for wellness. She warns against contemporary, popularized concepts of holism that address only the individual and not the socio-political ecology of health and policy.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai
2000. "Kaupapa Maori Research." Pages 225-247 in *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision.* Edited by Marie Battiste.
This paper discusses Maori approaches to research. It sets out the characteristics of Kaupapa Maori research: it is culturally safe, conducted by Maori researchers, and culturally relevant while upholding rigours of research. In contrast to culturally sensitive research, Kaupapa Maori research is connected to Maori philosophy and takes the validity of Maori knowledge for granted. This form of research is rich and complex; it is understood and applied in diverse ways by Maori researchers. Smith stresses its emancipatory, critical dimensions and their application to multidisciplinary methods, reciprocal relations between researcher and community, and researcher accountability. Its emancipatory goals are gendered and directed to social justice.

1995. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd. and Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.
The current condition of Western-based research is presented within the context of an Aboriginal perspective. The history of race relations between Indigenous peoples as subjects of study and Westerners as researchers is presented as part of the path toward a decolonized methodology. The gaze of anthropological inquiry is said to be in need of adjustment, and an inclusive rather than exclusive focus is prescribed. Smith sets an agenda for planning and implementing Indigenous research methodologies and provides steps toward achieving this goal. The author's own ethnicity is central to the book's proposal; Smith speaks from an emic perspective of a lived oppression as the result of years of colonization and Eurocentric-based research paradigms. Aboriginal-based research is described in detail, and suggestions for appropriate projects are included.

Stiffarm, Lenore A. (ed.).
1996. *As We See: Aboriginal Pedagogy*. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan.
A collection of Indigenous ways of knowing aimed at countering Western invalidations of Aboriginal knowledge. Traditional values are organized as a foundation for developing an Aboriginal pedagogy. Aspects of Cree and Ojibway culture including spirit-writing, environmental knowledge, medicine wheels and storytelling are presented in contrast to Western linear reductionist methods of interpretation and education.

Trask, Mililani
1995. "Indigenous Women. Self-Determination, and Nation Building." *Woman of Power.* 24: 34-38.
For feminist analysis of power to contribute to Indigenous nation building, it is necessary to understand the global commonalties of Indigenous world views and vision. Trask speaks to the common holistic principles of Indigenous thought and the implications for social and political change from the perspective of a leader of the Sovereign Native Nation of Hawai'i. She considers "political work to be all encompassing because all issues are interrelated."

White, Ellen and Jo-ann Archibald
1992. "Kwulasulwut S yuth [Ellen White's Teachings]: Collaboration between Ellen White and Jo-ann Archibald." *Canadian Journal of Native Education.* 19(2): 150-164.
Storytelling lies at the heart of Ellen White's teachings. Jo-ann Archibald's sensitive interaction with Ellen's narratives reveals the holistic world view that shapes the teachings, informs their significance for developing First Nations research and the implications of this for developing educational policy and curriculum. The teachings inform a collaborative ethnographic research process that is described as "a critical ethnographic approach" that holds true to respectful practices and dialogical principles.

Voyageur, Cora J.
2002. "Keeping All the Balls in the Air: The Experiences of Canada's Women Chiefs." *Women and Leadership: Feminist Voices.* Special 25th Anniversary Issue, Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women. Vol. 13, pp. 206-224.

Cora Voyageur draws on quantitative and qualitative data to understand the lives and achievements of women chiefs across Canada. She explores the goals of women chiefs with respect to policy and programs at the community level. Their personal experiences are located within a critical frame that queries the impact of gender and racial inequalities and government bureaucracies on the women chief's personal and professional lives.

Whitmore, Elizabeth

1994. "To Tell the Truth: Working with Oppressed Groups in Participatory Approaches to Inquiry." Pages 83-98 in *Participation in Human Inquiry: Research with People.* Edited by Peter Reason. London: Sage Publications.

Participatory action research is often presented as a flexible, community-based approach that can work within and foster holistic research strategies. In this article, Whitmore provides a critique of its constraints as a research practice and seeks to demonstrate the limits of the participatory process and cautions researchers whose goal is to enhance equality to include analyses of the dynamics of oppression in their participatory projects. She provides a case example of a study of a prenatal program for single expectant mothers to illustrate her gender-based evaluation of social policy and programming.

