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Policy Commissions and Representation of Aboriginal Women Issues: A Case-Study of the New Democratic Party of Canada and the Liberal Party of Canada

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Issues: A Case-Study of the New Democratic Party of Canada and the

Liberal Party of Canada

By

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Policy commissions within Canadian political parties have been under researched; thus, it is unclear if these commissions are the representative mechanisms they claim to be. Specifically, research is lacking on the Aboriginal and women's policy commissions in the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP) and the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) and if these commissions allow for Aboriginal women to contribute to party policy-making. Based on the theories of intersectionality and feminist institutionalism, a gender-based discourse analysis was applied to the policy resolutions of the 2009 NDP Convention and the 2009 LPC Convention. Furthermore, the parties' 2011 electoral platforms were examined to see if the resolutions were integrated. The research found that the policy commissions of the NDP and the LPC do not impact the party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues. Furthermore, party ideology and institutional restraints contributed to the restriction of the policy commissions as policy-making bodies.

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Acronym	Meaning
AANDC	Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development
AFN	Assembly of First Nations
CHRC	Canadian Human Rights Commission
HTO	Hunting and Trapping Organization
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
LPCAPC	Liberal Party of Canada Aboriginal Peoples Commission
LPC	Liberal Party of Canada
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NDPAC	New Democratic Party Aboriginal Commission
NDP	New Democratic Party of Canada
NDPWC	New Democratic Party Women's Council
NWAC	Native Women's Association of Canada
NWLC	National Women's Liberal Commission
RCAP	Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SMP	Single Member Plurality System
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Chapter I – Introduction

Introduction

Aboriginal women face distinct challenges in their daily lives due to their status in Canadian society (Olsen-Harper 2006, 34).[1] Currently, one of the main issues that are bringing more attention to the status of Aboriginal women in Canadian society is the number of missing and murdered Aboriginal women and girls. It is argued that this issue exists due to racism and sexism that persists within Canadian society (Olsen-Harper 2006, 33). According to a report released by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 2014, there were 225 cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women (RCMP, 3). The report further stated that "Aboriginal women are over-represented among Canada's murdered and missing women" (Ibid. 3). This is one example out of numerous issues that predominantly affect Aboriginal women more so than non-Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men (Olsen-Harper 2006, 37). In addition to structuralized violence, Aboriginal women experience lower incomes, higher levels of domestic violence, political marginalization, and discrimination based on their gender and race (Ibid. 33). On average, Aboriginal women annually earned $19,289 (in constant 2010 dollars), compared to Aboriginal men who earned $22, 924 and non-Aboriginal women who earned $24, 842 (Status of Women Canada, 2015). Furthermore, from a survey conducted in 2009, it was reported that approximately six in ten Aboriginal women experienced spousal violence compared to four in ten non-Aboriginal women (Brennan 2011, 5). As shown with these examples, Aboriginal women experience certain challenges in ways that non-Aboriginal women and Aboriginal men do not.

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[1] The term Aboriginal will be used interchangeably to describe the First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples of Canada. This is the term recognized by the Canadian government to describe Canada's Indigenous peoples. However, the more generic term Indigenous will also be used interchangeably throughout the text.

If conditions are to be more favourable and equitable for Aboriginal women, their voices need to be represented in a forum where they hold the power to make a difference. Aboriginal women need to be politically represented in Canadian politics for the sake of policy to be more representative of their needs. In order for this to be achieved, Aboriginal women must have the capacity to participate in policy-making and decision-making rather than merely being present in political positions that hold little to no substantive power. By increasing their representation in politics, Aboriginal women can contribute to institution building that will address their unique needs. Institution building refers to building political and administrative bodies, policy planning, budgeting, and cooperative arrangements that provide practical benefits (Abele and Prince 2006, 583). Specifically, feminist institution building questions

> [h]ow the existing institutions of governance…work in gendered ways and how they can be reformed or redesigned to incorporate gender justice and promote gender equality and women's human rights (Mackay and Waylen 2014, 489).

If Aboriginal women are ignored in the institution building process, then policies run the risk of being inadvertently disadvantageous.

Canadian political parties hold the potential to help increase Aboriginal women's representation by providing them with a forum in which they can be active agents in policy-making and decision-making (White 2013). Political parties hold national conventions which allow electoral district associations and policy commissions to propose policy resolutions that may possibly be integrated into electoral platforms and party policy. By valuing the policy resolutions put forward by policy commissions, political parties give a voice to their grassroots members and can enhance the representation of marginalized groups (Cross and Young 2006, 23). Two of the main

federal political parties in Canada, the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP) and the Liberal Party of Canada (LPC), have established policy commissions. The NDP Constitution states that the commissions were created to "offer a forum for action and information sharing between its members, make outreach to people or groups outside the Party, notably with the intent of recruiting members or candidates to the Party, and contribute to policy development in their area of interest" (NDP Constitution 2013, 10). Furthermore, the LPC Constitution expresses the intention of their commissions by explaining that each commission is responsible "to provide a forum for members of the Commission to have their say and influence the policies and platform of the Party and to encourage involvement in the policy development process of the Party" (LPC Constitution 2014, 32). It should be noted that the commissions also aim to increase the participation of Aboriginal Peoples and women. Thus, there is the potential that the commissions may focus more of their attention on electing Aboriginal and women candidates and increasing Aboriginal and women party membership rather than focusing on policy development. However, the constitutions do not explicitly state that this is the case, and this cannot be known for certain without interviews of the policy commission members. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, it is assumed that policy development is a major goal of the commissions (LPC Constitution 2014, 31; NDP Constitution 2013, 10).

The Liberal Party of Canada Aboriginal Peoples' Commission (LPCAPC) was created in 1990, and the LPC boasts that they were the first political party to officially provide an opportunity for Aboriginal Peoples to be represented in a federal political party ("The APC" Aboriginal Peoples Commission, 2015). It is likely that the

commission was created at this time due to the rise in attention to Aboriginal issues. In March 1990, the Oka Crisis erupted. The Mohawks at Kanesatake set up a blockade to prevent bulldozers from building on native burial grounds. Two years prior to the Oka Crisis, George Erasmus, leader of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) threatened that Aboriginal Peoples would soon be taking action regarding unsettled land claims (CBC News 2001). Not too shortly after, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was established in 1991 to address the unequal relationship between the Canadian government and Canadian Aboriginals (AANDC 2011). The LPCAPC claims that

> [t]hrough the development of Aboriginal policy, through general elections, and through the Aboriginal caucus, the Commission has successfully represented the concerns of Aboriginal Canadians at the party level, thereby increasing Aboriginal participation in the broader political system ("The APC" Aboriginal Peoples Commission, 2015).

The LPCAPC consists of ten women out of eighteen members on their executive council ("APC Executive," Aboriginal Peoples' Commission, 2014). Gender parity is not mandated in their constitution. However, out of two presidents, one must be female. Furthermore, there is a Vice-President for Women position available on the Executive Committee (APC Constitution 2009, 7). The Vice-President for Women is responsible for "develop[ing] policies and programs in respect of Aboriginal women" (APC Constitution 2009, 10).

The New Democratic Party Aboriginal Commission (NDPAC) was created on March 16, 2007 ("About the Commission" NDP Aboriginal Commission 2013). The creation of the NDPAC coincides with the failure of the Kelowna Accord with the election of Stephen Harper as Prime Minister in 2006 (*Kelowna Accord Implementation Act* 2008). The Kelowna Accord was an Aboriginal policy agreement to implement a 10 year plan to "close the gaps" on the disparities between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals

in regards to education, healthcare, housing, employment, and other socioeconomic conditions. The drafting of the accord included negotiations involving the federal government, the provincial/territorial governments, and Aboriginal organizations (Patterson 2006, 1). The intention of the NDPAC is to

> [d]evelop, determine and actively advocate and promote the policy positions of the welcoming environment for the participation of Aboriginal peoples in the operations of the Party; and to pursue structural change within the New Democratic Party to allow for increased aboriginal input and authority in the policy process (NDPAC Constitution 2007, 3).

The NDPAC consists of eight women out of sixteen members on their executive council ("Executive Committee," Canada's New Democrats Aboriginal Commission, 2013). Gender parity is mandated in the NDPAC. This means that at least 50% of the NDPAC Executive Committee must be women (NDPAC Constitution 2007, 6).

The NDP and LPC also have policy commissions specifically targeted for women. Previously known as the NDP Participation of Women Committee, the NDP Women's Council (NDPWC) was created in 1963 (Bashevkin 2011, 19). The establishment of the NDPWC coincides with the rise of attention to women's issues that emerged with second-wave feminism. First-wave feminism focused on women's suffrage, and one of the ideas behind this movement was that women were morally superior to men; therefore, politics would benefit from their participation (Rampton 2014). On the other hand, second-wave feminism focused on the conditions necessary to achieve social equality, such as reproductive rights, and constitutional entrenchment of equality, regardless of sex (Rampton 2014). The second-wave feminist movement mobilization in Canada began in 1970, with the tabling of the final report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women. This inspired the creation of the umbrella organization of organizations known

as the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) in 1972. The goal of NAC was to have the report's recommendations implemented, along with electing more women into legislative positions (Bashevkin 2009, 350). Some examples of the recommendations included equal pay legislation, maternity leave for women employees in Crown Corporations, an increase in the funding of women's voluntary organizations engaged in projects of public interest, and many more (Royal Commission on the Status of Women 1970).

The intention of the NDPWC is to "elect women NDP representatives to Parliament, to develop feminist policy, to support the equality goals of the federal NDP, and to advocate political and social change that will benefit women" (NDP Federal Women's Council Constitution 2013). Furthermore, "the Women's Council is responsible for supporting the development of policy on women's issues on behalf of Canada's NDP" (NDP Federal Women's Council Constitution 2013). As for the National Women's Liberal Commission (NWLC), which is the LPC policy commission for women, it was originally created in 1973 under the name "the Women's Liberal Commission" ("History," NWLC, 2015). Like the NDPWC, the creation of the NWLC coincides with second-wave of feminism in Canada (Bashevkin 2009, 350). One of the goals of the NWLC is to "develop, determine, promote, communicate and disseminate Liberal Party of Canada policy" (NWLC Constitution 2014). Furthermore, they state on their "policy" page that "[they] are determined to bring forth new ideas, exert new pressure and attract more women to political office to help make the case for more progressive and beneficial policies" ("Policy," NWLC, 2015).

This thesis seeks to answer the question of whether or not these commissions impact policy on Aboriginal women's issues, and in turn, if they provide an opportunity for Aboriginal women to meaningfully contribute to party policy-making. Therefore, this research will employ a gender-based discourse analysis of policy resolutions put forward by the NDP and LPC, in view of constructing their electoral platforms in 2011. The discourse of the policy resolutions will be deconstructed, and it will then be determined if the policy resolutions are integrated into the platforms. This will at least determine if Aboriginal women's issues are valued within the NDP and LPC policy commissions, as well as the overall federal parties. Furthermore, the research will provide a foundation to be built upon on how effective Aboriginal and women's policy commissions are for increasing the representation of Aboriginal women in Canadian political parties.

Chapter II – Literature Review

Recent research has indicated that the Canadian party system is changing and becoming increasingly more partisan (Blidook and Byrne 2013; Matthews 2013). This increasing partisanship can lead to adversity among the political parties, which is problematic as this increasing conflict can lead to political distrust and disengagement, thus having the possible consequence of a decline in democratic participation (Blidook and Byrne 2013, 46; Matthews 2013; 232). Furthermore, the demography of the Canadian population is becoming increasingly diverse, and as such, the proportions of minorities, women, and Aboriginals in political institutions do not reflect the Canadian electorate (Andrew et al. 2008, 11). Their lack of representation leads to political marginalization of these groups, and as a result, services, programs, and policies can further exclude these groups if their voices are not incorporated (Andrew et al. 2008, 11). One of the groups that remains considerably marginalized is Aboriginal women (White 2013; Sampert 2013; Ladner 2010). Some scholars argue that political parties can help with the representation of Aboriginal women (Cross and Young 2013; White 2013; Cross and Young 2006) while others argue that political parties have not been helpful or have not done enough to reach out to these groups (Thomas 2013; Sampert 2013).

As explained in the introduction, political party policy commissions are intended to allow typically marginalized groups to influence policy (NDP Constitution 2013; LPC Constitution 2014). It appears from the review of the literature that the capability of policy commissions for incorporating Aboriginal women into party policy-making has not been discussed. Therefore, it remains to be seen if these commissions carry out their designated tasks of allowing members to influence and shape party policy (NDP Constitution 2013, 10; LPC Constitution 2014, 32). As such, this literature review will

explore the literature written on political parties in Canada and how they impact

representation of grassroots members. It will then specifically focus on the barriers for

minority representation, women's representation, and minority women's representation in

Canada. Then the focus will be directed to Aboriginal representation in Canada and the

specific challenge Aboriginal Peoples face for political integration. Finally, the literature

review will examine Aboriginal women's representation in Canada by examining the

barriers they face, the low numbers of Aboriginal women in political institutions, and

potential avenues that have been discussed to increase their representation.

Political Parties and Representation

There are some scholars who argue that Canadian political parties are not suitable

bodies for policy-making because they are too elite-driven, centralized, and do not permit

the participation of grassroots members (Savoie 1999, 642). Some scholars originally

attributed this to the brokerage model (Carty 2006; Carty 2013; LeDuc et al. 2010; Mair

1994). Carty explains that Canadian political parties differ from political parties in other

Western developed countries because the parties were initially designed to blur the

divisions among Canadian society instead of representing a diverse set of interests (2006,

5). These cleavages include the linguistic divide between French and English Canadians,

the religious divide between Catholics and Protestants, and the regional divide between

western Canada, central Canada, and eastern Canada (Gidengil 2012). The Canadian

political parties represent a broad set of national interests, which evolved them into

brokerage parties (Carty 2006, 5; Carty 2013, 12). Brokerage parties seek to appeal to

the entire electorate, and as such, they avoid aligning with specific ideologies (LeDuc et

al. 2010, 33; Mair 1994, 41). Brokerage is an elite activity, and as such, the party

grassroots memberships of brokerage parties do not have opportunities to define the key orientations of these parties (Carty 2006, 6). The brokerage model holds consequences for groups seeking representation through political parties and forces them to seek alternatives to representation and organization. Citizens within brokerage parties often hold power over candidate selection and nominations. However, grassroots members have a more difficult time holding influence over policy questions because this would "constrain the ability of party leaders to broker competing interests" (Carty 2013, 15). LeDuc et al. argue that Canadian political parties have not moved away from the brokerage model because of the diversity of interests and cleavages among the Canadian electorate (2010, 529). If a political party aligned with a single cleavage, they would be destined to fail (LeDuc et al. 2010, 529).

Nevertheless, Carty argues that Canadian political parties are slowly shifting away from the brokerage model, which can change the character of Canadian politics (Carty 2013, 21). Johnston (2013) further expresses that the "marginalization of the Liberals would undermine the traditional Canadian pattern of 'brokerage' politics" (284). Blidook and Byrne (2013) argue that Canadian politics has become more adversarial since the 2004 federal election, meaning that they are characterized by conflict or opposition. This increase in 'adversarialism' can lead to an increase in dissociation from political parties, a decline in political trust, and increased political disengagement. These factors can also lead to a decline in democratic participation (Blidook and Byrne 2013, 46; Matthews 2013; 232). Blidook and Byrne speculate that the increasing partisanship of Canadian political parties is due to the constant threat of elections that have been present during the times of minority governments, with the exception of the current majority Conservative

government (2013, 64). Matthews adds to this by also stating that the merger of two centre-right parties (the Reform Party and the Canadian Alliance) into the Conservative Party of Canada (CPC) has also led to increased partisanship (2013, 233). However, there is also some evidence to suggest a "rise of the right" among Canadian political parties. An example of this is the 2011 federal election. The NDP and CPC platforms undertook a move to the political right while the Liberal platform moved to the political left, which meant that the Liberal platform was more left leaning than the NDP platform (Bittner and Koop 2013, 321). Bittner and Koop explain that

> [i]f we look back and compare the positions of the three major parties in 2011 with those of the past, we see that the governing party and the opposition party were situated farther to the right than they had even been in Canadian political history (2013, 321).

The "rise of the right" can have consequences for minority groups seeking representation. For instance, Goodyear-Grant explains that right-of-centre parties presents barriers to women's representation, as they normally reject a feminist agenda (2013, 131). Nevertheless, the research discussed in this paragraph does align with Carty's claim that Canadian parties are shifting from the brokerage model.

The literature in the previous paragraph suggests that the changing nature of the Canadian political parties, meaning the increase in partisanship, is increasing dissociation from Canadian political parties (Blidook and Byrne 2013, 46; Matthews 2013, 232). Even before this shift, Canadian party members were not satisfied with their ability to influence party policy and have felt that party professionals hold too much say over the policy of the party (Cross and Young 2006, 14). Yet this does not mean that Canadians have given up on engaging with political parties. When parties provide grassroots members with an opportunity to participate in decision-making, Canadians are willing to participate in

political parties (Ibid 22). Cross and Young also found that at the time of their research, 7

in 10 Canadians agreed that there cannot be true democracy without the political parties

(Ibid. 22). As such, Cross and Young argue that policy foundations can allow party

members to assist in developing and studying party policy without "abdicating the

responsibility of the parliamentary party to make final policy decisions" (Ibid. 23). These

policy foundations can allow grassroots members to suggest policy alternatives to be

considered in the policy platforms and to engage in the policy development process (Ibid.

23). They do not provide a specific definition of policy foundations, but they state that

> [f]ormal policy foundations, organized and maintained by the political parties, would
> both provide opportunity for grassroots members to influence a party's policy direction
> and act as an ongoing policy resource for the parliamentary party (Ibid. 1).

From this statement, it is assumed that policy commissions can fall within this spectrum,

but it is uncertain if Cross and Young would include the political party policy

commissions within their definition of policy foundations. Nonetheless, policy

foundations can generate new ideas outside of the media glare and can undertake a

longer-term policy planning process that focuses on issues that exclude the hot current

issues (Ibid. 24). Canadian political parties are criticized for a lack of detailed and diverse

policy and for not engaging their party members. Policy foundations can entice new

members to a party and can fulfil the true purpose of political parties: providing a link

between civil society and government (Ibid. 25). Cross and Young raise the normative

argument that policy foundations can be the solution to the growing disengagement

Canadians have with political parties (Ibid. 1). Due to the speculated increasing political

disengagement that was previously discussed, it is important to discern whether or not the

policy commissions carry out their designated tasks: to allow members to influence the

policies of the political parties. Andrew et al. explain the emerging questions of

representation in Canada, and express that

> [t]he debate in Canada appears to be changing, driven by worries about growing political disaffection, particularly among young Canadians, and also by rapid changes in the country's demography, particularly in larger urban centres (2008, 11).

The next section will explore the literature on minority representation in Canada and how

the Canadian political parties have engaged minority Canadians within the parties. Due

to the changing Canadian demography and declining political engagement, questions

about the extent and quality of representation are being raised and if the presence of

particular groups in elected offices, such as minorities, are proportionate to their

respective populations (Andrew et al. 2008, 11). This is important to consider because

"group underrepresentation or absence from the decision-making ranks, in which

policies, programs, and services are established can be a factor in that group's

marginalization…" (Ibid 11).

Political Parties and Minority Representation

It is argued that in the Canadian context, political parties still have a role to play

in representing minority interests (Carty et. al 2000, 107). Minority groups have

successfully pressured Canadian political parties to change their internal democratic

system so that it is more open (Carty et. al 2000, 107). Parties benefit from these practices

because it helps to attract voters and retain activists (Harell 2013, 144; Carty et. al 2000,

107). The political attitudes of the Canadian electorate are shifting gradually, and parties

have to accommodate for this change. A number of Canadians are beginning to adopt an

anti-elite sentiment and want more involvement in the decision-making over their daily

matters (Carty et. al 2000, 108). As such, political parties are beginning to undertake

reforms to become more open (Carty et. al 2000, 108). These reforms are beginning, as the three major Canadian political parties, the CPC, the NDP, and the LPC, have all made efforts to include ethnic minorities into candidacies through recruitment processes (Black 2008, 250; Bird 2005, 453). Including minority candidates can be beneficial for political parties if they feel that it will attract minority voters, thus providing an incentive (Black 2008, 240). Including minority candidates can also make the parties appear more inclusive, which makes for a more appealing image to voters (Ibid. 240). Making images more appealable can also help political parties become more electorally competitive, as the demography of the Canadian electorate now includes more minority voters (Ibid. 240).

It is also common for the federal parties to become involved in "local" processes for candidate selection, shifting away from the previous trend of local associations acting as candidate "gatekeepers" (Cross and Young 2013, 26). Local associations have been more likely to elect notable members of the community as candidates while the federal parties will elect more female candidates or candidates who have traditionally not been involved with the political party. This is because the federal parties have become more aware of being reflective of the diversity of the Canadian electorate (Cross and Young 2013, 43; Bittner and Koop 2011, 441; Andrew et al. 2008, 264). However, there are barriers minorities have to contest with when seeking representation. Although party leadership in federal parties are making more efforts to recruit ethnic minority candidates, Bittner and Koop found that "parachuted" visible minority candidates, meaning candidates selected by the central organization of the party, are not any more likely to be placed in a high-profile position than candidates selected at the local level (2011, 449).

As previously noted, if minorities are excluded from the decision-making ranks, this can create policies that exclude their needs (Andrew et al. 2008, 267).

Furthermore, established officials within parties may be hesitant to share their power or may be indifferent to the claims of minority groups (Black 2008, 239). Black speculates that "through a variety of means and practices, variously discriminatory or exclusionary in nature, minorities can be neglected, made to feel unwelcome or subtly discriminated against" (Ibid 239). Moreover, Bird found that minority voters often feel disconnected to their members of parliament (2012, 530). When she conducted interviews in Toronto, many respondents indicated that minority candidates appeared more concerned with winning elections than representing their constituents (Ibid. 530). Like minorities, women in Canada also remain underrepresented in Canadian politics (Andrews et al. 2008, 257). The next section will discuss the literature on women's political representation, which addresses the low numbers of women in Canadian politics and the barriers they face for representation.

Women's Political Representation

One of the major themes in the academic literature on women's political representation is the discussion between descriptive representation and substantive representation. Descriptive representation refers to how many women are present in political institutions (Grey 2006, 492). It has been speculated by some scholars that as descriptive representation increases, substantive representation will also increase, meaning that more women-friendly policy will emerge (Dahlerup 2007, 74; Grey 2006, 492). When women are elected, they are expected to "act for" women as a whole (Grey

2006, 493). Dahlerup (1988) originally used the term "critical mass" to hypothesize that an increase in feminist policy and substantive representation would occur when women had 30 percent of seats within legislatures (Dahlerup 1988, 276). She explains that at 15 percent, women are used as 'tokens' and do not have the ability to implement any substantive change. However, once the number exceeds 30 percent, the group size is large enough to exert influence (Ibid. 276; Dahlerup 2006, 512).

However, Dahlerup acknowledged that "critical acts" made more of an impact on women's substantive representation than "critical mass." She defined the necessary critical acts into six aspects: changes in the performance of women politicians, changes in the perceptions of women politicians, changes in political discourse, changes in the political culture, changes of policy, and the empowerment of women (Dahlerup 2006, 513). Furthermore, Dahlerup affirms that the "critical mass" theory applies for women carrying out tasks within parliament. If they are a minority (between 15 to 30 percent), they may meet more resistance towards the individual tasks they seek to employ (Ibid. 519).

