

Local Government and Indigenous Reconciliation in British Columbia:

Reforming the Relationship

By

Ben Barnes

B.A., University of Victoria, 2016

A Master's Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

in the School of Public Administration

©Benjamin Barnes, 2020

University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This project report may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Defense Committee

Supervisor: Dr. Kimberly Speers, Assistant Teaching Professor
School of Public Administration, University of Victoria

Second Reader: Dr. Harry Swain, Adjunct Professor, School of Public Administration and
Associate Fellow, Centre for Global Studies
School of Public Administration, University of Victoria

Acknowledgements

The researcher, project supervisor, and University of Victoria acknowledge with respect the Lekwungen peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and WSÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

The researcher would like to thank Dr. Speers for her invaluable input on this report.

Further, the researcher would like to thank his family and partner for their patience and support!

Executive Summary

Introduction

The purpose of this research project was to develop a literature review and jurisdictional scan to identify information and research on the relationship between local settler governments and Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia (“Local-Indigenous Relationship”).

While there is no formal client for this Master’s Project, recommendations were developed for local government governments in British Columbia to consider.

The primary research question explored in this report is: what is the current state of the literature on the relationship between local governments and Indigenous Peoples and governments?

Additional questions that were asked are:

- What issues and barriers affect this relationship?
- What actions are local governments taking (including policies and practices) to improve this relationship?
- What recommendations can be made to local government entities based on the findings of this research?

Research Approaches

This project’s research design adopted a decolonization research framework that was guided by decolonizing principles (Martin, et al., 2020, p. 316). Reflecting a “two-eyed seeing” approach (Antoine, 2017, pp. 117-118), both Indigenous and settler epistemologies were utilized to help better understand and frame the research questions and analyse the findings. In reconciling this research, the researcher endeavours to create research that pushes for us to celebrate virtues established by Indigenous Peoples during early Indigenous-settler relations: “we shall each travel the river together, side by side, but in our own boat. Neither of us will try to steer the other's vessel” (Borrows, 1997, p. 170).

A multi-method approach was used to research the questions guiding this topic, with a literature review and a jurisdictional scan being the two choices. A secondary analysis of the literature and a primary analysis of policies and practices took place. No ethics permission was needed given there was no interaction with other humans to gather information and no sensitive or internal data was used in the report.

This research was also conducted by the researcher with an awareness of the researcher’s positionality within society in relation to the researched topic.

Key Findings

Overall, researching this topic proved challenging as research is very limited at a scholarly level, which made it necessary to rely on non-scholarly sources for guidance and information. Nonetheless, several key findings were made addressing the research questions on issues and barriers, local government actions, and recommendations:

- Analyzing the current state of literature revealed that there are ***three themed groupings of issues and barriers affecting the Local-Indigenous Relationship***: power dynamics, value systems, and economic mobility.
- The literature review revealed ***two potential actions***: create a shared community worldview between Indigenous and settler communities and develop an interdisciplinary analytical framework inclusive of Indigenous methodologies.
- The jurisdictional scan revealed ***three themes of policies to pursue***: communications, services and programming, and development and planning.
- Genuine reconciliation efforts ***require upholding Indigenous sovereignty through a holistic approach*** (Christmas, 2013; Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), 2019). Failure to apply these local government actions in this manner carries legal, economic, political, ecological, social, and spiritual implications for local governments and communities.

Recommendations and Strategy

This report concluded that a diverse multi-phase policy mix can be applied by local governments in British Columbia:

- Create a shared community worldview
- Develop an interdisciplinary analytical framework inclusive of Indigenous methodologies
- Engage in protocol agreements
- Maintain formalized meetings or forums
- Establish formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness
- Orchestrate service agreements
- Pursue parks and recreation agreements
- Share tourism or agricultural ventures
- Work towards direct funding opportunities
- Establish resource management partnerships
- Cooperate on land use planning
- Jointly pursue economic development

Implementing any of these local government actions will require that this policy mix be implemented in a three-phase design, highlighting an early stage, intermediate stage, and late

stage of a renewed Local-Indigenous Relationship. Improving relationships takes time, and so local government actions will need to be implemented gradually over these three phases. This implementation will need to address power dynamics, value systems, and economic mobility in a manner that enables Indigenous Peoples' agency and Traditional Knowledge.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	i
Executive Summary.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures and Tables.....	vii
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Purpose Statement.....	1
1.2 Defining the Issue.....	1
1.3 Research Question and Project Objectives.....	2
1.4 Project Definitions.....	3
1.5 Project Client.....	4
1.6 Background.....	4
1.7 Organization of Report.....	5
2.0 Approaches, Methodology and Methods.....	7
2.1 Introduction.....	7
2.2 Self-Location.....	7
2.3 Reconciling Research.....	7
2.4 Epistemology and Methodology.....	9
2.5 Methods and Tasks.....	12
2.6 Limitations.....	12
3.0 Literature Review.....	14
3.1 Introduction.....	14
3.2 Colonialism’s Legacy.....	15
3.3 Canada’s Inequitable Relationship.....	33
3.4 Listening to Indigenous Voices.....	38
3.5 Competing Identities in Canada.....	42
3.6 Defining Reconciliation.....	47
3.7 Literature Review Summary.....	55
4.0 Findings: Jurisdictional Scan.....	57
4.1 Introduction.....	57
4.2 Theme 1: Communication.....	58

4.3	Theme 2: Services and Programming	60
4.4	Theme 3: Development and planning	61
4.5	Summary of Findings.....	63
5.0	Discussion and Analysis	66
5.1	Introduction	66
5.2	Answering the Research Questions.....	66
5.3	Research Limitations and Areas for Further Research.....	71
5.4	Strategic Implications: Recommending a Policy Mix.....	73
6.0	Recommendations and Implementation Strategy	74
6.1	Introduction	74
6.2	Recommendations	74
6.3	Implementation Strategy	75
7.0	Conclusion	78
	References.....	79
	Appendices.....	110

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Figure 1: <i>Decolonization Research Framework</i>	11
--	----

Tables

Table 1: <i>List of Strategic Consequences For Inaction</i>	73
Table 2: <i>Recommended Multi-Phase Policy Mix</i>	76

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Purpose Statement

The purpose of this research project was to develop a literature review and jurisdictional scan to identify information on the relationship between local settler (municipal) governments and Indigenous Peoples and governments in British Columbia (“Local-Indigenous Relationship”).

The study is informed by scholarly and grey literature and examines the general relationship between settlers and Indigenous Peoples and the specific relationship between local settler polities and local Indigenous polities. While the focus of this project is on British Columbia, due to the limited literature available on this topic in certain areas, the scope was stretched to include Canada and global jurisdictions to provide context when needed.

1.2 Defining the Issue

There is much evidence that Indigenous communities continue to face the negative effects of colonialism within Canada, which has led to concerning outcomes in key political (National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020; Ojha, 2003; Hunter, 2003) and socio-economic areas (National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Comack, 2018; Motz & Currie, 2019; Kitching et al., 2019; Hautala & Sittner, 2019; Barker, Goodman, & DeBeck, 2017; Hanrahan, 2017; Ball, 2009; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Due to Canada’s involvement in colonial processes, settler communities have accumulated political power, gained economic clout, and assumed control over both physical territory and mainstream discourse at the expense of Indigenous communities (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 2020b, pp.4-5; National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p.4). Local settler governments representing these communities within British Columbia have been legitimized by settler lawmaking (Government of British Columbia, 2020c) and formed by settler colonial processes (Woods & Rossiter, 2011; Romaniuk & Wasylciw, 2014; Ojha, 2003). These processes, in turn, are premised on continual Indigenous erasure (Rowe & Tuck, 2017; Free, 2018, p. 880). Many authors have noted that constructing a new relationship between Canada’s settler societies and Indigenous societies is necessary for these trends to be tackled and healing to fully begin (Scott, 2018; Borrows, 1997).

Examining the general relationship between Indigenous societies and settler societies and the specific relationship between Indigenous communities and municipal governments is intended to identify the underlying dynamics and structures affecting the local-Indigenous relationship and reveal what is needed to improve the relationship between local governments/associations and Indigenous Peoples/associations/governments in British Columbia. Literature available on the relationship between local governments and Indigenous communities is limited (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014, p. 602). Specifically, literature available on steps to take to *improve* the

relationship specific to Indigenous nations and municipal governments in British Columbia is limited. Despite the dearth of information specific to British Columbia, frameworks have been provided for local governments and local Indigenous nations within Canada (Alcantara & Nelles, 2009; Morgan, Castleden, & Huu-ay-aht, 2018; Smith & Mitchell, 2020; Hotte, Nelson, Hawkins, Wyatt, & Kozak, 2018; Alcantara and Kalman, 2019; Fleras and Maaka, 2010), general literature outlining helpful guidelines and critical narratives on improving relations through reconciliation has been created (Koggel, 2018; Jackson, 2018; Freeman, 2014; Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Strupinskiene, 2017; Evans, 2018; Elliott, 2018), and a number of written examples of attempts at reconciliation in specific locales have been developed (Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020).

The most direct attempt at researching this particular topic was a previous attempt by Jaime Apolonio in 2008, also for a Master's research project completed at the School of Public Administration at the University of Victoria (2008). Differences between Apolonio's 2008 report and this report, however, leave this report still a viable and worthwhile endeavour for several reasons. Chief among these reasons are time, audience, and research approach. Since 2008, literature has increased on the general subject matter pertaining to this topic and as seen in this report, many of the sources cited in this report are from 2018 or later. Furthermore, governments and their actions have increased and changed related to local governments and Indigenous relations since 2008 as discussed in this report's literature review. Aside from aspects of time, the audience is also different. Apolonio's report was written with a client in mind, the Union of British Columbia Municipalities (2008). This report has been written independently and was designed to not target any one specific organization although the recommendations are made to local governments in general.

Finally, this report and Apolonio's report diverge on how research was approached. This report explicitly makes an attempt to factor in voices from Indigenous and settler peoples, citing Indigenous scholars and organizations where possible to create counter-narratives to settler voices. Within the literature review, a decolonization conceptual framework was attempted whereas Apolonio did not use a decolonization framework in his work. These three major differences are ample justification for investigating this topic further.

1.3 Research Question and Project Objectives

This project proposes the following research question: what is the current state of the literature on the relationship between local governments and Indigenous Peoples and governments? This research question is explored by investigating the following questions within the literature:

- What are the issues and barriers in place that affect the relationship between local government and Indigenous Peoples and governments?

- What are local governments in British Columbia doing to improve their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
 - What policies have been put in place in local governments or local government associations that address their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
 - What practices have been put in place in local governments or local government associations that address their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
- What recommendations can be adopted to improve the relationship between local government and Indigenous Peoples and governments?

1.4 Project Definitions

To provide context for the remaining report, the following terms have been defined:

- **Local government** is defined as a municipal or regional settler government established through the *Local Government Act* of the Government of British Columbia (Government of British Columbia, 2020c). These terms will be used interchangeably throughout the report.
- **Settler government** is defined as any government which has been established or maintained due to settler colonialism (see Chapter 3.2.1 for exploring further definitions of settler colonialism in the Canadian context).
- **Indigenous Peoples** can be loosely defined as a framework of reference (United Nations, 2020a) for First Nations, Métis, and Inuit self-identifying peoples, as referenced by the Assembly of First Nations (Assembly of First Nations, 2015) (see Chapter 3.5.2 for further exploration of Indigenous Peoples' definition, and definitions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit).
- **Indigenous nations** can be defined as the self-identified nation of an Indigenous people represented by a self-determined government. It is important to note that the concept of nation may be defined differently by an Indigenous epistemology compared to a Western epistemology (Palmer, 2006, p. 37).
- **Indigenous governments** can be defined as an Indigenous nation's self-identified body or bodies for providing governance and leadership of the Indigenous nation and its people, based upon the pre-existing traditions and Traditional Knowledge of the Indigenous nation.
- **Local-Indigenous Relationship** is defined as the relationship between local Indigenous Peoples' communities and local settler governments. This concept will be referenced during an inspection of sources on the general relationship between Indigenous Peoples

and settler communities, in addition to an investigation of the particularities of local BC governments and the Indigenous nations and societies they interact with.

1.5 Project Client

This project was completed independently without a formal client. Although no formal client has been established, recommendations are targeted towards local settler governments in British Columbia.

1.6 Background

There are over 600 First Nation communities in Canada and almost 200 in British Columbia (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a), in addition to representative bodies for First Nations on-reserve (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a), First Nations off-reserve (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 2020a) Métis (Métis National Council, 2020a), and Inuit peoples (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020b). While Indigenous Peoples are incredibly diverse and spread across Canada, their treatment by structures of colonialism has bore similarities in how settlers have responded to issues of sovereignty and identity (Ball, 2014; Cook, 2016). Several authors have argued that settler responses to these issues must change as a matter of domestic legal requirement (Crawford, 2018; Scott, 2018) and international agreement (United Nations, 2020b).

The relationship between Indigenous Peoples and settler governments in Canada, including local governments in British Columbia, is primarily influenced by European settler colonialism. This type of colonialism is a globally significant historical structure and continual process (Horvath, 1972, p. 45) that has included a range of settler practices and policies occupying or controlling Indigenous Peoples (Free, 2018, p. 876). Settler colonialism has been witnessed throughout Canada's history (Ojha, 2003) with strong links to settlers' policy practices and formations (De Juan & Pierskalla, 2017). Colonialism is internationally recognized as a threat to human rights (United Nations, 1960) and there are both Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars that continue to view Canada's treatment of Indigenous sovereignty as colonial (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Scott, 2018).

In the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) report, the authors noted that Indigenous communities and their unique cultural identities have been systematically oppressed by successive past settler institutions of Canada, which has led to physical, emotional, mental, spiritual, and sexual harms that are still felt to this day (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). In a more recent Inquiry on missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, the authors noted that there is strong evidential support for this treatment of Indigenous Peoples by the governments of Canada and such treatment qualifies as a series of genocidal acts (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019). These harms have manifested within specific programs such as the Indian residential school system (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b) and Indian hospitals

(Lux, 2016), as well as lingering prejudicial attitudes expressed implicitly or explicitly within Canadian society (Lashta, Berdahl, & Walker, 2016; Motz & Currie, 2019).

Although contemporary settler governments have made some inroads in reconciling these past actions, changes are still being demanded by both settler and Indigenous scholars, settler individuals, and Indigenous Peoples alike. Acknowledgements of wrongdoing have occurred through various means (Government of Canada, 2008; Government of Canada, 2017): inquiries and commissions have been developed (Government of Canada, 2016c; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019), new agreements and initiatives have been pursued (Government of Canada, 2017a; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2018; Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020), and new laws have been passed or amended such as the Government of British Columbia's adoption the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Government of British Columbia, 2020a).

Nonetheless, as noted by Jewell & Mosby (2019), progress remains “glacial” on fulfilling Canada's commitments to calls to action address by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Numerous authors also argue that colonial systems of power still displace and marginalize Indigenous voices socio-economically (Comack, 2018; Motz & Currie, 2019; Kitching, et al., 2019; Hautala & Sittner, 2019; Barker, Goodman, & DeBeck, 2017; Hanrahan, 2017). and politically (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Ojha, 2003; Hunter, 2003). For example, shorter-term disputes over environmentally-contentious resource extraction projects (Temper, 2019) and outstanding legal challenges (McCrossan, 2018) within colonial systems of governance are just two additional complications that threaten delays in furthering reconciliation between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. Together, these long-term and short-term effects have proven to be major obstacles for developing reconciliation in Canada.

Despite these challenges, new horizons for reconciliation have risen in the last few years around the world (Fleras & Maaka, 2010, p. 1), with Coast Salish scholar Shain Niniwum Selapem Jackson declaring that “something is happening now and I thank the Creator that I get to bear witness to what I am praying will become a new beginning for us all” (Jackson, 2018, p. 302).

1.7 Organization of Report

The project report provides an executive summary, introduction, approaches, methodology, and methods, literature review, jurisdictional scan, discussion and analysis, recommendations, and conclusions.

An approaches, methodology, and methods chapter outlines the research framework that the project report utilizes in answering the research questions and conducting the research. The section begins with the researcher's self-location, which is then followed by an examination of

how the research itself can be reconciled. This chapter also explains the epistemology and methodology used in the project report's research and then the chapter identifies the methods and tasks for the project. Finally, the chapter highlights the major limitations and delimitations of the project.

The literature review is the first major research section of the project report. The literature review is an examination of scholarly and grey literature related to the research questions. This review includes coverage of colonialism's legacy, Canada's inequitable relationship with Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous voices in policymaking, the competition between settler and Indigenous identities, reconciliation's definition and applicability, the local complexities resulting from these topics, and specific cases of local governments' actions within the Local-Indigenous Relationship. Following this, a conceptual framework is established outlining the approach taken in the rest of the report.

The jurisdictional scan is the second major research chapter of the project report. The jurisdictional scan focuses on examples of policies and practices towards reconciliation between Indigenous communities and settler local governments or associations. This scan is presented through a series of themed tables that categorizes common activities that have been undertaken throughout British Columbia at the local level. These tables are then summarized, identifying what actions are most frequently occurring and what actions are currently being taken.

A discussion and analysis chapter examines to what extent the research questions were able to be answered given the research approach. The following section will discuss the major themes coming out of the project report's research and subsequent key findings. It will then discuss issues and barriers to researching this topic and identify areas of further research.

A recommendations and implementation strategy chapter follows the discussion and analysis chapter. The recommendations provide a recommended policy mix to implement for local governments and local government associations. These recommendations will then be supported with an implementation strategy to better explain how the recommendations can practically be achieved.

Lastly, a conclusion chapter will summarize what the project report has discussed and lay out the main messages of the project report.

2.0 Approaches, Methodology and Methods

2.1 Introduction

Research approaches inform how research is found, interpreted, and distributed. Choosing an appropriate approach or set of approaches is invaluable to creating key findings that best address the challenge described by the researcher.

This section describes the research approaches utilized for this research project. First, self-location and research reconciliation are investigated and then epistemology and methodology are explored. The next section addresses the methods and tasks for the research project. Lastly, any major limitations or delimitations within the research are assessed. Each of these key parts critically frames how the research questions are addressed and explored.

2.2 Self-Location

During this project, it became evident that as a researcher, I should explicitly discuss my positionality and that of my research within the systems and institutions in which I study. If I am to better understand the relationship between local government entities and Indigenous Peoples and governments, I need to first look at what my own actions portray. Like reconciliation within Canadian society, this process is also ongoing.

It is critical to note that, as a researcher, I am implicated within the same settler-colonial systems of power that I discuss within this project report. My positioning within Canadian and academic society as a non-Indigenous researcher affords me privilege supported by the systems that I critically examine. This research may inadvertently reproduce the oppression that decolonization frameworks seek to expose and undo. Academic research has historically hurt Indigenous Peoples due to this very reason (Antoine, 2017, pp. 114-115).

I have attempted to provide considerations and mitigation efforts for potential ethical dilemmas arising from this complication where possible. I accept, however, that unsettling settler perspectives is an ongoing process that should remain unsettled and raw to reflect the ongoing settler colonialism in Canada (Leeuw, 2017).

2.3 Reconciling Research

Crafting research that continues the mission of reconciliation requires introspection not only for the researcher but also the research topic and approach. A major concern raised by many researchers related to research on Indigenous Peoples is the approach taken (Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017; Alcantara, Lalonde, & Wilson, 2017). Community-based research has been supported by Canada's academic ethics policy for human research with Indigenous Peoples; however, ambiguity and concerns still exist for both Indigenous Peoples and researchers in defining genuine and ethical community partnerships and processes for human research in

Indigenous communities (Brunger & Wall, 2016). Decision-making processes, relationship-building, researcher's absence of historical or cultural knowledge, and constraints on local Indigenous human resources are all major challenges for conducting meaningful research with Indigenous Peoples (Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017, pp. 34-35).

This research project opted to investigate the topic without primary human research because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which severely restricted research opportunities at the outset of the project. It was decided out of respect for the restrictions announced by the Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nation (2020b) and Lək'wəḡən (Songhees) Nation (2020) and in co-operation with health authorities' guidance recommending physical distancing (Government of British Columbia, 2020b), that this project would focus exclusively on gathering secondary data. As this research does not involve any human-based research, it also avoids many of the aforementioned potential ethical dilemmas presented by human-based research with Indigenous Peoples and governments or with local governments.

Since this research was not reliant upon directly working with Indigenous communities, it begged the question: how can Indigenous Peoples' beliefs and views be genuinely included in the research? This question is addressed by the research design through epistemology, methodology, and the methods. The research design accepts the epistemology of Indigenous Peoples and treats Indigenous beliefs and worldviews as valid and legitimate ways of knowing. This includes valuing Indigenous Peoples' lived experiences, beliefs about their relationship with the land and world, and their methods of communicating these experiences and beliefs. These experiences and beliefs may differ as Indigenous Peoples are not a homogenous group but instead an incredibly diverse collection of separate societies.

At the same time, an equitable valuing of Western knowledge and Indigenous knowledge is undertaken throughout the report, similar to the Mi'kmaw concept of "two-eyed seeing" (Antoine, 2017, pp. 117-118). For example, this project identified in its literature review that many Indigenous Peoples have a wholly different conceptualization of the nation and of national sovereignty than Western notions of nations (Palmer, 2006, p. 37), recognizing as well that there is not one standard way Western countries have understood the concept of nations.

The methodology for this report utilizes a framework that is intended to be inclusive of Indigenous organizations and individuals. Following this approach, the methods were grounded in a decolonization conceptual framework to highlight perspectives and information that furthers the reduction of systems of colonial power that negatively affect Indigenous populations. Decolonization is understood by many Indigenous activists as a necessary effort to promote healing and sovereignty in Indigenous nations (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). Indigenous voices from First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities in research materials were listened to and included. All options and recommendations were built on this framework.

It may not be possible to fully remove a researcher's positionality, but these steps can better minimize the researcher's work as a furthering of colonization. In the 1700s, the Haudonosaunee (Iroquois) people presented a two-row Wampum belt to the British Crown symbolizing peace, friendship, and respect (Borrows, 1997, pp. 160-165). The researcher endeavours to create research that pushes for us to celebrate these virtues: "we shall each travel the river together, side by side, but in our own boat. Neither of us will try to steer the other's vessel" (p. 170).