Williamson, Karla

1988. "Inuit Child Rearing and Cultural Ecology Project." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

A case study of research in the north. The role of Inuit perceptions of the land and how that ideology relates to traditional child-rearing practices is the focus. Developing an understanding of Inuit world view and acknowledging the power and wisdom of traditional ways of knowing are discussed. The author's methodology and focus call into question the predominant Western linear way of knowing in favour of a holistic approach to education, learning and perceiving the world.

Young, Wendy

1999. "Aboriginal Students Speak about Acceptance, Sharing, Awareness and Support: A Participatory Approach to Change at a University and Community College." *Native Social Work Journal.* 2(1): 21-58.

This study is presented as a bicultural partnership between the author and Aboriginal college students. It offers a circular participatory approach to data analysis and a model for a participatory action research circle. Grounded in holism reflected in Aboriginal students' narratives and in their practices within the research circle, and shaped by the philosophy of the medicine wheel and innovations of feminist research, this form of participatory action research integrates Aboriginal teachings in both form and product. Policy implications for post-secondary education arose from the project.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE APPLICATION FOR ETHICS REVIEW

1. EXACT TITLE OF RESEARCH:

2. PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:
   NAME:
   POSITION:
   TELEPHONE:
   E-MAIL:
   ADDRESS:
   LOCATION OF RESEARCH SITE:
   STARTING DATE:
   DURATION OF STUDY:

3. DESCRIBE THE PURPOSE/OBJECTIVES/AIMS OF THIS RESEARCH.

4. DESCRIBE THE PROPOSED METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH STUDY.

5. BRIEFLY DESCRIBE THE SAMPLE OF PERSONS TO BE USED IN THE STUDY.

6. DESCRIBE THE METHOD OF RECRUITING SUBJECTS. WILL THERE BE ANY REMUNERATION?

7. WILL THE STUDY INVOLVE ANY PSYCHOLOGICAL MANIPULATIONS, UPSETTING QUESTIONS ETC.?

8. CONSENT PROCEDURES

9. (A) CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY

   (B) STORAGE AND DISPOSAL OF DATA

10. MONETARY SUPPORT

Date _____. Signature _____.

This is The University of Calgary's Application for Ethical Review for research conducted with human participants.

APPENDIX B: RESEARCH PROCESS

1. Select a Topic
2. Determine Problem
3. Review Literature
4. Formulate Hypothesis (if applicable)
5. Define Participants
6. Choose Research Method (the good fit)
7. Obtain Ethics Approval
8. Collect Data
9. Analyze Results
10. Write Report
11. Disseminate Research Findings

Source: Henslin (2001: 37).

APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT

Informed consent should be obtained from the community and from any individuals involved in the research before any questions are asked. The informed consent process should be viewed as continuous from the project's inception to delivery of research findings to the participant(s). In seeking informed consent from participant(s) the researcher must explain:

- the researcher's name;
- the researcher's institutional affiliation;
- the purpose of the research;
- why this particular person/community was contacted to participate in the research;
- sponsors of the research;
- the person in charge;
- who owns the data;
- whether the person/community will remain anonymous (if applicable);
- researcher's steps to ensure confidentiality (if applicable);
- potential benefits to the participating person or community;
- potential harm to the person or community as a result of participating in research;
- how much time you expect to take with data collection;
- participant can refuse to answer any question(s);
- participant can end participation at any time;
- whether quotations will be used in the final report;
- what will be done with the final report;
- who owns the final report;
- what future contact the participant(s) can expect with the researcher; and
- what reporting of results the participant(s) can expect from the researcher.

Once all participants are informed of the above statements, they must consent to continue. In some cases, a signature is required on consent forms. The researcher keeps one and the participant is given the other. However, in other cases, consent can be given verbally.

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Section 1: Identification

1. Band Member _____ 2. Band Number _____
3. Family Name _____ 4. Given Name _____
5. Address: _____

   _____
6. Date of Birth _____
7. Are you now a reserve resident?

   Yes_____ No _____
8. If no to question 7, do you plan to return to the reserve?

   Yes _____ No _____
9. What is your present marital status?

   Married _____ Single _____ Divorced _____Common Law _____ Other _____
10. How many children do you have?

APPENDIX E: CONTRASTING PARADIGMS

	Positivist/ Post-Positivist	**Naturalist or Constructivist**
Nature of reality	There is a single, tangible reality that can be broken apart into pieces that can be studied independently	There are multiple realities that can be studied only holistically
Relationship of knower to known	The observer can be separated from what is observed	The inquirer and the "object" of inquiry interact to influence one another
Possibility of generalization	Time- and context-free generalizations are possible	Only time- and context-bound working hypotheses are possible
Possibility of causal linkages	Every action can be explained as the result of a real cause that precedes the effect (or is at least simultaneous with it)	All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects
Role of values	Inquiry is value-free	Inquiry is value-bound

Source: Adapted from Lincoln and Guba (1985).