The "critical mass theory" is not without its limitations. Too much focus on the numbers of women in politics can ignore other dynamics such as power relations and how this affects the ability of women to act for women (Grey 2006, 498). Female elected officials can be subject to conflicting expectations. They may be expected to make a difference once elected, but they also do not want to be seen as only representing women's interests (Ibid. 493). Electoral systems also impact the critical mass of women, as proportional representation systems generally elect higher percentages of female parliamentarians than majority systems (Everitt 2013, 93; Tremblay and Mévellec 2013,

26-27; Tremblay 2006, 503). In addition, "critical mass" may hold little effect over policy

outcomes because few numbers of women can still have an impact while a large number

of women may lack the motivation to implement change through policy (Dahlerup 2006,

520; Childs and Krook 2006, 527). This is because a large number of women could

provoke a backlash from male legislators or because the higher numbers can allow for

individual women to seek other policy goals (Childs and Krook 2006, 523). Furthermore,

women are not a cohesive group, as there are "cross-cutting identity worldviews" that

affect women's perspectives (Grey 2006, 493). Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers argue that

increasing the number of women in legislatures can possibly be damaging for minority

women. It is possible that

> [a]n increase in women's sheer numbers could increase the partisan, ethnic, and racial
> heterogeneity of elected women in a legislature with potential concomitant increases in
> party discipline, dividing women by party, potentially provoking tensions involving the
> necessary constructions of cross-race, cross-ethnicity alliances among women (Ibid. 554).

Tremblay (2006) suggests that "a critical mass of female surrogate representatives of

women can support but in no way guarantee the substantive representation of women…"

(509). Nevertheless, the low number of women in Canadian politics warrants further

research on the barriers women experience for representation.

There is a variety of research that explores both barriers to women's

representation and possible methods to increase the low numbers within Canada.

Scholars have examined the role Canadian political parties contribute to increasing the

political representation of women (Young 2013, 264; Praud 2013; 55; Cheng and Tavits

2011, 468). Political ideology has been found as a significant factor in how well women

are represented in political parties (Goodyear-Grant 2013, 134; Praud 2013, 55; Cheng

and Tavits 2011, 460). For instance, since 1991, the British Columbia provincial

government has made numerical gains in women representatives. Praud attributes this to the British Columbia NDP party that challenged opposing parties to recruit more women and implemented its own initiatives to increase the number of women (2013, 55). However, Carbert argues that party ideology is not always an explanatory factor (2006, 5). Her studies show that among rural ridings, fewer women were elected, regardless of which party won the riding. She cited little difference between the CPC and the LPC in electing female candidates among rural ridings (Ibid. 5). As such, other factors should be taken into consideration when researching the lack of women's political representation in Canada.

The 'instrumentalization' of women has led political parties to select women candidates as a method for gaining more votes among women in Canada. Goodyear-Grant defines this as a method where "women are used strategically by political actors for instrumental gain" (Goodyear-Grant 2013, 119). The use of this method is amplified when electoral competition among parties is fierce (Goodyear-Grant 2013, 125-126). However, women are more likely to be in contested candidacy campaigns, which suggest that some nomination contests may act as gatekeepers to restrict women from participating (Thomas 2013, 229). Women are also more likely to be selected as a candidate in unwinnable ridings. For the 2011 election, 60% of women ran in an electoral riding that was dominated by another party's stronghold (Thomas 2013, 229). Thomas and Bodet found in their research that women are more likely to be used as "sacrificial lambs" in a riding if the opposing party holds a stronghold in the riding (Thomas and Bodet 2013, 154). A "sacrificial lamb" refers to candidates that are placed in a riding where the party is not expected to win. This remains relevant for nearly every political

party in Canada (Ibid. 163). Incumbency has also been identified as a barrier to women's

political representation. Representatives have the option to seek re-election, and they

have a number of assets available to help them achieve this task, such as a strong network

of contacts or name recognition (Tremblay and Mévellec 2013, 27-28). What is

significant about this is that incumbents are mostly men (Tremblay and Mévellec 2013,

28).

Institutional barriers are not the only obstacle Canadian women need to overcome

to achieve political representation. The levels of political participation among Canadian

women also remain problematic. If women's levels of confidence to participate in politics

remains low, then their voices will remain marginalized, and as such, their representation

will remain limited (Gidengil et. al 2008, 558). The gender gap refers to the differences

between men and women in regards to their confidence for participating in politics.

Specifically, the gap symbolizes the low levels of political participation among women

and the higher rates of participation among men (Ibid. 538-539). The gender gap cannot

be explained in terms of education, since women are just as likely as men to possess a

university degree, and young women's educational attainment exceeds young men's

attainment (Thomas 2012, 337). Furthermore, from 1976 to 2008, women's labour force

participation increased from 37 percent to 47 percent (Ibid. 337). Moreover,

socioeconomic resources are not an explanatory factor because even when men had poor

economic resources, they were still more confident to participate in politics than women

(Ibid. 352). The "double day" hypothesis, meaning taking care of children and working

outside the home" also cannot explain the gender gap (Ibid. 352). The persistence of the

gender gap is significant because if women lack confidence in their political abilities,

they risk not being able to effectively communicate their needs to government or

participate in politics (Ibid. 338). If women do not become politically integrated, their

representation will remain low (Gidengil et al. 2008 558).

Looking at women's political participation in Canadian political parties,

Bashevkin's research examines 'stage' level barriers, meaning institutional barriers, and

'actor' level barriers, which refers to individual-level variables (2009, 111). She states

that 'stage' level barriers held more of an impact on the candidacies of female party

leaders and their success, as she explains that

> [f]emale contenders were more successful in parties that were progressive, open to
> feminist interests, politically uncompetitive, and welcoming to women activists than in
> their mirror opposites… (2009, 111).

She further argues that 'actor' level variables were not as applicable, as the

candidates were well-educated, well-financed, and confident (Ibid. 111). This research

demonstrates that political parties can impose institutional barriers on women seeking

elite-level participation (Bashevkin 2009, 121). As shown with the literature, Canadian

women still face numerous barriers for their representation, and this area of research is far

from being complete. The next section will elaborate on the barriers of women's political

representation by acknowledging that minority women face barriers to political

integration that majority women do not encounter.

Minority Women's Representation

Although all women experience barriers to political representation, minority

women face even greater barriers due to western societies being constructed along the

intersections of white and male privilege (Ku 2008, 166). Hughes discusses the

importance of minority women's representation as she argues gaining seats in legislature

can contribute to their empowerment (Hughes 2013, 490). Compared to their share of the

population, minority women are underrepresented in national legislatures globally (Ibid.

490). Because of the "double disadvantage" minority women face due to their race and

gender, it is more difficult for them to get involved in high positions of power in politics

(Ibid. 492). This remains relevant in Canada, as shown with O'Neill, Gidengil, and

Young's research (2012, 186). Some scholars argue that culture can be the reason for

why ethnic minority women have difficulties being politically integrated. They argue that

traditional gender roles from the cultures they derive from can lead ethnic minority

women to avoid politics. However, O'Neill et al. argue that the majority of countries

Canada receives immigrants from do not have cultures that value traditional gender

norms (Ibid. 187). Nevertheless, since Canada's immigration policy is based on a points

system reliant on education and employment, many immigrant families come to Canada

based on the male breadwinner while minority immigrant women come as a dependant

(Ibid. 187). As such, many minority women will take traditionally female-oriented jobs,

and most of their energy will be exerted on these jobs along with raising their families.

Therefore, they usually do not have the ability to continue with education in order to find

higher-skilled jobs, which can help lead to political integration (Ibid. 187).

On the other hand, if women have been educated in their home countries, their

education in Canada is often unvalued (Ku 2009, 78; Ku 2008, 167). Ethnic minority

women and immigrant women are less likely to participate in conventional political

activities than native-born majority women due to the socioeconomic factors discussed

above (O'Neill et. al 2012, 193). In addition to socioeconomic barriers, issues of

legitimacy are also a struggle minority women encounter. Ethnic minority women

struggle with patriarchal constraints that construct their identities as "western feminist," thus delegitimizing their authenticity to represent their respective ethnic communities (Ku 2009, 67-68). As will be elaborated on in the Aboriginal women's representation section of this literature review, this is also a struggle that Aboriginal women are inclined to navigate. The above research generalizes minority women's representation, and as a result, it does not explicitly examine Aboriginal women's political representation. The next section will discuss the research that has been conducted on Aboriginal political representation in Canada before discussing Aboriginal women's representation specifically.

Aboriginal Representation

There is a specific debate that examines how Canadian political structures affect Aboriginal Peoples' representation. Many scholars acknowledge that Canadian political structures disadvantage Aboriginals, but while some propose nation-to-nation status to be the only solution to the inequality that political structures have imposed on Aboriginal Peoples in Canada (Ladner 2010, 68; Uribe 2006, 3; Kymlicka 1995, 143), others argue that Aboriginals should be incorporated into Canadian political structures in order to solve this inequality (Williams 2005, 38; Knight 2001, 1166; Cairns 2000, 212). As such, the debate between Aboriginal separation from the Canadian state and representation in Canadian political structures is a common theme among the literature of Aboriginal representation. Cairns, Williams, and Knight are among the scholars who argue that including Aboriginals into Canadian political structures can be beneficial to both Aboriginals and Canada as a whole (Williams 2005, 38; Knight 2001, 1166; Cairns 2000, 212). Knight argues that if Aboriginals have a place in Canadian political institutions, it

will not remedy the damage of the past, but it will provide a forum for deliberation that can be used to improve the lives of Aboriginal Peoples (2001, 1166). Furthermore, Williams argues that Canadians and First Nations are bound together by interdependence since the two communities "have been thrown together by circumstances of history" (2005, 41). As a result, Williams further argues that Canada and First Nations should be pursuing both self-government and political representation simultaneously (Ibid. 38).

However, not all Aboriginals agree with this sentiment. It is important to note that Canada's Aboriginal population is quite diverse, as Aboriginals may identify as First Nations (either with or without registered Indian status), Métis, or Inuit (Statistics Canada 2011). Within these three Aboriginal factions, there are at least 65 Aboriginal ethnic groups (University of Ottawa). As a result, there will be differing opinions among Aboriginals and Aboriginal nations regarding their governance. Some Aboriginals feel that if they are to obey the state, they will lose their independence, and as a result, assimilation will occur (Uribe 2006, 3). Furthermore, research has demonstrated that Aboriginal participation in Canadian political structures is low because various treaty nations have rejected offers of Canadian citizenship and electoral participation, as they feared this would remove their sovereignty and nationhood (Ladner and McCrossan 2007, 21). Some Aboriginals question the legitimacy of the state, and as such, have turned away from identifying as Canadian and instead identifying with their respective nation (Ibid. 23). As a result, some scholars argue that self-government reserves the right for Aboriginals to move away from the authority of the Canadian state rather than join it, and this is the best option for Aboriginal peoples (Kymlicka 1995, 143; Ladner 2010, 68). However, Knight argues that theoretically, this argument makes sense, but realistically

this argument is not compatible with the realities of Canadian federalism (2001, 1095). Cairns further argues that even if Aboriginal reserves were to gain national status, they would still remain in Canada, and there would still be Aboriginals outside of the reserves (2000, 168). According to Williams, if Aboriginals are to have fair political representation, they must be present in legislative bodies (2005, 26). Aboriginals can make suggestions for change based on their lived experiences (Ibid. 26). Williams believes that until housing, education, and health care provision are secured for Aboriginals, they should hold a strong interest in securing representation within Canadian politics (Ibid. 46).

Aboriginal Peoples remain politically underrepresented in Canadian political institutions. For example, Sampert found in her research of Calgary and Edmonton that although Edmonton has a higher urban Aboriginal population than Calgary, both cities did not have any Aboriginal representatives elected (2008, 106). She assumes that this is the case since they have lower education attainment rates than non-Aboriginals, which alters their chances of gaining employment. Also, since there are expenses associated with campaigns, low incomes among Aboriginals can affect their ability to run for office (Ibid. 106). Other factors that impede upon Aboriginal representation are their overrepresentation in prisons and their high homeless population (Ibid. 106). O'Neill and Wesley also found evidence of poverty and lack of resources imposing on the ability of Aboriginals to gain political representation in Winnipeg (2008, 223). However, they also found that Aboriginals in Winnipeg are more likely to turn to Aboriginal leaders than municipal, provincial, and federal representatives to voice their political priorities and interests (Ibid. 223).

Garcea further discusses barriers to Aboriginal representation in his case studies on Regina and Saskatoon. Although Aboriginals "constitute approximately 10 percent of the combined population in these two cities" only 2 percent were elected as municipal, provincial, or federal electives (Ibid. 170). One of the speculated reasons for this is that Aboriginals have historically been excluded from political institutions in these two cities since the province's existence (Ibid. 170). Northern Saskatchewan has had more Aboriginal electoral success and is classified as the "Northern Administrative District," where 80 percent of the population is Aboriginal. As such, it is likely that Aboriginals have been more successful here due to the high Aboriginal population (Ibid. 170).

Their low representation is not as a result of apathy. Aboriginal organizations and activists in these two cities have written in Aboriginal newspapers (*Saskatchewan Sage and Eagle Feather News*), in Regina's *Leader Post,* and Saskatoon's *Star Phoenix* about the need to increase Aboriginal participation in politics not only as voters, but as candidates and elected representatives (Ibid. 172). What is interesting to note about the Saskatchewan case is that they have Aboriginal provincial political parties who have been active in the past. The Aboriginal Peoples' Party ran candidates in 1982 and the First Nations Party ran candidates in 2001 (Ibid. 176). However, the Aboriginal Peoples' Party was unsuccessful with electing candidates and garnering support, as no candidates were elected and they only had 0.22 percent of the votes casted for that election (Ibid. 176). Furthermore, the First Nations Party only received 2 percent of the votes casted for the 2001 election, and as a result, they disbanded (Ibid. 176). This research indicates that Aboriginals are not opposed to using political parties to increase their representation, but

the creation of new political parties can arguably show some dissatisfaction with the current political parties for representing their needs.

Some scholars have sought to determine whether or not the tripartite relationship between the federal government, provincial/territorial governments, and Aboriginal leaders is effective in increasing Aboriginal representation. Herbert argues that Canada currently holds a tripartite relationship that does not recognize the rights of Aboriginal Peoples (2009, 4). He explains that provincial and federal governments only provide funding for Aboriginal Peoples if it falls within government models. In other words, funding is provided only for non-Aboriginal solutions to Aboriginal problems (Ibid. 9). According to Herbert, this is a failure of the current tripartite relationship. Unlike Herbert, Dalton argues that the tripartite relationship between the federal government, provincial/territorial governments, and Aboriginal Peoples is working well. Comprehensive agreements are reached that are inclusive, allow participation in environmental management, and provide economic development responsibilities and rights, resource revenue sharing support, as well as financial compensation (Dalton 2006, 29).

Dalton argues that the tripartite agreements give Aboriginal peoples the tools necessary for self-determination (Ibid. 29). She further argues that success for negotiations is dependent on the government in power and their approach to Aboriginal policy (Ibid. 31). She provides the example of the LPC and the Kelowna Accord and how it was negotiated between Aboriginal leaders, the federal government, and provincial/territorial governments (Ibid. 31). Canada's constitutional federal fiduciary responsibility to Aboriginal Peoples could potentially heighten the need for political

parties to address Aboriginal concerns. However, it appears that there is no literature to support this claim; therefore, it must be taken as speculation. The fiduciary responsibility is recognized under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* jurisprudence rather than affirmed within the written constitution itself (Richez 2014, 28). Nevertheless, the provision elaborates that

> [t]he Government has the responsibility to act in a fiduciary capacity with respect to [A]boriginal [P]eoples. The relationship between the Government and aboriginals is trust-like, rather than adversarial, and contemporary recognition and affirmation of aboriginal rights must be defined in light of this historic relationship (Hurley 2002).

This research focuses on Aboriginal political representation as a whole rather than acknowledging the specific challenges Aboriginal women face in regards to representation. As such, the next section will emphasize the literature on Aboriginal women's political representation.

Aboriginal Women's Political Representation

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) conducted in the 1990s was a positive outlet for Aboriginal women. The Commission researched and highlighted key issues that Aboriginal women are directly affected by, such as domestic and sexual violence, social denigration, and the need for protection of their rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Fiske and Browne 2006, 95). The Commissioners recognized the need for Aboriginal women to become more involved in the healing and health institutions of Aboriginal communities, and this seemed "to signal a new respect for Aboriginal women as citizens entitled to democratic participation in their own governance" (Ibid. 95). However, these recommendations have not been incorporated into federal policy or practice (Ibid. 95).

Furthermore, the succeeding commission, the Romanow Commission (2001), failed to address the specific needs of Aboriginal women (Ibid. 96). Many of the concerns Aboriginal women had about their health that were addressed in the RCAP had been dismissed with the Romanow Commission. Aboriginal women had only been mentioned three times within the Commission (Ibid. 96). Furthermore, the Commission maintained gender neutrality by constantly referring to Aboriginal peoples, erasing the gender specific needs of Aboriginal women (Ibid. 96). While RCAP acknowledged structural challenges, the Romanow Commission did not. Commissioners for the RCAP explained that it would be best for Aboriginal governments to include more women in initiatives since Aboriginal women are already heavily involved in community-based projects (Ibid. 96-97). This demonstrates the benefits of incorporating Aboriginal women into policy discussions and the disadvantages that are imposed on Aboriginal women when their voices are excluded. According to Tremblay, there are two reasons why there has been a lack of Aboriginal women's representation in Canadian federal and provincial governments: Aboriginal women have been reluctant to join and the governments have not made efforts to invite them (2003). As previously mentioned, some Aboriginals hold a nation-to-nation vision with an idea of self-government that works with the Canadian federal government, which would explain their reluctance to integrate into Canadian political structures (Tremblay 2003; Ladner 2010, 68).

On the surface, Aboriginal women hold a prominent presence in Northern politics. All three territories have had an Aboriginal woman premier: Pat Duncan in Yukon Territory, Nellie Cournoyea in Northwest Territories, and Eva Aariak, in Nunavut (White 2013, 233). However, the number of Aboriginal women representatives in the northern

territories is deceiving. For example, all of the women elected in Nunavut have been

Aboriginal, but this is not surprising due to Nunavut's overwhelming Aboriginal

population, with over 80 percent of the population being Aboriginal (Ibid. 238). Since

Nunavut has split from the Northwest Territories, no Aboriginal women have been

elected to Northwest Territories' major legislative assembly. Before the separation, three-

quarters of a dozen women elected to the assembly were Aboriginal (Ibid. 238).

Institutional barriers for lack of Aboriginal women in politics are less of an explanation in

the territories than the provinces. Relegating women to "unwinnable ridings" usually

does not occur frequently in the territories. Without parties, any eligible candidate can run

with as little as fifteen signatures (Ibid. 246).

Moreover, the theory of political parties restricting women from being represented

in politics does not apply to the territories. An example of this is in the Yukon, where

political parties dominate and women's representation holds a somewhat higher

proportion than the other territories (Ibid. 246). White speculates that the absence of

parties may actually contribute to the under representation of Aboriginal women since

parties can play a role in recruiting, training, encouraging, and supporting candidates

(Ibid. 246). However, Sampert's case study of Manitoba's 2011 provincial election

depicts a different perspective. She argues that the provincial NDP, Liberal, PC, and

Green parties all took note of increasing the diversity of their electorate (2013, 82). The

top there parties ran at least 10 percent of visible minority candidates (Ibid. 82).

Regardless, only one minority woman was elected, and the picture for Aboriginal women

was more discouraging. The Manitoba Liberal Party ran the highest number of Aboriginal

candidates at 18 percent, followed by 7 percent for the NDP and 5 percent for the

Progressive Conservative Party, but none of these candidates were Aboriginal women, and as such, an Aboriginal woman has not been elected into the Manitoba Legislature to date (Ibid. 82). Furthermore, it is argued that Aboriginal women will have more trouble being selected as a candidate in a political party than non-Aboriginal women since they experience the combined weight of racism and sexism (Ibid. 2013, 225; Tremblay 2003). Nevertheless, political parties' role in increasing Aboriginal women's representation should not be completely discounted since as shown with White's research, there are circumstances where political parties are absent, and the numbers of Aboriginal women in politics is still low (Trimble et al. 2013, 309).

There is an ongoing debate among Aboriginal women about how to overcome colonialism, sexism, and racism that is entrenched in both colonial and local government structures. Some women argue that regardless of the violence and inequality that has encapsulated most Indigenous governance structures, returning to precolonial traditions is the best method for the racism and colonialism that has been entrenched to be removed (Monture-Angus 1995, 179; Turpel 1993, 179). This argument advocates that women were held in a higher esteem before colonialism, and Aboriginal communities also held a different perspective on gender that differed from the European perspectives. For instance, Aboriginal women held rights to property and pursued more masculine roles, such as hunters and warriors (Ladner 2010, 73). However, not all Aboriginal women agree that returning to precolonial governance structures will automatically erase the sexism and racism that has been entrenched in Aboriginal communities. Green argues that sexism has become so established in Indigenous communities that it is unlikely that oppression and domination over Indigenous women will cease to exist (2007, 22-23).

Due to years of colonialism, Aboriginal Peoples are now "subject to western ideologies of gender identities and relationships" (St. Denis 2007, 41). Green is further skeptical about the traditional gender relations being equal and urges Aboriginal thinkers to consider who created and shaped the traditions. She also stresses that not all Aboriginals may identify with traditions and that Aboriginal feminists should strive for an "inclusive future" (Green 2007, 27, 28). Nevertheless, which side of the debate Aboriginal women fall upon will determine their engagement with federal governance structures (Ladner 2010, 74).

Hipwell et al. argue that it is important to provide forums where Aboriginal women can have their voices heard because many band councils have become male-dominated due to the implementation of the patriarchal Indian Act, and as such, women's voices are often marginalized (2002, 12). Regardless, it is possible for Aboriginal women seeking to influence policy to find opportunities through multilevel governance (Ladner 2010, 69). However, simply adding Aboriginal women to governance structures is not enough to increase their representation, as legal processes need to be reflective of their unique needs (Marchetti 2008, 170). Ladner contends that some Aboriginal organizations, such as the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC), "are increasingly identified as creating opportunities for positive gender-based change and women-friendly policy" (Ibid. 81). She elaborates that NWAC as a political organization is more than just a social movement or lobby group. NWAC and its provincial counterparts claim to represent all Aboriginal women (First Nations and Métis), and as a result, "they see themselves as [a quasi-government] which can negotiate on behalf of constituent members and develop policy initiatives…" (Ibid. 81). Ladner argues that NWAC is more

representative of Aboriginal women than the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) because the AFN represents band council chiefs who opposed the reinstatement of status to Aboriginal women who had lost their status under the "sexist provisions" of the Indian Act (Ibid. 81). However, this is changing since the AFN has recently advocated for a *gender-based analysis plus* for their policy, with the plus referring to the need to address other genders and diversities within First Nations (Ibid. 81). Regardless, NWAC can serve as an access point for Aboriginal women to enter into the policy process (Ibid. 81)

Another organization that was considered to hold potential to increase Aboriginal women's representation was the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC). NAC was originally established in 1972 but was reformed in 1990 in an attempt to be more inclusive (Nadeau 2009, 33). This change occurred because NAC was under constant scrutiny for reinforcing white feminist institutional practices and excluding women of colour (Ibid. 33). As a result,

> NAC's constitution was revised to incorporate an 'anti-racist, anti-heterosexist' agenda; an internal affirmative action policy was implemented at all levels; and multi-racial national politics (while contested) was adopted to re-centre the participation of Aboriginal women and women of colour (Nadeau 2009, 33).