2.4 Epistemology and Methodology

2.4.1 Epistemology

Undertaking research on Indigenous issues requires an acknowledgement of the role epistemology plays in research. Epistemology can be thought of as "ways of knowing" and Indigenous ways of knowing can be characterized as distinct from Western ways of knowing in how knowledge is conceptualized and performed within society (Welch, 2019, pp. 31-32). While epistemology can vary between Indigenous nations, notable differences can be drawn between Indigenous and Western perspectives. Epistemology, for example, played a role in *#IdleNoMore* Indigenous social movements against Canada's treatment of Indigenous Peoples (Raynauld, 2018, pp. 634-635). According to a paper published by the Assembly of First Nations, Indigenous ways of knowing are often "not secular" and that knowledge is an inherent, living, spiritual process that cannot be commodified (Battiste, 2002, pp. 14-15).

Indigenous and Western perspectives were analyzed with their respective epistemologies in mind. These epistemologies were not questioned in their validity, but instead used to complement each other to develop recommendations that see both perspectives. This approach bears some similarity to the concept of "two-eyed seeing" implemented by Mi'kmaw to understand one perspective through one conceptual eye and a different perspective through another conceptual eye (Antoine, 2017, pp. 117-118). Where possible, knowledge from both Indigenous and settler communities were provided equitable weight, in the consideration of the literature and document reviews. This approach aligns with the principles of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: reconciliation requires truth sharing and the traditional perspectives and knowledge of Indigenous Elders and peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, pp. 3-4). That being said, upon doing further research for this topic, sources available for doing a scan of current jurisdictional activity within British Columbia were discovered to be often limited to settler governments or associations.

2.4.2 Methodology

The project research design consisted primarily of a literature review of materials available within a decolonization research framework, followed by a jurisdictional scan of 43 examples in British Columbia chosen from internet-accessible sources focusing on improving the relationship

between municipal or regional governments and Indigenous nations. These were conducted to create the final report offering key findings and recommendations (see Figure 1).

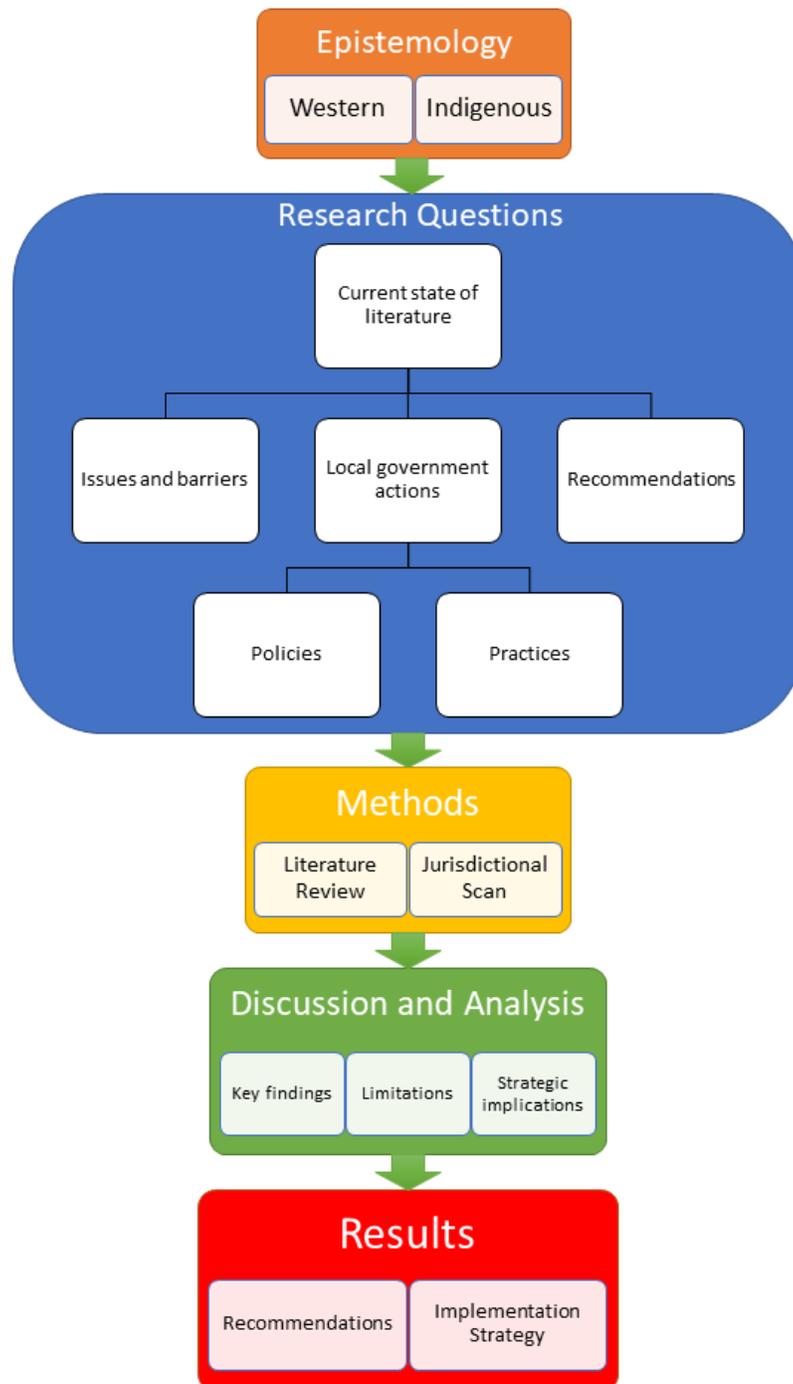
This project's research framework is grounded in decolonization. Decolonization is required to explicitly address the ongoing injustices that Indigenous Peoples face within Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). It is challenging to define exactly what is and is not decolonization, as attempts at defining decolonization are often found within colonial spaces (Martin, et al., 2020, pp. 313-314). Decolonization encompasses many different actions and attitudes; it is not any one tactic or strategy but instead a transformative process aimed at the liberation of Indigenous Peoples from colonial and neocolonial systems (Akena, 2012, p. 602).

Global and Canada-specific research provides some answers for understanding decolonization. In general, decolonizing research should not be merely extractive, but instead emancipatory for Indigenous Peoples (Antoine, 2017, pp. 116-117). Canadian decolonization is "about land, resources, sovereignty, and self-determination" (Held, 2019, p. 8). The ten principles provided by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada provide an initial backdrop for decolonizing relationships in Canada, through recognizing the inherent rights of Indigenous Peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c). International literature suggests a possible set of guiding principles for decolonization that are relevant to this task as well:

Decolonization must start from a place that does not involve a deficit way of thinking; a place that does not blame, a place of differing worldviews, and a place that seeks transformation and change for the better. Decolonizing from a position of strength has the capacity to empower other non-Indigenous cultures to experiment for themselves; to find that there are other, multiple ways of knowing that exist other than the prevailing one. The construct of a linear and fragmented worldview needs to give way to a holistic, relational fluidity and flexibility of being (p. 316).

Based on these guiding principles, it is the intent of this project's research framework to highlight how colonial systems have operated within relationships between Indigenous communities and local settler governments, and how Indigenous Peoples can be better emancipated from these systems through the reform or re-casting of said relationships. It is understood that as a settler researcher, this goal will remain an imperfect one.

FIGURE 1: DECOLONIZATION RESEARCH FRAMEWORK



2.5 Methods and Tasks

This research project deployed a literature review and jurisdictional scan to inform its final report. The literature review was conducted cross-provincially and cross-nationally to include information on both general relationship trends and information specific to local contexts within British Columbia. The report's literature review highlights important social, historical, and conceptual contexts, unearthing potential commonalities for improving Local-Indigenous Relationships. The literature review includes both scholarly and grey literature given the lack of academic sources on this topic. Literature review tasks included identifying sources, summarizing information, and analyzing for trends. Search strategies and terms are located in the following chapter.

The jurisdictional scan highlighted examples from literature relegated to the level of local settler governments and Indigenous communities in British Columbia. The scan was taken to identify commonalities and differences between approaches taken by different governments and associations related to Indigenous relations.

2.6 Limitations

For this project, there were various limitations based on administrative context, resources, scope of inquiry, and knowledge interpretation and formation.

As this project is independent, it is not funded by any public body or person. Due to this, executing project goals was limited to funding available to the researcher. The researcher relied on knowledge resources accessible through the internet search engines and UVic library system, which meant that cross-national or cross-provincial resources not available online may have been missed during the research process.

The scope of inquiry also faced limitations. The COVID-19 pandemic created severe research restrictions, which rendered a more expansive project impractical for health and safety reasons. Initially, the project proposal included in-person or virtual interviews but given the proposed participants and the demands of the pandemic for these organizations, it was decided to avoid collecting any human primary data.

Aside from this, both the literature review and jurisdictional endured limitations as well. For example, Indigenous methodologies, histories, and processes are not necessarily textually documented as they are reproduced through oral or other non-textual means, such as storytelling (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). During the jurisdictional scan, these limitations were further ratified by the very limited content available on local government initiatives towards reconciliation. Many sources were only available from settler governments. Where possible, the researcher made attempts to find alternative sources from Indigenous Peoples' websites or public libraries.

Knowledge interpretation and formation also faced limitations. Like any researcher, the researcher carries biases, perspectives, and attitudes gained from cultural, familial, social, and linguistic origins. As a resident of Victoria, British Columbia, the researcher recognizes that he has been raised and continues to work in an environment informed by colonial practices. This necessarily affects one's perspective, even if one is cognizant of this fact.

3.0 Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

This literature review identifies academic literature on the general relationship between Indigenous societies settler societies in Canada as it relates to the Local-Indigenous Relationship, and further identifies literature on the specific relationship between local governments and Indigenous communities in British Columbia.

During this project's proposal stage, it became clear that a literature review that only focused on topics relating to the Local-Indigenous Relationship would not suffice for sufficiently covering the depth and scope of the topic being studied. Developing an understanding of beneficial policies and practices and their subsequent themes requires an analysis of their foundational concepts.

A literature review of the general relationship between Indigenous and settler societies in Canada, and how this relationship manifests between local governments and Indigenous communities in British Columbia, will explore several themes central to the project research question. It will begin by examining colonialism's legacy in Canada and how that has created and affected the relationship between settler societies and Indigenous societies. Following this, Canada's inequitable relationship will be covered to provide greater background for understanding the nature of the relationship. After a review of what these inequities are, a brief review of the discursive transformation pushed by Indigenous policy advocates will reveal points of tension and reform between settler communities and Indigenous communities. The gap between these demands and their realization is then interrogated through an examination of competing identities in Canada. After this, the literature review will transition to defining reconciliation, and how it can be applied in a policy context. This will be followed by literature discussing complexities that manifest at the local level for municipal governments and Indigenous communities. Finally, cases of reconciliation being pursued by local governments with Indigenous communities will be studied for examples that can improve the relationship.

This review encompasses a review of journal articles, selected books, legal cases, web resources from involved organizations, and news articles. Search terms used within the literature review include searches on many different terms, such as "local governance reform in Canada", "reconciliation Canada", "Indigenous treatment", "local governments and Indigenous Peoples", and "colonialism in Canada". This search includes databases such as JSTOR, CANLII, Project Muse and Academic Search Premier within EBSCOHost.

Searched websites also include organizational websites such as the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, Government of British Columbia, Government of Canada, Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and Assembly of First Nations. Settler

government sources have only been cited for historical settler documents, or to reference a settler government's position or statement on an issue.

3.2 Colonialism's Legacy

Colonialism's legacy plays a major role and obstacle in processes of reconciliation in Canada. It has been well established by research in multiple areas of study in the humanities and social sciences that colonialism is integrated within other historical policy-affecting developments (De Juan & Pierskalla, 2017, pp. 166-168), with broad connections made to contemporary issues like climate change (Mahony & Endfield, 2018). Some research on Indigenous Peoples has been specifically criticized for failing to acknowledge greater historical processes within research on topics involving Indigenous Peoples (Antoine, 2017, p. 115). In order to safeguard this research and its findings from such pitfalls, an overview is provided on Canada's historical relationship with colonialism. Although this project is focused on the Local-Indigenous Relationship, this relationship is substantially influenced by larger social, political, and economic patterns observed throughout history that manipulate the Local-Indigenous Relationship. In order to provide substantive and informed policy advice on this topic, a general history of colonialism in a wider context that properly identifies long-term issues is discussed below followed by an examination of colonialism's historical context in Canada.

3.2.1 Exploring Colonialism's Definition

Colonialism has been described as “rank[ing] with the most influential processes in human history” (Horvath, 1972, p. 45). As this project's research design focuses on decolonization, a clear definition of this influential process is required. Therefore, further definition for colonialism will be illustrated by studying its history as a term, the evolution of its general meaning, and the contemporary studies devoted to deconstructing it.

Colonialism's definition traces its roots to early classical economics and is often used interchangeably with “provincialism” to describe a relationship of superior state with an inferior subject or client (Foley, 2011, pp. 10-11). While this literature review will focus on aspects of colonization and colonialism, it will prioritize reviewing colonialism and its trajectory in Canada.

Colonization was historically an act that narrowly focused on the benefit and desire of the settler-colonizer, while contemporary commentaries on colonialism deviate from this definition significantly by questioning the greater conceptual project and its impact on Indigenous Peoples (pp. 15-17). In modern usage within the Canadian context, colonization is regarded as the processes of dispossessing Indigenous Peoples of their lands, resources, and control (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 17), while colonialism is the structure implementing this process.

Although colonialism's evolution as a concept may engender differing particulars on what it may constitute, general agreement can be found between scholars on its main components.

Colonialism is seen to be "a form of domination" over territory and groups at a group level (Horvath, 1972, p. 46). Specifically, Free defines colonialism as a range of practices and policies involving the occupation, control, or subjugation of another group of peoples and land, mainly for the exploitation of territory, labour, and resources for the benefit of the colonial occupier (2018, p. 876). This literature review is concerned with the specifics of *settler* colonialism. This literature review will preface its review of colonialism's legacy with the following definition on settler colonialism:

The specific formation of colonialism in which people come to a land inhabited by (Indigenous) people and declare that land to be their new home. Settler colonialism is about the pursuit of land, not just labor or resources. Settler colonialism is a persistent societal structure, not just an historical event or origin story for a nationstate. Settler colonialism has meant genocide of Indigenous Peoples, the reconfiguring of Indigenous land into settler property. In the United States and other slave estates, it has also meant the theft of people from their homelands (in Africa) to become property of settlers to labor on stolen land (Rowe & Tuck, 2017, p. 4).

3.2.2 Global Perspectives of Colonialism

As colonialism has a global impact (Horvath, 1972), authors from around the world have provided analysis of colonialism within "Indigenous studies, critical ethnic studies, feminist studies, queer theory, anthropology, critical geography, and Asian, Black, and Chican/Xicana Studies" (Rowe & Tuck, 2017, p. 3). Marxist literature has emphasized the economic components of colonialism, positing that colonialism is a form of exploitation (Horvath, 1972, p. 46). The intersection of this has produced much literature, often through a lens known as postcolonial studies. Both individual and organizational voices have contributed to studying this subject.

Postcolonial studies can be traced to the arrival of Sub-Altern studies in the 1980s and its subsequent interplay with post-structural analysis (Holsinger, 2002, p. 1196). Deriving some inspiration from Marxist and Gramscian schools of thought and highlighted by essays from Gayatri Spivak, Sub-Altern studies focuses on discussions of history empowering subaltern communities (p. 1197). From these beginnings, postcolonial studies have gradually encompassed an extensive body of literature. This literature includes scholarly journals such as the International Journal of Postcolonial Studies and Postcolonial Studies, both publishing a wide array of articles, including early critiques of "othering" in academia (Ahmed, 1998), and how histories of minorities are conceived and predicated within Western discourses (Chakrabarty D. , 1998).

There are numerous global postcolonial advocates and researchers who have contributed to the definition and study of colonialism over time. Edward Said argued in *Orientalism* that Western interactions with non-Western realities through colonialism reduce non-Western realities to static caricatures, curtailing non-Western peoples' collective agency (1978). Frantz Fanon formulated a critical race approach, determining that colonialism is inherently violent and dehumanizing, and that only through decolonization can the symptoms of colonialism be alleviated (Fanon, 1963). Kwame Nkrumah argued that colonialism as shifted forms into "neo-colonialism", which continues Western political and economic control through more indirect methods (Nkrumah, 1965).

Noam Chomsky has reinforced this viewpoint, criticizing the West's intervention in domestic politics of non-Western communities as a harmful form of neo-colonialism (Orelus & Chomsky, 2014). Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* highlights the intersection between race and colonialism, depicting colonialism as a pretense for the erasure of Indigenous Peoples (2009). Sub-Altern scholars have criticized colonialism at length as well. Chakrabarty has devoted numerous writings to postcolonial studies. Among his critiques, he has identified eurocentrism as a challenge for academia and settler societies, seeking to re-orient non-Western spaces beyond the conceptual limitations of Western viewpoints (2000). Partha Chatterjee's *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* similarly challenges Western colonial imaginings of being in different vein, focusing on defining non-Western versions of sovereignty and nation (1993). Each of these scholars reflects two common themes in postcolonial studies. First, colonialism instituted and perpetuated by Western powers has continued to create negative effects for non-Western people and spaces. Second, the empowerment of Indigenous Peoples is vital for decolonization efforts.

Individual actors in the world are not solely responsible for the critical examination of colonialism. Transnational institutions and organizations have also played a role in defining what colonialism means. For example, the United Nations has continued ongoing work highlighting the effects of colonialism. In 1960, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*, specifically describing colonialism within a human rights framework:

The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation (United Nations, 1960).

Other transnational bodies have also examined colonialism and the struggles associated with it. The International Labour Organization, for example, has faced ongoing debates and policy shifts due to colonialism and attempts to define its scope in relation to workers' rights (Maul, 2019). The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) has wrestled with colonialism

and its relationship with Indigenous Peoples (2020). The Center for Justice and International Law has fought against colonial justice systems throughout Latin America, underscoring the need for protection of Indigenous Peoples' rights (2020). The Global Fund for Women has advocated for the prioritization of Indigenous women in climate justice (2020). These and other organizations have sought to define what colonialism means and has meant for the world.

3.2.3 Perspectives on Colonialism in Canada

There are many sources defining colonialism in Canada. The Government of Canada provides its own narrative on colonialism. Canada's narrative, however, has greatly varied over time. Stanley (2016) argues that Canada's first Prime Minister held racist views and acted on this racism in policy and practice. And as late as 2009, the Prime Minister of Canada stated that there is "no history of colonialism" in Canada (Ladner & McCrossan, 2014, p. 73). Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has derided the "legacy of colonialism in Canada" at the United Nations, however, citing examples of discrepancies in Canada's treatment of Indigenous Peoples (Government of Canada, 2017). The Government of Canada maintains a website dedicated to Canada's history of Indigenous Peoples, although this history is largely descriptive and chiefly relegated to interactions with settler history (2017b). This history avoids direct mention of colonialism.

Numerous commissions and investigatory teams funded by the federal government have sought to define colonialism's role. The only direct use of the term colonialism in the final report written by The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples occurs when the Commission refers to damaging policies affecting Indigenous lives as "relics of colonialism," providing over 300 pages of recommendations to structurally change how settler Canada forges a relationship with Indigenous Peoples (Government of Canada, 1996, p. 84). In the Commission's report, it also characterizes Canada's relationship as debilitating and discriminatory paternalism (p. 1). In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada provided more direct reference to colonialism within its executive summary report. The report stated that "colonialism remains an ongoing process, shaping both the structure and the quality of the relationship between the settlers and Indigenous Peoples" (2015b, p. 45), and equated Canada's colonialism with "policies of cultural genocide and assimilation" (p. 183). Later in 2019, the National Inquiry Into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women concluded that the painful experiences of Indigenous women, girls, and 2SLGBTQQIA people is rooted in colonialism as well (2019, p. 11). Colonialism is identified by the Inquiry as a structure (p. 17), and forms of oppression such as marginalization are defined as "products" of colonialism (p. 51).

Academic research in Canada has also defined colonialism in various ways. Scholars have offered up to twelve different types of colonialism throughout the world (Rowe & Tuck, 2017, p. 3), with several subcategories provided further clarity by different authors in Canada. One general depiction of colonialism has been offered by Ball, who depicts colonialism as an

antagonistic force depriving Indigenous Peoples of family structure and support (2009). McGuire and Denis narrow their focus on settler colonialism, defining it as a “deeply entrenched structure” while exploring settler’s journeys towards understanding and supporting Indigenous Peoples’ rights (2020, p. 505). They suggest alternate counter-narratives from Indigenous Peoples can be used to create a unified moral vision for a decolonized Canada (2020, p. 520). Comack, meanwhile, argues that “corporate colonialism” in Canada is a distinct form of colonialism that has developed, whereby settler interests between private capital and government have reinforced colonial structures (2018). Adding to this, Ojha purports that Canada has also implemented “internal colonialism” through the *Indian Act* by forcing Indigenous Peoples to become reliant on settler government authority (2003, p. 1278). The scholarly insights of authors such as Ojha or Comack suggest that colonialism is multi-faceted in its antagonistic performance against Indigenous Peoples.

Some Indigenous Peoples have also gathered information and expressed their views on colonialism through joint efforts. For example, some of the journalists of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network have co-ordinated with other Indigenous journalists and shared their common colonialism experiences with the Canadian public (Roache, 2019). Roache explains that Indigenous journalism has often focused on telling different stories of colonization to weave common themes together across communities, such as Indigenous resilience and protection of Indigenous lands (2019). Colonialism, then, is defined through its effects on people. The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs sets out a clear historical timeline detailing the effects of colonialism (2020a), and reinforces this with public statements. They define colonialism through lived experiences, chastising the treatment of Wet’suwet’en land defenders by settler institutions as “colonialism in all of its ugliness and hypocrisy” (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020b).

The Assembly of First Nations has also worked to push for Indigenous rights and title recognition in Canada. A resolution passed by the Assembly of First Nations asserts that Canada continues to be a “settler colonial state”, perpetuating “colonial doctrine” and discriminatory treatment (2019). Again, like the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, colonialism is defined as its resulting consequences and experiences for Indigenous Peoples. Indigenous Peoples, through organizations and individual voices, have defined colonialism mainly through the sharing of their lived experiences. It is the sharing of these experiences that have gone on to influence what settler government inquiries have said about colonialism in Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b).

3.2.4 Defining Historical Context

Prior to European arrival, Indigenous Peoples formed complex and independent societies with unique political, economic, and spiritual frameworks across the Americas. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues has recognized that self-identified Indigenous Peoples

have “distinct social, economic, or political systems” and are rooted in lands and histories that predate arrival of settler communities (United Nations, 2020a). Within the boundaries of what is now Canada, there exists 600 distinct First Nation communities (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a). All Indigenous Peoples are unified by the legacy of colonialism, which can be further investigated to better understand the relationship between settler and Indigenous communities.