APPENDIX F: PRACTICAL ISSUES FOR CONDUCTING RESEARCH

Practical issues to be addressed when considering a research project in an Aboriginal community include the following.

1. Resources
   - How much time do you have to complete the project?
   - How much money do you have to collect data?
   - Will others help with the data collection process?
   - Will others help complete the research process?

2. Access
   - Do you have access to the Aboriginal community?
   - Have you obtained the appropriate credentials? Band council resolutions? Letters of authority?
   - Logistics of physically reaching the research site?

3. Purpose
   - The researcher will choose the method that will be most suitable for obtaining answers to the questions posed.

4. Research Orientation
   - Quantitative researchers place emphasis on precise measurement and the use of statistics and numbers.
   - Qualitative researchers place emphasis on describing and interpreting people's behaviour.

APPENDIX G: TRANSFORMATIVE-EMANCIPATORY QUESTIONS FOR MIXED METHODS RESEARCHERS THROUGHOUT THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Defining the Problem and Searching the Literature

- Did you deliberately search the literature for concerns of diverse groups and issues of discrimination and oppression?
- Did the problem definition arise from the community of concern?
- Did your mixed methods approach arise from spending quality time with these communities (i.e., building trust? Using an appropriate theoretical framework other than a deficit model? Developing questions that lead to transformative answers, such as questions focussed on authority and relations of power in institutions and communities)?

Identifying the Research Design

- Does your research design deny treatment to any groups and respect ethical considerations for participants?

Identifying Data Sources and Selecting Participants

- Are the participants of groups associated with discrimination and oppression?
- Are the participants appropriately labelled?
- Is there recognition of diversity within the target population?
- What can be done to improve the inclusiveness of the sample to increase the probability that traditionally marginalized groups are adequately and accurately represented?

Identifying or Constructing Data Collection Instruments and Methods

- Will the data collection process and outcomes benefit the community being studied?
- Will the research findings be credible to that community?
- Will communication with that community be effective?
- Will the data collection open up avenues for participation in the social change process?

Analyzing, Interpreting, Reporting and Using Results

- Will the results raise new hypotheses?
- Will the research examine sub-groups (i.e., multilevel analyses) to analyze the differential impact on diverse groups?
- Will the results help understand and elucidate power relationships?
- Will the results facilitate social change?

Source: Adapted from Mertens (2003).

APPENDIX H: EIGHT ETHICAL PRINCIPLES FOR ABORIGINAL RESEARCH

1) Aboriginal peoples have an inherent right to participate as principals or partners in research that generates knowledge affecting their culture, identity and well-being. This right is protected by the Canadian Constitution and extends beyond the interests that other groups affected by research might have.

2) The Government of Canada has a fiduciary obligation to guard against infringement of Aboriginal rights in research activities, particularly in institutions and activities for which it is responsible. The appropriateness of particular safeguards must be endorsed by Aboriginal peoples through their representative organizations.

3) Action by the Government of Canada to establish ethical standards of research should strike a balance between regulations that restrict infringement of Aboriginal rights and those that respect the primacy of ethical codes originating in affected communities, including Métis communities.

4) Ethical regulation of research affecting Aboriginal peoples should include protection for "all knowledge, languages, territories, material objects, literary or artistic creations pertaining to a particular Aboriginal Peoples, including objects and forms of expression which may be created or rediscovered in the future based upon their traditions" as cited in emerging international norms.

5) "The federal government, in collaboration with Aboriginal peoples, (should) review its legislation on the protection of intellectual property to ensure that Aboriginal interests and perspectives, in particular collective interests, are adequately protected" (RCAP, 1996b: 601).

6) Development and implementation of ethical standards for Aboriginal research should be in the hands of Aboriginal peoples, as experts in devising minimum standards for general application and as majority members on Aboriginal-specific research ethics boards serving local, regional and national communities.

7) The costs of community consultation, development of research plans, negotiation and implementation of ethical protocols, and skills transfer should be recognized in budget formulas for research grants and project planning whether conducted by researchers internal or external to Aboriginal communities.

8) Responsibility for education of communities and researchers in the ethics of Aboriginal research rests with Aboriginal communities and organizations, government funders, granting agencies, professional associations, research institutions, and individual researchers working collaboratively.

Source: Castellano (2004).

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