This shift has shown some promising results for increasing the representation of Aboriginal women. Blahey explains that from 1996 to 2003, there were four Aboriginal women that sat on the executive of NAC (2003, 159). This number was still relevant in 2009, but this was the most recent confirmed number that could be found since NAC now ceases to exist (Collier 2014; Blahey 2009). Furthermore, Blahey recognized that collaborating with NAC provided strategies to "carry out anti-racism work and to deliver our feminist and decolonization message to various cabinet ministers, social justice seeking groups, and Aboriginal leaders" (Blahey 2003, 159). Although NAC could not

fully claim that they were truly a multi-racial organization (Nadeau 2009, 45), their efforts to be more inclusive provide insight on the benefits of attempts to include minority women, particularly Aboriginal women. However, due to the rise in neoliberal ideology, a shift towards decentralized federalism, as well as a lack of funding and support from the federal government, NAC eventually dismantled (Collier 2014, 26). Power over social policy was shifted towards provincial and territorial governments, which led to grave difficulties for NAC to mobilize women across Canada (Ibid. 26). As such, although NAC may have held the potential to help represent Aboriginal women, this is no longer the case.

Summary

As demonstrated with this literature review, there is still room for progress in increasing the political representation of women, minorities, and Aboriginal Peoples. Out of all of these groups, Aboriginal women have the lowest rates of political representation (White 2013; Sampert 2013). There are some scholars who argue that Aboriginal women may wish to seek other avenues for representation since they do not wish to associate with colonial governance structures (Ladner 2010; Monture-Angus 1995; Turpel 1993). On the other hand, there are scholars who advocate that Aboriginal women should be striving for an inclusive future in order to transcend colonialism and patriarchy that has been entrenched in Aboriginal communities. This viewpoint further argues that returning to precolonial traditional governance structures will not further Aboriginal women (Green 2007; St. Denis 2007). As such, the literature can benefit from additional research regarding possible methods to empower Aboriginal women, and their integration into Canadian politics could be further explored. There are some scholars who discount

political parties as venues for increasing Aboriginal women's representation (Sampert 2013; Tremblay 2003). However, there are also scholars who argue that the role of political parties should not be reduced, as there are circumstances where political parties can be beneficial for increasing Aboriginal women's representation (White 2013; Trimble et al. 2013). As a result, this paper will explore if policy commissions in the NDP and LPC carry out their intended goals, as outlined in their party constitutions, of providing a forum for marginalized members to influence policy (NDP Constitution 2013; LPC Constitution 2014). Specifically, this paper will discern if the policy commissions enable Aboriginal women to participate in meaningful policy-making.

Chapter III – Methodology

The literature on political parties addresses the changing political climate among Canadian political parties, as they arguably shift from the brokerage model to increasing partisanship (Carty 2013; Matthews 2013; Blidook and Byrne 2013). It has been argued that the increasing partisanship can lead to political disengagement, which can hold consequences for Canadian grassroots seeking representation (Blidook and Byrne 2013, 46; Matthews 2013; 232).   This can be problematic because as shown with the previously discussed research, women, minorities, and Aboriginals face institutional barriers for political representation, and as such, the numbers of political representation are lower among these groups (Goodyear-Grant 2013; Thomas 2013; Tremblay and Mévellec 2013; Bird 2012; Bashevkin 2009; Andrew et al. 2008; Black 2008; Garcea 2008; O'Neill and Wesley 2008; Sampert 2008). However, Aboriginal women face the lowest levels of political representation due to racism and sexism that has been entrenched in Canadian society (White 2013; Sampert 2013; Tremblay 2003). Although the previously discussed research has explored various reasons for why Aboriginal women experience low levels of political representation, more research in this area could be beneficial in determining how Aboriginal women can be best represented in Canadian political structures. It appears that the research has yet to address if the Canadian political parties allow Aboriginal women to influence policy through their policy commissions. As a result, this thesis will add to the literature to ultimately determine if the policy commissions carry out their designated tasks as outlined in their respective party constitutions: to allow women and Aboriginals to impact party policy (NDP Constitution 2013; LPC Constitution 2014)

Research Question

The main research question of this thesis is the following: do the NDP Aboriginal Commission, the NDP Federal Women's Council, the LPC Aboriginal Peoples' Commission, and/or the National Women's Liberal Commission significantly impact the parties' policy platform on Aboriginal women's issues? From here, the research this thesis will undertake to also answer the following sub-questions:

- Are the policy commissions more likely than other NDP and LPC associations (riding associations, provincial committees) to impact policy on Aboriginal women's issues?
- Are the policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues integrated into the electoral platforms?

Asking these research questions will not only analyse the overall effectiveness of policy commissions as policy-making bodies, but this research will start to answer the question of the capacity that Aboriginal women within the policy commissions possess to influence policy. By comparing the effectiveness of the commissions to other riding associations or committees within the NDP and LPC who have proposed resolutions relating to Aboriginals, women, or Aboriginal women, it will determine if the policy commissions are more likely to propose and influence policy relating to these issues.

Theoretical Approaches

This thesis will be based upon the theories of intersectionality and feminist institutionalism. Intersectionality notes that women's experiences vary across time and context since their experiences are socially constructed (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers

2007, 554). Due to race, class, and effects of colonialism, women may live in the same society but not necessarily share the same interests (Ibid. 555). Intersectionality acknowledges that using gender as a single analytical category is problematic, and there are various relationships "among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (McCall 2005, 1). It is important to consider that racialization and class conceptualize the understanding of gender, and white and male privilege directly impacts oppressions based on race and gender (Ku 2008, 166). Women of colour are conflicted between two different groups with different political agendas. These women experience intersectional disempowerment that men of colour or white women do not encounter. The discourses of antiracism and feminism are limited since they often define the experiences of racism along the intersection of men of colour and sexism along the experiences of white women, without acknowledging that women of colour experience racism and sexism differently (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). Issues relating to women of colour cannot be examined on one level. For example, women of colour often require housing to escape violence because they are more likely to live in poverty or be burdened with child-care (Crenshaw 1991, 1245). Therefore, efforts to increase women's representation without incorporating intersectional affirmative action policies may result in politics being dominated by white, upper class women. If this is the case, the experiences of women of colour, lower-class women may be ignored and not incorporated into policy-making and political decision-making (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007, 554).

It is argued by some that researchers should devote more time to studying women's agency in diverse groups at the local context so they do not risk generalizing the

impact of gender structures on women (Weldon 2006, 237). However, although agency is an important factor to examine when researching the diversity of women, structures are also important to examine in order to discern how structures privilege certain women over others (Ibid. 238). It is difficult to "understand the ways that women are disadvantaged as women nor the ways that people of color are oppressed unless we examine the way these structures interact" (Ibid. 239). This thesis recognizes that Canadian Aboriginal women hold different experiences, status, and issues not only in counterpart to non-Aboriginal Canadian women but to Canadian Aboriginal men. Nevertheless, it also must be acknowledged that Aboriginal women are not merely victims and have the potential to be active participants in pursuing social change (Ku 2008, 166). Using the theory of intersectionality will help determine if the NDPAC, the NDPWC, the LPCAPC, and the NWLC create policy that benefits Aboriginal women. It is possible that the Aboriginal commissions reinforce antiracist discourse without considering the intersection of gender, and it is possible that the women's commissions construct policy along the intersections of gender without accounting for the intersection of race (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). As such, the research will determine if these policy commissions are a suitable vessel for Aboriginal women to exercise their agency and have their voices heard.

Tying in with examining structures through an intersectional lens, this research will also employ the theory of feminist institutionalism to further understand how the structures and ideas of Canadian political parties impact the success of Aboriginal and women's policy commissions. Feminist institutionalism emerged from neo-institutionalism. Neo-institutionalism explains how the norms, rules, and policies of

institutions can shape the behaviour of actors and how actors can bring about or resist change within institutions (Mackay et al. 2010, 573). However, feminist scholars identify that a gendered analysis can expose the gendered norms, rules, and practices that can have an effect on political power and political outcomes (Ibid 573). This section will explain the core elements of neo-institutionalism and then explain how feminist institutionalism built upon neo-institutionalism by accounting for the gender elements that affect the practices and policies within institutions.

There are three main schools of thought within the neo-institutionalist framework: historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism, and sociological institutionalism (Hall and Taylor 1996, 936; Smith 2005, 101). Historical institutionalism defines structures as "the formal and informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organization structure of the polity or political economy" (Hall and Taylor 1996, 938). This approach emphasizes that an individual becomes embedded within institutions, and as such, their ideas, identity, and preferences are constructed within institutional constraints (Ibid. 939). It also emphasizes that institutions play an independent role in shaping policy (Smith 2007, 20).

Rational choice institutionalism believes that relevant actors will calculate a strategy that will maximize their attainment of their preferential outcomes (Hall and Taylor 1996, 944-945). Institutions influence the calculations of actors "by affecting the range and sequence of alternatives on the choice-agenda or by providing information and enforcement mechanisms that reduce uncertainty about the corresponding behaviour of others" (Ibid. 945).

Sociological institutionalism argues that institutions are embedded within culture, and as such, institutions include moral templates and symbol systems in addition to formal organizations and rules (Ibid. 947). Unlike rational choice institutionalism, sociological institutionalism argues that institutions do not simply affect the strategic calculations of actors but also shape their basic identities and preferences (Ibid. 948). How an actor will define 'rational action' will be based on their cultural perspectives (Ibid. 949). Furthermore, while sociological institutionalism emphasizes that an individual's behaviour is bounded by their worldview, historical institutionalism believes that individuals retain a higher degree of agency and are able to shape their behaviours within the organizational structure of the institution (Ibid. 939). Regardless, what is common among these strands of neo-institutionalism is that they have neglected addressing the relationship between women and institutions, "gendered processes of political change", and "the gendered dimensions of political institutions and their performance" (Mackay et al. 2010, 579).

Feminist institutionalism stresses that gender relations are 'institutional' while also advocating that "these relations are 'institutionalized,' embedded in particular political institutions and constraining and shaping social interaction" (Mackay et al. 2010, 580). The strands of neo-institutionalism discussed above dispel the "differential effect that [institutions] have on men and women operating within these environments as well as the products - the norms, rules, policies, and laws - these institutions produce" (Mackay et al. 2010, 581). Gender norms contributes a large role to how institutions are interpreted, since "political and policymaking institutions are structured by gendered assumptions and 'dispositions' and produce outcomes including polices, legislation and

rulings that are influenced by gender norms" (Ibid. 581). Moreover, according to feminist

institutionalism, power asymmetries are constructed along the norms of masculinity and

femininity, and as a result, these particular arrangements become institutionalized (Ibid.

582).

The theory of feminist institutionalism correlates well with the theory of

intersectionality. Incorporating intersectionality can add to feminist institutionalism by

not only examining how institutions are constructed along power asymmetries of gender

but also power asymmetries of race and class. As explained by Cho et al.,

> [p]olitical intersectionality provides an applied dimension to the insights of structural
> intersectionality by offering a framework for contesting power and thereby linking theory
> to existent and emergent social and political struggles (2013, 800).

However, historical norms cannot be discounted for this analysis. Historical

institutionalism emphasizes that existing power relations within institutions allocate more

power to certain actors over others (Waylen 2009, 248; Hall and Taylor 1996, 954).

Aboriginal Peoples in Canada have been historically excluded from Canadian institutions

(Andrew et al. 2008, 12). This needs to be accounted for when examining if the power

relations and norms of institutions not only impact the ideas of Aboriginal women as

women but as Aboriginals as well. Also, grassroots members have been restricted by

political elites within the Canadian political parties (Carty 2013, 21; Cross and Young

2006, 15). This is another power relation that historical institutionalism can consider

within the analysis of policy commissions as policy-making bodies. In addition, although

it can be argued that the LPC is moving away from the classification of brokerage party

(Carty 2013, 21), the history can provide insight about whether or not their policy

commissions are restricted from institutional legacies that may still exist. As previously

explained, one of the characteristics of brokerage parties is the restriction they impose on

grassroots members for policy development (Carty 2013, 15). On the other hand, the

NDP has historically been open to increasing representation to typically marginalized

groups, such as women and minorities, through affirmative action policies to diversify the

roster of candidates (Cross and Young 2013, 35). This historical factor could affect the

success of policy commissions. Georgina Waylen (2009) explains that

> HI approaches can […] solve some of the problems that currently hamper feminist
> political analysis in answering some big questions, such as how certain institutions and
> regimes are gendered, how they came into being, and how change can come about, as
> well as in understanding the relationship between different actors and the institutional
> context (246).

She also explains that a historical institutional approach within feminist institutionalism

can also explain how there is gender positive change in some contexts but not in others

(Ibid 246). It is possible that policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues

may challenge the overarching ideologies of the political parties, their historical

institutional legacies, and entrenched gender norms within the political parties.

However, as feminist institutionalism has evolved over the past few years, it now

acknowledges that institutions have a difficult time "forgetting the old" and

"remembering the new" (Mackay 2014, 550). Mackay explains that the 'liability of

newness' within feminist institutionalism

> [a]rgues that the stickiness of old rules (formal and informal) about gender, the
> 'nestedness' of new institutions within the wider environment, and the way newness
> functions as a gendered liability provides a powerful explanation for why it is so hard to
> make gender reforms - and wider institutional change conducive to the regendering of
> politics - stick (Ibid 551).

> 'Nested newness' exposes how "the old continues to constrain and shape actors'

agency at so-called critical junctures or points of apparent new creation…" (Ibid 553).

This means that regardless of how "new" an institution may appear to be, institutions

develop from a path dependent process which leads new institutions to be informally informed by old institutional processes (Ibid 552). This concept also holds gender implications, as feminist actors may be constrained not only by gender norms of institutions, but also by historical institutional processes that continue to remain embedded within institutions (Ibid 554). As explained here, feminist institutionalism has evolved to acknowledge that historical processes may impose restrictions on certain actors. In this context, feminist institutionalism and intersectionality will be applied in order to examine how ideas, institutions, and interests interact within Canadian political parties and how this influences the policy-making capabilities of the Aboriginal and women's policy commissions. These approaches will determine if the interests and ideas of the policy commissions hold a significant impact on the policy of the relevant political parties and how much power the institutions of political parties allocate to the policy commission members. Intersectionality and feminist institutionalism will also help to discern whether or not the institutions of policy commissions restrict or embrace the ideas of Aboriginal women.

Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that the NDPAC, NDPWC, the LPCAPC, and the NWLC do not impact the parties' platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues. The Aboriginal policy commissions may allow members to develop policies along the intersection of race, but unless an active effort to apply a gender-based analysis to policy is employed, it is likely that the commissions will neglect to create policy along the intersection of gender. This also applies for the women's commissions as well, since intersectionality advocates that not only antiracist discourse can exclude women of colour, but feminist discourse can

also exclude women of colour (Crenshaw 1991, 1243-1244). It is also hypothesized that the structures of political parties will restrict the policy-making capabilities of the policy commissions. Based on the theory of feminist institutionalism, it is likely that the ideological preferences of the political parties will dominate over the ideas of Aboriginal women. Feminist institutionalism discerns that structures are constructed along gender assumptions, which means that policy will be influenced by gender norms, while also emphasizing the historical power relations within political parties that may contribute to the restraint of policy commissions. As such, the policy commissions may propose policy that represents Aboriginal women's issues, but if their interests challenge the gender norms or power relations of the political party, the ideas of policy commission members will be constrained within the institutions of Canadian political parties.

Data Collection

Two of the main federal Canadian political parties, the NDP and the LPC, were used as case-studies for this thesis. These parties were chosen because the NDP and the LPC both have policy commissions, and as such, a comparison can be drawn between the two parties. The policy resolutions that were put forward at the 2009 Vancouver LPC Leadership and Biennial Convention and the 2009 Halifax NDP National Convention were reviewed in order to observe if the policy resolutions were incorporated into the 2011 electoral platforms. These conventions were chosen because these were the last conventions held before the 2011 federal election, so it could be observed whether or not the policy resolutions were incorporated into the platforms for the election. Furthermore, the 2011 election was chosen since this was the most recent federal election held in Canada at the time of writing. The 2011 electoral platforms were all accessible online

through the political party websites. The 2009 LPC policy resolutions were posted on the LPC website, while the 2009 NDP policy resolutions were accessed through the National Newswatch website ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009; "HFX '09 New Democrat National Convention" 2009). However, the documents did not provide information on which policy resolutions were adopted and which were rejected. As such, each political party was contacted via email and by telephone for further information.

Allyson Grant, the Communications Lead for the LPC, discussed how the policy resolutions found online were the adopted policy resolutions. This distinction is significant because it is likely that adopted resolutions will be integrated into electoral platforms over resolutions that were proposed but not adopted. Voting results for the resolutions were also requested, and she explained how voting results were not available as a document since raised hands was the voting method used for the 2009 Biennial Convention (Allsop. Email to Allyson Grant, November 13, 2014). Furthermore, she attempted to locate their proposed policy resolutions but was unable to locate the document (Allsop. Email to Allyson Grant, December 5, 2014). The NDP was contacted through the email for Thomas Mulcair's correspondence team, and they sent both their proposed and adopted policy resolutions via email and explained that voting results were not available since they used the same voting method as the LPC (Allsop, Corinne. Email to the Office of Thomas Mulcair, November 13, 2014).[2] Due to financial and time restrictions, interviewing female executive council members of the Aboriginal policy commissions could not be executed.

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[2] It is uncertain if there was an error in miscommunication with the NDP correspondents because both the proposed and adopted policy resolution documents come across as the same document. Nevertheless, it has been assumed that Thomas Mulcair's team sent the correct information and that all of the resolutions proposed at the 2009 Halifax NDP National Convention were adopted.

Data Analysis

Three steps were taken to determine if the Aboriginal policy commissions represent Aboriginal women's interests. First, the policy resolutions of the NDP and the LPC were categorized under three classifications: Aboriginal, Women, or Aboriginal Women. It must be noted that to conduct an intersectional discourse analysis is a challenging task because the issues are fluid. This means that an issue that has been identified as Aboriginal can affect Aboriginal women and an issue that is identified as a women's issue can affect Aboriginal women. Nevertheless, the categorization was used for the purposes of replication and to simplify the discourse analysis, and the categorization will be explained in the following paragraphs.

To determine if resolutions relate to Aboriginal issues, the words First Nations, Aboriginal, Inuit, Métis, Indian, or Indigenous within the resolutions were identified first. However, resolutions could relate to Aboriginal issues but may not be explicitly stated as such. Fiske explains that social service delivery, meaning education, health, and employment are Aboriginal issues (2006). Often, access to social services are restricted due to the conflict of jurisdiction between the provincial and federal governments about who is responsible for providing services to Aboriginals (Ibid). The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) elaborates on these issues specifically. Secure funding for education should be provided to Aboriginal Peoples, and Aboriginal Peoples should have full control over their education so that it is linguistically and culturally representative (AFN 2015). They also advocate for secure funding that allows Aboriginal Peoples to practice holistic healing practices that honour their traditions (AFN 2015). Building economic partnerships, revenue sharing options, and investment is also a policy concern for

Aboriginal Peoples (AFN 2015). The AFN also identifies international border crossings between the United States and Canada as an Aboriginal issue. They argue that the current methods used for border crossings, such as Indigenous passports, violates the treaty rights established in the *Jay Treaty of 1794*, section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982,* and Article 36 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (AFN 2015). Additionally, Aboriginal Peoples have been excluded from environmental management of resource projects in Canada (O'Faircheallaigh 2007, 319). This holds a direct impact over their daily lives because poor environmental management, such as water contamination, can lead to severe health risks for Aboriginals Peoples (AFN 2015). Therefore, resolutions discussing environmental management will be classified as an Aboriginal issue. Moreover, the AFN calls upon an increase in Information Communication Technology (ICT) to strengthen access to the Internet for community management (AFN 2015).

The overrepresentation of Aboriginals in custody facilities is another Aboriginal policy concern. In 2008/2009, 35% of women admitted to correctional facilities were Aboriginal, and 23% of men admitted were Aboriginal (Hotton Mahony 2011, 36-37). In addition, the AFN identifies fisheries and aquatic resource management as an Aboriginal issue, as these resources contribute to the socio-economic wellbeing, diet, and cultural survival of First Nations communities (AFN 2015). They also identify the implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as an Aboriginal policy issue (AFN 2015). Additionally, a full implementation of the Indian Residential Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) to facilitate the healing and reconciliation of Indian Residential School victims is an Aboriginal policy

issue (AFN 2015). Land rights and claims is also an Aboriginal issue, as the AFN advocates that legal recognition of Aboriginal title on ground in Canada is vital for Aboriginal well-being (AFN 2015). The AFN also supports for what they refer to as social development, which alludes to the collaboration between Aboriginal communities and the federal government to ensure quality of culturally relevant services provided to Aboriginal communities (AFN 2015). Moreover, life expectancy is lower among northern Aboriginal populations, and many communities have lower access to social services, resulting in a lower standard of living. As such, northern development was classified as an Aboriginal issue (Furgal and Seguin 2006, 1964-1965). The lack of social services and low quality of living for Canada's Inuit peoples is also tied to Arctic sovereignty. This involves establishing concrete partnerships between Inuit communities and the federal government instead of only focusing on economic development (Simon 2009, 251). As a result, Arctic sovereignty was classified as an Aboriginal issue. Finally, a resolution will be classified as an Aboriginal issue if women are not directly mentioned in the resolutions that address any of the issues previously discussed.

To determine if a resolution addressed a women's issue, any resolution that had the words women, female, mothers, and girls in it was analysed, but resolutions addressing women's issues without explicitly stating so were also examined. Child-care is considered a women's issue since women are usually responsible for the care of children, regardless if they are employed or living with a partner. In order to have full gender equality, affordable and accessible child-care is required (Collier 2012, 286; Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007, 555). Moreover, even though women are becoming increasingly more educated, they are still less likely than men to be employed. Women

are also overrepresented in part-time, casual work, and self-employment. This qualified employment equity as a woman's issue (Ferrao 2010, 7, 13). In addition, income inequality still remains an issue for Canadian women. In 2011, Canadian women earned an average wage of $32,100 annually in comparison to Canadian men who earned on average $48,100 annually (Statistics Canada 2013). Furthermore, Townsen explains that poverty is inexplicitly linked to single women and mothers (2009). Women who are single mothers are five times more likely to be living in poverty than families with two parents. This is especially relevant among women in marginalized groups, such as Aboriginal women, women with disabilities, racialized women, and recent immigrants (Ibid.). Domestic violence is also classified as a women's issue, as violence against women has been classified as a major obstacle for women's equality (Collier 2012, 286). In 2013, Statistics Canada reported that women in Canada are 11 times more likely to be victims of sexual offences than men (Stroumboulopoulos 2013). As such, the presence of transition housing, women's centres, and women's organizations are also a women's issue. Shelters and transition houses can provide safety to women who are fleeing violence (Burczycka and Cotter 2010, 6). Additionally, housing was categorized as a women's issue since women as a whole are more likely to face housing affordability issues than men in all situations (Women's Directorate 2014). Finally, human trafficking is a women's policy issue because the majority of victims of human trafficking are women. In addition, since 2012, 2, 872 trafficked girls and women have visited 266 women's organizations surveyed across Canada (Canadian Women's Foundation 2014). Ultimately, in order for a resolution to be classified as a women's issue, the resolutions addressing any of the issues discussed above must not explicitly mention Aboriginals.