Settler colonialism was conducted by European settlers across the world to enrich settler communities to the detriment of Indigenous Peoples (Free, 2018). This served as the basis for the foundation of Canada, including the settler institutions of British Columbia (Ishiguro, 2016). Colonialism is not relegated to a static set of past attitudes or practices. Canada’s colonial legacy has evolved through different stages: early colonial settlement, formalization and assimilation, modernization, and contemporary efforts. Each of these stages can be analyzed in-depth to provide greater context for understanding how and why colonialism shapes reconciliation efforts. From this analysis, connections can then be made to the Local-Indigenous Relationship.

3.2.5 *Early Colonial Settlement*

The start of colonialism in Canada began with European explorers “discovering” the Americas during the late 1400s through to the 1700s. Early European explorers utilized exclusionary logic to justify their initial encroachment on the traditional lands of native inhabitants. The legal concept of *terra nullius* was used by these European explorers to justify colonial settlement, despite the lands clearly being utilized and lived on by existing Indigenous populations (Ojha, 2003, pp. 1272-1273). Since the land was declared “vacant” through this concept’s use, Europeans engaged with colonial activities as they saw fit. Thus, the legal pretext for Europe’s first colonies in the Americas was inherently discriminatory from inception. *Terra nullius* was largely ratified by a British Privy Council memorandum in 1722 outlining the doctrine of discovery (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). Genocide researchers point to the doctrine of discovery, and the concept of *terra nullius* implemented through it, as serving as the basis for settler resettlement of Indigenous lands in Canada and British Columbia (Woolford & Benvenuto, 2015, pp. 380-381). Reviewing these concepts’ implementation in history provides greater context for understanding Indigenous-settler relations.

Starting in the 1500s, gradual settlement in Canada brought new trade and alliances with Indigenous Peoples as well as new conflicts (McGill, 2017). While extensive treaty-building and formal relationships were already long-established between First Nations prior to European arrival (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, pp. 49-51), early European settlers prioritized trade in diplomatic relations, largely imbuing their settlement as an extension of the British and French crown’s foreign policy (p. 50). Over time, these relationships would evolve as the military and political context changed between European and Indigenous Peoples.

European migration and occupation had effects on the lives and societies of Indigenous communities. British and French settlers spent these early years establishing colonial structures

of control and extraction, such as the French importing of the seigneurial system in what would become Quebec (Harris C. , 2008, p. 410). European systems of political and economic control were also introduced alongside Christian missions, which by the end of the fifteenth century presumed a responsibility to “civilize primitive peoples and convert them” (Boucher, 2016, p. 8). Early British and French colonialism and relations with Indigenous Peoples was pushed by trade, particularly the fur trade, culminating in the founding of the Hudson’s Bay Company (Podruchny, Gleach, & Roulette, 2010). Other Europeans also engaged in limited exploration, land claims, and trade, including Russian, Spanish and Danish explorers (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). These interactions with the lands and peoples of the area did not go without incident. Aside from potential military or economic conflict, migration and expansion brought devastating disease to the Americas, causing the deaths of many Indigenous Peoples (Nunn & Qian, 2010). Over time, settlers formed separate and disparate settler-colonial states controlled and subservient to their homeland.

The emergence of colonial identity also meant the formalization of colonial mandate. Starting with the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*, governing settler institutions began to formally define relationships with Indigenous Peoples that had originated from the doctrine of discovery (Reid, 2010). This document has since become considered part of Canada’s constitutional framework (Mancke, 2019, p. 634). Multiple Indigenous organizations have stated that the document is of foundational importance to the establishment of Indigenous-settler relations. The Métis National Council has said that the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* was “important in establishing the core elements of the relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown” (2013). Similarly, the Assembly of First Nations has argued that the document and the subsequent *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* has “serious constitutional, legal and political imperatives” that are vital for seeking justice for Indigenous Peoples (2013). The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and subsequent *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* are often cited as important documents due to the wide-ranging implications of the documents. The *Royal Proclamation of 1763* provided limited recognition of Indigenous Peoples’ land rights and title, while simultaneously providing greater legitimacy to the doctrine of discovery (Ojha, 2003, p. 1274). This recognition of land claim and titles was conditional and guaranteed by colonial decree. Chiefly, the recognition was veiled within what was “essential to [the British Crown’s] Interest and the Security of [the British Crown’s] Colonies” (Government of Canada, 2016a), further conditioned with the introduction of a formal administration of “Indian Affairs” (2016a). Therefore, the document recognized Indigenous title and rights, but did so within a colonial mandate.

Understanding the historical context surrounding the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* is critical for understanding its wider policy impacts across future settler-Indigenous relations in Canada. Multiple scholars have corroborated that this document played an important role in settler relations with Indigenous Peoples (Rowe & Tuck, 2017; Borrows, 1997). While not necessarily discussed as much, the following *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* is arguably as important, if not more so, as its agreement was where select Indigenous Peoples actually articulated their understanding

of the document. This pan-Indigenous interpretation, however, was tempered by the fact that the *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* was attended by, and targeted at, Indigenous nations only within the Great Lakes region (Borrows, 1997, pp. 169-171). Indigenous nations existing outside of eastern Canada's geopolitical sphere at that time were not in attendance and were not consulted for this treaty's acceptance. Nonetheless, this document's role in Canadian constitutional history for Indigenous Peoples is pronounced. The historical context for the proclamation and treaty documents can be appreciated through differing worldviews, the geopolitical situation of the time, and the personal political relationships established between Indigenous nations and the Crown's representative.

First, treaty interpretations have led to significantly contrasting viewpoints between Indigenous and settler communities. Western and Indigenous worldviews have historically emphasized different ways of knowing (Welch, 2019, pp. 31-32), which may logically extend to aspects of treaty-making as well. Many Indigenous Peoples do not accept legal agreements or documents such as the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* merely through the written text alone. Instead, these agreements are *lived* through custom, ceremony, symbolism and speech (Borrows, 1997, p. 156). The *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* was understood by the attending Indigenous Peoples through communal gathering, speeches. Moreover, it was understood through the sharing of the Wampum belt, which represented peace, friendship, and respect between settler and Indigenous Peoples (pp. 160-165). The Indigenous nations giving the belt interpreted it as a symbol of non-interference and acknowledgement of their self-determination. This viewpoint contrasted with the British Crown's understanding of the treaty (p. 159).

Geopolitics also reinforced the messaging and intent of the proclamation. The mid-1700s were a time of great military and political struggle. The proclamation came at the heels of the conclusion of the Seven Year's War, a costly war involving major European powers which included strategic alliances with Indigenous Peoples (Ward, 2012). This war spilled over into North America in the form of the French and Indian War (Marston, 2003), where French and British colonial forces fought with the assistance of the Indigenous Peoples (Borrows, 1997, pp. 156-157). France's eventual capitulation led to British colonial dominance over much of the Americas (Nester, 2000, p. 238). The proclamation, then, was not out-of-the-blue; it was a concerted effort by the British Crown to establish colonial supremacy through a new system of rules governing British North America based on the prior of doctrine of discovery (Reid, 2010). Despite France's defeat, Indigenous Peoples previously allied with France refused to give up their sovereignty. Their conviction was also backed by a precarious colonial situation. While British colonies enjoyed a newly found peace, they still required trade, resources, and military co-operation from Indigenous Peoples (Borrows, 1997, pp. 157-159). Thus, colonial efforts to compromise with Indigenous Peoples was made partially out of necessity to maintain colonial supremacy in the region.

The dynamic of personal relationships played a role in treaty-making. Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson focused on announcing the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* upon its arrival to the colonies, and brought together many local Indigenous nations to ratify the proclamation (Mancke, 2019, p. 634). Johnson became adept at forming close relationships with Indigenous nations through gift-giving (Mullin, 1993, pp. 351-352). He also crafted colonial arrangements that created regional balances of power between Indigenous nations (pp. 353-354). He utilized his personal alliances with some Indigenous Peoples, particularly the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), to ensure politically favourable outcomes for the settler colonies (p. 355). Johnson used these skills at the *Treaty of Niagara of 1764*, where ceremonies were held to officially register the acceptance and celebration of the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* with Indigenous nations. Despite Johnson's colonial background, even he recognized that there was a fundamental misunderstanding between the British Crown and the participating Indigenous Peoples on what the proclamation and treaty meant (Borrows, 1997, p. 159).

3.2.6 *The Age of Assimilation*

By the late 1700s, colonial expansion had gathered steam and become more formalized, evidenced by the *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* (Borrows, 1997). Secured with a monopoly of trade over vast parts of North America, the Hudson's Bay Company and later North West Company prospered off the wealth of natural resources found in North America (Gettler, 2013, pp. 277-278). The flourishing of colonial agrarian-capitalist economies, territorial domination, and relative peace achieved after the War of 1812 gave the British Empire the necessary resources and power to pursue Indigenous lands without a need for Indigenous Peoples (Ojha, 2003, pp. 1274-1275). The pace of colonization further accelerated during the 1800s.

By the nineteenth century, British colonial power pursued a "monopoly of violence" over British Columbia and other parts of North America, which abetted the colonial ambitions of British settler occupiers (Harris C. , 2004, p. 179). Woods and Rossiter argue that the doctrine of *terra nullius* still pervaded this younger colonial settlement, citing Governor Douglas constructing a settler "colonial 'reality'" depicting the Indigenous Peoples' lands as "uncontrolled and chaotic" (2011, p. 412). Colonial expansion would result in the formal foundation of the settler nation of Canada in 1867 via the *British North America Act* (Romaniuk & Wasyliw, 2014, pp. 109-110). Canada maintained a patchwork effort to acquire treaty rights to Indigenous lands and resources, while simultaneously developing and implementing laws and programs to restrict and assimilate Indigenous cultures. This can be clearly illustrated by reviewing information available on Canada's legal relationship with Indigenous Peoples, and how this relationship manifested in policy and practice.

The validity of Canada's legal relationship with Indigenous Peoples continues to be disputed by Indigenous Peoples, with one major claim being that the settler state of Canada's existence is reliant on the theft of Indigenous sovereignty (Scott, 2018, pp. 391-396). Many historical

treaties lacked genuine negotiations (p. 74), and excluded or minimized oral and ceremonial agreements prioritized by Indigenous Peoples as early as the *Treaty of Niagara of 1764* (Borrows, 1997, p. 171). The formalization of the treaty-relationship between Canada and Indigenous Peoples during these years can be understood through settler governments' treatment of the treaty process, and the greater context surrounding this process.

Canada's pursuit of treaties with Indigenous Peoples was uneven during this period. Early colonial settlements were driven by "chartered commercial enterprises" like the Hudson's Bay Company (Webber, 2016, p. 99), and British Columbia's expansion was no exception to this. Settlers in British Columbia largely ignored the provision of large-scale treaties (Neylan, 2013, p. 834); *Treaty 8* of the *Numbered Treaties* and the *Douglas Treaties* are the only major treaties completed during the 1800s by settlers in British Columbia (McNeil, 2008, p. 35). Regarding the former treaty, Whitehouse contends that the *Numbered Treaties* were pursued by Indigenous and settler peoples with contradictory end-goals: Indigenous Peoples wanted to preserve their identity and culture, while settler governments saw the treaties as a necessity for assimilating Indigenous Peoples (1994). Regarding the latter treaty, the *Douglas Treaties* were conducted in a limited capacity as treaty-making gradually declined towards the end of the 1850s (Harris C. , 2012). Today, Indigenous Peoples continue to push for clarification of the *Douglas Treaties*. The Te'Mexw Treaty Association, an association of five Coast Salish First Nations, argues that Indigenous Peoples dispute the treaty's written language and its handling by settler governments (2020). While the treaty process would end in British Columbia after these treaties' completion, it would continue with other *Numbered Treaties* and agreements across other parts of Canada until the early 1900s (Kulchyski, 2015, pp. 70-71).

Treaties were not committed within a social, economic, or political vacuum. Settler forces had already engaged in multiple wars since the 1600s with and against Indigenous Peoples. These conflicts ranged from 1700s conflicts involving the French (Marston, 2003) or British (McDonnell, 2015), to the War of 1812 (Fixico, 2020; Brownlie, 2017). Even when settlers were allied with Indigenous forces, however, Indigenous Peoples' motives and interests were co-opted by settler demands (Brownlie R. J., 2012). When aligned against a settler occupier, such as in Pontiac's War (Parmenter, 1997), Indigenous Peoples faced a variety of attacks inclusive of civilian populations. In one case, British forces resorted to biological warfare against civilian Indigenous populations (Fenn, 2000). In at least one separate incident, British forces engaged in alleged gunboat diplomacy, using the Royal Navy to shell the villages of the Lamalcha people in British Columbia and refusing their descendants recognized Indian status or title (Hwilitsum First Nation, 2009). Aside from direct conflict, the way of life of many Indigenous Peoples had also been majorly impacted by settler socio-economic activities, including the decimation of bison populations along the prairies (Kepkiewicz & Dale, 2019, p. 989).

In British Columbia, disease and assimilation threatened Indigenous lives during and after the signing of the *Douglas Treaties*, continuing to affect Indigenous Peoples such as the people of

the Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nation (Esquimalt Nation, 2020a) and the Tsleil-Waututh (Burrard Inlet) Nation (Tsleil-Waututh Nation, 2020). Reinforcing both direct conflict and socio-economic harms, a number of substantial laws and reports were completed by Canada's federal government focusing on regulating the treatment and rights of Indigenous Peoples. These changes created major impediments for Indigenous self-determination and denigrated aboriginal title. A review of the *Bagot Report* of 1844, *Ryerson Report* of 1847, *Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869*, and *Indian Act of 1876* provides an overview of how settler governments incrementally increased restrictions on Indigenous Peoples' rights and title.

The *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*, known as the *Bagot Report*, was written by Governor General Sir Charles Bagot from 1844 to 1845 (Government of Canada, 1845). This commissioned report was one of the first extensive examinations and recommendations made by government officials regarding the relationship between the Crown and Indigenous Peoples. The *Bagot Report* examined Indigenous Peoples' relationship with the colonial government. Despite discussing a pretense of peaceful co-existence, the *Bagot Report* resorted to racial stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples, describing Indigenous Peoples of eastern Canada having a "warlike character" (p. 3). It cited colonial agents' accounts of Indigenous spaces, asserting that "the huts of those of the Iroquois bespeak wretchedness and inactivity in the extreme" (p. 21). The report characterizes Indigenous Peoples based on preconceived notions of civilization, describing the "uncivilized Indians" as "heathens" (p. 24), and attesting that "Christian Indians" show greater improvement (p. 29). These claims were used to reinforce a set of recommendations that would inform future policy frameworks involved in the erasure of Indigenous culture (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, pp. 74-75).

The *Ryerson Report* of 1847 built upon the work of the *Bagot Report*. The *Ryerson Report* focused on developing the chief recommendation of the Bagot Report, advocating for "industrial schools" for Indigenous youth (Government of Canada, 1847). This report would serve as part of the basis establishing the residential schools system in Canada. The report called for schools to be "of learning and religion" and touted the efficiencies of industry (p. 73). The report recommended who the schools should employ, the schools' management, the school system's governance, the involvement of the Church, the general curriculum, and a schedule for attendance (1847). In a few introductory sentences, the report made profound claims on the "character and condition" of Indigenous Peoples without evidence:

Even in ordinary civilized life, the mass of the labouring classes are controlled by their feelings as almost the only rule of action, in proportion to the absence or partial character of their intellectual development. The theory of a certain kind of educational philosophy is falsified in respect to the Indian: with him nothing can be done to improve and elevate his character and condition without the aid of religious feeling. This influence must be superadded to all others to make the Indian a sober and industrious man (p. 73)

In addition to these reports, a number of laws were passed in the 1800s to curtail the self-determination and rights of Indigenous Peoples. This began with the *Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1876* and was followed by the *Indian Act of 1879* which consolidated many previous bills passed to manage and control Indigenous populations. The *Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1876* granted the federal government vast control over Indigenous government and Indigenous rights, offering Indigenous Peoples “enfranchisement” at the price of giving up their cultural identity and title (Government of Canada, 1869). The following *Indian Act of 1879* consolidated the colonial management of Indigenous Peoples, deliberately creating new government systems to oversee and restrict Indigenous Peoples’ use and possession of land through the reserve system (Ojha, 2003, pp. 1276-1277). This act, while modified many times, has been a cornerstone of the federal government’s control of Indigenous Peoples and the forced dispossession of their traditional lands (Morden, 2016, pp. 113-114). Once the *Indian Act* was passed, Indigenous self-government on reserves was formally abolished and replaced with the imposed band council system (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018).

Formal acts of assimilation would be carried out well into the twentieth century. The Native Women’s Association of Canada highlights that settler society in Canada introduced a variety of measures in the late 1800s and early 1900s: mandatory residential schools, bans on spiritual and cultural ceremonies, and even off-reserve dancing bans were implemented over time (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). By the 1920s, Indigenous Peoples were outlawed from hiring their own lawyers (Hanson E. , 2009) to fight these laws. From the 1800s to the early 1900s, assimilation had gathered considerable speed through settler policy and practice.

3.2.7 *Modern Institutions*

The post-war period marked a time of change in Canadian society. Reviewing highlights of the changes in discourse and policy creates some historical backdrop for understanding relationships between Indigenous societies and settler societies. Coming out of the Second World War, Canada was well aware of the high cost paid in the fight against authoritarian regimes. News of the mass abuses and deaths linked to the Holocaust carried out by Nazi Germany created a powerful incentive for Canada’s federal government to adopt the new *United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (Hanson E. , 2009). Increased attention to reform and human rights leaked into other legislative acts as well. In 1951, the *Indian Act* received major changes, removing passages banning cultural ceremonies and creating greater gender equity within the band council system (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). These changes would continue through the twentieth century, with Indigenous Peoples’ voting rights granted and compulsory enfranchisement removed in the 1960s (2018).

Several court cases in the 1970s affected Canada’s political and constitutional landscape. Although the appeal was defeated, the Supreme Court case of *Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia* made history when Canada’s highest court judged that Aboriginal title *did*

exist independent of Canadian law (1973). It has been argued that the settler governments of Canada only began re-thinking approaches to Indigenous land rights upon this legal decision, affecting the formation of the modern Nisga'a Treaty (McNeil, 2008, pp. 35-36). Apart from the *Calder* case, Women's rights and equality under the law was also pushed for in *Attorney General of Canada v. Lavell* (1973). Lavell asserted discrimination against women via the *Indian Act's* treatment of lineage and Indian status (*Attorney General of Canada v. Lavell*, 1973). While the Supreme Court decision ruled in favour of the Government of Canada, it would prove controversial, leading to further questions and calls for change (Whyte J. D., 1974).

Constitutional reform swept Canada in the 1980s, with the adoption of the *Constitution Act, 1982* (Government of Canada, 2020b). The new *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* ushered in new sections specifically recognizing the treaty and land rights of "aboriginal peoples" equitably amongst genders and requiring the Canadian government to invite Indigenous Peoples for discussions should future constitutional reform occur (2020b). Among all of these changes, section 35 has had a profound impact on the Canadian legal system, affecting how court decisions are made on Indigenous title and rights (Webber, 2016).

Canada's modernizing relationship, however, still suffered issues. Settler governments of Canada struggled with transitioning away from assimilationist policy. Major laws, such as the *Indian Act*, continued to impact Indigenous Peoples. Gender discrimination in settler law would continue beyond the 1951 *Indian Act* reforms, requiring further challenge (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). In 1969, the Pierre Trudeau government issued a white paper on "Indian policy", recommending the eventual removal of the *Indian Act* and claiming that Indigenous Peoples received "special treatment" and should therefore be folded into general Canadian society to be provided equality (Government of Canada, 1969). This policy framework was met with immediate opposition from Indigenous Peoples, and the idea was soon scuttled (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018).

3.2.8 Contemporary Struggles

International research suggests that Indigenous Peoples have made strides in asserting their rights throughout the world in recent years, albeit while still facing systemic marginalization (Fleras & Maaka, 2010, p. 1). This contemporary progress has also been demonstrated in Canada since the 1990s. In particular, contemporary changes have been emphasized through breakthroughs in government policy and landmark legal precedents. This literature review will focus on some key moments of these breakthroughs.

The Oka Crisis was a historical moment in the early 1990s for settler-Indigenous relations. Concerned with encroachment on their traditional territories, Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) land defenders set up a blockade to fight against this perceived injustice (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). The ensuing crisis evoked a pattern of repeated misleading, dispossession, and relocation of Indigenous Peoples without their consent (Morris, 1995, pp. 76-

78). Instead of critically examining Canada's power dynamics with Indigenous Peoples, mainstream press coverage and government's handling misrepresented the crisis and the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawks') situation to the detriment of Indigenous peoples' portrayals (Grenier, 1994, pp. 333-334).

Later in the 1990s, calls for reform would be answered through government acts and legal challenges. The federal government commenced the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in 1991, which submitted a five-volume report in 1996 unearthing the difficulties and inequities experienced by Indigenous Peoples. The report recommended an overhaul of relationships between government and Indigenous communities. It called for economic, political, social, and constitutional reforms to better address the lingering hardships faced by Indigenous Peoples due to Canada's colonial systems of oppression (Government of Canada, 1996). The commission underlined that Indigenous-settler relations can only be improved if settler governments acknowledge the harms they have caused, commit to rebalancing the power dynamic between these societies, reallocate land and resources to address this power rebalance, and support the reconstitution of self-governing Indigenous nations with larger-scale social and economic reform (pp. 1-4).

The Government of Canada followed up with new inquiries into Indigenous affairs within Canada during the 2000s soon after the closing of the last residential school in the 1990s. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada released its substantial findings on the status of Indigenous Peoples in 2015, crafting a series of calls to action to resolve the injustices that Indigenous Peoples have faced in response to the residential schools system's reported harms (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). These calls to action were further reinforced by ten principles that can provide guidance for understanding reconciliation in action (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c). After this commission, the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls was created to investigate gendered violence within Canada against Indigenous Peoples. The inquiry's report would eventually be released in 2019, documenting Canada's inaction on violence against Indigenous Peoples and confronting Canada's colonial treatment of Indigenous women, girls, two-spirit, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex and asexual minorities as genocide (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 5).

Substantive legal cases occurred during the 1990s and 2000s. Treaties interpretation (*R. v. Badger*, 1996), definition and establishment of aboriginal title (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, 1997), the affirmation of the constitutional protection of aboriginal rights (*R. v. Sparrow*, 1990), the clarification of Métis rights (*R. v. Powley*, 2003), the affirmation of federal responsibility for Indigenous Peoples regardless of whether they are of "Indian status" or Métis (*Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)*, 2016) occurred during these

years. Although legal challenges still remain, these cases cemented grounds for constitutional and legal protection.