Although Aboriginal women are also affected by the previously discussed issues, a resolution was only classified as an Aboriginal women's issue if it met the following criteria: if a resolution explicitly addressed Aboriginal women, if a resolution addressing an Aboriginal issue mentioned women, or if a resolution addressing a women's issue mentioned Aboriginals. The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) has specified how certain issues discussed previously affect Aboriginal women. This will be elaborated on here, but again, to simplify the categorization, resolutions will be categorized as Aboriginal or women's issues unless Aboriginal women are explicitly mentioned within the policy resolution. This aligns with the theory of intersectionality because intersectional analysis recognizes that

> [r]acial and sexual subordination are mutually reinforcing, that [women of color] are commonly marginalized by a politics of race or gender alone, and that a political response to each form of subordination must at the same time be a political response to both (Crenshaw 1991, 1283).

If a policy resolution addresses an Aboriginal issue without acknowledging the challenges Aboriginal women face, then the resolution has ignored the intersection of gender and has been constructed along antiracist discourse alone. If a women's issue policy resolution does not address the unique needs of Aboriginal women, then it has ignored the intersections of race and has reinforced white feminist discourse (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). Thus, even if resolutions theoretically address Aboriginal or women's issues that directly affect Aboriginal women, they will not be classified as an Aboriginal women's issue policy resolution unless the resolution incorporates the intersections of both race and gender.

NWAC identifies violence against Aboriginal women as an important policy issue. When NWAC's Sisters in Spirit project ended in 2010, they documented 582 cases of

missing and murdered Aboriginal women (NWAC 2014, 1). Furthermore, NWAC acknowledges that even though Aboriginal women have attained higher levels of secondary and postsecondary graduation and enrollment rates than Aboriginal men, there are still unique barriers they face for education. These barriers include the greater responsibility for child-care, greater exposure to violence and other social ills, and lower incomes (NWAC 2009, 1). Social determinants of health, such as inadequate housing, lack of infrastructure, and poor environmental conditions, also inordinately affect Aboriginal women. Aboriginal women are more likely to experience mental illness, diabetes, cervical cancer, suicide, and alcohol and substance abuse (NWAC 2007, 5). Aboriginal women and girls are also at a higher risk for human trafficking. NWAC reports that 90% street-involved sexually exploited youth are Aboriginal and the majority are Aboriginal females between the ages of 15 and 18 (NWAC 2015).

Inadequate housing also directly impacts Aboriginal women. Emergency shelters and second-stage housing is predominantly used by Aboriginal women due to the issue of matrimonial property rights and lack of housing for Aboriginal Peoples (NWAC 2009, 14). Furthermore, if Aboriginal economic development is to benefit Aboriginal women, NWAC advocates that employment training and education must ensure that Aboriginal women's needs are accommodated. Aboriginal women face higher levels of unemployment than Aboriginal men due to socioeconomic barriers such as child-care, housing and education (NWAC 2009, 4). Finally, Aboriginal women are in great need of comprehensive, culturally relevant, affordable child-care. The number of Aboriginal youth in Canada is growing at a fast pace. In addition, Aboriginal families are among the

poorest families in Canada and many Aboriginal families are led by mothers, aunts, or grandmothers who require more assistance providing child-care (NWAC 2005).

Nevertheless, there are some issues that affect Aboriginal women that do not apply to Aboriginal men or non-Aboriginal women. Alcantara (2008), Ladner (2009), and NWAC (2007) all indicate that matrimonial property rights on reserves is an Aboriginal women's issue. If a woman divorces her husband, she risks losing her home on the reserve (Ladner 2009, 68). Research shows that the majority of properties held on reserves are owned by men, that band councils are dominated by men, and that nepotism is fervent on Aboriginal reserves, leaving divorced women in a vulnerable situation (Alcantara 2008, 322). As such, matrimonial property rights on reserves were identified as an Aboriginal women's issue and classified as such in Table 1 since this is an issue that Aboriginal women face while Aboriginal men and non-Aboriginal women do not. Table 1 gives a summary of the issues to be examined within the resolutions, along with their classifications. The classification of Aboriginal issues and Aboriginal women's issues were derived from the AFN and NWAC websites, as these organizations identify these issues as policy areas that predominantly affect Aboriginal Peoples or Aboriginal women specifically. Women's issues were derived from scholars writing on feminist politics (Collier 2012, 286; Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007, 555), Statistics Canada, and Canadian women's organizations who have identified the issues in Table 1 as women's issues.

Table 1 - Categorization of Issues

Aboriginal	Women	Aboriginal Women
1.Environmental management	1. Child-care	1. Matrimonial property rights on reserves
2. Social service delivery (health, education, employment)	2. Employment equity	
3. Border crossings	3. Income inequality	
4. ICT access	4. Poverty	
5. Fisheries and aquatic resource management	6. Domestic violence	
6. Implementation of UNDRIP	7. Women's centres/transition housing	
7. Indian Residential Settlement Agreement (IRSSA)	8. Housing	
8. Social development (collaboration between federal government and First Nations)	9. Human trafficking	
9. Overrepresentation in prisons		
10. Northern development		
11. Arctic sovereignty		

*Intersectionality advocates that these issues are fluid, which makes the categorization of these issues difficult. Categorizing these issues was done for the purpose of possible replication of the discourse analysis, but it is acknowledged that Aboriginal women can be affected by all of these issues.

The second step was to determine if the policy resolutions were integrated into the electoral platforms of the NDP and the LPC. As such, a resolution was classified as specifically integrated, partially integrated, or not integrated at all. If the platform explicitly stated the problem being addressed in the resolution, it was classified as specifically integrated. This means that if the platform specified numbers derived from the policy resolution, such as a time-frame for implementing the policy or the budget needed to remedy the issue, or quoted something verbatim from the resolution into the platform, it was classified as specifically integrated. If the platform generally discussed the issue identified in the resolution but did not cite specific details or overgeneralized the issue being discussed, it was classified as partially integrated. In addition, if the platform

integrated parts of the resolution but excluded key details, this was also classified as partially integrated. If a resolution discussed an issue that was not mentioned in the platform, it was classified as not integrated. Furthermore, if the relevant section of the resolution was not discussed in the platform (i.e. if the resolution mentioned women or Aboriginals as being affected by the issue but was not mentioned in the platform), this was also classified as not being integrated. These categorizations are summarized in the appendix.

The raw numbers and percentages of proposed and integrated resolutions addressing Aboriginal issues, women's issues, and Aboriginal women's issues were calculated for each political party. Then, the raw numbers and percentages of resolutions successfully integrated by the policy commissions were compared to the raw numbers and percentages of resolutions successfully integrated by other associations within the respective parties. Finally, a comparison of proposed and successfully integrated resolution raw numbers and percentages was drawn between the three political parties. It must be noted that the NDP was the only party who provided both the proposed and adopted resolutions. However, as explained previously, the LPC no longer had their proposed policy resolutions document available. Therefore, it is possible that important information was missed in the analysis. Nevertheless, the adopted policy resolutions document was available, and this document provides information on what the LPC values in their policy, thus being a suitable alternative for the analysis. Policies that were proposed but not adopted are unlikely to be included in the electoral platforms; thus, their potential inclusion would be unlikely to affect platform integration success. However, the lack of the proposed but not adopted policy resolutions for the LPC could possibly affect the

comparison of the integration success rates. Since the LPC had a lower amount of resolutions examined, the percentages could be larger than the percentages of the NDP.

Nonetheless, the calculations were not solely relied upon, as the overall analysis also included a gender-based discourse analysis of the policy resolutions. The method of triangulation, which involves combining the quantitative and qualitative methods, was used to reemphasize the importance of examining the language of resolutions, as the numbers do not depict the overall view of the effectiveness of the policy commissions. As such, the third step was to discern if the quantitative analysis could be supported by a qualitative comprehensive discourse analysis. Each document was analysed through a gender-based lens by critically analysing the discourse and language of the policy resolutions. Discourse analysis is a qualitative research method that focuses on the language of texts and documents that are produced by certain groups and actors (Vromen 2010, 264).

Discourse analysis can be used in a variety of ways, but for the purposes of this thesis, it was combined with the feminist theory of intersectionality. In order to analyse the discourse of the policy resolutions, the analysis is based upon the discursive analysis of Collier (2012, 292) who loosely based her analysis on Lombardo and Meier's work (2006, 154-155). Originally, Lombardo and Meier employed the Mainstreaming Gender Equality (MAGEEQ) project, which is a policy frame that was used to determine the level of feminism within policy projects for the European Union (2006, 154-155). They stated that in order to analyse the policy, they examined who is proposing the policy and if feminist actors are included in crafting the policy (Ibid 154-155). Collier further elaborates that policy must not merely address women but it must incorporate feminist

perspectives into the policy (Collier 2012, 292). Without interviews, it could not be

determined for certain if the actors within the policy commissions identify themselves as

feminist, so employing that qualification of Lombardo and Meier's analysis could not be

executed in this research. However, this discourse analysis not only examined to see if

feminist perspectives were incorporated into policy but if policy resolutions challenged

the typical antiracist discourse or feminist discourse that tends to exclude women of

colour. Crenshaw elaborates that

> [t]he failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of
> feminism will   often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of color, and the
> failure of antiracism to interrogate patriarchy means that antiracism will frequently
> reproduce the subordination of women (1991, 1252).

The political interests of women of color are often overshadowed by political

processes that ignore or suppress intersectional issues (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). Crenshaw

argues that intersectionality can mediate the tensions between "the ongoing necessity of

group politics" with the "assertions of multiple identity" (Crenshaw 1991, 1296).

Therefore, applying intersectionality to the discourse analysis will not only determine if

policy resolutions benefit Aboriginal women through a feminist perspective analysis, but

it will also determine if policy resolutions benefit them based on their Aboriginality.

Of course, discourse analysis does hold weaknesses. Sometimes researchers who

employ discourse analysis can experience 'selection biases', meaning that some

documents are prioritized over others due to issues of accessibility (Vromen 2010, 262).

Furthermore, if documents are inaccessible, it is possible that important information has

been excluded. Additionally, it must also be noted that discourse analysis can be

subjective, as not everyone may interpret the documents in the same manner. However,

the use and objectives of intersectionality is not intended to create a standardized

methodology to employ (Cho et al. 2013, 789). Cho et al. (2013) explain that "one could look to the analogous approaches to the definition of class (or gender or race) and realize that such debates are lively to this day and likely to never end" (789). Regardless, an attempt was made to conduct a discourse analysis that accurately applies intersectionality but can be replicable for future research.

The following chapters will include an individual analysis of each political party. Chapter IV specifically examines the discourse for the NDP policy resolutions and determines if the policy resolutions were integrated into the NDP's 2011 electoral platform. Chapters V follows suit for the LPC. Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the findings, compares the discourse of policy resolutions among the Aboriginal and women's policy commissions, and ultimately determines the effectiveness of the policy commissions for impacting party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues.

Chapter IV – The New Democratic Party of Canada – Securing Social Justice?

Harrell and Panagos (2010) explain that if Aboriginal women align with a Canadian political party, it is most often the New Democratic Party of Canada (NDP). One of the reasons that can be attributed to Aboriginal women's preference towards the NDP is their emphasis on social welfare policies (Ibid. 11). Furthermore, the NDP has taken on initiatives that encourage women and minorities to become involved in the party, and it has produced promising results. In the 2011 federal election, 40.2% of NDP candidates were women (Equal Voice 2013, 2). In addition, 10.4% of NDP candidates were minorities, which is the highest number among the federal political parties (Black 2013, 22). This may lead one to conclude that the NDP holds their policy commissions to a high standard and allows for women and Aboriginals within the commissions to have a voice on policy within the party. However, only 3.2% of the NDP candidates for the 2011 election were Aboriginal (Fontaine 2011; Parliament of Canada 2011). The analysis of the policy resolutions presented at the 2009 Halifax National Convention will determine if the actions of the NDP satisfy their reputation for being the Canadian political party of social justice.

First, the chapter will examine the discourse and integration success of the Aboriginal issue resolutions proposed by the NDP Aboriginal Commission (NDPAC), the NDP Women's Council (NDPWC) and other associations within the NDP. It will then analyse the discourse and platform integration success rates of the women's issue resolutions and Aboriginal women's issue resolutions proposed by the policy commissions and other NDP associations. Finally, the chapter will conclude by summarizing the findings and analyzing the success of the policy commissions for impacting policy on Aboriginal women's issues.

Aboriginal Issues

Table 2 - Summary of NDP Aboriginal Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
2-01-09 - Green Collar Jobs	Northern Ontario Council of Federal Ridings	NI
2-03-09 - Water Policy	Saanich-Gulf Islands	NI
2-27-09 - Water Policy	New Democratic Youth of Canada	NI
2-05-09 - Energy Security	Halifax	PI
2-08-09 - Devil's Lake	Manitoba Young New Democrats	NI
6-28-09 - First Nations Education	Manitoba Young New Democrats	PI
6-35-09 - First Nations Education	Manitoba Young New Democrats	SI
3-64-09 - Post Secondary Education	Manitoba Young New Democrats	NI
1-76-09 - Digital Rights	Ottawa-Vanier	NI
1-02-09 - Support for the Fishery	Nanaimo-Cowichan	PI
1-17-09 - Protecting Wild Salmon	North Vancouver, Burnaby-Douglas, and Vancouver Quadra	NI
1-43-09 - West Coast Salmon Stock	Saanich-Gulf Islands and New Westminster-Coquitlam	NI
5-02-09 - First Nations, Inuit, Métis Party Policy	NDPAC	PI
5-22-09 - Endorsing UNDRIP	Western Arctic	NI
3-62-09 - Mandatory Minimum Sentences	Quebec Section	PI
5-10-09 - Infrastructure Consultation	NDPAC	PI
5-26-09 - Leonard Peltier	NDPAC	NI
5-07-09 - Arctic Sovereignty	NDPAC	NI
1-03-09 - Arctic Sovereignty	Western Arctic	NI
5-01-09 - Funding for Territories	Western Arctic	NI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI = Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

Out of 336 policy resolutions proposed at the 2009 NDP Halifax National

Convention, 20 of these resolutions addressed Aboriginal issues. The issues the

resolutions addressed, who proposed the resolutions, and their levels of integration are

summarized in Table 2. Proposed by the Northern Ontario Council of Federal Ridings,

Resolution 2-01-09 discussed investing in green-collar jobs. This refers to creating jobs

that are sustainable. The resolution outlined that training partnerships should be

established with provincial, territorial, and First Nations governments ("HFX '09" 2009,

30). The resolution did not address the benefits of implementing training partnerships for

Aboriginal women, as they are more likely to live in poverty and, therefore, more likely

to gain from an increase in jobs, providing they are accessible (NWAC 2009). The

platform discussed training partnerships for green energy engineers, construction

workers, technicians, and maintenance and audit professions. However, the platform did

not address establishing training partnerships with First Nations governments, and since

this was the relevant section of the resolution, it was classified as not integrated ("Giving

Your Family a Break" 2011, 13).

Resolution 2-03-09 outlined sustainable water policy and was proposed by the

Saanich-Gulf Islands riding association. It addressed respecting the water rights of First

Nations communities ("HFX '09" 2009, 31). This was adopted at the convention and

although the NDP outlined that it would improve water infrastructure in Aboriginal

communities, the platform did not specifically address water rights. Therefore, it was

classified as not integrated ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15). This resolution is

relevant because water is an essential need and is required for general family care, which

Aboriginal women are often responsible for (NWAC 2007). Resolution 2-27-09 also

addressed a sustainable water policy and was proposed by the New Democratic Youth of

Canada. This resolution outlined that access to clean water is a basic human right. The

resolution called upon respect for the constitutional and treaty rights of First Nations. It

also called for respect of the fiduciary responsibility of the federal government to First

Nations until their dependence on the federal government is no longer relevant. The resolution requested a National Water strategy that would involve collaboration for First Nations governments, territorial governments, and provincial governments. Furthermore, First Nations should be consulted in the mapping of ground water resources ("HFX '09" 2009, 40-42). The resolution did not address how the lack of clean water affects Aboriginal women, who are usually responsible for family care. Nonetheless, the resolution was not integrated into the 2011 platform since there was no mention of a national water strategy.

Energy policy for Aboriginals was also proposed through Resolution 2-05-09. When discussing economic opportunities related to energy security, the resolution proposed that opportunities should be created for First Nations communities to increase their income through clean energy production. This resolution was proposed by the Halifax riding association ("HFX '09" 2009, 34). It was adopted, and it was partially integrated in the platform. The platform stated that a NDP government would collaborate with Aboriginal governments, energy providers, and environmental organizations to develop a sustainable energy policy that would allow for long-term energy security. Under the same heading, the platform also mentioned that an energy policy should not exacerbate income inequality and development of a *Green Jobs Fund* will help support workers in the transition to a green economy ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 13). Although the platform did not specifically state that Aboriginals should have an opportunity to increase their income through clean energy production, it did address collaboration with Aboriginal governments to develop clean energy programs. For the same reasons having

sustainable water policy for Aboriginal women is relevant, having a sustainable energy

policy is also relevant.

Proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats, Resolution 2-08-09 addressed

negotiations with the North Dakota government to establish a filtration system at the

Devil's Lake outlet. These negotiations should also be in consultation with affected First

Nations communities ("HFX '09" 2009, 1). Although this resolution specified

consultation with First Nations communities, it did not address the detrimental effects

poor environmental conditions can have on Aboriginal women (NWAC 2007).

Regardless, this resolution was not integrated since Devil's Lake was not discussed in the

platform.

Proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats, Resolution 6-28-09 called for an

increase in funding for education on First Nations reserves. The funding should be no less

than funding provided by provincial governments to schools off-reserves, and the funding

should allow more First Nations students to complete high school in their respective

communities ("HFX '09" 2009, 109). The resolution was passed and partially integrated

into the platform. The platform stated that the NDP wanted to invest $1 billion every year

for four years to address the Aboriginal education deficit ("Giving Your Family a Break"

2011, 15). The Manitoba Young New Democrats also proposed Resolution 6-35-09,

which addressed post-secondary education in First Nations communities. They asked the

federal government to remove the 2% cap on funding growth for post-secondary

education for First Nations reserves. Furthermore, they asked that the government

increase funding to reflect the growing numbers of Aboriginals applying for post-

secondary education. Post-secondary education funding for Aboriginals should remain

under the jurisdiction of INAC and be inclusive of all First Nations, Métis, Inuit, and non-status Aboriginals ("HFX '09" 2009, 111). This was passed, and the removal of the 2% funding cap was directly addressed in the platform.

Furthermore, the platform addressed funding for Aboriginals wishing to pursue post-secondary education by stating that the NDP desired to allocate an extra $200 million a year to the Canada Student Grants Program. This program would specifically target grants to Aboriginal and low-income students ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 5). As a result, Resolution 6-35-09 was specifically integrated. These resolutions would be beneficial to Aboriginal women because having adequate schooling on reserves can possibly assist with child-care, and having extra money allocated to pursue post-secondary education can help Aboriginal women address barriers to their education such as inadequate housing and child-care (NWAC 2009, 1). Additionally, Resolution 3-64-09, proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats, called upon reducing financial barriers to post-secondary education by implementing a tuition-freeze policy and eliminating all barriers to accessibility for post-secondary education ("HFX '09" 2009, 65). This resolution did not specify the specific barriers Aboriginal women face for pursuing post-secondary education, such as inadequate child-care and housing. Since the platform did not address freezing tuition, the resolution was not integrated.

Proposed by the Ottawa-Vanier riding association, Resolution 1-76-09 advocated for digital rights for Canadians. To summarize, the resolution argued that access to the Internet is a commodity rather than a privilege and that it is a fundamental social right. Furthermore, the resolution recognized that there is a "digital divide" on Aboriginal reserves, and increasing Internet access would help disadvantaged Aboriginals in terms of

access to education and employment ("HFX '09" 2009, 29). Although the resolution

discussed Internet access as a right for Aboriginal Peoples, it did not mention how helpful

Internet access could be for Aboriginal women. Since Aboriginal women are more likely

to live in poverty, access to the Internet could provide them with opportunities to increase

their income that they may not have otherwise (Townsen 2009). Resolution 1-76-09 was

classified as not integrated. The platform stated that all Canadians should have access to

high-speed quality broadband Internet access, but it did not address expanding Internet

access on reserves ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 29).

Resolution 1-02-09 addressed support for the fishery industry and was proposed by

the Nanaimo-Cowichan riding association. The resolution stressed a limit on foreign

overfishing and more investment into the fishery industry by promoting seafood products

and their local secondary processing. Furthermore, a model of transparent co-

management between the fishermen and the communities should be established. The

resolution also requested a stable sustainability plan that supports fishermen's wages but

also stabilizes the depletion of the resource ("HFX '09" 2009, 1). As stated in Table 1 in

Chapter 3, the AFN identified that fishing rights are vital for Aboriginal well-being, but

the effect of the downfall of the fishing industry on Aboriginal Peoples was not discussed

within this resolution. Nevertheless, the platform partially integrated this resolution. The

platform stated that the NDP wished to establish environmental regulations that would

protect fishery waters ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 13).

The North Vancouver, Burnaby-Douglas, and Vancouver Quadra riding associations

proposed Resolution 1-17-09, which addressed the protection of wild salmon. The

resolution advocated that wild salmon preservation should be a top priority to protect

Canada's aquaculture. To accomplish this, the federal government should work with

relevant stakeholders, provincial governments, and First Nations communities to protect

wild fish stocks and the surrounding waters ("HFX '09" 2009, 6). Resolution 1-43-09,

proposed by the Saanich-Gulf Islands and New Westminster-Coquitlam riding

associations, also called for the protection of wild salmon, and it stressed that the role

wild salmon plays in Aboriginal culture needs to be recognized ("HFX '09" 2009, 6).

These resolutions addressed consultation with First Nations communities about this issue,

but they did not address how Aboriginal women are affected specifically. If there is a

lack of fish for food, this imposes a burden on the family care Aboriginal women are

usually responsible for (NWAC 2007). Wild salmon was not addressed in the 2011

platform; therefore, these resolutions were not integrated.

Proposed by the NDPAC, Resolution 5-02-09 addressed expanding party policy on

First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. It called for implementing the recommendations

of Jordan's Principle, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), and the

United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). Jordan's

Principle was established after the death of Jordan River Anderson, a First Nations child

who had been diagnosed with a rare neuromuscular disorder and required hospitalization.