A major legal framework that Canadian governments are still reacting to is the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Written by an international consortium of Indigenous activists and global leadership in 2007, this document confirms a global recognition of Indigenous rights, including title rights, cultural rights, and the right to self-determination (United Nations, 2020b). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada notes in its ten principles that recognition of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is necessary for achieving greater reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c, p. 3). This declaration was initially opposed by Canada at the United Nations (2020b), but is beginning to be recognized by settler governments in Canada as a fundamental step towards reconciliation (Fontaine, 2016).

Governments' reaction to these challenges has been mixed. This mixed track record has been documented and discussed by governments, organizations, Indigenous Peoples, and academic scholars. Literature is available on the national, provincial, and local efforts that have been made by settler governments. Each of these levels of settler government will be briefly reviewed in this context to provide a snapshot of governments' handling of these issues and subsequent criticism.

Federally, the government has taken specific steps towards reconciliation. The Government of Canada has issued a series of apologies for different actions taken against Indigenous Peoples. The government issued an official apology for the residential schools system in 2008 (Government of Canada, 2008). The Trudeau government has followed up with more apologies for specific grievances as well (Government of Canada, 2017). Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has publicly criticized the colonial actions of Canada at the United Nations (Government of Canada, 2017). Aside from acknowledgements, the Government of Canada has taken some action. Examples of this action include establishing measures to track and implement the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's calls to action (Government of Canada, 2019), providing supports for Indigenous children under *Jordan's Principle* (Government of Canada, 2020), working towards endorsing the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Fontaine, 2016), and signing an accord between the national governments of the Métis and the Government of Canada (Government of Canada, 2017a).

National efforts have been met with criticism. While the Assembly of First Nations recognizes that settler governments have made moves to go beyond the *Indian Act* over the past few decades through actions such as the signing of the *Nisga'a Final Agreement*, the Assembly of First Nations contends that the "federal government is generally reluctant to recognize the inherent right of First Nations" (Assembly of First Nations, 2020c). The limited completion of the historical *Douglas Treaties*, for example, has spilled over into litigation, resulting in

extensive legal settlement between the Ləkʷəŋən (Songhees) and Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) nations and the Government of Canada (Edmonds, 2010). And while apologies have been made, Indigenous legal scholars have pushed that genuine apologies require holistic and structural change to accompany them (Lightfoot, 2015, p. 24). Critical analysis of Harper's 2008 residential schools program apology reveals contradictions and tensions within the speech and settler reactions to the speech (Anderson, 2012). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's final report has presented a number of issues for Canadian institutions and society to rectify (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b), but the commission's design and the responses to these calls to action have also been met with criticism (Nagy, 2014). Progress on adopting the calls to action has been described as "glacial" (Jewell & Mosby, 2019). Additionally, the Government of Canada has still yet to formally adopt the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* in entirety (Fontaine, 2016). The Government of Canada has actively fought and continues to fight court cases on its treatment of Indigenous Peoples. The Government of Canada admits that it has taken action on *Jordan's Principle* in response to a decision made by the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (Government of Canada, 2020). Even despite this, the Government of Canada has had 7 non-compliance orders issued against it on this issue by the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (First Nations Child & Family Caring Society, 2020). Some Indigenous scholars have pointed to national inaction as evidence that Indigenous resurgence, not reconciliation, is the only option remaining (Corntassel, Chawwin-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009).

At the provincial level, some efforts have been made by British Columbia. The Government of British Columbia has confirmed its intent to adhere to the calls to action (Government of British Columbia, 2020c) and adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Government of British Columbia, 2020a). The Government of British Columbia has worked with the Government of Canada and relevant First Nations to confirm new agreements through the BC Treaty Commission, such as the *Ditidaht and Pacheedaht Agreement in Principle*, *Kitsumkalum Agreement in Principle*, *Northern Secwepemc te Qelmuw Agreement in Principle*, and *K'ómoks Agreement in Principle* (BC Treaty Commission, 2020). Settler governments have also worked with First Nations in British Columbia to establish First nations self-governing authorities. The First Nations Health Authority in British Columbia was founded in 2013 to deliver health services for and by Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia (First Nations Health Authority, 2020), with promising results encompassing Indigenous Traditional Knowledge (Gallagher, Mendez, & Kehoe, 2015). The First Nations Housing & Infrastructure Council British Columbia is currently in the process of setting up a First Nations-led authority for First Nations housing development in British Columbia (First Nations Housing & Infrastructure Council British Columbia, 2020). Aside from government actions, private organizations within British Columbia have followed up, showing openness to fostering reconciliation by applying the calls to action. The Law Society of British Columbia, for example, has pledged to work towards these goals (Law Society of British Columbia, 2020).

Provincial efforts across Canada have also struggled with calls for change. Many Canadian provinces have not adopted the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* within their respective legislatures. In Ontario, the Government of Ontario has eliminated programs aimed at Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous Culture Fund was eliminated by the Government of Ontario, despite specifically created in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission calls to action (Ontario Arts Council, 2020). Alberta's government has been criticized by some Indigenous communities, being taken to court by the Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation for failure to sufficiently consider their land use rights in proposed natural resource projects (Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation v Alberta, 2018). Indigenous Peoples have felt similarly ignored by the government of Quebec (Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador, 2019). British Columbia's efforts have not been free of criticism, either. Indigenous rights and title have been petitioned for by Indigenous nations against the government through the courts since the 1990s (Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, 1997). More recently, Robinson suggests that British Columbia's courts system remains unreliable for further the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and that stronger direct action from governments is necessary (Robinson, 2020). Regardless of province, recent literature makes it clear that every province still needs to progress further on issues of reconciliation.

Many local governments in British Columbia have made moves towards reconciliation. Formal agreements have been increasingly pursued by local governments in British Columbia and other parts of Canada, spanning from jurisdictional agreements to decolonization agreements which attempt to create a more equitable relationship (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014, pp. 602-603). Acknowledgements of territory and calls to action, policy documents, initiative supports, and select examples have all demonstrated similar progress. Municipalities and regional governments such as the Capital Regional District have committed to territorial acknowledgements (Capital Regional District, 2020a). The Capital Regional District has confirmed its intent to pursue its own truth and reconciliation with Indigenous nations (Capital Regional District, 2020b), and provided reporting on its efforts (Capital Regional District, 2018). Representing municipalities in British Columbia, the Union of British Columbia Municipalities has agreed to move on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's calls to action and foster greater Indigenous reconciliation (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2018). The organization hosts a number of policy documents detailing practices including treaty-making, land use, and land management (2020c). The Union of British Columbia Municipalities has also supported initiatives such as the Community to Community Forum, creating dialogue between Indigenous and settler communities (2020a). A number of examples are provided by a joint effort between the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, and Indigenous Business and Investment Council, highlighting success stories of improved relationships between local settler governments and Indigenous communities (Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020). Further information on local government efforts on reconciliation will be further reviewed later in this report during the jurisdictional scan.

All levels of government have been impacted by issues surrounding the implementation of natural resource projects. It is important to specifically acknowledge the implementation and planning of major natural resource projects in British Columbia, as this has directly involved federal, provincial, local, and Indigenous governments. In comparison to the Western “nation-state” model, many Indigenous Peoples have fundamentally different understandings of how a nation is manifested, defining their nation in terms of relationships with life, including non-human life (Palmer, 2006, p. 37). This means that complexities can arise through the intersection of human life and non-human life when involving proposed natural resource projects and traditional Indigenous territories. Therefore, it is worth briefly reviewing contemporary examples of this to better understand how Canada’s colonial legacy intersects with contemporary environmental and economic issues affecting Indigenous Peoples.

Opposition to petroleum-based pipeline projects has been expressed by both local settler governments and First Nations communities. British Columbia has hosted particularly strong municipal opposition along its coast and islands. The City of Burnaby has announced its opposition to the Kinder Morgan pipeline project (City of Burnaby, 2018), as has the City of Victoria (City of Victoria, 2016). Many First Nations have banded together in opposition to this project as well. The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, in coordination with other Indigenous groups, signed a continent-wide treaty opposing all major proposed pipeline projects in 2016 (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2016). As of 2018, this treaty had 150 Indigenous nation signatories (Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion, 2018). This opposition, however, is not universal amongst Indigenous nor settler communities. This point can be better substantiated by reviewing the Enbridge Northern Gateway pipeline projects, the Trans Mountain pipeline expansion (TMX) project, and the LNG Canada natural gas project and associated Coastal Gaslink pipeline.

The Enbridge Northern Gateway pipelines project was initially approved by the Harper-led federal government in 2014, only to be dismissed by the Trudeau-led government years later (Government of Canada, 2017d). Indigenous groups fought the approval of this project. In 2016, the Federal Court of Appeals overruled the National Energy Board’s approval of the project due to insufficient consultation with Indigenous Peoples. The court’s ruling stated that the federal government’s consultation “left entire subjects of central interest to the affected First Nations, sometimes subjects affecting their subsistence and well-being, entirely ignored” (Gitxaala Nation v. Canada, 2016). This decision, amongst other considerations, would lead to the federal government shelving the project indefinitely (Government of Canada, 2017d).

Unlike the Enbridge Northern Gateway project, the TMX project has received re-affirmed support from the Government of Canada throughout successive governments (Government of Canada, 2016). The federal government insists that meaningful consultation is occurring. It is currently implementing “Phase IV engagement” to consult with Indigenous nations (Government of Canada, 2019c). The TMX project organization similarly provides positive

assessment, describing a measured Indigenous engagement program and inclusive studies initiatives (Trans Mountain, 2020). The government has gone beyond political and legal support for this project, purchasing the project in 2018 from Kinder Morgan Canada for an initial investment of \$4.5 billion (Government of Canada, 2018). Some Indigenous groups remain opposed to this project despite the Government of Canada's statements on meaningful consultations. The Tsleil-Waaut Nation has taken the Government of Canada to court over their opposition. Like with Enbridge's Northern Gateway pipeline project, the Federal Court of Appeals once again resolved in 2018 that Canada's consultation process was not executed satisfactorily with Indigenous Peoples (Tsleil-Waututh Nation v. Canada (Attorney General), 2018). Eventually, legal approval was granted, deeming a new consultation effort from the federal government as sufficient, despite Indigenous activists' legal action in opposition (Coldwater First Nation v. Canada, 2020).

The LNG Canada natural gas project has also raised tensions between some Indigenous communities and governments. In early 2020, a crisis emerged between the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, the Wet'suwet'en elected chiefs, and the governments of Canada over the construction of the Coastal Gaslink project. Opposing the deployment of a pipeline project on Indigenous lands, the Uni'stot'en Camp was set up to defend the rights of the Wet'suwet'en people (Uni'stot'en Camp, 2020), and support the hereditary chiefs' criticism of such projects on their claimed territory (Office of The Wet'suwet'en, 2020). The Wet'suwet'en traditional hereditary chiefs and their supporters alleged that the governments of Canada and British Columbia had failed to obtain consent or adequately consult with them over environmental and territorial concerns, establishing this position within a new space that recognizes Indigenous self-affirmation (Temper, 2019, pp. 107-108). Many of the elected chiefs of the Wet'suwet'en elected band councils and their supporters, however, have voiced support for the project (Hamelin & Pimentel, 2020). This includes the First Nations LNG Alliance, a "pro-development" Indigenous bloc that supports the pipelines project (First Nations LNG Alliance, 2020).

3.3 Canada's Inequitable Relationship

Canadian settlers' inequitable relationship with Indigenous Peoples has historically been a result of colonial power structures (Free, 2018, pp. 879-880). Settler colonialism remakes Indigenous body and space to satisfy its own process of self-legitimization (Edmonds, 2010, p. 7), emphasizing Michel Foucault's assertion that every society has a "regime of truth" reflecting power relations through the legitimization of certain truths (1980, p. 131). Settler colonialism has been linked to inequities experienced by Indigenous Peoples from macroeconomic global trends (Lloyd, Metzger, & Sutch, 2013) to racial hierarchies in Canadian agriculture (Rotz, 2017). This review will examine specific examples of these political, socio-economic, and intergenerational inequities in literature to better support this assessment.

3.3.1 Indigenous Political Inequities

Reviewing Indigenous political inequities illustrates how power dynamics may affect settler-Indigenous relations; the literature available on this topic provides information on this observation from a variety of perspectives. Prior to reviewing literature on political inequities, it is important to acknowledge some contextually-relevant literature.

Indigenous Peoples were not granted the right to vote in Canadian elections until the 1960s (Jacobs, 2009, pp. 14-15), and even this development was of only “marginal concern” for many First Nations people compared to larger colonial processes still at play (p. 16). Prior to the granting of voting rights, Indigenous Peoples were further deprived of basic representation within both government and the courts system beginning in the early 1900s (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). When attempting to bypass these historically oppressive systems, Indigenous Peoples have faced obstacles as well. International literature has documented frequent opposition from settler governments and corporate interests all over the world to Indigenous Peoples’ attempts at mobilization and collective action, despite these being legitimate forms of Indigenous land use and protest (Hanna, Langdon, & Vanclay, 2016). In Canada, settlers have sought to delegitimize Indigenous voices (Baker & Verrelli, 2017) and depicted Indigenous voices through settler narration in mainstream Canadian society (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2012). To this day, Indigenous world views remain are still not well expressed within Canada’s governments or electoral system (Hunter, 2003). Keeping this in mind, Indigenous political inequities will be categorized in this review within two categories: title and land rights, and mobilization efforts.

Indigenous title and land rights are one area of study relating to relations between settler and Indigenous societies. Indigenous Peoples have always contested that their legal traditions and culture have persevered despite the attempts of colonial actors to remove or subdue these customs (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 17). Initially, title and land rights were ignored by settlers under the doctrine of discovery by British and French settlers (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). Later on, they were subsumed and recognized by the British Crown’s *Royal Proclamation of 1763* (Government of Canada, 2016a). Title and rights gradually eroded with the colonial enforcement of mandatory enfranchisement and the passing of the *Indian Act* by the Government of Canada, severing Indigenous links with title and land (Ojha, 2003, pp. 1277-1279). For Métis, this erosion occurred through the scrips system instead, minimizing Métis land claims throughout Canada (O’Byrne, 2007, pp. 251-252).

Court decisions and settler government acts in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century would eventually reverse some of these trends. The Canadian settler state recognized pre-existing title once again by the 1990s (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, 1997) with greater recognition occurring in the 2010s within British Columbia (Government of British Columbia,

2020a) a national agreement between Métis Nations and the Government of Canada (Government of Canada, 2017a). British Columbia has completed a limited number of modern treaties with First Nations as well (BC Treaty Commission, 2020). Title and land rights remain an issue despite these changes. Although reforms have been made to the *Indian Act* since its initial conception, the reserve system's imposition of governance carries on to this day (Native Women's Association of Canada, 2018). Recent land disputes have also left the question open on whether or not Canada is practically accepting of this title (Temper, 2019).

Indigenous mobilization efforts to address democratic representation include political organizing, legal action, electoral politics, and mass activism. A continual effort by Indigenous Peoples is the formation of self-governing multi-nation organizations representing Indigenous interests. Organizations such as the Assembly of First Nations (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a) and Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2010) have been founded to represent the political rights of Indigenous Peoples. Legal action has similarly grown over the years as Indigenous Peoples' access to Canada's legal system has improved. Major cases within Canada's legal system has set precedents affecting Indigenous Peoples across Canada, such as *R. V. Sparrow* (1990). Canada's court case records document how Canada's judicial system has treated Indigenous Peoples. These records indicate an evolution of settler understanding on issues such as pre-existing title (*Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, 1997) and responsibility for non-reserve Indigenous Peoples (*Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)*, 2016).

The move to be better heard within Canada's settler government system has not been limited to the judicial branch, either. Indigenous participation in Canada's electoral systems has also resulted in some Indigenous candidates being elected, including Jody Wilson-Raybould (Elections Canada, 2019) and Romeo Saganash (Elections Canada, 2011). Indigenous Peoples have also long sought spaces outside of Canada's settler culture through mass activism. The *#IdleNoMore* movement has called for specific changes, including repealing legislation, reforming Canada's democracy, adopting the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, upholding Indigenous title, honouring historical treaties, and developing a national action plan to combat violence against Indigenous women and girls (Idle No More, 2020). The Wet'suwet'en land defenders have also called for recognition of their pre-existing title and authority in response to settler encroachment (Uni'stot'en Camp, 2020).

3.3.2 Indigenous Socio-Economic Inequities

A literature review of Indigenous inequities reveals important observations regarding Indigenous socio-economic inequities and its connection to settler colonialism. Rowe and Tuck assert that settler colonialism can be thought of as a "territorial project" that relies on the creation of inequity through Indigenous dispossession and gendered settler violence (2017, pp. 6-7). This framing is echoed in other sources as well. For example, the National Inquiry into Missing and

Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls confirms that Indigenous Peoples have faced systemic inequities, including socio-economic inequities, which they categorize as genocide (2019, p. 3). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada reinforces this further, stating that these systemic inequities are rooted in racism that still exists in Canada against Indigenous Peoples (2015b).

Many settler actors have been mentioned as involved in the reproduction of settler colonialism's harms. Public settler institutions have furthered discrimination and oppression within official policies (Ojha, 2003), including non-Indigenous governments of Canada (Free, 2018; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020) and church organizations (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, pp. 3-6). Canada's private sector has also contributed to settler colonialism's perpetuation, with systems of capitalism and colonialism reinforcing one another to the detriment of Indigenous Peoples (Comack, 2018). Western concepts of private property have been determined and supported by capitalist and settler systems of power, denying Indigenous epistemology (Hoogeveen, 2015). This has resulted in private businesses working directly with settler governments to implement colonial directives for profit (Comack, 2018, p. 462).

Some scholars argue that Western powers have continued colonial coercion through new transnational economic and political systems to preserve hegemony (Nkrumah, 1965; Orelus & Chomsky, 2014). Literature suggests this argument holds merit within Canada: while historical examples such as the Hudson's Bay Company exemplify Western capital dominating settler relations with Indigenous Peoples (Podruchny, Gleach, & Roulette, 2010), contemporary corporate entities are still pursuing the implementation of profit-driven projects that extract from the traditional lands of Indigenous Peoples (Temper, 2019). It is argued by Millington, Giles, Hayhurst, Lujik, & McSweeney that these modern extractive companies damage Indigenous communities while "redwashing" corporate behaviour with a combination of marketing ploys and lump cash grants to Indigenous communities to maintain a veneer of social responsibility (2019).

Investigations into Canadian settlers' responses to issues of anti-Indigenous racism and settler colonial practices reveal that racism and settler colonialism are still present in Canada regardless of greater exchange between communities (Lashta, Berdahl, & Walker, 2016). In fact, researchers have stated that Canada has shown an "appalling apathy" towards resolving these issues within Canadian society (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 4). Broad impacts have been studied in many areas of Indigenous Peoples' wellbeing. It has been well documented by researchers that there are persistent disparities in earnings between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in Canada (Lamb, Yap, & Turk, 2018, p. 226). Literature suggests a wide array of issues affecting Indigenous Peoples' ability to have an equitable life beyond their finances. Indigenous Peoples face discrimination in housing opportunities, curtailing their access to affordable and adequate shelter (Motz & Currie, 2019).

Access to equitable healthcare is also poorer for Indigenous Peoples (Kitching, et al., 2019). Perceived racial discrimination amongst Indigenous youth has led to negative psycho-social outcomes (Hautala & Sittner, 2019), with suicide amongst Indigenous youth being a known issue throughout Canada (Barker, Goodman, & DeBeck, 2017). Access to essential needs like housing and healthcare are further confounded by “environmental racism” against Indigenous Peoples, resulting in water loss or degradation of their historic lands (Hanrahan, 2017, p. 82). The Indigenous community of Attawapiskat, for instance, has declared a state of emergency over its lack of clean drinking water (Water Canada, 2012).

3.3.3 Indigenous Intergenerational Inequities

Literature exists confirming the existence of intergenerational inequities for oppressed peoples throughout the world, including Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Intergenerational inequities are inequities transmitted between generations through traumatic and impactful events, such as the Holocaust in Europe (Dashorst, Mooren, Kleber, Jong, & Huntjens, 2019) and slavery in the United States of America (Barlow, 2018). Intergenerational trauma leads to lasting effects on social and mental wellbeing in a community, disorienting familial ties (Ball, 2009) and disrupting mental health (Dashorst, Mooren, Kleber, Jong, & Huntjens, 2019). This form of trauma in Canada has led to the fragmentation and dysfunction of Indigenous families (Ball, 2009). Two examples of intergenerational violence against Indigenous Peoples that have been covered by literature include the Indian hospitals program and the residential schools program.

Canada has had continual issues with systemic racism in its healthcare system (College of Family Physicians of Canada & Indigenous Physicians Association of Canada, 2016). Personal stories shared by Indigenous Peoples have painted a picture of racism towards both Indigenous Peoples and people of colour in Canada within health institutions (Drees, 2012, p. 168). A symptom of this systemic racism was the Indian hospitals program. The Indian hospitals program was created by the federal government in the twentieth century as a segregated hospital system, separating Indigenous Peoples from settler communities. These hospitals were explicitly delivered under racist pretenses of containing the “racially careless” health conditions of Indigenous Peoples (Lux, 2010, pp. 408-410). Indian hospitals resulted in inferior healthcare outcomes, abuse, and humiliation (Lux, 2010). Multiple Indigenous Peoples have come forward claiming physical and sexual abuse at the hands of hospital staff (Lux, 2016), with some joining class action lawsuits against the Government of Canada (Government of TLJCHQ, 2018). While the Indian hospitals program may have ended, the results have lived on in the lived experiences of Indigenous Peoples exposed to the system (Lux, 2016).

The residential schools system has played a major role in intergenerational violence through lasting scars brought on by the physical, mental, emotional, and sexual abuse that occurred at many of these schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). By 2005, an estimated 18,000 lawsuits had been filed by survivors of residential schools, alleging abuse or

harm (p. 130). The harms and specific nature of the residential schools program has been documented at length by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which developed ten principles to reform Canada's relationship with its Indigenous Peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015c). These principles, and the subsequent calls to action, were directly informed by the testimony of these abuses (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). Despite government commitments to better protect Indigenous culture, residential school survivors have openly expressed skepticism (pp. 155-156). Even though the residential schools are now closed, the significant stress and social dislocation caused by the residential schools program has resulted in substance abuse (Ross, Dion, Cantinotti, Collin-Vézina, & Paquette, 2015) and broken family dynamics (Ball, 2009) for the program's survivors.

3.4 Listening to Indigenous Voices

Indigenous Peoples in Canada have continued to press for self-determination and self-government, both of which are fundamental human rights (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 61). Moreover, settler governments have a *duty to consult* Indigenous Peoples at all levels of government (Crawford, 2018). Especially within Indigenous perspectives, agency and knowledge are often tied to each other (Greenwood & Lindsay, 2019, p. 82). Therefore, briefly reviewing Indigenous agency may also share Indigenous knowledge. Literature has been completed on Indigenous actions within the larger settler-Indigenous relationship identifying Indigenous acts of agency. Two categories of literature providing more insight in this include literature on formal political organization, and literature on various communication initiatives.

3.4.1 Political Organization

Indigenous Peoples have increasingly pursued national and transnational organizing initiatives beyond their nations' respective governing structures. Examinations of literature on organizations specific to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit political advocacy can highlight this trend.

First Nations groups in Canada have formed several Canada-wide networks to represent Indigenous views. These groups have worked with transnational partners, such as with the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2011) for the global promotion of Indigenous rights (2020) and the United Nations for the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (United Nations, 2007). The Assembly of First Nations, Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, and Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs are all major examples of this coordination.

The Assembly of First Nations, and its regional counterparts such as the British Columbia Assembly of First Nations (British Columbia Assembly of First Nations, 2020b), advocates for

First Nations’ “unique and special relationship with the Crown” (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a). This advocacy primarily provides an organized voice for Indigenous Peoples on Canada’s reserves. It frames the fight for peaceful co-existence, sharing of land and resources, access to health and education benefits, and provision of hunting and fishing rights within a treaty-based call to action (Assembly of First Nations, 2020a). The organization is structured to have a national chief, regional chiefs, Elder’s council, women’s council, and youth council as component political entities. These each reinforce each other to mandate new resolutions for the organization (2020a). This mandate-driven structure has resulted in collaborative accomplishments, like the joint declaration of Indigenous rights with the National Congress of American Indians (Assembly of First Nations & National Congress of American Indians, 1999).

The Congress of Aboriginal Peoples describes itself as the “national voice for off-reserve Indigenous Peoples since 1971” (2020a). The Congress of Aboriginal Peoples focuses on lobbying for the protection of Indigenous Peoples’ rights, particularly for Métis and Indigenous Peoples excluded from Canada’s reserve system and “Indian status”. The organization maintains a National Chief, along with a National Vice-Chief, National Youth Representative, National Elder Representative, and representatives from affiliated provincial and territorial organizations (2020a). Like the Assembly of First Nations, the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples also passes resolutions demanding changes for the betterment of Indigenous Peoples’ rights. Most recently, these demands have led to the organization winning the *Daniels Decision* legal case (Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, 2020a), which has clarified settler governments’ responsibilities for Indigenous Peoples’ wellbeing (*Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development)*, 2016).

The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs is a provincial example of First Nations representation. The organization provides a united front for First Nations chiefs in British Columbia to communicate and deliberate on policies affecting First Nations’ rights. Reinforced by both Indigenous worldviews and the articles of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the organization’s mandate affirms that Indigenous title is inherent, calling for recognition of treaty rights and the right to self-determination (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2010). The organization’s successful efforts include its participation in transnational opposition to major petroleum project expansion through the *Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion* with Indigenous nations from across North America (Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion, 2018).

Métis also maintain representative bodies for their interests. They represent national concerns across Canada via the Métis National Council. The organization traces its origins back to the initial Métis communities formed in the eighteenth century, seeing itself as a means of sustaining Métis culture (Métis National Council, 2020b). Originally part of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, the Métis National Council became a separate group in the late twentieth century to reject the “pan-Indigenous approach” adopted by the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples and

prioritize Métis interests (Métis National Council, 2020a). Provincial Métis nation bodies also exist throughout Canada. This includes Métis Nation British Columbia, which advocates for Métis self-government and rights in British Columbia (Métis Nation British Columbia, 2020a). Métis organization successes include the *Canada-Métis Nation Accord*, a major agreement signed in 2017 guaranteeing the coordination of federal government and Métis nation governments in a range of issues and the establishment of a permanent bilateral mechanism (Government of Canada, 2017a).

Inuit communities have also created organizations to channel their calls to action. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, which means “Inuit are united in Canada”, provides solidarity for Inuit groups’ self-government (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020b). The organization’s board consists of the organization’s president and representatives from a variety of Inuit organizations: the Inuit Circumpolar Council, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, Nunavut Tunngavik Incorporated, Makivik Corporation, the Nunatsiavut Government, the Pauktuutit Inuit Women of Canada, and the National Inuit Youth Council (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020b). Together, these individuals work to support Inuit interests. This work includes recent outreach and research from Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami to provide information and resources on food security for Inuit peoples (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020a).

3.4.2 *Communications Initiatives*

Indigenous expressions of agency have been studied and discussed by scholars and Indigenous Peoples in different ways. The literature on this subject clarifies that there are different communication mediums utilized by different peoples. This utilization of Indigenous voice has occurred in many ways: as critical narratives, as language revitalization, as Indigenous journalism, as cross-cultural resource toolkits, and as art. Each of these will be reviewed to emphasize the existing literature on this topic.

Indigenous Peoples have shared critical narratives, challenging mainstream settler perspectives of Indigenous societies. Indigenous oral histories and storytelling has been used by Indigenous Peoples throughout time, and this form of expression has also been used by Indigenous researchers to better contest settler narratives. Storytelling affirms Indigenous identity and resists colonial spaces (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009), displacing settler-colonial narratives to give greater agency to Indigenous Peoples (Hunt, 2016). This is especially important considering that Canada continues to be shaped by myths of settler benevolence that erase and minimize Indigenous Peoples within the story of Canada (Koggel, 2018, p. 245). Literature also provides examples of how these critical Indigenous narratives can unsettle settler attempts at reconciliation. Settler societies’ struggle with reconciliation has been met with strong response from Indigenous communities, with some labelling settler reconciliation performative rather than substantive (Cook, 2016, p. 71). Cook, for example, argues that Indigenous feminist intervention through *felt theory* in narratives described by the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Canada can better interpret the commission's findings, whereby Indigenous women's personal and emotional narratives are valued and heard. Legitimizing Indigenous women's stories avoids Indigenous women being rendered as static victims without agency by prevailing narratives (2016).

The preservation of languages is of importance for aesthetic, scientific, ethical, and ecological reasons (Gomashie, 2019, p. 152). For Indigenous Peoples, the survival of Indigenous language means the survival of Indigenous culture and a deeper spiritual bond (Gomashie, 2019, p. 167). The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis purports a similar cultural proposition: language influences the way people think (Perlovsky, 2009, p. 518). Acts of colonialism, such as the residential schools system, have attempted to forcibly erase Indigenous languages in Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, pp. 80-84). Despite these acts, Indigenous Peoples are still working to preserve their respective languages. Literature on this effort includes the Kahnawà:ke community, which has reversed the decline of their language with funding and language programs (Gomashie, 2019, p. 163).

Indigenous Peoples' interactions with journalism also holds literature relevant to settler relations with Indigenous Peoples. Canadian media's lack of historical knowledge of Indigenous Peoples is highlighted as an issue by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's calls to action (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b, pp. 296-197). Research on this issue has found similar trends. Indigenous women facing intersectional issues of poverty and marginalization in downtown Vancouver, for example, have been infantilized by mainstream Canadian press for sensational headlines (Longstaffe, 2017, p. 240). More recently, mainstream Canadian media coverage of climate change has likewise subdued Indigenous Peoples' historical context with relevant references to colonialism missing in many cases (Belfer, Ford, & Maillet, 2017, pp. 62-63). In response to this trend in mainstream Canadian media, decolonization efforts have taken root amongst communications scholars and Indigenous Peoples. In communications research, decolonization efforts in journalism education have been pushed by communications activists (Todorova, 2016). Indigenous communities have followed suit, with producers and communities of Indigenous media "encourag[ing] two-way communication" with their audience and developing community engagement to better represent Indigenous voices (Burrows, 2018, p. 1131). Indigenous journalists have added nuance to reporting on Indigenous Peoples' issues; where there are stories of missing and murdered Indigenous women, there are also stories of cultural resilience that should be considered as well (Roache, 2019). Indigenous journalists work to ensure that a more holistic viewpoint is captured, adapting to Indigenous communities' needs. This reporting approach has been brought forth to international journalist groups, where it has been further discussed and disseminated (2019).

Literature is available from Indigenous organizations on resource toolkits available to promote Indigenous rights and self-governance. These toolkits have differed in form and audience. Some toolkits have targeted general audiences. The Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, for example, has

provided a resource toolkit web document for business leaders in Canada (2020b). The Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs have likewise provided a general audience with a full web-based timeline of major events in their organization's history (2020a). The Assembly of First Nations, and its regional British Columbian counterpart (British Columbia Assembly of First Nations, 2020a), publishes a full listing of its official positions on major policy sectors for public consumption (Assembly of First Nations, 2020d). Indigenous organizations have also crafted different resource toolkits specifically for other Indigenous Peoples. In British Columbia, the British Columbia Assembly of First Nations has published a three-volume set of governance toolkits for policymakers in Indigenous nations, developing self-governance initiatives across the region (Wilson-Raybould & Raybould, 2014).

Indigenous Peoples have used art to communicate thoughts and feelings on the relationship between settler communities and Indigenous communities. This expression has included criticism of colonial systems of power controlling the distribution of art itself (Martin L.-A. , 2017, p. 109), leading to the formation of Indigenous art organizations (pp. 111-113). Literature on Indigenous art is wide-ranging, including oral storytelling (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009), written art (Hanson A. J., 2017), music (Strachan & Nickleson, 2018), and performance art (Green, 2019). Oral storytelling has received attention from Indigenous researchers, who point to Indigenous "restorying" as offering an alternative community-based restorative justice practice that focuses on the Indigenous lived experiences (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009). "Restorying", as a methodology, acts as both resistance to colonialism and *truth-telling* that provides communal healing (p. 147). Written art is also seen by proponents as sharing a mission of decolonization, with Hanson stating that Indigenous literature can create "healing and decolonization" through instilling discomfort in settler society (Hanson A. J., 2017, p. 76). Scholar Aubrey Jean Hanson remarks that Cree author Tracey Lindberg's works exemplify moving beyond reconciliation towards Indigenous resurgence (2017, p. 87). Similarly, poetry is utilized "unsettle" settler society through the deconstruction of settler colonial language (Leeuw, 2017). In music, dialogue to "unsettle" the music scene in Canada is also underway. In response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's calls to action, settler musicians are having to consider creative decisions that include and respect Indigenous musicians, often creating discomfort in settler society (Strachan & Nickleson, 2018, p. 84). Lastly, Indigenous performance art has been used by artists like Meryl McMaster to create consciousness and disquiet settler spaces (Green, 2019). It is argued by Green that while decolonizing art such as McMaster's is insufficient to develop a change of state in settler society by itself, it can induce momentum as part of a broader effort (pp. 16-17).

3.5 Competing Identities in Canada

There has been considerable literature devoted to issues of identity, recognition, and sovereignty within Canada and internationally, including specific focus on Indigenous Peoples. This project's discussion and analysis would be better served with a basic understanding of how

Local-Indigenous Relationships are constituted by settler and Indigenous identities. Therefore, a literature review will be conducted on settler theories of Canada, followed by Indigenous identities' resilience to settler identity practices.

3.5.1 Settler Theories of Canada

Indigenous-colonial relations mould colonial identity (Free, 2018, p. 877). For much of Canada's history, the colonial process of excluding Indigenous voices in decision-making has been a key component of Canada's settler power (Rollo, 2014, pp. 226-227). Indigenous legal scholar Mills writes that Canada's education and implementation of constitutionalisms and indeed its whole legal system is grounded on assumptions of the "notion of law" (2016, pp. 853-854), and argues that Canada's settler constitutionalisms are grounded in Western liberalism, erasing and divesting from Indigenous "lifeworlds" (2016). Universalist liberal notions, then, are also applied to concepts such as citizenship within relations with Indigenous Peoples in Canada, robbing Indigenous Peoples of jurisdiction over their worldviews (Short, 2005, pp. 272-273). Academic debates in Canada on constitutionalism and Indigenous rights reflect this, with major debates between authors like Kymlicka, Taylor, and Tully still ultimately focusing on the utility and applicability of liberal values in a Canadian context (Bell, 2014, pp. 141-142). Prior to reviewing settler theories on the formation of Canadian identity, these three authors' views will be briefly dissected as it relates to Indigenous rights in Canada.

Kymlicka, Taylor, and Tully each define citizenship and rights in different ways, and their extension of these definitions to Indigenous Peoples differs. Kymlicka argues that Indigenous Peoples can be characterized as "national minorities" within the Canadian state, declaring that collective rights can be attributed to them in addition to new agreements solidifying a "more voluntary" federation (2014, pp. 145-146). This has been criticized, however, for being a "fundamentally asymmetrical" relationship, where Indigenous Peoples are forced to confine their demands and rights within that which is afforded by Western liberal thought supported by the settler-colonial state (p. 146). Taylor, meanwhile, adopts a theory of recognition instead of a theory of political citizenship. His theory supposes that cultures flourish best in a multicultural society when cultures recognize the difference of other cultures and judge based on a presumed equal worth until a study of cultural contribution can be properly evaluated, leading to a "fusion of horizons" between cultures (pp. 142-143). This theory, too, is criticized. It is argued by critics that Taylor's relationship of mutual recognition does not necessarily occur between Indigenous Peoples and settler society and is inherently unbalanced, his definition of recognition is ignorant of Indigenous Peoples' claims for self-determination and prior right, and his "fusion of horizons" vision is suspiciously similar to calls for political and cultural assimilation (pp. 143-144). Criticism has also been applied equally to both Kymlicka and Taylor. Short criticizes all recognition theorists including both Kymlicka and Taylor, claiming that "the distinct moral claims of Indigenous Peoples (as peoples) are frequently trivialised by recognition theorists" (2005, p. 272). Lastly, Tully describes constitutionalism as an ever-evolving process through a

“multilogue” between peoples, relying on the common law tradition to explain that constitutionalism can be seen as a series of norms that are negotiable and modified over time (pp. 146-147). Critics of Tully’s vision see pragmatic challenges of how this can be accomplished, arguing that participation in “multilogues” by Indigenous Peoples is often not enough to push settler-colonial institutions to change (p. 148).

Considering the aforementioned theoretical trappings of Canadian identity, settler theories of Canada’s formation of identity are important for revealing how mainstream settler thought views the position of settlers within their relationship with Indigenous Peoples. These theories can inform further discussion on how such a relationship can be reconciled at the local level in British Columbia. Popular Canadian settler theories on Canada’s identity include the two-nation compact and federalist compact theories, rights-based constitutionalism, and transnational extra-constitutionality.

A common settler-colonial theory suggests that Canada was founded as a compact between Francophone and Anglophone partners, coming in two versions: a compact of *nations* or a compact of *provinces* (Romney, 1999, p. 21). The former of the two versions identifies Anglophone and Francophone Canada as partners in Canada’s founding and its subsequent constitutional maintenance (Chambers, 1998, pp. 146-147). This framework has led to Quebec nationalism, with Quebec demanding protections for Quebec’s “way of life”, amid protest and disagreement from other provinces in Canada (pp. 146-147). The latter of these versions asserts that Canada is, first and foremost, a federated entity; Canada is a union of provinces under one national government. This assertion has continued throughout the centuries, although it has been scrutinized even by settler inquiries (Smiley, 1962).

The introduction of the *Constitution Act, 1982* led to a new rights-based constitutionalism in Canada, abandoning the conventions of Great Britain’s political system for a textual documentation more reminiscent of American constitutionalism (Chambers, 1998, p. 147). The *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* established a Canada based on a codified set of rights and freedoms guaranteed to all citizens. Among these guarantees were sections exclusively focusing on the recognition of existing aboriginal title (Government of Canada, 2020b). While Charter-driven views of Canada provide recognition of Indigenous Peoples, this recognition remains locked within a liberal democratic tradition that still emphasizes the legitimacy of colonial structures of power (McCrossan, 2018).

Another trend of recent Canadian constitutional literature is the inspection of economic globalization’s effect on Canadian constitutionalism. Over the past few decades, the tendency of nation-states, including the Government of Canada, has been to coalesce around neoliberal institutions or policies (Aalbers, 2013). Broadly speaking, neoliberalism is an ideological set of constructs implemented throughout the world advocating for the primacy of market exchange, de-emphasizing the need for regulation and governance (Hanrahan, 2017, p. 71). It is argued by

McBride that globalization through this set of constructs has altered Canadian constitutionalism. More specifically, he argues that international free trade agreements may predispose Canadian interests to remain flexible to the trade intentions of both foreign nations and transnational corporations (2003). Hanrahan concludes that this quasi-constitutional alignment of Canadian nation-state values with neoliberal values has restricted Canada's constitutional and legal decision-making along with Indigenous Peoples' autonomy (2017).

3.5.2 *Indigenous Identities Resilience*

Indigenous Peoples have been “othered” by colonial systems of power, which has led to Indigenous Peoples regularly calling for autonomy over their own culture and identity in response to settler-colonial actions (Ball, 2012, p. 290). Collective settler memory of Indigenous Peoples' interactions with colonialism has been historically elusive, challenging Indigenous Peoples' occupation of physical and discursive space (Nijhawan, Winland, & Wüstenberg, 2018). Johnstone underscores this point, claiming that Canadian multiculturalism overtly celebrates diversity in settler society while covertly denying agency to distinct Indigenous societies (2020). A chief of the Ləkʷəŋən (Songhees) Nation, for instance, must contend with finding identity through their own community *in addition* to negotiating a settler-constructed “Indian” identity (Ojha, 2003) in settler-constructed “Indian” space (Neylan, 2013, p.837; Repin, 2012, pp.156-157). Issues of recognition, then, are necessarily part of a greater political struggle against colonialism (Repin, 2012, p. 162).

Recognition of the unique properties of Indigenous Peoples' identities is made further difficult by intersectionality. Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality highlights that multiple identities, such as race and gender, can converge and produce unique outcomes and voices that have been historically marginalized (Crenshaw, 1991). Indigenous women, girls and 2SLGBTQQIA people all must contend with racism and violence in unexpected and different ways (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019, p. 10). This intersection between Indigenous identities and other marginalized identities is distinct, as Indigenous Peoples are *peoples* of sovereign nations rather than merely a minority cultural group (2005, p. 272). Keeping in mind these distinctions, literature on Indigenous identity resilience provides information on Indigenous Peoples' struggles against settler-imposed identities, and the identities currently utilized by Indigenous Peoples.

Indigenous Peoples have endured considerable political struggle to form differentiated citizenship for Indigenous Peoples both within a Canadian context (Blackburn, 2009) and within transnational institutions (Gover, 2015). Collective and individual identities have been curtailed by settler actions, however. Traditional family structures and kinship systems, which have been harmed by systems maintained by Canada's settler governments (McKegney, 2013). The Government of Ontario has published reporting recognizing settler governments' complicity in this form of harm (2012, pp. 55-56). The imposition of the term “Indian” is another example of

how settler actions have attempted to re-imagine Indigenous identities within settler legislation. The term “Indian” was provided official status and recognition not by any Indigenous nation, but instead by the *Indian Act* and Canada’s reserve system (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). Aside from executive or legislative acts towards Indigenous identities, Eisenberg argues that Indigenous societies’ legitimacy and claims have also been subjected to approval by the settler judicial system of Canada (Eisenberg, 2013, pp. 107-109).

Indigenous Peoples is an incredibly diverse framework of identification, comprising many different societies who have different histories and beliefs. Not all Indigenous Peoples prefer a pan-Indigenous approach in discussing Indigenous Peoples’ needs, and some openly oppose it (Métis National Council, 2020a). Like any society, different First Nations, Metis, and Inuit groups have different community needs and different priorities in social, economic, or political organization. Each nation may hold individual systems of re-distributing power. The Wet’suwet’en people, for instance, maintain matrilineal traditions amid clan-based kinship systems (Temper, 2019, p. 99). Accurately identifying peoples across histories is made further difficult due to the reserve system forcibly eroding Indigenous cultural connections to their traditional lands (Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020; Ojha, 2003). This means that while Indigenous nations of today share historical lineage with their ancestors, the names and representation may be different. The Poundmaker Cree Nation, for example, self-identifies as a Treaty 6 nation and cites its establishment in 1876 (2020).

Literature provides some guidance on defining Indigenous identities. The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues affirms that identifying Indigenous Peoples should rely on Indigenous self-identification (United Nations, 2020a); refer to Indigenous Peoples with what they wish to be called. The term “Indigenous Peoples” has itself been used by the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Perry Bellegarde, in reference to international human rights advocacy (Assembly of First Nations, 2015). Indigenous Peoples may consist of First Nations, Métis, or Inuit peoples. The Assembly of First Nations recognizes the term First Nations in its own advocacy work (Assembly of First Nations, 2020b). The Assembly of First Nations declares in its charter that “our peoples are the original peoples of this land having been put here by the Creator” (Assembly of First Nations, 2003). Likewise, Métis people themselves provide definition for the term Métis. The Métis National Council identifies the Métis as communities originating from the “mixed offspring of Indian women and European fur traders” from the “advent of the fur trade in west central North America during the 18th century” (Métis National Council, 2020b). Inuit also self-identify using the term Inuit, defining themselves as the peoples who live in Inuit Nunangat, an area spanning northern Canada (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2020b). The pluralized term peoples, as opposed to people, is used with all of these terms to better reflect the distinct and separate nature of each society categorized as “Indigenous” (Antoine, 2017, p. 118). Despite the origins of the term “Indian”, it should be noted that the word is still used by some Indigenous Peoples to self-identify certain organizations. This includes the Okanagan Indian Band (Okanagan Indian Band, 2020) and the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs

(Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2010). This report has made an effort to only utilize this term when referring to organizations that self-identify with this term or in conjunction with a cited historical or political context, such as Ojha's analysis of settler colonialism (2003). For the purposes of this report, Indigenous Peoples and subsequent categories of peoples will be utilized with these definitions and caveats in mind.

3.6 Defining Reconciliation

Reconciliation is a subject which has invited a great wealth of literature from international sources and Canadian sources. This literature review includes critical and supportive views of reconciliation its definition, whom it is for, and how it can be implemented. These views, in turn, include Indigenous voices that have spoken on the issue in addition to settler scholars on the topic. Sharing Indigenous stories on what reconciliation means doesn't just make for better research; it aligns better with calls to action from Indigenous Peoples themselves (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009).