It could not be agreed upon between the federal and Manitoba government who was

responsible for the finances of Jordan's care. Unfortunately, Jordan passed away before

the governments could reach an agreement (AANDC 2013). The RCAP sought to

remedy the relationship between Aboriginals and the federal government by establishing

a 20-year agenda that focuses on economic development, healing, Aboriginal institution

building, and human resources development. The main idea of this Commission

emphasized that Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals must work together to substantially

improve the lives of Aboriginal Canadians (AANDC 2011). Finally, UNDRIP (2007)

stresses that Indigenous Peoples have the right to be treated equally. It recognizes that

Indigenous peoples have suffered greatly from colonization and there is a great need to

restore to Indigenous peoples their land, cultures, languages, and spiritual traditions.

Furthermore, UNDRIP outlines that governments have a responsibility to help

Indigenous peoples towards self-determination (United Nations 2008).

In the same resolution, the NDPAC called for a right to self-government and to rights

that have been established in treaties. Self-government should be established by

consulting First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. Procedures for land claims should be

set, and these procedures should be equitable, just, efficient, and respectful of Aboriginal

rights. The diverse cultures of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples should be preserved

and promoted. Furthermore, equitable participation of all Aboriginal Peoples with

government matters should be embodied by establishing appropriate boards and

commissions ("HFX '09" 2009, 91). The resolution made no specific mention of

Aboriginal women participating on boards and commissions that would settle land claims

and treaty rights. As previously discussed, band councils are known to be male

dominated, so efforts to specifically include women can be beneficial (Hipwell 2002, 12).

This resolution was partially integrated into the 2011 electoral platform. The NDP stated

that they desired to establish a "nation-to-nation" basis with First Nations, Inuit, and

Métis people across Canada in order to align Aboriginal quality of living with the same

quality of living as non-Aboriginal Canadians ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15).

However, Jordan's Principle, UNDRIP, or RCAP were not discussed in the 2011

platform, and the specific term of self-government was also not discussed in the platform. On the same note, the Western Arctic riding association proposed Resolution 5-22-09, which requested that the NDP endorse and ratify UNDRIP ("HFX '09" 2009, 97). However, as previously mentioned, the platform did not address UNDRIP, and as such, this resolution was not integrated.

Resolution 5-10-09 addressed establishment of consultation guidelines for infrastructure development on reserves. The resolution called for the elected government to direct Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) to create a formal, transparent, and accountable process that addresses the needs of each community, based on facts, through consultations with said community.[3] The process should be conducted in line with past Supreme Court of Canada rulings regarding proper consultation with First Nations communities.[4] This resolution was proposed by the NDPAC ("HFX '09" 2009, 94). The platform mentioned that the NDP wishes to work with Aboriginal governments to improve and build infrastructure, but it did not mention the Supreme Court of Canada rulings. The NDP instead vowed to improve physical infrastructure such as roads, housing, drinking water facilities, and other essential services on reserves ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15). As a result, this resolution was partially integrated into the platform. The NDPAC also put forward Resolution 5-26-09 which referred to renewing commitment to free Leonard Peltier ("HFX '09" 2009, 98). Leonard Peltier is an

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[3] At the time of the 2009 Halifax NDP National Convention, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development was named Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The term Indian and Northern Affairs Canada is used to reflect the original resolution.
[4] See for e.g. Nation Tsilhqot'in v. British Columbia, 2014 CSC 44, [2014] 2 R.C.S. 256, Rio Tinto Alcan Inc. *v.* Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, 2010 SCC 43, [2010] 2 S.C.R. 650, Beckman *v.* Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation, 2010 SCC 53, [2010] 3 S.C.R. 103, Mikisew Cree First Nation *v.* Canada (Minister of Canadian Heritage), [2005] 3 S.C.R. 388, 2005 SCC 69

Anishinabe-Lakota Native American man who was charged with the murder of two FBI agents in 1975. However, after years of investigation, it is becoming more evident that Peltier's trial was unfair and that political factors played a role in how he was convicted (Amnesty International 2015). This resolution was passed, but it did not appear in the platform, and thus, was not integrated. Furthermore, this resolution did not hold any relevance to Aboriginal women's issues.

Resolution 5-07-09 was submitted by the NDPAC and addressed recognizing the sovereignty of Inuvialuit, who are Canada's Western Arctic Aboriginal Peoples, Inuit, and Innu peoples. It stipulated that these peoples have lived here for centuries, which means they have a rightful claim of sovereignty over the Arctic Archipelago. Furthermore, it stressed that these peoples should be present at meetings where Arctic matters are discussed ("HFX '09" 2009, 95). This resolution was also passed, but once again, the resolution was very broad and discussed Innu, Inuit, and Inuvialuit peoples generally. Unfortunately, there is a lack of numbers to indicate Aboriginal women's representation in northern band councils, self-governing Yukon nations, local and provincial Aboriginal organizations, and hunting and trapping organizations (HTOs). One study was conducted in 2006 that concluded that only 9% of Nunavut HTOs included women (White 2013, 245). Therefore, it is unclear if Arctic sovereignty would assist Aboriginal women in gaining political positions.

The Western Arctic riding association also proposed Resolution 1-03-09, regarding Arctic sovereignty. The resolution expressed how investment in housing, employment, and education will secure sovereignty in the North, rather than militarization ("HFX '09" 2009, 2). This resolution, however, did not mention Aboriginal Peoples in the North and

their specific needs for social service delivery. Regardless, Arctic sovereignty was not discussed in the 2011 election platform, so both of these resolutions were not integrated. Furthermore, Resolution 5-01-09, proposed by the Western Arctic riding association, called upon changing the funding formula for the three territories. The new funding formula would account for real costs of delivering programs and services to the territories ("HFX '09" 2009, 91). Once again, this resolution does not address delivering social services to Aboriginal Peoples in the North, who experience lower standards of living (Simon 2009, 251). Nevertheless, the resolution was not integrated since the platform did not address a funding formula for the territories.

The resolutions examined in this section addressed Aboriginal issues, but they did not distinguish the needs of Aboriginal women. The discourse was constructed along the intersections of race and did not incorporate the intersection of gender. Out of the 20 resolutions examined in this section, four were proposed by the NDPAC. The NDPAC resolutions addressed issues that are relevant to Aboriginal Peoples as a whole, but these resolutions did not address the specific needs of Aboriginal women. Nevertheless, 16 of the examined resolutions explicitly addressed First Nations, Inuit, Métis, or Aboriginal peoples within their resolutions. Regardless of their recognition of how issues reflect Aboriginals, these resolutions did not acknowledge how these issues can specifically affect Aboriginal women.

Women's Issues

Table 3 - Summary of NDP Women's Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
3-21-09 - Child Welfare	Manitoba Young New Democrats	PI
3-03-09 - Child-care Legislation	Trinity-Spadina	NI
6-25-09 - Pay Equity	Winnipeg North	PI
6-03-09 - Pay Equity	London-Fanshawe	SI
3-04-09 - Pay Equity	Quebec Section	NI
3-08-09 - Anti-Poverty	Trinity-Spadina	SI
3-03-09 – National Housing Strategy	Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca	SI
3-48-09 – Affordable Housing	Ontario New Democratic Youth	PI
3-49-09 – Affordable Housing	Toronto Centre	PI
3-66-09 –Affordable Housing	Davenport	PI
6-11-09 - Women's Organizations	Manitoba Young New Democrats	SI
6-17-09 – Women's Centres	Quebec Section	SI
4-13-09 – Human Trafficking	London-Fanshawe	NI
6-41-09 - UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women	London-Fanshawe	NI
4-14-09 – Women in peace building	Ottawa Centre	NI
4-19-09 – Women in Afghanistan	Victoria	SI
Resolution 4-29-09 – Women Immigrants and Refugees	London-Fanshawe	NI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI = Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

Table 3 provides a summary of women's issue resolutions, who proposed them, and their integration levels. Seventeen resolutions proposed at the 2009 Halifax National Convention addressed women's issues. Resolution 3-21-09 referred to changing the funding formula for child-care to be based on those with greatest need. It was proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats ("HFX '09" 2009, 52). The platform stated that the NDP would support development of child-care centres. However, neither the

resolution nor the platform addressed child-care centres on reserves or culturally relevant child-care centres. Regardless, the NDP seeks to make child-care more accessible by establishing 25,000 new child-care centres, improving community infrastructure that allows growth of child-care spaces, and creating child-care that focuses on education and early learning ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 5). The NDP also planned on giving an additional $700 per child as part of a non-taxable child benefit in addition to the Universal Child- Care Benefit ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 6). In addition, the platform discussed a Caregiver Benefit for low to middle income families who are caring for dependents, such as children or elders. The intention was to give up to $1500 a year to families who need assistance with everyday costs ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 18). The resolution was partially integrated into the platform with the discussion of the caregiver benefit since the benefit is allocated for low to middle-income families. This could be beneficial to Aboriginal families, but no specific mention was made about Aboriginal families in regards to child-care. Resolution 3-09-09 also referred to child-care and was proposed by the Trinity-Spadina riding association. This resolution requested that child-care be enshrined into legislation with a Canadian Early Childhood Learning and Care Act ("HFX '09" 2009, 49). This resolution did not address the benefits enshrining child-care in legislation would bring to Aboriginal women, who are more likely to be lone parents and more likely to require financial assistance with child-care (O'Donnell and Wallace 2011, 20). Nevertheless, the resolution was not integrated since the platform did not address enshrining child-care into legislation.

The Winnipeg North riding association proposed Resolution 6-25-09 which addressed pay and employment equity. It called for the federal government to enshrine pay equity

protection under the Canadian Human Rights Act. Furthermore, it asked for a

reinstatement of funding to the Status of Women Canada in order for it to function

properly. The resolution additionally sought to deepen understanding among Canadians

about pay and employment equity and to call upon the media to report employment and

pay equity accurately ("HFX '09" 2009, 108). The platform partially integrated the

resolution. The NDP wished to establish a pro-active pay equity regime enshrined in law

based on the recommendations of the 2004 Pay Equity Force, but the platform did not

mention reinstating funding to Status of Women Canada ("Giving Your Family a Break"

2011, 17). Resolution 6-03-09, proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association,

also requested that the NDP implement the recommendations of the 2004 Pay Equity

Task Force ("HFX '09" 2009, 102). Since this was their only request, and this was

explicitly stated in the platform, this resolution was specifically integrated.

The Quebec Section association also proposed Resolution 3-04-09 about pay equity,

which requested the right for female workers to file complaints regarding pay equity to

the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) ("HFX '09" 2009, 48). This resolution

was not integrated because the platform did not address the right for women to file

complaints with the CHRC about pay equity. Pay equity legislation would be beneficial

to women as a whole. However, Aboriginal women have more difficulty finding

employment and are often found in lower-paying jobs. This needs to be resolved in order

for pay equity to be beneficial for them (Quinless 2012). Resolution 3-08-09, also

proposed by the Trinity-Spadina riding association, requested an Anti-Poverty Act that

provides sufficient investment in the social security of all Canadians ("HFX '09" 2009,

49). This resolution did not address that Aboriginal women are more likely to live in

poverty, so any anti-poverty legislation should take this into consideration (Townsen 2009). The platform specifically integrated this resolution because it outlined that the NDP would table legislation for poverty reduction. In fact, although the resolution did not address collaboration with Aboriginal governments, the platform did address this ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 6).

Resolution 3-03-09, proposed by the Esquimalt-Juan de Fuca riding association, called upon a national housing program that alleviates the growing need of affordable housing ("HFX '09" 2009, 48). This resolution was specifically integrated into the platform since the platform stated the NDP would implement the Affordable Housing Initiative, which would increase the supply of affordable housing ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 6). However, this resolution did not address housing for Aboriginal women, who have unique needs for housing due to lack of matrimonial property rights on reserves, higher levels of domestic violence, or higher rates of poverty (NWAC 2009). Resolution 3-48-09, proposed by the Ontario New Democratic Youth, also addressed affordable housing. This resolution stated that 1% of the federal budget should be dedicated to building and maintaining affordable housing ("HFX '09" 2009, 60). On the other hand, Resolution 3-49-09, proposed by Toronto Centre, requested that 2% of the federal budget be directed to affordable housing ("HFX '09" 2009, 60). In addition, the Davenport riding association proposed Resolution 3-66-09, which also asked that 2% of the federal budget be put towards affordable housing, along with creating a national housing strategy ("HFX '09" 2009, 66). The platform stated that the NDP wished to implement significant new funding for housing but did not specify a budget, so these resolutions were partially integrated.

Resolution 6-11-09 requested a re-establishment of funding to women's advocacy groups and was proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats ("HFX '09" 2009, 104). This was passed and was specifically integrated in the platform. The NDP stated that it would restore funding to women's programs and organizations that were cut by the Harper government ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 18). Separate from the resolution, the platform additionally stated that it would continue funding Aboriginal women's organizations ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 17). It is unclear why this was included in the platform. These organizations are essential for Aboriginal women since it cultivates community building and grants a space for traditional practices (Senese and Wilson 2013, 222). Moreover, Resolution 6-17-09, proposed by the Quebec Section, called on the right for Women's Centres to advocate for equality. This refers to funding for women's shelters, transition houses, sexual assault crisis centres, and any other places necessary to assist women, lesbians, transsexuals and others for the fight towards equality ("HFX '09" 2009, 106). This was passed and funding for women's centres was specifically integrated in the platform. The NDP outlined collaboration with provinces and territories to increase access to transition houses and women's shelters to assist women fleeing violence ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 17).

Resolution 4-13-09 addressed human trafficking and was proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association. This resolution sought to promote women's equality by creating legislation to crack down on human trafficking. Creating this legislation would entail collaboration with law enforcement, the international community, victim service agencies, and NGOs. Additionally, the resolution requested that the NDP honour the 2006 Report on Trafficking by the Committee on the Status of Women which states that

trafficking victims should be granted permanent resident status ("HFX '09" 2009, 71-72). This resolution did not address that many sex trafficking victims within Canada are Aboriginal women, and granting permanent resident status does nothing to help Aboriginal women who are victims of trafficking (NWAC 2015). Regardless, human trafficking was not addressed in the 2011 platform; thus, this resolution was not integrated.

Resolution 6-41-09 was proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association and the NDP Disability Rights Committee. It addressed reaffirming the commitment to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women and fulfilling all of the obligations set out by the convention ("HFX '09" 2009, 113). The convention calls upon the full equality of women and men and outlines methods to eliminate discrimination against women. However, the convention does not distinguish the discrimination Aboriginal women face from majority women based on their race (UN Women 2009). Nonetheless, the platform did not discuss the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, and thus, the resolution was not integrated.

Proposed by the Ottawa Centre riding association, Resolution 4-14-09 acknowledged women's role in international peace building initiatives and called for an implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 ("HFX '09" 2009, 72). The first resolution states that women should be involved in all aspects of peace building, peace keeping, peace negotiations, post-conflict reconstruction and humanitarian assistance (UN Security Council 2000). The second resolution reaffirms the commitment of Resolution 1325 (UN Security Council 2008). The Ottawa riding association

resolution was not integrated into the platform since it did not discuss women's role in peace building initiatives. Additionally, Resolution 4-19-09 called upon supporting the rights of women in Afghanistan and was proposed by the Victoria riding association. The resolution requested that the Canadian government works towards building civil society in Afghanistan that protects the rights of Afghani women ("HFX '09" 2009, 72). This resolution was specifically integrated into the platform. The platform explained that the NDP wished to establish an ongoing civilian development program with a focus on women in Afghanistan ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 20). Finally, Resolution 4-29-09 addressed helping women immigrants and refugees and was proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association. The resolution requested changes to the Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act that would eliminate landing fees for women fleeing from domestic violence; however, since the resolution did not address the requested changes, the resolution was not integrated ("HFX '09" 2009, 77). Nonetheless, these previous three resolutions did not explicitly address Aboriginal women's issues.

The resolutions discussed in this section addressed women's issues along the intersection of gender, but they did not incorporate the intersection of race. As such, the specific needs of Aboriginal women were excluded from these resolutions. Out of the 17 examined resolutions, none of them were proposed by the NDPWC. Moreover, 12 of the resolutions explicitly mentioned women within their resolution. This indicates that the associations are generally aware of the issues women face and are willing to incorporate feminist discourse into the resolutions.

Aboriginal Women's Issues

Table 4 – Summary of NDP Aboriginal Women's Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
4-47-09 - Free Trade	York Centre	NI
5-31-09 – Senate Reform	Westmount-Ville-Marie	NI
6-06-09 – Aboriginal Rights	Ontario NDP Aboriginal Committee	PI
6-33-09 – Decade of Action	Churchill	PI
3-46-09 - Housing and Homelessness National Strategy	Manitoba Young New Democrats and Winnipeg South Centre	NI
3-24-09 – Housing Shortages	Winnipeg Centre	PI
6-23-09 – Housing on Reserves	Ontario NDP Aboriginal Committee	PI
5-20-09 – Violence against Aboriginal women	London Fanshawe	PI
6-15-09 – Violence against Aboriginal Women	NDPAC and Winnipeg Centre	PI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI =Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

Resolutions addressing specific Aboriginal women's issues were also proposed at the

2009 Halifax National Convention and are summarized in Table 4. Proposed by the York

Centre riding association, Resolution 4-47-09 requested that the NDP should pursue a

new, democratic, and participatory trade program that protects the rights and freedoms of

Aboriginals and women ("HFX '09" 2009, 83). This resolution was not integrated into

the platform since free trade was not discussed whatsoever. In addition, Resolution 5-31-

09 requested a reform the Senate and was proposed by the Westmount-Ville-Marie riding

association. The resolutions explicitly stated that the Senate should recognize the socio-

cultural realities of Canadian society and include First Nations, along with implementing

gender equality ("HFX '09" 2009, 99). This resolution addressed both the intersections of

race and gender. Regardless, Senate reform was not addressed in the platform; therefore,

the resolution was not integrated.

Proposed by the Ontario NDP Aboriginal Committee, Resolution 6-06-09 addressed expanding party policy on the rights of Aboriginal Peoples. It called upon an investment in health and social services, housing, education, sanitary infrastructures, and recreation. It also requested justice initiatives that correlate with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit cultures. The resolution also asked for increased training and access to capital in order to increase the economic development of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities. Finally, Aboriginals in urban settings should be supported by investing into Native Friendship Centres, affordable housing, and health and education measures ("HFX '09" 2009, 103). This resolution was classified as an Aboriginal women's issue resolution since it addressed the women's issue of housing but specifically addressed Aboriginals. However, this resolution does not address the specific challenges Aboriginal women face, and the discourse is centred along the intersection of race. NWAC stresses that if economic development is pursued, the specific needs of Aboriginal women must be considered (NWAC 2009). In addition, the specific housing needs of Aboriginal women need to be considered, and doing so would require addressing the root causes of inadequate housing, such as violence, matrimonial property rights, and poverty (NWAC 2009). Nevertheless, the resolution was partially integrated because the platform addressed working with Aboriginal governments towards economic development, increasing access to capital, and improving physical infrastructure, such as housing ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15). However, culturally relevant justice initiatives were not discussed.

Furthermore, the Churchill riding association proposed Resolution 6-33-09, which asked for a decade of action to improve the lives of Aboriginal Peoples. The resolution requested an investment in Aboriginal primary and secondary education at the equivalent provincial funding level. It also asked for investment into new housing units and support of Aboriginal health. Finally, the resolution called upon improvements to physical infrastructures, such as roads and recreation facilities, that can contribute to community development ("HFX '09" 2009, 111). Again, this resolution did not address Aboriginal women's challenges, but it did address women's issues while addressing Aboriginals, which is why this resolution was classified as an Aboriginal women's issue.

As previously mentioned, the platform discussed improving physical infrastructure for Aboriginals, along with improving health, education, and housing ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15). However, the platform did not state that Aboriginal education funding should be equivalent to provincial funding. Thus, the resolution was partially integrated. Additionally, Resolution 3-46-09, proposed by the Manitoba Young New Democrats and the Winnipeg South Centre riding association, referred to a National Strategy of Housing and Homelessness. It stressed that particular attention needs to be given to women and Aboriginals ("HFX '09" 2009, 60). This resolution passed, and the platform discussed transition housing for women fleeing violence. However, it did not address the specific challenges Aboriginal women hold with property rights on reserves nor does it discuss social housing needs for Aboriginals and women. Thus, the resolution was not integrated.

Resolution 3-24-09 also referred to housing shortages on reserves. Proposed by the Winnipeg Centre riding association, it called upon the federal government, specifically

INAC, to build 5,000 units of quality housing on reserves each year until housing is sufficient ("HFX '09" 2009, 53). Similar to Resolution 3-24-09, the Ontario NDP Aboriginal Committee proposed Resolution 6-23-09, which also called on the federal government to build 5,000 units of housing on reserves per year ("HFX '09" 2009, 108). Both were passed, and as previously mentioned, the NDP generally considered housing for First Nations communities and discussed in the platform that they wish to improve housing on reserves ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 15). Nevertheless, although the platform did not specifically address 5,000 units of housing, the general idea was incorporated into the platform. Therefore, both resolutions were partially integrated.

Resolution 5-20-09 addressed ending violence against Aboriginal women. It called for a NDP government to address initiatives led by Aboriginal women to create community-led solutions to end violence and to ensure sufficient monetary resources in order to support social programming through INAC. Furthermore, funding should go towards ensuring affordable and adequate housing to help protect Aboriginal women. Healing centres should be supported, along with educational programs created by Native women to help address the root causes of violence, help families develop prevention strategies, to develop safety plans, and to identify risk. A NDP government should work with Aboriginal women and women's groups to ensure that their needs and concerns are accommodated before passing legislation. This was proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association ("HFX '09" 2009, 97). Housing for Aboriginal women was not specifically addressed in the platform, but Aboriginal housing was mentioned. The platform asserted that a NDP government would support the process of Aboriginal healing but did not mention healing centres directly. It did state that a NDP government

wanted to work with Aboriginal women's organizations to organize a response to the growing issue of violence against Aboriginal women and girls ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 17). As such, the resolution was partially integrated.

Similar to Resolution 5-20-09 proposed by the London-Fanshawe riding association, Resolution 6-15-09 also addressed violence against Aboriginal women and called upon the federal government to implement a national action plan that addresses violence against Aboriginal women and girls. The resolution stated that police forces and Indigenous organizations should collaborate to implement effective protocols on missing persons' cases. It further declared that the federal government should provide consistent funding to culturally appropriate services such as shelters, counselling, and a national hotline. It demanded an update to the police registry in order to have the most up-to-date information on reports of missing women. Furthermore, education of justice officials and police should be improved to ensure they have the training necessary to effectively help end violence against Aboriginal women. This resolution was proposed by the NDPAC and the Winnipeg Centre riding association ("HFX '09" 2009, 105). It was passed, and the issue was partially integrated in the platform. The NDP wished to work with First Nations communities to monitor crime by providing multi-year funding to hire permanent police officers with a goal of at least 2,500 new police officers in provinces, territories, and First Nations communities ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 16). In addition, they vowed to support ongoing funding of Aboriginal women's organizations ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 17). They also wished to support a coordinated federal response to violence against Aboriginal women by working with Aboriginal communities ("Giving Your Family a Break" 2011, 17).

This section analyzed policy resolutions that either explicitly addressed Aboriginal women or mentioned both women and Aboriginals within the resolutions. As a result, these resolutions were more intersectional than the previously discussed resolutions that addressed only Aboriginal or women's issues. The resolutions addressed women's issues while incorporating the intersection of race or they explicitly mentioned both Aboriginals and women being affected by the issue they were discussing. Nonetheless, only two of the resolutions examined explicitly mentioned Aboriginal women. This indicates that although the resolutions in this section incorporated intersectional elements within their resolutions, Aboriginal women's issues were not always directly addressed. Furthermore, all of the resolutions were either partially integrated or not integrated, indicating that many of the core elements of these resolutions were not integrated into the platform.