3.6.1 What Is Reconciliation?

The focus of this project is to consider ways of improving the relationship between local settler governments and Indigenous Peoples, guided by the ten principles offered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada for facilitating reconciliation (2015c). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada describes reconciliation as a "process of healing of relationships that requires public truth sharing, apology, and commemoration that acknowledge and redress past harms" (p. 3). As reconciliation is central to discussions on this topic, it is necessary to review the literature on defining reconciliation. Therefore, reconciliation's definition requires further inspection for this project's use by looking at the origins of reconciliation in international transitional justice movements, as well as contemporary criticism of reconciliation.

Globally, reconciliation has been a goal of transitional justice movements, particularly when communities are attempting to shift away from authoritarianism (Evans, 2018, p. 679) or recent conflict (Strupinskienė, 2017, p. 452). Reconciliation has been pursued in countries across the world, including European nations like Bosnia and Herzegovina (Strupinskienė, 2017), African nations like South Africa (Renner, 2014, p. 264), and Asian nations like Timor-Leste (Webster, 2017, pp. 121-124). Reconciliation can take shape in different ways and through different mediums. It can involve many different actions and attitudes, from truth-telling commissions (Webster, 2017, p. 122) to new emotional bonding (Strupinskienė, 2017, p. 456). Furthermore, reconciliation can include social reconciliation, economic reconciliation, and political reconciliation, each of which can occur in "thin" and "thick" varieties signifying the depth of the positive relationship between parties (Strupinskienė, 2017, p. 455). This global literature on the topic suggests certain forms of reconciliation may be more beneficial than others. Renner, for instance, states that if reconciliation is to positively affect relationships, it should be generated

and defined organically from the peoples involved instead of a “ready-made social vision” for universal application (2014, p. 285). Webster likewise argues for community-based solutions, and further adds that truth and reconciliation are processes most effective when “socialized” and implemented by civil society (2017, p. 129). Adding to this, Strupinskienė’s analysis reveals that “thick” reconciliation can be pursued not just through politics but also through economic and social systems (2017, pp. 467-468).

Reconciliation is seen by most mainstream scholars as a “crucial” step towards restoring justice in a community that has undergone conflict (Strupinskienė, 2017, p. 452). Critics have argued, however, that reconciliation’s definition is problematic for implementation. Post-structural discourse analysis reveals that reconciliation can lack “intrinsic normative value”, allowing antagonistic parties with differing stances to pursue their individual political demands (Renner, 2014, p. 265). Evans argues that this lack of definition can remove societal change from consideration (2018, pp. 681-683), promote the status quo (pp. 683-684), and remove agency (pp. 684-687). He further provides three conclusions regarding this study of reconciliation. He concludes that “reconciliation without definition should not be promoted” (p. 689). He then concludes that reconciliation should not be promoted if it forces forgiveness, forgets injustice, or silences dissent (p. 689). Lastly, he argues that reconciliation should not take precedent over the pressing demands of victims (pp. 689-690). Based on a review of the works of Renner (2014) and Evans (2018), reconciliation is not free of criticism and certain forms may be damaging to repairing relationships.

3.6.2 *Reconciliation for Whom?*

A literature review of reconciliation’s definition makes it clear that reconciliation has been critically examined (Evans, 2018; Renner, 2014) but still has mainstream support for improving relationships (Strupinskienė, 2017). Looking past reconciliation’s contested nature, it is also relevant for examining improvements to the Local-Indigenous Relationship to review literature on *who* gets to define reconciliation in Canada and for what purpose that may be done. This will be reviewed through an examination of both critics and supporters of reconciliation’s implementation in Canada, followed by literature potentially bridging gaps between the two positions.

There is significant criticism of reconciliation in Canada. Whyte accuses settler colonialism of being a resilient “parasitic system”, maintaining skepticism towards reconciliation engendering change beneficial to Indigenous Peoples (2018). At a minimum, reconciliation must not perpetuate “illusory moral grounds” that settler society is built upon and instead move beyond paradigms of capitalism, patriarchy, and colonialism (p. 287). Indigenous resurgence, not reconciliation, is a view espoused by many Indigenous scholars as an alternative to such impasses associated with reconciliation. Indigenous resurgence proponents contends several points: that Canada’s colonialism is an active structure that subjugates Indigenous Peoples, that

the “prevailing normative-discursive environment” mirrors this structure’s demands regardless of settler attitude changes, and that Indigenous Peoples must reject this environment and form independent spaces (Elliott, 2018, p. 61). Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi assert that resurgence means the reclamation of Indigenous ways of being and living; it means the reconstruction of Indigenous modalities already rooted in Indigenous communities (2009, p. 68). Proponents of Indigenous resurgence argue, for example, that it is better equipped for mending traumatized Indigenous family connections than state-centred approaches to truth and reconciliation in Canada (p. 140). Scott concludes that the only reparative settler measure to restore the fundamental issue of colonial denial of Indigenous sovereignty is for the dismantling of the settler state and re-structuring it with Indigenous sovereignty enshrined (2018). For Indigenous critics, Indigenous resurgence, not reconciliation, is the path to take to prevent further colonization of Indigenous lives and spaces.

Despite criticism, reconciliation is still defended by Indigenous and settler peoples alike. Shain Niniwum Selapem Jackson of the Coast Salish recalls the story of *Ch'as-kin*, passed down to him by the Elders of the Shishalh First Nation community. Jackson tells of *Ch'as-kin* as a golden eagle that represents values of power, prestige, and courage, uniting the community through the actions it took that reflected these values (2018, p. 300). He sees reconciliation as difficult, but maintains that it could bring hope if it instills the teachings of *Ch'as-kin*: “when we rise, we rise together” (p. 302). Proponents of reconciliation may admit that issues exist with truth and reconciliation approaches currently implemented in Canada but point out that reconciliation has yet to be fully implemented. Koggel argues that while reconciliation still requires relational transformation, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has provided settler legitimization of Indigenous perspectives, reducing “ethical loneliness” for Indigenous Peoples (2018, pp. 250-251). Other reconciliation proponents admit that, while Indigenous resurgence advocates’ arguments have merit, reconciliation can still provide value for uniting disparate communities across Canada (Freeman, 2014, p. 215). More specifically, Freeman suggests that reconciliation’s fluidity holds promise, as it is beyond governments’ control (pp. 222-223). In other words, organic bottom-up reconciliation efforts provide promise for future change. Webster states that Canada is “well-positioned” in discussions of truth and reconciliation due to its internal struggles with truth and reconciliation, leading to potential greater healing in other places as well (2017, pp. 129-130).

Although these two opposing positions in literature available on reconciliation, there is also literature providing details that may act as a “middle ground” between these positions. One potential way of unraveling these contrarian views to produce needed change can be done through the approach that this report is inspired by: the “two-eyed seeing” approach of the M'ikmaw (Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat, 2020). This approach is guided by two conceptual “eyes” for seeing the world through two perspectives. With one eye, one can develop a perspective of Indigenous concerns. With another eye, one can understand settler perspectives. Recognizing these two seemingly oppositional views and finding commonalities can create a

working transformative justice approach (Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat, 2020); this has already been suggested as a potential way forward by scholars writing on this issue (Antoine, 2017, p. 118). Literature further suggests that refining reconciliation's definition and engagement can likewise produce greater consensus. Short contends that reconciliation committed in the name of "nation-building" for Canada is just a continuation of setting aside more space for settlers at the expense of justice for Indigenous Peoples; reconciliation committed with respect for Indigenous national sovereignty may promote better relationships (2005, pp. 274-275). Ultimately, approaches to reconciliation are best informed by the local Indigenous Peoples that a settler community intends to work with; Indigenous Peoples know what is best for Indigenous Peoples and are already self-determining their needs, perspectives, and agency on these issues (Scott, 2018, p. 390).

3.6.3 How Do We Reconcile?

Even after asking the questions of what reconciliation is and whom it is for, a literature review of reconciliation still needs to formally address the basic question of how one actually reconciles. Literature relevant to reconciliation may be categorized into several categories for reviewing purposes: general literature relevant to reconciliation, general literature on reconciliation frameworks and strategies, and literature responding to reconciliation challenges from local settler governments and local Indigenous Peoples.

General literature on problem-solving issues like reconciliation provides some groundwork for tackling reconciliation within settler-Indigenous relations. Taking into account the prior elements of this literature review, reconciliation with Canada's Indigenous Peoples is tied to a number of complexities. In this light, the task of pursuing reconciliation is a "wicked problem"; it is a problem shrouded in complexities evasive of conclusive solutions (Head & Alford, 2015, p. 712). While governments may be adept at handling routine challenges, wicked problems often involve non-routine solutions (pp. 711-712). Although wicked problems do not have apparent solutions, provisional strategies may be implemented that can help: increasing collaboration, deploying different leadership styles, reforming managerial hierarchies, and "going beyond" technical thinking often employed by the public sector (pp. 732-733). Reflecting this research on problem-solving, Canadian researchers note that reconciliation in Canada is a multi-faceted issue that can only be furthered by a multi-track solution delivered through all sectors of society (Christmas, 2013). Further, "going beyond" technical thinking is already recognized in alternative approaches to dispute resolution between local governments and Indigenous governments in British Columbia (Nemtin Consultants Limited, 2004).

Reconciliation experts have provided broad guidelines for a multi-track approach. Research suggests that Indigenous inclusion in municipal governance is part of the answer. Indigenous Peoples are not fully engaged in municipal governance, leading to lack of representation. This, in turn, is linked to ongoing difficulties in self-determination, discrimination, and finding

culturally-appropriate services (Heritz, 2018, pp. 611-612). Scholars have suggested there are legal, moral, and pragmatic reasons for working towards a re-imagined constitutional vision as equal and separate partners to amend the asymmetrical relationship that leads to these difficulties (Scott, 2018; Fleras & Maaka, 2010, p. 21). Research on reconciliation also demonstrates that in-depth positive relationship growth between post-conflict communities is best when reconciliation is committed across political, economic, and social systems, when community leaders set positive tones for their community, and when reconciliation is not implemented by governments and agencies alone (Strupinskiene, 2017, pp. 467-368). This aforementioned general literature emphasizes that reconciliation is not necessarily a “one-size-fits-all” approach, but rather a set of approaches requiring a re-imagining of relations beyond the settler-colonial dynamic that has historically existed.

Frameworks for undertaking reconciliation have been completed by scholars on Indigenous rights issues. Several frameworks have been created by researchers targeting different areas of the relationship between settler governments and Indigenous Peoples. Broadly speaking, these frameworks can be grouped as frameworks of challenges, frameworks of performance measurements, and frameworks of policy governance. Researcher Dr. Christopher Alcantara, in particular, will be highlighted among other works as he has contributed numerous works to this specific field of study. Working with other authors like Nelles and Kalman, he has created articles that examine numerous issues associated with the Local-Indigenous Relationship. This includes the development of a theoretical framework for understanding relationships between local governments and Indigenous communities (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014), the introduction of a diversified mixed-methods approach combining Indigenous and non-Indigenous approaches to policy-making in local government (Alcantara & Kalman, 2019), and Indigenous land agreements with urban settler governments (Alcantara & Nelles, 2009). These writings will be reviewed along with other source of literature to provide potential frameworks for understanding reconciliation’s implementation.

At least two notable frameworks of challenges can be found in literature on this subject. Nelles and Alcantara provide a comprehensive framework of contributing factors influencing relations between local governments and Indigenous Peoples (2014). These co-authors have worked extensively to examine the Local-Indigenous Relationship, including specific research documenting the importance of power dynamics and personal relations between leaders of municipal governments and Indigenous nations (Alcantara & Nelles, 2009, p. 712). The researchers offer a number of critical factors that influence Local-Indigenous Relationships: institutions, resources, external interventions, history, polarizing events, imperative, and community capital (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014, p. 606). Nelles and Alcantara suggest that inspecting these factors in intergovernmental relations can bring about long-term improvements for both Indigenous communities and local settler communities (pp. 618-619). A second framework of challenges is provided by Morgan, Castleden, and the Huu-Ay-Aht First Nations. They use a case study of the implementation of the *Maa-nulth Treaty* to create a framework of

challenges in treaty-building (2018), providing a table of specific and general issues that are faced in treaty negotiations and implementation (pp. 325-327). These general issues include respect for First Nations law-making authority, truing laws, and funding implementation, among others (pp. 325-327). Further, the authors conclude that creating new relationships with Indigenous Peoples does not necessarily erase old asymmetrical relationships between settler governments and Indigenous Peoples (p. 330). Settler governments should approach relationships with Indigenous Peoples as a long-term, evolving partnership, requiring attitude shifts and greater education within settler government bureaucracies (pp. 329-330).

Three frameworks were identified during this literature review that measure performance of these relationships. Regardless of which framework it is, all three of these frameworks offer ways in which reconciliation may be assessed based on values and behaviours that are relevant to Indigenous Peoples. Smith and Mitchell utilize the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* as a basis for establishing a grading rubric for settler governments' respect for this foundationally important document (2020). This "UNDRIP Compliance Assessment Tool" assesses how fully compliant governments are with the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, from a score of zero representing no compliance to a score of three representing full compliance (p. 5). From there, several tables are used to assess for self-government indicators, free, prior, and informed consent indicators, access to land and natural resource indicators, and environmental protection indicators (pp. 6-9). They offer that this tool can be used to assess Canadian governments' (including local governments) compliance with the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, better satisfying the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's calls to action (pp. 18-19).

Aside from the "UNDRIP Compliance Assessment Tool", other frameworks have also been proposed. Researchers investigating Indigenous economic development in British Columbia surmised that there are seven formal mechanisms involved to maintain accountability between levels of decision-making for Indigenous-owned forestry businesses: constitution, legislation, memorandum of understandings, vision or mission, strategic plan, land use plan, and progress reporting (Hotte, Nelson, Hawkins, Wyatt, & Kozak, 2018, p. 532). From these seven mechanisms, visions, strategic plans, and progress reporting were concluded to be the most common (p. 544). These researchers temper such findings, however, by admitting that informal mechanisms may also affect accountability, such as social and cultural norms (p. 544).

A third framework providing measurement of these relationships has been referenced by Alcantara and Kalman (2019). Focusing specifically on relationships between local governments and local Indigenous communities, Alcantara and Kalman detail the use of a Haudenosaunee research approach with a Western research approach to inform policy in the communities of Cornwall and Akwesasne (2019). They discover that data collection can drive analytical models and offer points of reference for creating dialogue and agreement between the Indigenous community and the settler community. This community assessment can lead to the choice of a

subset of research decisions on how to proceed (pp. 35-36), creating a mixed-methods approach that can better evaluate the efficacy of a reconciliation strategy (p. 25), creating benefits for both local Indigenous and local settler societies.

Frameworks of policy governance have also been provided attention by literature on reconciliation. In particular, Fleras and Maaka attempt to address this area by calling for Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis (“IGA”) (2010). Their research looks to examples in New Zealand to form an analytical structure able to be deployed in Canada (p. 2). The authors clarify that while the Maori of New Zealand and Indigenous Peoples of Canada do not share the same story, their treatment by colonial systems still results in similar general patterns of systemic discrimination (p. 12). Fleras and Maaka suggest applying an approach modeled after gender-based analysis specific to Indigenous perspectives will end policy paralysis experienced on these issues (p. 12). In particular, they suggest five principles in this new analysis: recognizing Indigenous difference, respecting Indigenous rights, asserting Indigenous sovereignty, protecting Indigenous belonging and loyalties, and acknowledging Indigenous spirituality (pp. 13-20). This new form of policy analysis can be utilized by settler governments to better understand Indigenous perspectives.

Indigenous Peoples have already offered methodologies and alternatives for resolving this “wicked problem”. The Assembly of First Nations has identified models for bettering Indigenous jurisdiction and self-government such as unilateral jurisdiction, land claim agreements, self government agreements, and modern treaties are all suggested forms of reconciliation (2020c). Indigenous Peoples have also provided specific methodologies to examine complex issues like reconciliation. One example of Indigenous methodologies in British Columbia is the potlatch methodology. The potlatch methodology is a holistic Indigenous methodology that draws on the H’i’lzaqv (Heiltsuk) and Skwxwu’ 7mesh (Squamish) nations’ Traditional Knowledge (Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx’sin Yexwulla), 2019). This methodology approaches problems through an interwoven series of equitable concepts. First, the concept of welcoming is emphasized, calling for transformative “place-based” greetings that recognize authentic relations through the acknowledgement of the relationship’s power dynamics (p. 50). Second, the potlatch methodology highlights nourishment. Nourishment is considered a communal good, shared not just through physical nourishment but also through intellectual and cultural satisfaction (pp. 50-51). Third, the methodology magnifies the importance of doing good work in specific ways. Doing good work can consist of carrying out measures that validate intercultural respect and inspire the community. Instead of encouraging a competitive environment to achieve these measures, the potlatch methodology encourages a cooperative environment (pp. 51-52). Fourth, the potlatch methodology utilizes reflection. History is not sequestered to a “past” and “present”; family and community gathers together to witness history as a lived phenomenon (p. 52). Lastly, the potlatch methodology highlights the importance of honour. Family success is epitomized by greater sharing, and the most prized things to share are

the stories and songs of one's community (pp. 52-53). The potlatch methodology can act as a teaching approach for communities looking to understand and overcome obstacles together.

The potlatch methodology is by no means the only Indigenous methodology useful for tackling difficult issues. The Nuuchahnulth *haa-huu-pah* focuses on retelling stories that embed community values and strengthen connection between one's ancestors, family, and self (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009, p. 137). Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi's writings on *haa-huu-pah* and the Qu'asa family way methodology make it clear that by utilizing *haa-huu-pah* to "re-story" the experiences of Indigenous Peoples in the residential schools program, lived experiences can reveal larger themes and ways of healing (2009). When asked about compensation for the residential schools program, for example, one survivor of the system, Kwi-ahts-ah-pulth (Jack Little), exclaims that "money is not going to solve it! I have heard horrendous stories of when people got their money. Money is not going to solve it. You can't buy respect, you can't buy love!" (p. 154). This re-storying discussed by Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, and T'lakwadzi provides a methodology of healing for the Nuuchahnulth community that evidently goes beyond financial or legal settler approaches and moves the conversation forward to provide agency to Indigenous Peoples.

There is literature available on settler responses to reconciliation in general and particular environments; further literature available on specific examples will be examined later in this literature review. This includes literature of examples provided by a partnership between Indigenous organizations and settler governments (Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020). General literature on settler responses includes information that has been published by local governments themselves. At the local level, the Union of British Columbia Municipalities has provided a handbook that documents ways of building strong relationships between Indigenous and settler communities (2005). The organization states that mutual awareness, communication, respect, and trust are "elements of good working relationships" with First Nations groups (p. 7). Aside from providing examples of reconciliation in action (p. 11), the organization also provides nine principles of positive diplomacy while repeatedly highlighting the importance of co-equality, welcoming, and building a "community of communities" (pp. 45-46).

Likewise, the Capital Regional District has reported on its findings and recommendations for improving the Local-Indigenous Relationship (2018). The Capital Regional District notes that the two main barriers to strengthening relations are legislative barriers and differing governance models (pp. 10-12). While the Capital Regional District notes successes such as the *Leech Water Supply Access Agreement*, *First Nations Recycling Outreach*, and *Sea to Sea Traditional Use & Access Agreement* (pp. 18-19), it also recognizes ongoing challenges include parks management, employment opportunities, and resourcing (p. 20). These local government publications make it clear that local government in British Columbia understand the tasks before them and in some cases have made efforts to complete these tasks.

Journal articles also offer insights into particular settler responses to reconciliation efforts outside of municipal actors. One study highlights several triggers for settlers pursuing greater reconciliation throughout Canada: learning unsettling lessons on colonial practices like residential schools, engaging with anticolonial attitudes with friends and family, being witness to social injustice, already being involved in social activism, personally experiencing forms of marginalization, and possessing strong role models on issues affecting Indigenous Peoples (McGuire & Denis, 2020, p. 507). Research in various sectors of Canadian society add to this research by noting how different settler groups have responded to reconciliation. Johnstone's research on social workers' complicity in Canada's racialized treatment of Canadians in light of calls for multiculturalism concludes that "neutral" service provision is regarded as "professional" by institutions, but reinforces inequitable divides where policy advocacy is instead needed (2020, p. 81). Finegan's analysis of public parks management reveals that reconciliation can be pursued by upholding restorative justice for Indigenous Peoples. In the case of public parks, this means re-imagining public parks as protected areas that are shared and governed by Indigenous Peoples (2018). In academia, reconciling participatory human research has also been inspected for new approaches as well, leading to calls for reforming human ethics policies (Ninomiya & Pollock, 2017). These articles emphasize that settler attempts at reconciliation can be wide-ranging and have begun to make limited in-roads in certain sectors of Canadian mainstream society.

3.7 Literature Review Summary

This literature review has highlighted key information on major literature topics influencing the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. These topics included colonialism's continuing legacy in Canada, Canada's inequitable relationship with Indigenous Peoples, listening to Indigenous voices, competing identities in Canada, and defining reconciliation. Several key takeaways can be provided based on an evaluation of these topics' literature. Overall, colonialism has not ceased in Canada, but instead transformed over time. It is a vital process to understand for the Local-Indigenous Relationship, as it has been present from early colonial settlement, through Canada's attempts at assimilation, to modern institutional practices and contemporary struggles. The collective policies and practices implemented through this process in settler society have created new issues and barriers for Indigenous Peoples. These issues and barriers include three major categories of inequities: political, socio-economic, and intergenerational. Indigenous Peoples have made a protracted effort to emphasize calls to action for eliminating these issues and barriers, through formal political organizations and various communication initiatives. While recent settler actions have begun to undo past harms, a sustained effort is still needed to transform the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and settlers. These recent settler actions include actions taken by local governments. A central obstacle to this transformation is the differing worldviews between settler and Indigenous societies, and the competing identities that have been built based on these differences. If pursued, approaches to reconciliation must be careful to avoid further reproduction of existing inequities. For the Local-Indigenous Relationship, this means that settler actions must reflect a

willingness to transform all sectors of society, providing space for Indigenous voices in respect of Indigenous nations' sovereignty and the historical imbalance established within settler-Indigenous relations.

4.0 Findings: Jurisdictional Scan

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the findings of the jurisdictional scan of numerous local governments and associations in British Columbia and their policies and practices related to improving their relationships with Indigenous Peoples and governments. Nelles and Alcantara recognize that “very little is known about [this relationship] beyond some general and localized descriptions” (2014, p. 602). Despite limitations on scholarly documentation of this subject matter, a number of examples exist, outlining common paths local and regional settler governments have taken with Indigenous communities in British Columbia.