Summary

Table 5.1 – Numbers and Percentages for Examined Resolutions/Total Proposed Resolutions-NDP

		Aboriginal	Women	Aboriginal Women	Other	Total
NDPAC	Subtotals	4	0	1	0	5
	Percentages of examined/proposed resolutions (336)	1.2%	0%	0.3%	0%	1.5%
NDPWC	Subtotals	0	0	0	0	0
	Percentages of examined/proposed resolutions (336)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
O.A	Subtotals	16	17	8	290	331
	Percentages of examined/proposed resolutions (336)	4.8%	5.1%	2.4%	86.3%	98.5%

NDPAC - NDP Aboriginal Commission, NDPWC - NDP Women's Council, O.A - Other Associations

Table 5.2 - Numbers and Percentages for Examined Resolutions Addressing Aboriginal, Women, and Aboriginal Women's Issues - NDP

		Aboriginal	Women	Aboriginal Women	Total
NDPAC	Subtotals	4	0	1	5
	Percentages of examined resolutions	80%	0%	20%	100%
NDPWC	Subtotals	0	0	0	0
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	0%	0%
OA	Subtotals	16	17	8	41
	Percentages of examined resolutions	39.0%	41.5%	19.5%	100%

NDPAC - NDP Aboriginal Commission, NDPWC - NDP Women's Council, OA - Other Associations

Table 5.3 - Resolution Integration Success - NDP

		NDPAC	NDPWC	Other Associations	Totals
Aboriginal	Integrated resolutions	0/4	0/0	1/16	1/20
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	6.25%	5%
	Partially integrated resolutions	2/4	0/0	4/16	6/20
	Percentages of examined resolutions	50%	0%	25%	30%
	Not integrated resolutions	2/4	0/0	11/16	13/20
	Percentages of examined resolutions	50%	0%	68.8%	65%
Women	Integrated resolutions	0/5	0/0	6/17	6/17
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	35.3%	35.3%
	Partially integrated resolutions	0/5	0/0	5/17	5/17
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	29.4%	29.4%
	Not integrated resolutions	0/5	0/0	6/17	6/17
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	35.3%	35.3%

Aboriginal Women	Integrated resolutions	0/1	0/0	0/8	0/9
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Partially integrated resolutions	1/1	0/0	5/8	6/9
	Percentages of examined resolutions	100%	0%	62.5%	66.7%
	Not integrated resolutions	0/1	0/0	3/8	3/9
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	37.5%	33.3%
Totals of Examined Resolutions	Integrated resolutions	0/5	0/0	7/41	7/46
	Percentages	0%	0%	17.0%	15.2%
	Partially integrated resolutions	3/5	0/0	16/41	17/46
	Percentages	60%	0%	39.0%	37.0%
	Not integrated resolutions	2/5	0/0	18/41	22/46
	Percentages	40%	0%	43.9%	47.8%

The research question of this thesis asked whether or not the NDPAC and NDPWC impacts party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues. The NDPAC favoured resolutions pertaining to Aboriginal issues with four out of five (80%) of their examined resolutions addressing Aboriginal issues. This is because the NDPAC focused mainly on issues related to self-governance and Aboriginal rights to hold control over their lands and communities. The NDPWC only proposed one resolution, which addressed changing their name from the Participation of Women Committee and amending their constitution ("HFX '09" 2009, 129). Since this resolution was not a policy resolution, it was not included for analysis. The resolution regarding violence against Aboriginal women was the only resolution proposed by the NDPAC that addressed the unique needs of

Aboriginal women. Based on the sole analysis of the NDPAC and NDPWC, they do not significantly impact party policy on Aboriginal women's issues. Furthermore, resolutions regarding Aboriginal women, Aboriginal or women issues constituted a minority of the resolutions proposed at the NDP convention as Table 5.1 shows.

The research question also asked if the policy commissions were more likely than other associations within the NDP to impact policy on Aboriginal women's issues and if Aboriginal women's issues were integrated into the 2011 platform. In the case of the NDP, the policy commissions were not more likely than other associations within the party to promote Aboriginal women issues. It is not stated in the NDP Constitution that there is a limit on how many policy resolutions the policy commissions, electoral district associations, or provincial associations can propose. The only requirement mentioned in the constitution to propose policy resolutions at conventions is that "party headquarters must receive all resolutions no less than 60 days prior to start of the Convention" (NDP Constitution 2013, 5). This reinforces the findings that although the NDP commissions are not any more limited in their capability to propose policy resolutions over other associations, they still were less active for proposing policy that addressed Aboriginal issues, women's issues, and Aboriginal women's issues.

As shown here, one out of five (20%) of the NDPAC examined resolutions addressed Aboriginal women's issues in comparison to eight out of forty-one (19.5%) examined resolutions proposed by other NDP associations. The NDPAC was much more active than the NDP Women's Council (NDPWC) since the NDPWC did not propose any policy resolutions. Furthermore, as Table 5.3 demonstrates, the other associations within the NDP were more successful with policy resolution integration than the NDPAC. For

instance, none of the NDPAC resolutions were specifically integrated while seven out of forty-six resolutions (15.2%) proposed by other NDP associations were specifically integrated. This indicates that the policy-making effectiveness of the NDPAC is not any more robust than the policy-making effectiveness of the other NDP associations.

Moreover, the numbers indicate that women's issues were the most likely to be specifically integrated, followed by Aboriginal issues then Aboriginal women's issues. As depicted in Table 5.3, when comparing between the three categories, six out of seventeen resolutions (35.3%) regarding women's issues were specifically integrated, one out of twenty resolutions (5%) addressing Aboriginal issues were specifically integrated, and none of the Aboriginal women's issues resolutions were specifically integrated. Furthermore, six out of nine Aboriginal women's issue resolutions (66.7%) were partially integrated. This demonstrates that Aboriginal women's issues were integrated at some degree into the 2011 NDP electoral platform, but there were ideas of the policy resolutions that were excluded. Overall, the NDPAC and other NDP associations were somewhat successful with platform integration, but most of their resolutions were only partially integrated. This exhibits that the key ideas behind many of the policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal, women, or Aboriginal women's issues were not implemented into the 2011 NDP electoral platform. Nonetheless, the NDPAC and other NDP associations managed to integrate general ideas of their resolutions into the platform.

Chapter V – The Liberal Party of Canada - the Party of Accommodation?

The Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) has a history of accommodation, trying to be inclusive of all groups, and as such, it has been historically classified as a brokerage party (Carty 2013, 21).[5] However, over time, Carty argues that the LPC has become more centralized and "its long occupancy of power has led it to confuse partisanship with patriotism and has created a cult of entitlement that repels from engaging in public service rather than inviting them to do so" (Carty 2006, 10). Nevertheless, by the early 1990s, the LPC began to make more conscious efforts to include more women into the party (Carty et al. 2000, 92). In 1993, the liberal leader and Prime Minister, Jean Chretien, changed the party's constitution so that 25% of candidates running for the LPC must be women (Young 2013, 264). Judging from the number of female candidates that the LPC ran for the 2011 federal election, which was 37%, their efforts appear to be successful. Out of the five political parties in Canada with seats in the House of Commons, the LPC ran the highest number of female candidates (Equal Voice 2013, 2). However, compared to the CPC and the NDP, the LPC ran the least amount of minority candidates, with a number of 9.1% (Black 2013, 22). Moreover, the LPC remains less popular among Aboriginal women, according to research conducted by Harrell and Panagos (2010). As previously explained, Aboriginal women indicated that they were more likely to support the NDP while Aboriginal men were more likely to support the LPC (Harell and Panagos 2010, 10). Furthermore, only 2.7% of LPC candidates for the 2011 election were Aboriginal (Fontaine 2011; Parliament of Canada 2011). The analysis of the adopted policy resolutions from the 2009 Vancouver Liberal Leadership and

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[5] Carty argues that the Liberal Party is recently moving away from the brokerage model (2013). See literature review for debate about the changing party system in Canada.

Biennial Convention and the LPC 2011 electoral platform will indicate if the LPC has made more concrete efforts to accommodate and appease Aboriginal women.

In the remainder of the chapter, the discourse of Aboriginal issue, women's issue, and Aboriginal women's issue resolutions proposed by the LPC Aboriginal Peoples' Commission (LPCAPC), the National Women's Liberal Commission (NWLC) and other LPC associations will be examined. As such, this chapter will ascertain if any resolutions that represent Aboriginal women's issues have been integrated into the 2011 LPC electoral platform. The integration success rates will then be calculated and compared at the end of the chapter. It will also be determined if the policy commissions are more successful with proposing and integrating policy relevant to Aboriginal women than other associations within the LPC.

Aboriginal Issues

Table 6 - Summary of LPC Aboriginal Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
16 - Royal Commission on Environment and Health	NWLC	NI
100 - Lake Winnipeg	Liberal Party of Canada (Manitoba)	PI
129 - Natural Resources	Liberal Party of Canada (Quebec)	PI
131 - Water Policy	Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario)	PI
111 - Fishery Management	Liberal Party of Newfoundland and Labrador	SI
118 - Northern Sovereignty	Yukon Liberal Party	PI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI = Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

There were 37 adopted policy resolutions from the 2009 Vancouver Liberal Leadership and Biennial Convention. Out of these adopted resolutions, there were six resolutions that addressed Aboriginal issues, and these are summarized in Table 6 ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). The NWLC proposed Resolution 16, which requested that the next Liberal government create a Royal Commission on the

Environment and Health. The resolution stated that for the past seventy years, chemicals

that have been linked to cancer and have been used in the production of consumer goods

and industrial processes. They further advocated that this poses a risk to future

generations, as these chemicals have contaminated the air, food, and water, and these

contaminants may be linked to childhood asthma, autism, and developmental delays. In

addition, they cautioned against the use of genetically modified organisms, as they fear

this new technology may be difficult to control and maintain.

Moreover, they claimed that there have been few peer-reviewed, inclusive studies

about the effects of genetically modified organisms and the possible health and

environmental impacts that may be associated with them. As such, the resolution called

for a Royal Commission to examine the impacts on health and the environment that is

associated with industrial activity and to apply the Precautionary Principle, which

protects the public from uncertain risks of industrial processes ("Priority Policy

Resolutions" 2009). Although the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC)

identifies that environmental degradation significantly impacts Aboriginal women, this

was not mentioned in the resolution (NWAC 2007). This resolution did not address how

environmental degradation affects the health and quality of living for Aboriginals or

women, which means that intersectional elements of the issue were not explicitly

included. Nevertheless, the 2011 platform did not mention a Royal Commission on the

Environment and Health; therefore, the resolution was not integrated.

Resolution 100, proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Manitoba), addressed

taking measures for Lake Winnipeg. The resolution expressed that the lake is in a crisis,

due to excessive phosphorous loading, which is crucial since it is a watershed for four

Canadian provinces and three American states. As such, it called upon the next Liberal

Government to take measures to protect the watershed, such as committing $120 million

over the next ten years to reverse the damage. They also demanded that standardized

environmental regulations and funding for municipal infrastructure to remove phosphates

from the water should be established ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This

resolution did not address if any Aboriginal communities are impacted by the degradation

of Lake Winnipeg, such as Poplar River First Nation, Grand Rapids First Nation, Norway

House Cree Nation, Fisher River Cree Nation, and Brokenhead Ojibway Nation

(Commission for Environmental Cooperation 2014). Also, it did not address how the

health of the women and families in these communities are affected by poor

environmental conditions (NWAC 2007). Nevertheless, the resolution was partially

integrated into the platform. The platform stated that the LPC would support initiatives to

clean Lake Winnipeg and to remove the high levels of nitrogen and phosphorous.

However, the platform did not address the municipal infrastructure requested or the

budget the resolution called for ("Your Family" 2009, 48).

Proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Quebec), Resolution 129 discussed

Canada's natural resources. This resolution recognized the importance of natural

resources to Canada's rural economy. Moreover, it requested environmental negotiations

that account for a healthy environment while ensuring control over Canada's natural

resources. The resolution asked that this be accomplished through promotion of rational

exploitation of resources, equitable sharing of resources, development of recapture

systems, secondary and tertiary processing of resources in resource areas, maintenance of

Canadian control over these areas, and implementation of a national program to renew

and preserve drinking water ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Yet again, this resolution does not address how Aboriginal communities depend on natural resources for their wellbeing (AFN 2015). The platform did address a national program for drinking water, as previously discussed. Furthermore, the platform stated that Canada can benefit from the export of responsibly harvested resources and the expertise and technologies required for cleaner extraction and management of resources abroad ("Your Family" 14). As a result, this resolution was classified as partially integrated.

Resolution 131 addressed a national water policy and was proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario). The resolution demanded that the government rally against water commoditization and to enter talks with the United States and Mexico to exclude water from all NAFTA trade agreements. Furthermore, the policy should bind all provincial/territorial and municipal governments to monitor water contamination and ensure water quality. In addition, water should be recognized as a human right and that all Canadians are entitled to safe and sanitary drinking water. Finally, the policy should invest in research to create a water conservation strategy ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution did not state that many Aboriginal communities lack safe drinking water, and it did not address collaboration with Aboriginal governments (AFN 2015). The platform explained that the LPC wishes to establish a Canadian Freshwater Strategy. The strategy would include collaboration with provincial governments, municipal governments, and relevant stakeholders, and it would implement policy to conserve Canada's freshwater resources by cleaning valuable water sources. It would also address the issue of water contamination ("Your Family" 2011, 48). However, Resolution 118

was partially integrated into the platform since it did not state that water should be recognized as a human right.

The Liberal Party of Newfoundland and Labrador proposed Resolution 111, which called upon the revitalization of ocean fisheries. The resolution expressed that maintaining the fisheries is important for Canadians who depend on this economic activity. It called upon research to determine how to yield returns that maximize benefits for all Canadians. Furthermore, the resolution requested that the next Liberal government take measures to protect Canada's waters, fishermen, and its resources. The resolution also demanded opportunities for early retirement, license buyback, and programs to ensure the long-term viability of the industry. Finally, the resolution asked that tariffs on fishery exports to foreign markets are lowered ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution did not elaborate on the effects of the decline of fisheries on Aboriginal Peoples, as they depend on this resource for their cultural and socioeconomic wellbeing (AFN 2015). The resolution was specifically integrated into the 2011 electoral platform, as it was nearly quoted verbatim. The platform stated that

> [w]e will work with the industry on a range of measures including fleet rationalization and licence retirement programs for fisheries in crisis, along with older worker retirement and retraining programs. Harvesting capacity must be better aligned with the resource and some workers need more effective assistance to transition to new opportunities ("Your Family" 2011, 48).

Resolution 118 proposed by the Yukon Liberal Party addressed the issue of Northern Sovereignty. The resolution requested that the Canadian government aggressively reinforce Canada's northern boundaries through military enforcement by using aerial surveillance and frequent naval patrol ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). It also asked for the federal government to construct an access point at the western Arctic

port at King Point and connect it to the Dempster Highway. Moreover, both military and civilian traffic using Arctic waters should be taxed to support infrastructure development in the North ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Finally, scientific infrastructure should be prioritized in the North as this infrastructure can develop primary research that addresses how climate change impacts Northern and First Nations communities and sensitive northern ecosystems ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution did not mention that Aboriginal governments should be consulted in northern development, and as previously discussed, it is important to include Aboriginal women in any self-government or sovereignty negotiations (White 2013).

However, the resolution did state that the needs of northern Aboriginal communities should be taken into consideration when conducting research on the effects of climate change. The platform did address Northern Sovereignty. It stated that the LPC wanted to enhance relations with other Arctic nations by strengthening the Arctic Council, an intergovernmental forum that focuses on Arctic policy, by appointing an Ambassador for Circumpolar Affairs. In addition, the LPC wishes to include Indigenous leadership into Arctic Council discussions on economic and social development, transportation, security, and search and rescue ("Your Family" 2011, 79). The platform also stressed that in order for Arctic Sovereignty to be beneficial for Canada's Northern Peoples, action must be taken on improving education, climate change, infrastructure, healthcare, education, employment, and natural resource development ("Your Family" 2011, 79). The platform addressed the main ideas of the resolution; therefore, the resolution was partially integrated.

The resolutions that were discussed in this section all address issues that predominantly affect Aboriginal Peoples. However, none of these resolutions were proposed by the LPCAPC. One of these resolutions was proposed by the NWLC, but they failed to incorporate the intersection of race with their discussion of the environment. Out of the six resolutions examined, only one of them explicitly mentioned First Nations peoples. This indicates that the LPC associations and the NWLC do not consider how these issues affect Canada's Aboriginal Peoples, and more intersectionality can be incorporated into their policy resolutions.

Women's Issues

Table 7 - Summary of LPC Women's Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
29 - Child-care	NWLC	PI
140 - Child-care	Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario)	PI
115 - Poverty	Liberal Party of Nova Scotia	PI
132 - Child Poverty	Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario)	PI
69 - Poverty	Saskatchewan Liberal Association and Senior Liberals' Commission	PI
132 - National Housing Strategy	Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario)	PI
124 - Human Rights Commission	Liberal Party of Canada (Quebec)	NI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI = Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

Women's issues were raised at the 2009 LPC Convention, but none of these resolutions made any specific mention of Aboriginal women and addressed women's issues broadly. These resolutions are summarized in Table 7. Proposed by the NWLC, Resolution 29 addressed child-care and parental leave. The resolution stated that only 20% of Canadian families have access to quality, regulated child-care services, and access depends on which regions families reside in or their income. Furthermore, the resolution expressed that parents are restricted under the current federal maternal and paternal leave programme due to the inadequate benefits provided. As such, they may not

be able to afford to stay at home to care for their children. The resolution requested that the next Liberal government should work with the provinces and territories to create a publicly-funded, nationally coordinated child-care plan that is accessible for all Canadian families, regardless of their income or where they live. Furthermore, they demanded a comprehensive maternal and paternal leave program that increases benefits and includes part-time and contract workers. Finally, they asked for an allowance to be granted to parents who stay at home to care for pre-school children ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution recognized that income and place of residence impacts access to child-care, but the NWLC did not account for the needs of Aboriginal child-care.

As previously stated, NWAC identifies child-care as an Aboriginal women's issue because the population of Aboriginal youth is growing, Aboriginal women are more likely to live in poverty, and Aboriginal families are more likely to have families headed by mothers, grand-mothers, or aunts (NWAC 2005). This resolution was partially integrated in the 2011 platform. The platform stated that the LPC wished to implement a Family Care Tax Benefit for low-income and middle-income families to alleviate the cost for those staying at home to care for loved ones, regardless of their employment status ("Your Family" 2011, 30). Also, as previously stated, the platform discussed working with the provinces and territories to implement an Early Childhood Learning and Care Fund to provide quality, affordable child-care for all Canadian families, regardless of where they live ("Your Family" 2011, 24). However, the platform did not discuss maternal and paternal leave benefits, which is why this resolution was partially integrated rather than specifically integrated.

Resolution 140 also addressed child-care and was proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario). The resolution acknowledged that poverty disproportionately affects youth and further stated that the provinces require assistance from the federal government to combat child poverty and tackle child-care. It further requested a national plan for affordable child-care. The resolution expressed that tax cuts do not meet the needs of most families and the decline of new child-care centres opening since 2006 is unacceptable. As such, the resolution asked for a long-term national child-care plan that is collaborated on with the provinces and a nationwide Day of Action to raise awareness about poverty ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Once again, the resolution did not address Aboriginal child-care and Aboriginal women's poverty. As previously discussed, the platform did address a national child-care plan that would require collaboration with the provinces ("Your Family" 2011, 24). However, the platform did not address the day of action. Thus, the resolution was classified as partially integrated.

Resolution 115 addressed poverty in Canada and was proposed by the Liberal Party of Nova Scotia. The resolution stated that poverty disproportionately affects women and children and asked the next Liberal Government to establish poverty reduction standards based on social determinants of health and to ensure that sustainable funding is provided. It also requested standardized financial and child-care programs to assist single mothers who are receiving an education, as lack of education is a determinant of poverty ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution did acknowledge that women and children are more disadvantaged due to poverty, but it did not recognize the intersections among women and made no mention of Aboriginal women and Aboriginal child-care. The LPC stated in their platform that they aimed to work with all partners necessary for

the Poverty Reduction Plan in Canada. The programs that would provide the foundation for this plan included the Canadian Learning Strategy, which emphasizes Aboriginal learning; Family Care; the National Food Policy; and a new Affordable Housing Network ("Your Family" 2011, 55-56). In addition, the LPC vowed to invest approximately $5 billion over two years into these programs to help low-income families and to reduce poverty and inequality ("Your Family" 2011, 56). The Poverty Reduction Plan did include the Canadian Learning Strategy with Aboriginal learning as a key focus, but the platform did not state that Aboriginals and women are more likely to be in poverty than other Canadians (Cooke and McWhirter 2011, 21; Lahey 2010, 38-39). Regardless, the platform partially integrated the resolution.

Resolution 138, which was proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario), addressed child poverty. The resolution sought to increase access to employment insurance (EI) by introducing a 360-hour qualifying requirement to ensure part-time and laid-off workers qualify and receive the maximum benefits. It also demanded that the LPC work with provinces to increase the rates of social assistance payments. Furthermore, it called for an investment into a child-care system for all children under 12 that is high quality, accessible to all Canadian families, regulated, and supported by certified, well-paid child-care workers. Moreover, low-income families should be granted access to affordable housing that does not require more than 30% of their gross income and to provide an annual increase in housing subsidies that accommodates the rising costs of food, fuel, and transportation ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Again, Aboriginal child-care and poverty was not addressed in this resolution.

As for the platform, EI and social assistance payments were not addressed. As previously explained, the platform did discuss affordable housing, and the platform cited the statistic from the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation that one-quarter of Canadian households spend more than 30% of their income on housing ("Your Family" 2011, 54). However, housing subsidies were not addressed. Child-care was discussed in the platform. The LPC wished to implement an Early Childhood Learning and Care Fund that provides cost-sharing between the federal government and provincial/territorial governments ("Your Family" 2011, 24). The LPC wanted to commit $500 million in the first year and would eventually increase the investment to $1 billion in the fourth year for high quality, affordable child-care ("Your Family" 2011, 24). The platform did partially integrate the resolution into the platform.

The Saskatchewan Liberal Association and the Senior Liberals' Commission proposed Resolution 69, which also addressed child poverty in Canada. The resolution stated that 11.7% of children in Canada were living in poverty in 2007. As such, the resolution requested that in the next five years, the government should reduce poverty in Canada by 30% and child poverty by 50% ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution lacked intersectionality since it did not acknowledge poverty among Aboriginal women. Since the platform did not explicitly cite the statistics within the resolution, this resolution was also classified as partially integrated.

Resolution 132 proposed by the Liberal Party of Canada (Ontario) discussed a national housing strategy. It discussed how housing is a key determinant of health and access to stable, affordable, and decent housing is the first step to combat homelessness. The resolution requested that the federal government collaborate with the

provincial/territorial governments to establish an aggressive housing program that targets

the current social housing needs. Key stakeholders, such as non-profit organizations and

the building industry, would contribute to the national housing strategy by participating

in an 18 month process to create a ten year strategy. It would include reviewing the

Affordable Housing Program, providing funding for the Homelessness Partnership

Strategy, and including a sustainability plan with environmentally safe building

technologies that align with energy and safety standards ("Priority Policy Resolutions"

2009). Since this resolution did not mention Aboriginal housing, it was classified under

women's issues. The platform acknowledged that housing is a social determinant of

health. The platform also stated that the LPC would create the Affordable Housing

Network, which would help to reduce homelessness, maintain existing housing stock, and

stimulate new construction of affordable housing and would be achieved through the

collaboration of relevant stakeholders and provincial/territorial governments ("Your

Family" 2011, 55). Details were not provided on the Affordable Housing Network, so it

is unclear if this program is a ten year strategy and if it will include a sustainability plan

for environmentally safe housing. As such, the resolution was partially integrated since

the main ideas were encompassed, but details were excluded.

Finally, the Liberal Party of Canada (Quebec) proposed Resolution 124, which

addressed the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC). It stated that women,

refugees, visible minorities, children, and seniors are more vulnerable to injustice and

discrimination. Furthermore, the CHRC is essentially powerless and federal

responsibility is divided among non-government organizations. As such, the resolution

demanded that socio-economic status and citizenship status be grounds for

discrimination. Furthermore, it requested more allocation of power to the CHRC in order

for the commission to be able to carry out its recommendations. It also called for an

implementation of sub-commissions for children and gender equality ("Priority Policy

Resolutions" 2009). The resolution did not include Aboriginals in the list of peoples

vulnerable to discrimination. It also did not address the possibility of an Aboriginal

Rights Commission. Regardless, the CHRC was not mentioned anywhere in the platform;

thus, the resolution was not integrated.

The resolutions surveyed in this section addressed issues that affect women

disproportionately or specifically mentioned women within the resolutions. However, out

of the seven resolutions examined, only two of the resolutions explicitly mentioned

women. Many of the resolutions addressed women's issues without elaborating on how

women are affected by the issues. Furthermore, the NWLC proposed a resolution

addressing child-care, but they did not specify the benefits child-care can have for

women. Once again, the LPC associations and the NWLC could have incorporated more

intersectionality into their policy resolutions.

Aboriginal Women's Issues

Table 8 - Summary of LPC Aboriginal Women's Issue Policy Resolutions

Resolution	Commission/Association	Integration
116 - Aboriginal Education	LPCAPC	PI
Emergency Resolution - The Kelowna Accord	LPCAPC	NI
75 - Canada's Aboriginal Peoples	Saskatchewan Liberal Association	PI
119 - Affordable Housing	Liberal Party of Alberta	PI

SI = Specifically Integrated, PI = Partially Integrated, NI = Not Integrated

Table 8 provides a summary of Aboriginal women's issues that were proposed at

the 2009 LPC convention. Resolution 116, proposed by the LPCAPC, focused on

Aboriginal education. It explained that the jurisdiction of Aboriginal education is problematic since it is divided among the federal and provincial governments. The resolution also acknowledged that the number of Aboriginals in Canada is growing at a much more rapid pace than non-Aboriginal Canadians, stating the statistic that from 1971-2001, there was a population increase of 322% among Aboriginal Canadians and 37% among non-Aboriginal Canadians ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Moreover, since 1986, there has been a 2% cap on funding for Aboriginal education, so as the Aboriginal population continues to grow, the funding for Aboriginal education declines. In addition, the budget remains fixed regardless of the increases in tuition fees for post-secondary education ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009).

The LPCAPC called upon the LPC to increase funding for Aboriginal post-secondary education and have the funding reflect the costs of education and living instead of capping the budget. The resolution also required the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (INAC) to regularly review eligible expenses under the post-secondary education program to ensure coverage of real expenses incurred by individual Aboriginal learners. These expenses can include child-care, special shelter, and special needs. Finally, it asked for funding that allows accepted Aboriginal individuals to pursue full attendance of post-secondary education ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Since the resolution raised the women's issues of child-care and housing, it was classified as an Aboriginal women's issue. This resolution was somewhat intersectional because it acknowledged barriers that Aboriginal women may face for gaining an education, such as expenses for child-care and shelter. However, it did not explicitly address Aboriginal women in the resolution.

This resolution held a significant focus in the 2011 electoral platform. The LPC claimed education as the top priority in Aboriginal affairs. They vowed to work with Aboriginal leaders to ensure that Aboriginals hold the same opportunities for education as non-Aboriginal Canadians ("Your Family" 2011, 26). The platform acknowledged that the Aboriginal population is growing at six times the pace as non-Aboriginal Canadians and the median age is 27. As such, investing in Aboriginal education is vital to the Canadian economy ("Your Family" 2011, 26). These statements both reflect Resolution 116. The platform also stated that the dropout rate among Aboriginal Canadians is two times the dropout rate among non-Aboriginal Canadians and if Aboriginals reach post-secondary education, they are less likely to complete it ("Your Family" 2011, 26). This statistic was not addressed in Resolution 116, but nonetheless, it remains important. The platform continued to discuss Aboriginal education to a great extent. The LPC attributed the dropout rate to underfunding of Aboriginal education. Funding for schools on-reserves, which is provided by the federal government, receive significantly less per pupil in contrast to provincially funded schools ("Your Family" 2011, 26). Resolution 116 addressed the jurisdiction of Aboriginal education as a problem. However, the platform did not specify how much funding would be provided for schools on reserves. This is significant because as elaborated on in the next paragraph, more detail and discussion about Aboriginal post-secondary education was included in the platform.

Post-secondary education for Aboriginals held a large focus in the platform. The platform stated that regardless of the rising tuition costs, funding for Aboriginal post-secondary education is still capped at 2% per year ("Your Family" 2011, 26). In order to lift this cap, the LPC wanted to commit an additional $300 million in its second year of

governance while collaborating with Aboriginal leadership ("Your Family" 2011, 27).

The 2% funding cap was directly addressed in Resolution 116. Furthermore, the LPC

aimed to refinance the First Nations University in Saskatchewan, which they described as

an important Aboriginal institution. Moreover, the LPC wanted to create a Canada Métis

Scholarship program which would invest $5 million annually into Métis students ("Your

Family" 2011, 27). They also vowed to create an Office of the First Nations Auditor

General to monitor progress, ensure accountability of public funds, and identify the best

practices for Aboriginal education ("Your Family" 2011, 27). These courses of action

were not discussed in Resolution 116. Furthermore, the intersectionality of Resolution

116 was not entirely reflected in the platform. The platform made a number of

worthwhile suggestions to increase access for Aboriginal education, but it did not

acknowledge specific barriers that Aboriginal women face in regards to access to

education. The resolution addressed barriers for Aboriginal women gaining education

with the discussion of expenses for child-care and shelters, but this was not reflected in

the 2011 platform. As such, this resolution was classified as partially integrated since the

platform did not address these barriers.

Within the LPC priority resolutions document, a section was labeled as

"Emergency Resolutions." The Kelowna Accord resolution, passed by LPCAPC, was

included in this section. It explained how the Liberal Government under Paul Martin

entered into the Kelowna Accord with Canadian provincial/territorial governments and

Canadian Aboriginal leadership to narrow the gaps between Aboriginal Canadians and

non-Aboriginal Canadians in skills development, housing, education, access to clean

water, employment, and health care, which would ultimately improve the socio-economic

conditions of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada (Patterson 2006, i-iii). The Conservative

Government has not honoured the Kelowna Accord, and organizations representing First

Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples continue to ask for it to be honoured. The Right

Honourable Paul Martin, Member of Parliament for LaSalle-Émard, introduced Bill C-

292, *An Act to Implement the Kelowna Accord.* It passed in the House of Commons with

a vote of 176 to 126 and received royal assent ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). The

resolution called for the federal government to fulfill the requirements of the Kelowna

Accord ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009).

This resolution was intersectional because NWAC was included on discussions to

create the Kelowna Accord. Furthermore, the Kelowna Accord entails "establishing a

distinctions-based approach," addressing the needs of all Aboriginals regardless of their

status or where they live, working with Aboriginal women to address their needs by

developing culturally-relevant programs, engaging with Aboriginals to design relevant

and useful policy, respecting regional differences, and improving accountability by

reporting progress or lack thereof regularly ("Summary of Policies" Aboriginal Peoples'

Commission). Since the Kelowna Accord addresses the women's issue of housing, this

resolution was classified under Aboriginal women's issues. The resolution requested that

the next Liberal government "take all measures to implement the terms of the accord"

("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). The platform stated that "much can be gained by

retaining the lessons and spirit of the Kelowna process" ("Your Family" 2011, 26). Since

the platform did not state that the next Liberal Government would implement the terms of

the Kelowna Accord, the resolution was classified as not integrated.

Resolution 75, proposed by the Saskatchewan Liberal Association, called for support of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples. The resolution stated that Canada's Aboriginal population has grown in the last decade by 45%, which means that 3.1% of the country's population is Aboriginal ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). It expressed that the Kelowna Accord was cancelled by the Harper government and Canada is one of four countries to vote against the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The resolution requested that the LPC adopt the principles of the UNDRIP and the Kelowna Accord. Furthermore, it demanded the next Liberal Government to help provide a secure future for Aboriginals by strengthening their identity, governance relationships, and accountability among Aboriginal governments and other stakeholders. The resolution also called for improving drinking water on reserves, improving housing for Aboriginals both on and off reserves, implementation of services that address substance abuse and violence, working with Aboriginal peoples to implement culturally relevant education that establishes roots for employment, and working with Aboriginal Peoples toward economic development ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). This resolution was somewhat intersectional because it addressed barriers to Aboriginal women's quality of living, such as inadequate housing. However, although violence was mentioned in the resolution, it did not specify if domestic and sexual violence is included in this definition. Nevertheless, since it addressed housing and violence, which were classified under women's issues in Table 1 in Chapter 3, but specifically mentioned Aboriginal housing, it was classified as an Aboriginal women's issue.

The platform briefly mentioned the UNDRIP and the Kelowna Accord but did not elaborate on how it would implement the terms of the Kelowna Accord. As previously discussed, it did address working with Aboriginal governments towards better education ("Your Family" 2011, 26). Improved housing was also addressed in the platform. The LPC desired to replace the temporary housing programs with the Affordable Housing Network, which would commit $550 million of investments into housing in the first two years of a mandate. The Affordable Housing Network would collaborate with provincial/territorial governments and municipal governments to address unique community needs. Furthermore, this network would collaborate with Northern and Aboriginal communities in order to promote direct progress ("Your Family" 2011, 55). The platform addressed violence and mentioned that the LPC intended to designate a task force to prevent violence against Aboriginal women and to address the systemic causes of the problem while emphasizing methods to prevent future cases ("Your Family" 2011, 58). This task force would work with provincial governments and build on the efforts of Aboriginal women. Furthermore, it would present its findings to the Minister of Justice to plan further action ("Your Family" 2011, 58). Finally, economic development on Aboriginal reserves was not discussed in the platform. Overall, Resolution 75 was partially integrated.

Lastly, the Liberal Party of Alberta proposed Resolution 119, which focused on extending existing affordable housing programs. It noted that homelessness in communities experiencing growth and urban areas is increasing. Many low-income Canadians cannot afford housing and have to rely on shelters. In order for inclusive and healthy communities to be built, homelessness needs to be remedied. The resolution

called upon the federal government to enhance the following programs: the Affordable

Housing Initiative, the Supportive Communities Partnership Initiative, the Residential

Rehabilitation Assistance Program, Aboriginal housing both on and off-reserve, and co-

operative housing. It sought to enhance these programs through innovative relationships

with stakeholders, provinces, and territories, and to create financial incentives for

building affordable housing ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Again, since it

addressed Aboriginal housing, it was classified as an Aboriginal women's issue. As

previously mentioned, the platform discussed the Affordable Housing Network. This

program would include collaboration with Aboriginal governments, which would assist

with Aboriginal housing ("Your Family" 2011, 55). However, the platform did not

discuss the Supportive Communities Partnership Initiative or the Residential

Rehabilitation Assistance Program, and as such, the resolution was classified as partially

integrated.

The resolutions discussed in this section addressed women's issues but

incorporated the intersections of race by mentioning Aboriginals. For instance, they

would address the women's issues of violence or housing, but they mentioned how these

issues have an impact on Aboriginal Peoples. However, none of the resolutions explicitly

mentioned Aboriginal women. Although the NDPAC proposed two resolutions that have

been classified as Aboriginal women's issues, neither of these resolutions explicitly

mentioned how the issues they discussed affect Aboriginal women. For example, they

mentioned barriers to education, such as child-care and shelter, but they did not explicitly

state that these barriers disproportionality affect Aboriginal women. Furthermore, the

NWLC did not propose any resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues. As such,

the policy commissions and other LPC associations could incorporate more intersectional elements within their policy resolutions.

Summary

Table 9.1 - Numbers and Percentages for Examined Resolutions/Total Proposed Resolutions - LPC

		Aboriginal	Women	Aboriginal Women	Other	Total
LPCAPC	Subtotals	0	0	2	0	2
	Percentages of all adopted resolutions (37)	0%	0%	5.4%	0%	5.4%
NWLC	Subtotals	1	1	0	0	2
	Percentages of all adopted resolutions (37)	2.7%	2.7%	0%	0%	5.4%
OA	Subtotals	5	6	2	20	33
	Percentages of all adopted resolutions (37)	13.5%	16.2%	5.4%	54.1%	89.1%

LPCAPC - Liberal Party of Canada Aboriginal Peoples' Commission, NWLC - National Women's Liberal Commission, OA - Other Associations

Table 9.2 – Numbers and Percentages for Examined Resolutions Addressing Aboriginal, Women, and Aboriginal Women's Issues - LPC

		Aboriginal	Women	Aboriginal Women	Total
LPCAPC	Subtotals	0	0	2	2
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	100%	100%
NWLC	Subtotals	1	1	0	2
	Percentages of examined resolutions	50%	50%	0%	100%
OA	Subtotals	5	6	2	13
	Percentages of examined resolutions	38.4%	46.2%	15.3%	100%

LPCAPC - Liberal Party of Canada Aboriginal Peoples' Commission, NWLC - National Women's Liberal Commission, OA - Other Associations

Table 9.3 - Resolution Integration Success -LPC

		LPCAPC	NWLC	Other Associations	Totals
Aboriginal	Integrated resolutions	0/2	0/2	1/5	1/6
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0/2	20%	16.7%
	Partially Integrated resolutions	0/2	0/2	4/5	4/6
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0/2	80%	66.7%
	Not Integrated resolutions	0/2	1/2	0/5	1/6
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	50%	0%	16.7%
Women	Integrated resolutions	0/2	0/2	0/6	0/7
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Partially integrated resolutions	0/2	1/2	5/6	6/7
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	50%	83.3%	85.7%
	Not integrated Resolutions	0/2	0/2	1/6	1/7
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0%	16.7%	14.3%
Aboriginal Women	Integrated resolutions	0/2	0/2	0/2	0/4
	Percentages of examined resolutions	0%	0/2	0%	0%
	Partially integrated resolutions	1/2	0/2	2/2	3/4
	Percentages of examined resolutions	50%	0/2	100%	75%
	Not integrated resolutions	1/2	0/2	0/2	1/4
	Percentages of examined resolutions	50%	0%	0%	25%

Totals of Examined Resolutions	Integrated resolutions	0/2	0/2	1/13	1/17
	Percentages	0%	0%	7.7%	5.9%
	Partially integrated resolutions	1/2	1/2	11/13	13/17
	Percentages	50%	50%	84.6%	76.5%
	Not integrated Resolutions	1/2	1/2	1/13	3/17
	Percentages	50%	50%	7.7%	17.6%

It was asked whether or not the LPCAPC and NWLC significantly impact party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues. The LPCAPC focussed solely on Aboriginal women's issues, as shown with all of their resolutions (two out of two) addressing Aboriginal women's issues. This indicates that the LPCAPC was very likely to propose policy that addresses Aboriginal women's issues, but out of the two resolutions they proposed, one was partially integrated and the other resolution was not integrated. Furthermore, the NWLC proposed two policy resolutions, but neither of their resolutions addressed Aboriginal women's issues. As a result, the LPCAPC and NWLC are not likely to significantly impact party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues. It does not explicitly state in the LPC Constitution that the policy commissions, provincial associations, or electoral district associations are limited in any manner for proposing policy at conventions (LPC Constitution 2014, 47). This demonstrates that the policy commissions are not at a disadvantage compared to other associations in their capability to propose policy.

It was also asked if the LPCAPC and NWLC were more likely than other associations within the LPC to propose policy regarding Aboriginal women's issues. Among all of the adopted policy resolutions for the 2009 LPC Leadership and Biennial Convention, four out of thirty-seven resolutions (10.8%) address Aboriginal women's issues, with two out of thirty-seven resolutions (5.4%) proposed by the LPCAPC and two out of thirty-seven resolutions (5.4%) proposed by other LPC associations. Both of the resolutions proposed by other LPC associations were partially integrated, while only one of two (50%) LPCAPC resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues were partially integrated. The other resolution was not integrated. Moreover, the NWLC was not more likely than other LPC associations to impact policy regarding Aboriginal women's issues since none of their resolutions addressed Aboriginal women's issues. It is evident from the numbers that the other LPC associations were more successful with integrating policy than the policy commissions. The LPCAPC and NWLC did not specifically integrate any resolutions while other associations were able to specifically integrate one out of seventeen resolutions (5.9%). Furthermore, the LPCAPC partially integrated one out of two resolutions (50%) and the NWLC also partially integrated one out of two resolutions (50%). On the other hand, the other associations managed to partially integrate eleven out of thirteen policy resolutions (84.6%). This indicates that the effectiveness of the policy commissions as policy-making bodies is minimal.

It was also asked if the resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues were integrated into the 2011 electoral platform. As shown in Table 9.1, Aboriginal women's issues held some priority at the 2009 Liberal Leadership and Biennial Convention, with four out of thirty-seven resolutions (10.8%) addressing Aboriginal women's issues, six

out of thirty-seven resolutions (16.2%) addressing Aboriginal issues, and seven out of thirty-seven resolutions (18.9%) addressing women's issues. Furthermore, as depicted in Table 9.3, Aboriginal issues were the most likely to be specifically integrated, while women's and Aboriginal women's issues were equally less likely to be specifically integrated. As a whole, three out of four policy resolutions (75%) that addressed Aboriginal women's issues were partially integrated, in comparison to six out of seven resolutions (85.7%) addressing women's issues and four out of six resolutions (66.7%) addressing Aboriginal issues. It should be emphasized that none of the policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues were specifically integrated. This means that the core requests of the Aboriginal women's issue resolutions were not encompassed into the 2011 LPC electoral platform.

Chapter VI - Conclusion

This thesis sought to answer the following research question: do the New Democratic Party of Canada Aboriginal Commission (NDPAC), the NDP Women's Council (NDPWC), the Liberal Party of Canada Aboriginal Peoples' Commission (LPCAPC), and the National Women's Liberal Commission (NWLC) significantly impact their respective party's platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues? In turn, it also sought to answer the following sub-questions:

- If the policy commissions are more likely than other associations within the respective parties to introduce policy resolutions representing Aboriginal women's issues.

- If policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues are integrated into the 2011 electoral platforms.

To summarize, it was hypothesized that the policy commissions do not significantly impact party platform policy on Aboriginal women. Applying the theory of intersectionality, it was considered that the Aboriginal policy commissions would be more likely to propose policy constructed along the intersection of race and ignore the intersection of gender. On the other hand, it was also hypothesized that the women's commissions would construct their policy resolutions along the intersection of gender without accounting for the intersection of race. It was discovered that the Aboriginal policy commissions focussed more on Aboriginal issues as a whole rather than distinguishing policy resolutions that represent Aboriginal women's issues. In addition, it was also found that the women's commissions did not incorporate Aboriginal women's issues within their resolutions. Furthermore, the gender norms and the historical power relations within Canadian political parties that have usually excluded Aboriginal Peoples

and women do explain why Aboriginal women's issues policy resolutions experienced

more resistance for being integrated into policy. This indicates that the hypothesis based

on feminist institutionalism was correct. As explained by Waylen (2009),

> [i]nstitutions have distributional effects. They reflect, reproduce, and magnify particular patterns of power. Moreover, political arrangements and policy feedbacks actively facilitate the empowerment of certain groups (248).

The discourse analysis provides insight into the role gender norms play on restricting

the integration of Aboriginal women's issues into policy. Resolutions that were classified

as Aboriginal women's issues often discussed both Aboriginal issues and women's

issues, which is why they were classified as Aboriginal women's issue resolutions, as

discussed in the methodology chapter. However, when the discourse analysis was

applied, it revealed that Aboriginal issues within these resolutions took precedence. All of

the Aboriginal women's issue resolutions were partially integrated. The parts of the

resolutions that were integrated were the Aboriginal issues while the women's issues

within the resolutions were overlooked. This emphasizes how gender norms within the

political parties restricted the full integration of Aboriginal women's issues. Combining

the two theories of intersectionality and feminist institutionalism allowed for the analysis

of multiple variables that restrict Aboriginal women's capability to use the policy

commissions for meaningful policy-making. Gender norms and power relations have both

worked against the incorporation of Aboriginal women's issues into policy. As a result, it

is observed that the policy commissions do not significantly impact party platform policy

on Aboriginal women's issues.

Comparing the Numbers between the Policy Commissions and Other Associations within the NDP and the LPC

Graph 1 - Totals of Examined and Integrated Resolutions for the NDP and LPC Partisan Organizations
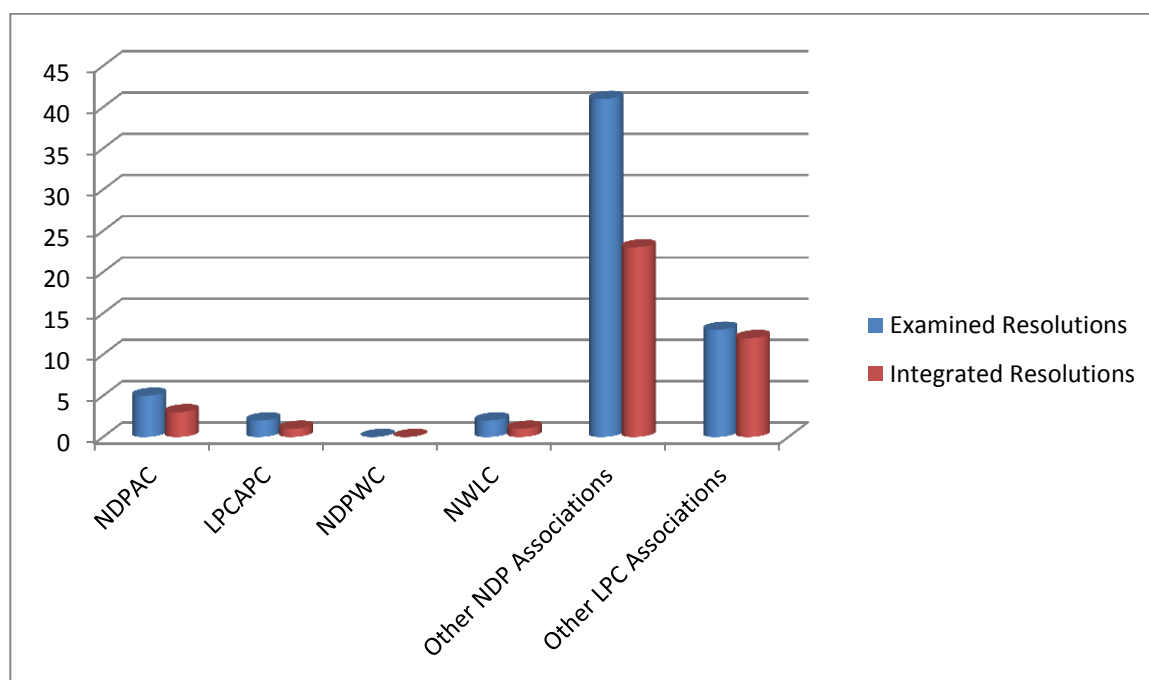
*Integrated resolutions refer to both specifically integrated and partially integrated resolutions.