A major source of information for these examples, among others reviewed, is provided by a collaborative effort between Indigenous policy actors and settler policy actors on the *Pathways to Collaboration* initiative. This initiative has brought together the Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, and Indigenous Business and Investment Council, endeavouring to share stories of local successes between settler local governments and Indigenous nations (Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020). Aside from these stories, other examples have been provided by government announcements and other joint efforts between municipal actors and Indigenous advocates, such as the land swap collaboration announced by the Scia’new (Beecher Bay) First Nation (Scia’new First Nation, 2016).

A jurisdictional scan of these examples exposes similarities and differences between local government approaches. In determining what jurisdictions will be studied, the following three conditions were employed:

- the example must involve at least one local settler government or association and at least one Indigenous nation or body,
- the example must occur within British Columbia, and
- the example must feature at least one activity pursued to improve the relationship between the involved parties.

Once the jurisdictions and relationships were determined, the scan examined the following categories: communication; services and programming; and, development and planning.

All of the following themed tables have been organized in as standardized a fashion as possible (see Appendix A). Examples are listed alphabetically, beginning with the name of the first Indigenous nation or group mentioned in the documented example. Where possible, Indigenous groups have been identified using the self-identified terms provided by the Indigenous community itself. In certain cases, these terms may be supplemented with alternative names, such as settler legal names, anglicized names, or names of composite historical groups within the

nation or nations. When information available on a relationship between the same parties is found from several sources, this information may be combined into a single example of the greater relationship for ease of evaluation. When one party is involved in multiple separate, exclusive relationships, these will be represented by separate examples to better identify differences between those relationships.

4.2 Theme 1: Communication

Local settler governments in British Columbia have engaged in different communication initiatives with local Indigenous governments, associations, and communities. Types of communication initiatives include communications and protocol agreements, formalized meetings or forums, and formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness. The most common among these practices in examples scanned is formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness (40 identified examples), followed by protocol agreements (30 identified examples), and finally formalized meetings or forums (25 identified examples). See Appendix A for full table of scanned jurisdictions.

There are many examples of communications and protocol agreements between municipal governments and First Nations in British Columbia. These agreements focus on establishing formalized practices and approaches to intergovernmental issues and negotiations between Indigenous nations and settler municipal actors. As this definition is fairly broad, this may include agreements that do not solely focus on establishing protocol or communications frameworks but nonetheless provide circumstances for approaching relationships. The Cowichan Tribes (Kw'amutsun, Qwum'yiqu'n', Hwulqwselu, S'amuna', L'uml'umuluts, Hinupsum, Tl'ulpalus), the City of Duncan, the Cowichan Valley Regional District, and the District of North Cowichan (Cowichan Valley Regional District, 2010) are an example of this, highlighting protocols of engagement within agreements on flood management (Comox Valley Regional District, 2010).

Other examples of protocol agreements are instead explicitly written for the purpose of protocol establishment. After extensive forums, Nuu-chah-nulth principles guided the adoption of a protocol agreement to foster better relations between the District of Tofino and the Ahousaht First Nation, Hesquiaht First Nation, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, Toquaht First Nation and Ucluelet First Nation (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 12-13; District of Tofino, 2018). Communication and protocol agreements also do not have to be agreements *per se*, instead being frameworks or recommendations directly informed by reconciliation practices conducted with First Nations by municipal settler governments. This approach was taken by the City of Vancouver, which held a “year of reconciliation”, adopting a number of measures, declarations, and recommendation frameworks in collaboration with Reconciliation Canada and First Nations groups (City of Vancouver, 2020; City of Vancouver, 2014). For the purposes of this research, these three forms of establishing protocol guidelines can be summarized as *hybrid*

forms of protocol agreement, *explicit* forms of protocol agreement, and *frameworks* of protocol agreement.

Formalized meetings and forums are another common way for local governments to collaborate with Indigenous nations and organizations. A major initiative maintaining this form of outreach is the Community to Community Forum initiative, which is a collaborative platform sponsored by the Union of British Columbia Municipalities and Government of British Columbia (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2020a). Forums and meetings can vary in topics of discussion and size, depending on the needs and population of the communities. In the vast majority of cases, while discussion and size may vary, meetings and forums usually accompany other changes in the relationship. The Northern St'at'imic First Nations communities, District of Lillooet, and the Squamish Lillooet Regional District exemplify this trend (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020f).

Going from a relatively uncoordinated state in the early 2000s, these communities' governments collaborated through forums, eventually creating protocol agreements, new working groups, agritourism strategies, and regional land use planning for economic development (2020f). More urbanized areas in British Columbia, like the City of Kamloops, have likewise used forums to facilitate greater relationship-building. The Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (Kamloops Indian Band) and the City of Kamloops have used forums to work towards new service agreements, land use planning, and protocol agreements (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k).

Formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness are by far a popular choice for local settler governments. This category can include declarations from government officials, land acknowledgements, or even ceremonies empowering Indigenous self-representation or title. Nearly all cases identified for this jurisdictional scan included some sort of act which falls under this category. Many of these acts can be located within other collaborative acts. The Metlakatla and Lax Kw'alaams First Nations communities, for instance, agreed to a relationship protocol with the City of Prince Rupert based on a shared vision of goals between communities, formally recognizing the needs of the Indigenous Peoples within these goals (City of Prince Rupert, 2019). Some formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness may also exist beyond other efforts. Traditional Indigenous ceremonies ushering in government meetings have occurred between the Katzie First Nation and the City of Pitt Meadows, in addition to other efforts in protocol and service agreements (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020b). For analytical purposes, one may identify two subcategories utilizing the aforementioned examples: *dependent* acts (acts dependent on other actions for substance), and *supplementary* acts (acts supplementing existing or ongoing actions being taken).

4.3 Theme 2: Services and Programming

Indigenous societies and local settler governments have improved their relationships through co-development of services and programming in their respective regions. This includes service agreements for providing services such as water or sewage, agreements for parks and recreation management, formal partnerships for shared tourism or agriculture, and direct program funding and grants for targeted community development programs. Based on the surveyed examples, the most popular form of services and programming is service agreements (16 identified examples). The second most popular activity is shared tourism or agricultural arrangements (10 identified examples). Both parks and recreation agreements (category (3 identified examples per activity) and direct programming funding and grants category (2 identified case examples per activity) were few in number among total examples surveyed within this category. See Appendix A for full table of scanned jurisdictions.

Service agreements may vary on which service is provided, but all focus on providing, maintaining, or restoring service between one community and another. These services are limited to the available jurisdiction of both Indigenous nations and local settler governments, often focusing on services such as water or sewage. Service agreements provide a way for municipal settler governments to co-govern with Indigenous nations, sharing knowledge, resources, training, and responsibility between peoples. The Hupačasath First Nation and the City of Port Alberni showcase this possibility, partnering on shared water services, fire protection, sewer service, and building inspection on an as-requested basis (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 8-9). Similar achievements have been made elsewhere in British Columbia: the Westbank First Nation and the Regional District of Central Okanagan maintain sewer service agreements and a general municipal service agreement (Municipal-Aboriginal Adjacent Community Cooperation Project, 2002, p. 15). As evidenced by these cases, service agreements are not uniform and majorly determined by the needs and limitations of the involved governments.

Arrangements between Indigenous communities and municipal governments may also extend to parks and recreation. Examples implementing this form of arrangements were sparse in identified cases. Nonetheless, a few examples do exist. The City Quesnel has agreed to transfer Ceal Tingley Park to the Lhtako Dene Nation for Indigenous economic infrastructure development (City of Quesnel, 2019). Other parks and recreation agreements may be less direct; the Matsqui First Nation agreed to let the City of Abbotsford entered into an agreement for the operation and maintenance of a dyke, providing and operating a wilderness trail in the process (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 25). These two differing approaches demonstrate that agreements over parks and recreation can be facilitated separately or can be intermittently focused on within other arrangements.

A major point of collaboration through services and programming are shared tourism and agricultural ventures. This form of bonding between settler governments and Indigenous nations

is explicitly done to seek out improvements in cultural or socio-economic conditions for both parties through the development of projects aimed at growing the local agricultural sector or tourism sector. These initiatives are also often paired with other economic, social, or political acts to invite greater collaboration between Indigenous and settler communities. In fact, the majority of scanned cases that initiated shared tourism or agricultural projects also pursued protocol agreements. The *Bridging the Canyons* initiative pursued by the Boston Bar First Nation, Cook's Ferry Indian Band, Village of Lytton, Lytton First Nation, Spences Bridge, Siska Indian Band and the Fraser Valley Regional District is an example of this. While the project completed a new farmers market, agricultural workshops, and a new tourism and community learning centre, it also pursued far more as well. New radio and newspaper media outlets, a cyber centre aimed at youth, an arts and crafts store, and a job skills bank were also developed as part of this project (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 16-17). The Snuneymuxw First Nation and the City of Nanaimo similarly followed this pattern, joint developing a business plan that focus on improving tourism product development on Newcastle Island alongside meetings, a memorandum of understanding, and a protocol agreement (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020h).

Direct funding is another potential opportunity explored through a scan of these cases. This funding was only found to occur in two cases of the total cases scanned. Both of these cases were reinforced by a central plan or strategy for distributing such funds, and both had a history of previous relationship-building activities before such funds were distributed. The Stz'uminus First Nation and the Town of Ladysmith jointly developed an economic development plan for new marine-side development inclusive of funding, but this was structured after many meetings, agreements, and land use planning (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j). This was also true for the collaborative activities between the Boston Bar First Nation, Cook's Ferry Indian Band, Village of Lytton, Lytton First Nation, Spences Bridge, Siska Indian Band and the Fraser Valley Regional District (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 16-17).

4.4 Theme 3: Development and Planning

Local settler governments and Indigenous communities have pursued partnerships in land, resource, and development ventures. More specifically, these pursuits include resource management partnerships, land use planning, and joint economic development initiatives. Land use planning is the most common activity within this category (17 identified examples), while resource management partnerships are the least common activity within this category (9 identified examples). Joint economic development initiatives closely follow land use planning (15 identified examples).

Resource management partnerships provide a method for different communities to engage on an issue of high mutual interest: the management and use of natural resources. Sometimes, the line

between resource management and service provision is not clear. This is exactly the case for the Nuxalk Nation, Heiltsuk Tribal Council, and the Central Coast Regional District. The Nuxalk Nation, Heiltsuk Tribal Council worked with the Central Coast Regional District to form four different agreements affecting all communities. These agreements include provisions for the management of the water supply, and emergency preparedness. Additionally, the Nuxalk Nation has established a work partnership to protect the various species of salmon in the area (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 13-15). While these could be construed as forms of service provision, they could also be construed as resource management. Within the perspective of the Nuxalk Nation, the protection of land and native animal species is central to the Nuxalk worldview (Nuxalk Nation, 2020). This focus on water and fish is also found elsewhere in British Columbia with other First Nations communities as well. The T'sou-ke Nation and the Capital Regional District, for example, formed an agreement on the management of these issues (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 38). Management of forests is another issue that may be considered by communities. The Splastin First Nation and the Village of Lumby worked together to form the Monashee Community Forest LLP. This partnership oversees the managed forestry over 7000 hectares of land, promising economic development for both communities that is done in an ecologically sustainable manner for the local watershed (Village of Lumby, 2020).

Land use planning was found as an activity within several cases analyzed. Broadly speaking, land use planning can be defined as the coordination of land use between Indigenous communities and settler communities. This coordination can vary considerably, from *high involvement* coordination involving strategies, development corporations, or other formal planning to mutually agree on a land's use, to *low involvement* coordination involving the simple transfer of land from one party to another. An example of high involvement coordination would be the Tla'amin Nation and the City of Powell River. Initially involved in disputes over land use in the early 2000s, the two communities have since bonded to form new agreements and worked on a prolonged initiative to formally identify potential land use coordination schemes and pursue them. This eventually led to the City of Powell River recognizing the Tla'amin Nation's land designations within its municipal boundaries (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020m). These frameworks of action on land use planning have arisen elsewhere as well. The Lyackson First Nation and Islands Trust Council have formed a protocol agreement working towards land use planning issues as well, recognizing land use planning within the contents of the agreement (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 14). Lower involvement coordination can also be found in identified cases. The Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees) Nation, Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nation, and the City of Victoria have agreed to promote the construction of new Indigenous buildings at Beacon Hill Park to replace a single building on the site (City of Victoria, 2020a). This level of coordination is limited to a single use of a small area of land for replacing a structure operated by the City of Victoria, while the City of Powell River

maintained a long-term initiative to identify multiple areas of land use concern and designated a larger area for Indigenous land recognition as a result.

Joint economic development can involve many different measures, but in general focuses on the economic development of at least one area of interest to both Indigenous and settler parties. This scan revealed that economic development was a common reason for Indigenous and settler communities to work together more.

Two subcategories of joint economic development were discovered during this scan: *symmetrical* development and *asymmetrical* development. Symmetrical development involved joint economic development exercises that required Indigenous Peoples co-sponsor or co-manage an initiative. Asymmetrical development, meanwhile, involved joint economic development exercises that requested consultation with Indigenous Peoples, but decision-making powers were still largely relegated to settler governments or bodies. Examples of symmetrical development exist. The Kitselas First Nation and the City of Terrace worked together to form new agreements and a memorandum of understanding, eventually fostering increased economic development through the securing of new lands for use, leading to greater investment in industrial land development (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020c). Likewise, the Lil'wat Nation and the Village of Pemberton have consistently built their relationship over years, establishing the Spelkúmtn Community Forest Corporation for sustainable forestry in the region (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020d). Asymmetrical development has also occurred. A key example of this form of joint economic development is the Okanagan Indian Band and the City of Vernon. Backed up by a protocol agreement, the City of Vernon has maintained extensive forums and discussions with the Okanagan Indian Band on ongoing development proposals and development issues affecting either party. Indigenous Peoples have been granted opportunities to provide input on upcoming projects and voice their concerns, although the municipal government often maintains control over many decisions within municipal boundaries (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 14-15).

4.5 Summary of Findings

This jurisdictional scan has revealed three major categories of relationship-building activities conducted by local settler governments with Indigenous nations or organizations.

Communication activities focus on formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness, protocol agreements, and formalized meetings or forums. Services and programming activities include service agreements, parks and recreation arrangements, shared tourism or agricultural partnerships, and direct funding for programs or grants. Lastly, development and planning activities are comprised of land use planning, resource management partnerships, and joint economic development initiatives. Major takeaways from scanning these cases are that

communication activities are far more popular than the other two categories, that multiple activities are often pursued within a relationship, and that communications activities are often a pre-requisite for other forms of activities to occur. Additional insights are also provided from the scanning of each category of activities.

Scanning communication activities provides some information on how these activities operate. Protocol agreements, for example, can come in different forms. Protocol agreements can develop within the context of another agreement or set of agreements (“hybrid approach”). They may also develop with the sole purpose of establishing protocol (“explicit approach”). They can also be a framework or series of frameworks outlining best practices instead of a formal agreement (“framework approach”). Formal meetings or forums provide a way to coordinate communities and establish common understandings but can vary widely in how they are implemented and what may be discussed. Lastly, formalized acts of recognition, awareness, or acknowledgement are found in nearly all cases. Additionally, they come in two main varieties: they can be acts dependent on another initiative for substantiation (“dependent formal acts”), or they can be acts supplementing a separate initiative (“supplemental formal acts”).

Like communication activities, scanning services and programming reveals some takeaways on how these activities manifest within relationships. This includes service agreements, which can involve many different services, but common services include water and sewage. These agreements may not be uniform, either; each community has different needs. This also includes parks and recreation arrangements, which can be separate agreements, or arrangements guaranteed through other agreements or contexts. Aside from agreements, shared tourism and agricultural ventures are often paired with other activities to ensure their success. Direct funding is one last method of services and programming pursued by a minority of cases. Examples of direct funding activities are limited, and examples that do exist are all required an existing relationship and other activities.

Development and planning is another category that this scan examined. First, examining the use of resources revealed some findings. Resource management partnerships can sometimes blur the line between resource management and service provision, entailing the consideration of both at times. Management of water, fish, and forests are all common areas of resource management that have worked for local actors. After examining resource management, land use planning also offered information on relationship-building between municipal settler governments and Indigenous governments. Land use planning can vary widely between high involvement coordination and low involvement coordination. Examples of high involvement coordination reflect more sustained and formalized efforts by municipal and Indigenous parties over longer periods of time, but with greater potential results. Lastly, joint economic development was inspected. Joint economic development initiatives can differ in how power is shared. Joint economic development initiatives can involve Indigenous Peoples more if they involve Indigenous co-management or co-sponsorship of the initiative (“symmetrical development”),

while economic development that merely consults with Indigenous Peoples but leaves decision-making with settler bodies reduces Indigenous input and relationship-building (“asymmetrical development”).

5.0 Discussion and Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This project explored its research questions through an extensive literature review and jurisdictional scan of relevant examples within British Columbia. This discussion and analysis chapter examines the research questions and the extent to which they could be answered, explore new themes arising from the research, briefly discusses research limitations and areas of further research, and considers the strategic implications of the findings and analysis when developing the recommendations in the following chapter.

5.2 Answering the Research Questions

The purpose of this project was to investigate the following research question: what is the current state of the literature on the relationship between local government entities and Indigenous Peoples and governments? This question was specifically addressed through several secondary questions:

- What are the issues and barriers in place that affect the relationship between local government and Indigenous Peoples and governments?
- What are local governments in British Columbia doing to improve their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
 - What policies have been put in place in local governments or local government associations that address their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
 - What practices have been put in place in local governments or local government associations that address their relationship with Indigenous Peoples and governments?
- What recommendations can be adopted to improve the relationship between local government and Indigenous Peoples and governments?

Each of these secondary questions will be explored further in this section to better address the primary research question.

5.2.1 *Issues and Barriers*

Analyzing the research available on this topic resulted in the discovery of three themed groupings of issues and barriers that informed both the general settler-Indigenous relationship in Canada and the specific Local-Indigenous Relationship in British Columbia. These themed

groupings were repeatedly found in both the literature review and the jurisdictional scan. Power dynamics, value systems, and economic mobility are all key factors affecting the health of a relationship and the efficacy of efforts to improve it. Both the inequities identified during the literature review (political, socio-economic, and intergenerational) and the issues and barriers raised within the examples scanned in the jurisdictional scan link to these three groupings. These groupings are also not mutually exclusive; they influence and reinforce each other.

The relationship between settlers and Indigenous Peoples is a relationship construed in terms of power. Specifically, it is an asymmetrical power relationship affording settlers more legitimized control over land, resources, and structures (Bell, 2014; Free, 2018; Ojha, 2003). More critically, this power dynamic extends to the metaphysical, erasing Indigenous Peoples' worldviews (Mills, 2016) or challenging their epistemologies (Welch, 2019). Settler governments can demonstrate success when they critically engage with Indigenous nations through the feelings and terms of Indigenous Peoples, which enables Indigenous agency (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Greenwood & Lindsay, 2019; Hunt, 2016). Furthermore, agreeing to mediate and vacate space – both physical and abstract – is a necessary practice if local settler reconciliation efforts are to be regarded as substantively decolonial (Scott, 2018; Short, 2005; Elliott, 2018). Re-distributing power provides both Indigenous and settler communities with new benefits not previously available. Municipal governments are already demonstrating that this is possible and *preferable* to the status quo historically demonstrated in British Columbia through a variety of different means (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, pp. 15,31; Village of Lumby, 2020; Village of Lumby, 2018; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020m).

Value systems is another key theme that is found in much of the literature on this topic. Indigenous Peoples and settlers often provide different levels of value to things within their respective societies. Western and Indigenous valuing of people, land, resources, and our world come from different places (Hunt, 2016; Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), 2019). To improve the relationship between settler populations and Indigenous populations, this gap in shared values will have to eventually be bridged; re-imagining a shared vision for communities is necessary (Scott, 2018; Fleras & Maaka, 2010). It is only through extensive communication with Indigenous Peoples that settler governments will begin to learn this lesson, as evidenced by a litany of local government efforts (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020n; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 12-13; District of Tofino, 2018; Comox Valley Regional District, 2010; Comox Valley Regional District, 2018; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous

Business and Investment Council, 2020c; City of Quesnel, 2019; City of Quesnel, 2017; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020d).

Indigenous and settler economic mobility is a common theme arising from research on the Local-Indigenous Relationship. The effects of colonialism and capitalism on Indigenous societies has resulted in long-term inequities, limiting Indigenous economic activity (National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Rowe & Tuck, 2017; Hooegeveen, 2015; Temper 2019; Lab, Yap & Turk, 2018; Hanrahan, 2017). A regular story amongst examples in British Columbia is that settler municipalities and Indigenous nations come together when they both realize an economic benefit to their respective communities (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020n; Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 16-17; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020c; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 10-11; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020a; Scia'new First Nation, 2016; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020g; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j).

Smaller municipalities can demonstrate great leaps of collaboration as both communities are in greater need of economic benefit, such as the Stz'uminus First Nation and the Town of Ladysmith (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j). This “rural-urban” economic divide means that urban Indigenous communities face unique circumstances that their rural counterparts do not (Alcantara & Nelles, 2009; Edmonds, 2010). This does not mean, however, that larger settler cities’ in British Columbia are incapable of moving on these issues, however. The City of Kamloops (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k) and the City of Vancouver (City of Vancouver, 2020; City of Vancouver, 2014) have both demonstrated new efforts towards reconciliation in recent years.

5.2.2 *What Are Local Governments Doing?*

Three of this project’s research questions overlap. Asking what local governments are doing to improve the Local-Indigenous Relationship necessitates asking what policies and practices have been implemented to carry out these improvements. The line between what is considered *policy* and what is considered *practice* is also quite blurry for managing the Local-Indigenous Relationship. In the case of many local governments, policies towards local Indigenous nations

are expressed through practices. For example, the protocol agreement between the Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (Kamloops Indian Band) and the City of Kamloops may be considered a policy, but its signing and ceremonial significance for both local settler governments and Indigenous governments is certainly considered a deliberate practice (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, pp. 15,31). Since this is the case, these three questions shall be addressed simultaneously within this section collectively as “local government actions” with distinctions made where necessary.

Local government actions were investigated within the literature review and the jurisdictional scan. These two research methods uncovered several activities that local governments can explore. Along with providing important context surrounding the Local-Indigenous Relationship, the literature review also exposed two important activities for local governments to pursue: developing a new worldview with Indigenous nations and creating an interdisciplinary analytical framework. The first of these activities is inspired by multiple authors, including Indigenous nations, who have referenced the importance of Indigenous worldviews in decolonization (Nuxalk Nation, 2020; Short, 2005; Welch, 2019). The second of these activities is inspired by scholars who have written on analyzing reconciliation efforts and the Local-Indigenous Relationship, such as Nelles & Alcantara (2014) and Fleras and Maaka (2010). It is clear from these and other sources that frameworks already exist to cultivate policy approaches that incorporate Indigenous views.