The policy commissions proposed fewer policy resolutions relating to Aboriginal issues, women's issues, and Aboriginal women's issues than the other NDP and LPC associations. Out of the resolutions examined, five (10.95%) were proposed by the NDPAC, none of the resolutions were proposed by the NDPWC, and forty-one resolutions (89.1%) were proposed by other NDP associations. Furthermore, only two (11.8%) of examined resolutions were proposed by the LPCAPC and two of the examined resolutions (11.8%) were proposed by the NWLC. On the other hand, thirteen resolutions (76.5%) were proposed by other LPC associations. This signifies that the

policy commissions are not as active as other associations when it comes to proposing

policy that reflects Aboriginal issues, women's issues, or Aboriginal women's issues.

The success rates of platform integration depict a negative perspective on the policy-

making capabilities of the policy commissions. The NDPAC had three of their

resolutions (60%) integrated while other NDP associations had twenty-three (56.1%) of

their resolutions integrated. Furthermore, since the NDPWC did not propose any policy

resolutions, it is obvious that the other NDP associations were more successful with

integrating policy than the NDPWC. There was a sufficient difference of platform

integration success between the LPC policy commissions and other LPC associations.

The LPCAPC integrated one resolution (50%), the NWLC integrated one resolution

(50%), but the other LPC associations integrated twelve resolutions (92.3%) into the

2011 electoral platform. These numbers indicate that there is a difference between the

LPC policy commissions and other LPC associations in regards to impacting policy, as

the other LPC associations were more successful with integrating policy that addressed

either Aboriginal issues, women's issues, or Aboriginal women's issues.

*Comparing the Numbers between the NDP and LPC*

As Graph 2 shows, Aboriginal issues were the most likely to be proposed for the

NDP, followed by women's issues then Aboriginal women's issues. For the LPC,

women's issues were the most likely to be proposed, followed by Aboriginal issues then

Aboriginal women's issues. Graph 3 shows that for both the NDP and the LPC, women's

issue resolutions were the most likely to be integrated, followed by Aboriginal issues then

Aboriginal women's issues. Furthermore, Graph 3 indicates that Aboriginal women's

issues are more likely to be integrated into policy for the NDP but not for the LPC. It is

speculated that party ideology could be contributing factor to this finding. As stated in

their constitution, the NDP follows a social democratic ideology and explicitly voices that

they have worked with feminist groups and First Nations groups to work towards a more

just and equitable Canadian society (NDP Constitution 2013). On the other hand, the

LPC stresses individual autonomy. Although the LPC emphasizes equality and

opportunity for all persons, they also state that

> the Liberal Party of Canada is committed to the view that the dignity of each individual man and woman is the cardinal principle of democratic society and the primary purpose of all political organization and activity in such a society (LPC Constitution 2014, 1).

More research is required for this finding, but the ideas of the policy commissions

being restricted by the overarching ideologies of the political parties does fall into the

feminist institutional framework this thesis employed. Regardless, these findings suggest

that the NDP is better than the LPC at incorporating intersectionality into their policy,

and as such, they are more likely to propose and integrate policy addressing Aboriginal

women's issues into their electoral platform. This contributes to the finding that

Aboriginal women favour the NDP over the LPC, since this research highlights that the

NDP is more likely to include and integrate policy that addresses Aboriginal women's

issues (Harell and Panagos 2011, 11).

Graph 2 - Total Numbers of Examined Resolutions by Party and by Resolution Type
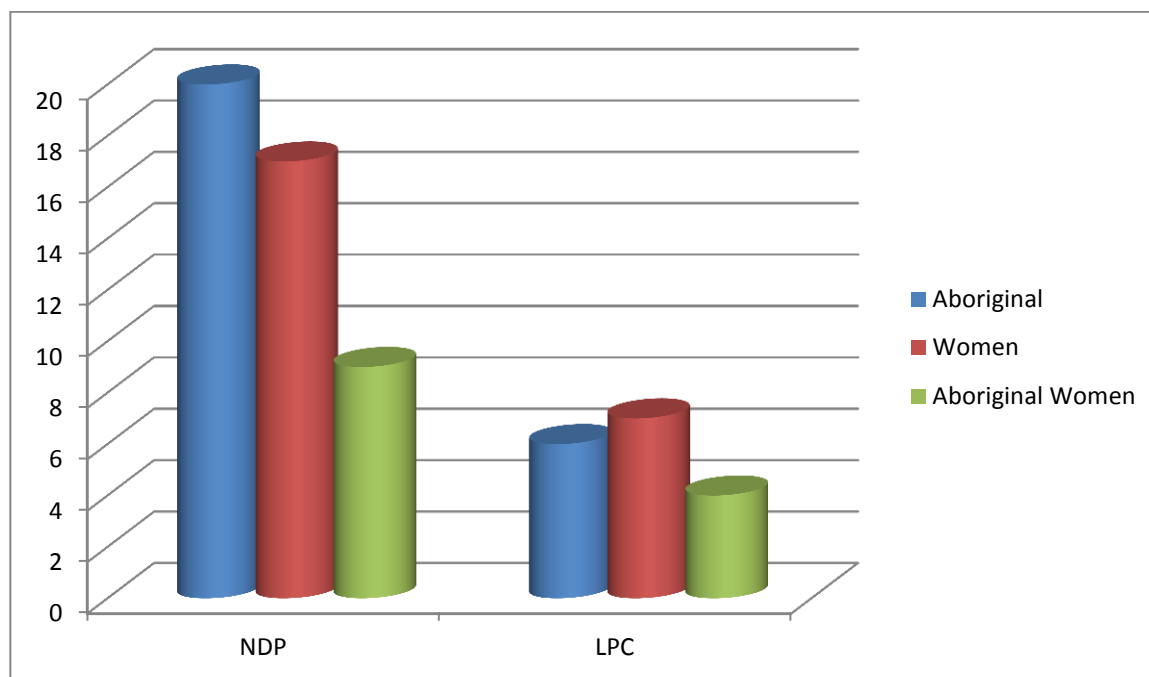
Graph 3 - Total Numbers of Integrated Resolutions by Party and by Resolution Type
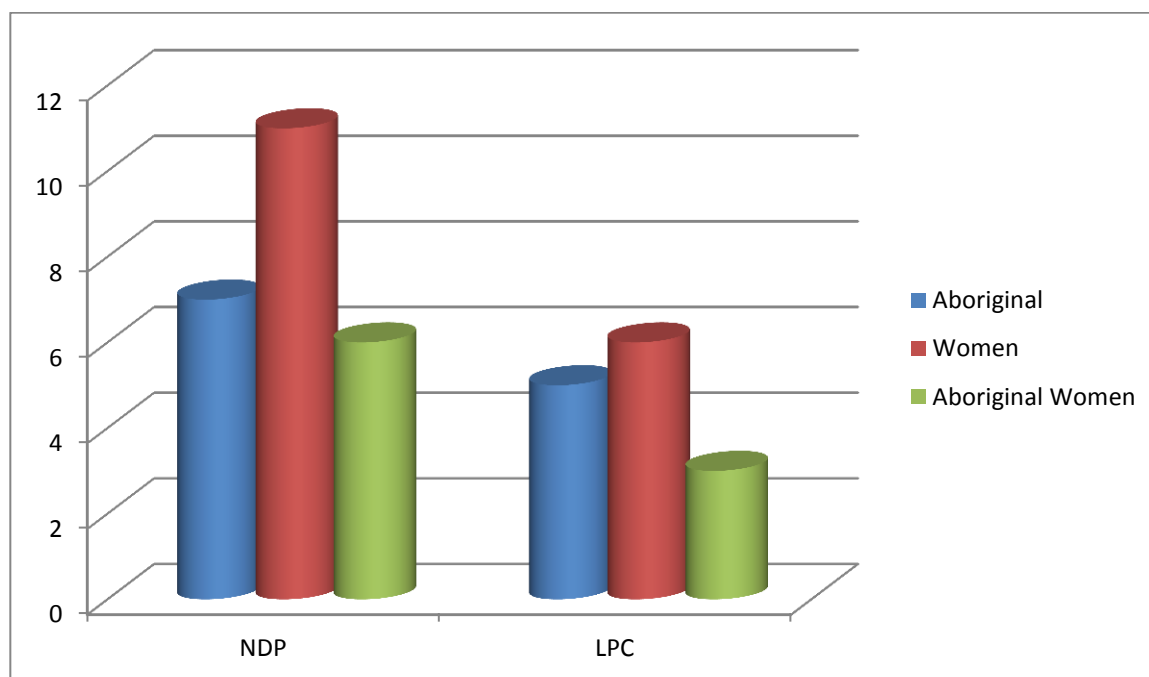
*Integrated refers to both specifically and partially integrated resolutions.

Examining the Results through an Intersectional Lens

However, as noted in the methodology section, this paper applied a gender-based and intersectional discourse analysis, which looks beyond numbers and examines the language behind the policy resolutions. While the numbers remain important, they do not highlight the full answers as to whether or not the policy commissions impact party policy on Aboriginal women's issues. Although resolutions may either raise Aboriginal issues, women's issues, or Aboriginal women's issues, they may not necessarily be intersectional and acknowledge that Aboriginal women face unique challenges that other Canadians do not. Therefore, the amount of resolutions that were proposed, adopted, and integrated does not guarantee substantial representation for Aboriginal women. What the resolutions are proposing is more significant from an intersectional feminist standpoint. As previously explained, intersectionality recognizes that every person holds different life experiences based on the intersections of race, class, gender, and other factors (Beckwith and Cowell-Meyers 2007, 555). Policy that is created along the intersection of race may exclude the intersection of gender, and policy constructed along the intersection of gender may exclude the intersection of race (Crenshaw 1991, 1252). Therefore, the gender-based intersectional discourse analysis revealed whether or not both antiracist and feminist discourse was present within the policy resolutions. The following section will compare the discourse of the policy commission resolutions to the resolutions of the other associations within their respective parties.

Comparing the Discourse of the Policy Commission Resolutions to the Discourse of

Resolutions Proposed by Other Associations in the in the NDP and LPC

The NDPAC allowed the voices of Aboriginals to come through and address issues

that other associations within the NDP did not address. For instance, they were the only

association to raise the issue of implementing Jordan's Principle, the United Nations

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and the Royal Commission

on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP). In addition, they were the only association to raise the

issue of self-determination ("HFX '09" 2009, 91). They also were the only association to

raise the issues of Arctic sovereignty for the Inuit, Inuvialuit, and Innu peoples and

freeing Leonard Peltier ("HFX '09" 2009, 95. 98). However, none of these issues address

Aboriginal women's issues. On the other hand, the resolution the NDPAC proposed

regarding ending violence against Aboriginal women held many intersectional elements.

It identified that culturally appropriate services can help Aboriginal women's

rehabilitation and healing. It also called upon a national action plan to address the specific

issue of missing and murdered Aboriginal women ("HFX '09" 2009, 105).

However, the London-Fanshawe riding association also addressed violence against

Aboriginal women with their resolution. In fact, their resolution was more intersectional

than the resolution proposed by the Aboriginal Commission. Unlike the commission

resolution, the London-Fanshawe resolution stated that the federal government should

take on initiatives that have been led by Aboriginal women to address the problem ("HFX

'09" 2009, 97). The London-Fanshawe resolution discussed social and transition housing

specifically for Aboriginal women while the NDP Aboriginal Commission resolution did

not. Finally, this resolution made a specific point that Aboriginal women need to be consulted when drafting legislation that relates to this issue ("HFX '09" 2009, 97).

The Winnipeg Centre Riding Association and the Ontario NDP Aboriginal Committee proposed resolutions that addressed housing on reserves, which is a major social determinant of health for Aboriginal women ("HFX '09" 2009, 53, 108). The Manitoba Young New Democrats also proposed a resolution that discussed housing for Aboriginals and women ("HFX '09" 2009, 60). These are women's issues that that the NDPAC did not specifically address ("HFX '09" 2009, 109, 111). Moreover, the York Centre riding association proposed a resolution that emphasized how free trade programs can impact Aboriginals and women, recognizing the intersections of both race and gender ("HFX '09" 2009, 83). In addition, the Westmount-Ville-Marie riding association made the argument that the Senate should be reformed to implement gender equality and should include First Nations peoples ("HFX '09" 2009, 99). These are also issues that the NDPAC did not consider in their resolutions. As demonstrated, the NDPAC did not propose resolutions that would be any more beneficial for Aboriginal women than the other associations. In fact, the other NDP associations proposed resolutions that would be more beneficial for Aboriginal women since they addressed the social determinants of health that would allow Aboriginal women to lead better lives. Although the NDPAC raised issues that the other associations within the NDP did not address, these issues did not address Aboriginal women's issues. Moreover, the one resolution the NDPAC proposed addressing an Aboriginal women's issue was not as intersectional as Aboriginal women's issues resolutions proposed by other NDP associations.

The LPCAPC directly raised Aboriginal women's issues. Their resolutions encompassed intersectional elements, but these elements were only briefly mentioned within their resolutions while other issues took priority. For example, Resolution 116 proposed by the LPCAPC centred on Aboriginal education. Although they addressed barriers Aboriginal women face for gaining an education, such as shelter and child-care, this was not the main focus of the resolution. Furthermore, in their Kelowna Accord resolution, housing for Aboriginals was briefly mentioned, but the resolution centred on implementing the Kelowna Accord. Moreover, the NWLC did not address Aboriginal women's issues in either of their resolutions. Resolution 16 discussed environmental degradation but made no mention of the impact poor environmental areas have on Aboriginal communities, particularly Aboriginal women ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Additionally, the NWLC proposed Resolution 29, which addressed child-care, but it did not discuss the specific challenges Aboriginal women encounter in regards to access to child-care ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). Aboriginal women will likely have a great need for child-care since they are more likely to live in poverty and more likely to be lone parents (NWAC 2005). In contrast, the other LPC associations incorporated Aboriginal women's issues that the LPCAPC did not address. For instance, the LPCAPC or NWLC did not propose any resolutions addressing the issue of violence against Aboriginal women. On the other hand, the Saskatchewan Liberal Association did address the issue of violence in Aboriginal communities in their resolution, albeit briefly ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009).

In regards to the Kelowna Accord resolution proposed by the LPCAPC, it did specify that implementing the Kelowna Accord would supposedly narrow the gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians in the areas of health care, skills development, education, access to clean water, access to employment, and housing ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). However, the resolution proposed by the Saskatchewan Liberal Association also called for a reimplementation of the Kelowna Accord. It also requested that the government honour UNDRIP. Furthermore, the Saskatchewan Liberal Association resolution also demanded that the government improve conditions of living for Aboriginals, but they discussed other socioeconomic barriers that the LPCAPC Commission did not address. For instance, the resolution called upon services that address substance abuse and violence ("Priority Policy Resolutions" 2009). NWAC acknowledges that Aboriginal women are more likely to experience domestic violence and substance abuse, so this remains relevant (NWAC 2007, 5). Overall, the discourse of the LPCAPC and NWLC resolutions were no more intersectional than the discourse of the resolutions proposed by other associations within the LPC.

Conclusion

After comparing the resolutions proposed by the policy commissions to the resolutions proposed by other associations within the NDP and the LPC, it is apparent that the resolutions of the policy commissions were no more intersectional than the resolutions of the other associations within the respective parties. As it happens, the resolutions proposed by other associations were often more intersectional than the resolutions proposed by the policy commissions. As such, the hypothesis that was based on the theory of intersectionality was confirmed. The policy commissions generally failed

to incorporate both antiracist and feminist discourse within their resolutions. Moreover, based on the theory of feminist institutionalism, it is also concluded that the structures of political parties restrain the policy-making capabilities of policy commissions. Although policy resolutions addressing Aboriginal women's issues were proposed and integrated, all of the policy resolutions regarding Aboriginal women's issues were only partially integrated. If a policy resolution addressed both Aboriginal women's issues and Aboriginal issues within the same resolution, Aboriginal issues took priority. This dictates that policy that is constructed along the intersections of race and gender challenges the parties' gender norms and power relations, and as such, these ideas were less likely to be integrated into policy.

The research provided insight into the roles of policy commissions and whether or not they can be a vessel for Aboriginal women to have their voices heard. Although the commissions proposed policy that is relevant for Aboriginal women, most of their policy resolutions lacked intersectionality that other associations within the NDP and the LPC were able to incorporate into their policy resolutions. In the case of the Aboriginal policy commissions, policy that is relevant to Aboriginals as a whole overshadows policy that is relevant to Aboriginal women. Only one of the NDPAC resolutions addressed Aboriginal women's issues. Furthermore, even though all of the LPCAPC resolutions addressed Aboriginal women's issues, examining the discourse reveals that the Aboriginal women's issues discussed within the resolutions were less of a priority than Aboriginal issues discussed within the resolutions. In addition, the NDPWC did not fulfill their purpose of proposing feminist policy since they did not propose any policy resolutions at the 2009 NDP National Convention. Furthermore, the NWLC did not incorporate the intersection

of race whatsoever in its policy resolutions. Moreover, it is shown that the policy

commissions were less likely than other associations to have their policy resolutions

integrated. This suggests that even if the commissions proposed more resolutions that

specifically addressed Aboriginal women's issues, there is no guarantee they would be

integrated into the platforms. Additionally, the lack of success for the New Democratic

Party of Canada Aboriginal Commission (NDPAC) to propose and integrate party

platform policy relating to Aboriginal women's issues is correlated with the concept of

'newness' within the theory of feminist institutionalism (Mackay 2014, 553). The

NDPAC was established in 2007 while the NDP Women's Council was established in

1963, so in comparison, the NDPAC could arguably be classified as a 'new' institution.

Regardless of its 'newness', it appears that gender and historical norms remain embedded

in the NDPAC, and as such, old institutional processes still inform this 'new' institution

(Ibid. 553).

In order to consolidate the findings found in this research, scholars may want to

consider interviewing the female executive members of the policy commissions to gain

their perspectives on whether or not the policy commissions represent the unique interests

of Aboriginal women and their opinions on why the resolutions of the commissions are

not being integrated. Additionally, the effectiveness of other policy commissions within

the NDP and the LPC should be researched in order to consolidate whether or not other

commissions impact party platform policy, and thus, contribute to the policy-making

capabilities of political parties. Furthermore, future research should focus on the role of

ideology in Canadian political parties and policymaking in the current political era. The

findings showed that the NDP was more successful with proposing intersectional policy

that addressed Aboriginal women's issues. Therefore, it would be interesting to see if this still applies for the upcoming 2015 federal election and if a greater divide between the ideologies of the NDP and LPC is present. Nevertheless, based on the conclusion of this research, if Aboriginal women seek to have their voices heard in Canadian politics, they should seek other venues besides the policy commissions in the NDP and LPC since the policy commissions are not more likely to impact party platform policy on Aboriginal women's issues.

Appendix: Summary of Resolutions

Political Party and National Convention	Resolution	Category	Proposed by?
New Democratic Party - HFX '09 NDP National Convention	02-01-09 - Green Collar Jobs	A	OA
	2-03-09 - Water policy	A	OA
	2-27-09 - Sustainable water policy	A	OA
	2-05-09 Energy security	A	OA
	2-08-09 - Devil's Lake	A	OA
	6-28-09 - First Nations Education	A	OA
	6-35-09 - First Nations Education	A	OA
	3-64-09 - Barriers to Post-Secondary Education	A	OA
	1-02-09 - Support for the Fishery	A	OA
	1-17-09 - Protecting Wild Salmon	A	OA
	1-43-09 - West Coast Salmon Stock	A	OA
	1-76-09 - Digital Rights	A	OA
	5-02-09 - First Nations, Inuit, Métis Party Policy	A	AC
	5-22-09 Endorsing UNDRIP	A	OA
	3-62-09 - Mandatory Minimum Sentences	A	OA
	5-10-09 - Infrastructure Consultation	A	AC
	5-26-09 - Leonard Peltier	A	AC
	5-07-09 - Arctic Sovereignty	A	AC
	1-03-09 - Arctic Sovereignty	A	OA
	5-01-09 - Funding for Territories	A	OA
	3-21-09 - Child Welfare	W	OA
	3-09-09 - Child-care legislation	W	OA
	6-25-09 - Pay Equity	W	OA
	6-03-09 - Pay Equity	W	OA
	3-04-09 - Pay Equity	W	OA
	3-08-09 - Anti-Poverty	W	OA
	3-03-09 - Affordable Housing	W	OA

	3-48-09 - Budget for Housing	W	OA
	3-49-09 - Budget for Housing	W	OA
	3-66-09 - National Housing Strategy	W	OA
	6-11-09 Women's Organizations	W	OA
	6-17-09 - Women's Centres	W	OA
	4-13-09 - Human Trafficking	W	OA
	6-41-09 - UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women	W	OA
	4-14-09 - Women in peace building	W	OA
	4-19-09 - Women in Afghanistan	W	OA
	4-29-09 - Protection of Women Immigrants and Refugees	W	OA
	4-47-09 - Undemocratic free trade agreements	AW	OA
	5-31-09 - Reforming the Senate	AW	OA
	6-06-09 - Aboriginal Rights	AW	OA
	6-33-09 – Decade of Action	AW	OA
	3-46-09 Housing and Homelessness National Strategy	AW	OA
	3-24-09 - Reserve Housing Shortages	AW	OA
	6-23-09 - Housing on Reserves	AW	OA
	5-20-09 - Violence against Aboriginal Women	AW	OA
	6-15-09 - Violence against Indigenous Women	AW	AC
The Liberal Party of Canada - 2009 Vancouver Biennial/Leadership Convention	16 - Royal Commission on the Environment and Health	A	WC
	100 - Lake Winnipeg	A	OA
	129- Natural Resources	A	OA
	131 - National Water Policy	A	OA
	111 - Fishery Management	A	OA
	118- Northern Sovereignty	A	OA
	29- Child-care	W	WC
	140 - Child-care	W	OA
	115 - Poverty	W	OA
	138 - Child Poverty	W	WC
	69 - Poverty	W	OA

	132 - National Housing Strategy	W	OA
	124 - Human Rights Commission	W	OA
	116 - Aboriginal Education	AW	AC
	Emergency Resolution - The Kelowna Accord	AW	AC
	75 - Canada's Aboriginal Peoples	AW	OA
	119 - Affordable Housing	AW	OA

A = Aboriginal, W = Women, AW = Aboriginal Women, AC = Aboriginal Commission, WC = Women's Commission, OA= Other Association

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