These two activities were supplemented by the jurisdictional scan, which highlighted many activities. One common practice (and policy for many involved in the *Community to Community* initiative) for local governments is the creation of regular meetings with Indigenous nations (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 12-13; District of Tofino, 2018; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 11; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020g). Following this, 40 of the 43 jurisdictional scan’s examples featured formal acknowledgement or recognition by local governments on issues of Indigenous sovereignty or traditional ties to the land.

Local governments have also pursued a range of agreements, including protocol agreements (Cowichan Valley Regional District, 2010; Comox Valley Regional District, 2010; Comox Valley Regional District, 2018; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2020b; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 14-15; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020l), service agreements (Municipal-Aboriginal Adjacent Community Cooperation Project, 2002, p. 15; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020a; Scia'new First Nation, 2016), and parks and recreation agreements (City of Quesnel, 2019; City

of Quesnel, 2017; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 25; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 27; Tsleil-Waututh Nation; District of North Vancouver, 2007).

Cooperation can also take place beyond agreements. New measures have been taken by local governments to establish shared tourism or agricultural projects (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020n; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020h), direct funding for Indigenous programs (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 16-17; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j), resource management partnerships (Village of Lumby, 2020; Village of Lumby, 2018; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 13-14), land use planning (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, pp. 15,31), and joint economic development (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020c; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 10-11; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020e).

All of these local government actions can involve both formal policy elements as well as informal practices. Land use planning, for instance, is often a culmination of routine ceremonial exchanges between local governments and Indigenous governments prior to any official agreement over land being signed and enacted. For example, the City of Powell River only developed land use planning arrangements with the Tla'amin First Nation and qathet Regional District after significant meetings and protocols between their governments had been established (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020m).

5.2.3 What Recommendations Can Be Adopted?

This project's research has indicated that pursuing multiple activities is not only preferable but required for addressing the issues and barriers faced by Indigenous Peoples (Christmas, 2013; Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), 2019). As this is the case, no demonstrably successful activity found during this research shall be eliminated from a series of recommendations. Instead, recommendations will encompass as broad an array of local government actions as possible to create a diverse policy mix that will better attack the highlighted issues and barriers from as many angles as possible (see the recommendations and implementation strategy chapter). This list of recommendations should be provided, however,

with two major caveats: relationships take time to improve, and Indigenous Peoples have diverse needs as they are a diverse collection of societies. It is highly recommended that pursuing any local government actions presented in the aforementioned section is done so within a multi-phase approach and attuned to the needs attested by the local Indigenous nations. Indigenous Peoples, in many cases, are already well aware of their communities' unique needs (Scott, 2018, p. 390).

5.3 Research Limitations and Areas for Further Research

5.3.1 Research Limitations

The extent to which each of the project research questions could be answered were affected by two main characteristics: limited research availability and uneven research distribution amongst sources.

One major challenge of this research was finding enough literature to answer the research questions. Due to this project research being conducted primarily with online resources, research was confined to what was available to publicly-accessible websites or the University of Victoria's research collections and access credentials. The volume of literature available through these online resources was substantially different depending on the scope. General literature exists on the relationship between settler and Indigenous societies in Canada, which often focused on the oppression of Indigenous Peoples or the expression of their rights and title (Ball, 2009; Borrows, 1997; Eisenberg, 2013; Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Free, 2018; Harris, 2004; Lux, 2016; McCrossan, 2018; National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, 2019; Ojha, 2003; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b; Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, 2020a). Yet when narrowing literature down to sources highlighting the relationship between local settler governments and Indigenous Peoples, far fewer sources were available, with one researcher on this topic admitting that research is scant at this level (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014, p. 602). Where scholarly research is available, it is limited to frameworks instead of specific actions to take (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014; Alcantara & Kalman, 2019; Smith and Mitchell, 2020; Hotte, Nelson, Hawkins, Wyatt, & Kozak, 2018; Fleras and Maaka, 2010; Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), 2019; Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Finegan, 2018). The examples that did exist for specific local government actions were substantiated largely by organizations or governments, rather than scholars (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020a; Village of Lumby, 2020; Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006; Tsleil-Waatuth Nation, District of North Vancouver, 2007; ʔaqam, 2015).

The imbalance between sources of literature was another noted characteristic of this research project. The lack of research available from Indigenous *or* peer-reviewed academic sources leaves settler government organizations – the very organizations at the heart of many of the issues analyzed – as often a major provider of information on the topic. This was particularly

evident during the jurisdictional scan, whereby the majority of cases were gathered from a source involving a settler government or association in some capacity (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020a; Cariboo Regional District; Comox Valley Regional District, 2010; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009). Mitigation efforts were made during research to include Indigenous Peoples and nations wherever possible, either as authors or co-sponsors of a research source (Cariboo Regional District; City of Williams Lake; T'exelc (Williams Lake Indian Band), 2016; Scia'new First Nation, 2016; Tsleil-Waututh Nation, District of North Vancouver, 2007; ʔaqam, 2015). In many cases, Indigenous nation's government websites tend to focus on issues of internal governance, like the Stz'uminus First Nation (2020), or programs offered to the nation's constituents, like the Esquimalt First Nation (2020). Fortunately, a major source of information came from a joint venture between Indigenous organizations (First Nations Summit and Indigenous Business and Investment Council) and settler government organizations (Union of British Columbia Municipalities and the Government of British Columbia), which accounted for a substantial portion of examples examined (2020a; 2020b; 2020c; 2020d; 2020e; 2020f; 2020g; 2020h; 2020i; 2020j; 2020k; 2020l; 2020m; 2020n). Nonetheless, disparities exist in the distribution of this information between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.

5.3.2 Areas of Further Research

The primary question of this research was to investigate the current state of the literature available on this topic. Fortunately, this research did address this question directly: more research is needed and that research must be authored with greater contributions from Indigenous Peoples. Seeing as local government is the third main level of settler government in Canada – the others being federal and provincial – there is relatively little scholarly information to draw on for this topic. Researchers have been readily available to analyze Twitter feeds on Indigenous issues (Raynauld, 2018), yet no scholars, save a few such as Nelles and Alcantara (2014), have lent a hand in cultivating practical actions that local settler governments can take. Part of the challenge may reside in the fact that Indigenous Peoples, such as the Tsleil-Waututh Nation (2020), often use oral histories to uphold their societies' values, which settler society consistently struggles with (McCrossan, 2018; Eisenberg, 2013). Academia needs to decolonize how it does research to respond to this issue (Antoine, 2017). Moreover, researchers can and should continue work that critically examines local settler governments' role in settler-colonialism and ways in which we can deconstruct these structures for the benefit of Indigenous Peoples who have long called for decolonizing and disruptive actions to occur (Antoine, 2017; Corntassel, Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi, 2009; Leeuw, 2017; Neylan, 2013; Tsleil-Waututh Nation, 2020) (Tsleil-Waututh Nation, 2020).

5.4 Strategic Implications: Recommending a Policy Mix

Drawing from the themes discovered from analyzing the available research on this topic, a policy mix intending to improve the Local-Indigenous Relationship should feature efforts, reinforced by existing information available, that explicitly tackle power dynamics, value systems, and economic mobility. Moreover, this policy mix must be implemented in a holistic manner that accepts that these themes are interconnected, as this reflects both scholarly and Indigenous views on the subject (Christmas, 2013; Wilson & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), 2019). This consideration should keep in mind that many examples in British Columbia required a gradual evolution from one stage of the relationship to the next, introducing more stringent and formal requirements of the municipality over the course of the relationship. The City of Powell River and Tla'amin First Nation, for example, took decades to shift from a dispute-oriented relationship to a collaboration-oriented relationship, pursuing more activities over time (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020m).

There are many consequences for local settler governments not adopting a comprehensive policy mix to improve the Local-Indigenous Relationship:

TABLE 1: LIST OF STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR INACTION

Consequence	Effects
Legal	Legal culpability or liability, potential litigation against municipality
Economic	Loss of potential local economic net benefit
Political	Greater delegitimization of governance
Ecological	Failure to consider critical views on environmental impact of decision-making
Social	Distrust and stigma between communities
Spiritual	Violation of neighbouring community's spiritual beliefs, loss of spiritual diversity

6.0 Recommendations and Implementation Strategy

6.1 Introduction

Based on an analysis of information from literature and existing examples in British Columbia, a recommended policy mix and implementation strategy is presented in this section. Based on research, it was decided that a multi-track policy mix (a policy mix that engages all sectors of society) of different potential activities (Nelles & Alcantara, 2014; Christmas, 2013) would be the best solution to present for this project report, as Indigenous Peoples face issues and barriers that cross along different segments of society leading to a democratic deficit (Heritz, 2018). The implementation of this multi-phase policy mix will be further refined within the discussion on implementation strategy.

The criteria for developing the recommendations was based on the findings from the literature review and the jurisdictional scan and was also based on the practicality and ease of adoption and implementation for the involved parties.

The recommendations are targeted towards local settler governments and are in no particular order of importance.

6.2 Recommendations

This research project recommends the following policy mix to local settler governments, based on an assessment of strategic implications of not pursuing a comprehensive policy mix given the requirements for a comprehensive policy mix. The following activities are influenced directly by information available from existing literature and examples found during the jurisdictional scan:

- Create a shared community worldview
- Develop an interdisciplinary analytical framework inclusive of Indigenous methodologies
- Engage in protocol agreements
- Maintain formalized meetings or forums
- Establish formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement, or awareness
- Orchestrate service agreements
- Pursue parks and recreation agreements
- Share tourism or agricultural ventures
- Work towards direct funding opportunities
- Establish resource management partnerships
- Cooperate on land use planning
- Jointly pursue economic development

6.3 Implementation Strategy

The recommended policy mix is envisioned as a three-stage process, signifying the time required to develop appropriate relationships and customs between communities:

- **The *Early Stage***, emphasizing the beginning of a new relationship, encourages settler municipal governments and Indigenous communities to build relationships on limited matters to establish a new common set of understandings between societies.
- **The *Intermediate Stage*** accelerates relationship growth by championing greater socio-economic alignment and formalizing political relations.
- **The *Late Stage*** contains efforts that can be pursued once the communities' relationship has significantly matured.

The three themed groups raised by this report (power dynamics, value systems, economic mobility) will need to be increasingly addressed as the stages progress through communication policies, services and programming policies, and development and planning policies. The speed at which this multi-phase process takes place will vary from community to community.

This policy mix will be implemented alongside the development of worldviews and new frameworks of research and analysis of policy items. Transitioning worldviews and analytical frameworks will be required to genuinely implement any policy agenda. Only by enabling Indigenous Peoples' agency and Traditional Knowledge can specific local issues or barriers be identified. This means that separate worldviews will eventually need to be exchanged between communities, synthesizing a new shared worldview unique to the communities involved. This, in turn, means that even during the *Early Stage* of the policy mix, some attempt will need to be made to create an interdisciplinary analytical framework. Over time as the relationship grows, this emerging effort can solidify into a concrete analytical framework for settler governments that respects the knowledge and traditions of local Indigenous nations.

TABLE 2: RECOMMENDED MULTI-PHASE POLICY MIX

Activity Type	Early Stage	Intermediate Stage	Late Stage
Worldview Creation	Separate worldviews	Exchanging worldviews	Sharing worldviews
Analytical Framework Development	Emerging interdisciplinary focus with Indigenous inclusion	Interdisciplinary focus with Indigenous inclusion	Co-developed interdisciplinary focus with Indigenous inclusion
Protocol Agreement	<i>Hybrid, framework, or explicit</i> protocol agreements	<i>Framework or explicit</i> protocol agreements	<i>Explicit</i> protocol agreements
Meetings or Forums	Formalized meetings or forums	Formalized meetings or forums	Formalized meetings or forums
Formal Acts of Recognition, Acknowledgement, or Awareness	<i>Dependent</i> formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement or awareness	Mostly <i>dependent</i> and some <i>supplementary</i> formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement or awareness	Mostly <i>supplementary</i> and some <i>dependent</i> formal acts of recognition, acknowledgement or awareness
Service Provision		Service agreements for specific basic necessities (water, sewage, etc.)	General service agreements and service agreements for specific basic necessities (water, sewage, etc.)

Parks and Recreation		Limited parks or recreation agreements for specific uses or areas	General parks and recreation agreements for larger areas
Tourism or Agricultural Project Arrangements	Shared tourism or agricultural arrangements	Shared tourism or agricultural arrangements	Shared tourism or agricultural arrangements
Direct Funding			Direct program funding and grants
Resource Management		Resource management partnerships	Resource management partnerships
Land Use Cooperation		<i>Small-scale</i> land use planning	<i>Larger-scale</i> land use planning
Economic Development	<i>Asymmetrical</i> or <i>symmetrical</i> joint economic development initiatives	<i>Symmetrical</i> joint economic development initiatives	<i>Symmetrical</i> joint economic development initiatives

7.0 Conclusion

This project set out to address questions central to the relationship between Indigenous nations or associations and municipal settler governments or associations. Primarily, it sought to determine the current state of literature on the topic and then examined specific actions that can be taken by local governments. This search was conducted through an extensive literature review and a jurisdictional scan of examples found in British Columbia.

Conducting this research highlighted that, while there is literature available on this topic in a general sense, the specific relationship between local governments and Indigenous communities still requires significantly more scholarly attention and further Indigenous insight to better understand the historical and changing relationship.

Based on this investigation, the project recommended a policy mix approach that addresses three key themed groupings highlighted in the topic's research: power dynamics, value systems, and economic mobility. The policy mix was provided in a three-stage design, encompassing communication policies, services and programming policies, and development and planning policies. It was highlighted that these local government activities should be applied to address the three key themed groupings of issues and barriers faced by Indigenous Peoples, in a way that increasingly shares a new re-imagined worldview and a co-ordinated interdisciplinary research framework between Indigenous and settler societies.

References

- Aalbers, M. B. (2013). Neoliberalism is Dead ... Long Live Neoliberalism! *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(3), 1083-1090. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12065
- Achebe, C. (2009). *Things Fall Apart*. Toronto: Anchor Canada.
- Ahmed, A. S. (1998). Embracing the 'other'. *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 1(1), 9-13. doi:10.1080/13698019800510031
- Akena, F. A. (2012). Critical Analysis of the Production of Western Knowledge and Its Implications for Indigenous Knowledge and Decolonization. *Journal of Black Studies*, 43(6), 599–619. doi:10.1177/0021934712440448
- Alcantara, C., & Kalman, I. (2019). Diversifying methodologies: A Haudenosaunee/Settler approach for measuring indigenous-local intergovernmental success. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 52(1), 21-38. doi:10.1017/S0008423918000409
- Alcantara, C., & Nelles, J. (2009). Claiming the City: Co-operation and Making the Deal in Urban Comprehensive Land Claims Negotiations in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 42(3), 705-727. doi:10.1017/S0008423909990394
- Alcantara, C., Lalonde, D., & Wilson, G. (2017). Indigenous Research and Academic Freedom: A View from Political Scientists. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 8(2). doi:10.18584/iipj.2017.8.2.3
- Alderhill Planning Inc. (2019). *Capital Regional District 2019 Forum of All Councils Summary Report*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Capital Regional District: https://civicinfo.s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/public_files/First%20Nations/Upload/2019-Dec-30-CRDForumofAllCouncilsSummaryReportFINAL.pdf
- Anderson, W. J. (2012). 'Indian drum in the house': A critical discourse analysis of an apology for Canadian residential schools and the public's response. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(6), 571–585. doi:10.1177/1748048512454824
- Antoine, D. (2017). Pushing the Academy: The Need for Decolonizing Research. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 42(1), 113-119. doi:10.22230/cjc.2017v42n1a3091
- Apolonio, J. (2008). *Local Government–First Nation Partnerships*. Victoria.
- Assembly of First Nations & National Congress of American Indians. (1999, July 23). *Declaration of Kinship and Cooperation among the Indigenous Peoples and Nations of North America*. Retrieved March 21, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/about-afn/national-congress-of-american-indians/>

- Assembly of First Nations. (2003). *Charter of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN)*. Retrieved June 25, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/AFN-Charter.pdf>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2013, October). *Royal Proclamation*. Retrieved June 16, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <http://www.afn.ca/royal-proclamation/>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2015). *04/27/15 Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues – Assembly of First Nations National Chief Perry Bellegarde*. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/permanent-forum-on-indigenous-issues-assembly-of-first-nation/>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2019, July). *Resolution 32/2019*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/19-32-Support-the-Declaration-by-Indigenous-Nations-and-Peoples-on-Indigenous-Territories-Colonial-Doctrines-and-the-Underlying-Myth-of-Crown-Title.pdf>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2020a). *About AFN*. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/about-afn/>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2020b). *Empowering First Nations Persons with Disabilities and First Nations Governments on Distinct First Nations Accessibility/ Disability Legislation*. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/policy-sectors/economic/empowering-first-nations-persons-with-disabilities/>
- Assembly of First Nations. (2020c). *First Nations No Longer Under the Indian Act*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/4_-_fact_sheet_-_first_nations_no_longer_under_the_indian_act.pdf
- Assembly of First Nations. (2020d). *Policy Sectors*. Retrieved April 5, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.afn.ca/policy-sectors/>
- Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador. (2019). *The Legault Government puts its own interests above those of First Nations*. Retrieved June 7, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations Quebec-Labrador: <https://apnql.com/en/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Jurisdiction-Law-Children-19-12-19-ang.pdf>
- Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation v Alberta, 2018 ABQB 262 (Court of Queen’s Bench of Alberta 2018). Retrieved June 20, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/hrdvh>
- Attorney General of Canada v. Lavell, SCR 1349 (SCC August 27, 1973). Retrieved February 22, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/1xv15>
- Baker, R., & Verrelli, N. (2017). "Smudging, drumming and the like do not a nation make": Temporal Liminality and Delegitimization of Indigenous Protest in Canada. *Journal of*

- Canadian Studies*, 51(1), 37-63. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/676646>
- Ball, J. (2009). Fathering in the Shadows: Indigenous Fathers and Canada's Colonial Legacies. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 624, 29-48. Retrieved February 17, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40375951>
- Ball, J. (2012). Identity and Knowledge in Indigenous Young Children's Experiences in Canada. *Childhood Education*, 88(5), 286-291. doi:10.1080/00094056.2012.717866
- Bardach, E. (2012). *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis* (4th ed.). Los Angeles: CQ Press.
- Barker, B., Goodman, A., & DeBeck, K. (2017). Reclaiming Indigenous identities: Culture as strength against suicide among Indigenous youth in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, 108(2), E208-E210. doi:10.17269/CJPH.108.5754
- Barlow, J. N. (2018). Restoring Optimal Black Mental Health and Reversing Intergenerational Trauma In An Era of Black Lives Matters. *Biography*, 41(4), 895-908. Retrieved March 18, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A576210966/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=023e3e1c>
- Battiste, M. (2002). *Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogy in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations*. Retrieved March 31, 2020, from Assembly of First Nations: https://www.afn.ca/uploads/files/education/24._2002_oct_marie_battiste_indigenousknowledgeandpedagogy_lit_review_for_min_working_group.pdf
- BC Treaty Commission. (2020). *Agreements in Principle*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from BC Treaty Commission: <http://www.bctreaty.ca/treaties-and-agreements>
- Belfer, E., Ford, J., & Maillet, M. (2017). Representation of Indigenous peoples in climate change reporting. *Climatic Change*, 145, 57-70. doi:10.1007/s10584-017-2076-z
- Bell, A. (2014). *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination*. Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137313560
- Bish, R. (2014). *First Nation Property Tax, Services and Economic Development in British Columbia*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities: <https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resources~and~Links/Documents/First%20Nation%20Taxation%20Services%20Ec%20Dev.pdf>
- Blackburn, C. (2009). Differentiating indigenous citizenship: Seeking multiplicity in rights, identity, and sovereignty in Canada. 36(1), 66-78. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2008.01103.x

- Borrows, J. (1997). Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History, and Self-Government. In M. Asch, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality, and Respect for Difference* (pp. 155-172). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Boucher, D. (2016). Invoking a World of Ideas: Theory and Interpretation in the Justification of Colonialism. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 63(147), 6-24. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/44647325
- British Columbia Assembly of First Nations. (2020a). *Priority Areas*. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from British Columbia Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.bcafn.ca/priority-areas>
- British Columbia Assembly of First Nations. (2020b). *Vision & Mission*. Retrieved May 6, 2020, from British Columbia Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.bcafn.ca/about-bcafn/vision-mission>
- Brownlie, J. (2017). "Our fathers fought for the British": Racial Discourses and Indigenous Allies in Upper Canada. *Histoire sociale/Social history*, 50(102), 259-284. doi:10.1353/his.2017.0036
- Brownlie, R. J. (2012). The Co-optation of Tecumseh: The War of 1812 and Racial Discourses in Upper Canada. *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association*, 23(1), 39-63. doi:10.7202/1015727ar
- Brunger, F., & Wall, D. (2016). "What Do They Really Mean by Partnerships?" Questioning the Unquestionable Good in Ethics Guidelines Promoting Community Engagement in Indigenous Health Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 26(13), 1862-1877. doi:10.1177/1049732316649158
- Burrows, E. (2018). Indigenous media producers' perspectives on objectivity, balancing community responsibilities and journalistic obligations. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(8), 1117-1134. doi:10.1177/0163443718764807
- Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia, SCR 313 (SCC January 31, 1973). Retrieved February 22, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/1nfn4>
- Capital Regional District. (2018). *Special Task Force on First Nations Relations Final Report*. Retrieved May 2020, from Capital Regional District: https://www.crd.bc.ca/docs/default-source/crd-document-library/plans-reports/first-nations/stf-finalreport2018.pdf?sfvrsn=dd11f0ca_6
- Capital Regional District. (2020a). *Traditional Territories*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Capital Regional District: <https://www.crd.bc.ca/project/first-nations-relations/traditional-territories>

- Capital Regional District. (2020b). *Truth and Reconciliation Project*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Capital Regional District: <https://www.crd.bc.ca/project/first-nations-relations/truth-and-reconciliation>
- Cariboo Regional District; City of Williams Lake; T'exelc (Williams Lake Indian Band). (2016). *Local Governments and First Nations Working Together*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from Cariboo Regional District: <https://www.cariboord.ca/uploads/news/id223/Local%20Governments%20and%20First%20Nations%20Working%20Together.pdf>
- Center for Justice and International Law. (2020). *Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved from Center for Justice and International Law: <http://www.cejilaniversario.org/pueblos-indigenas/en/rights-of-indigenous-peoples/>
- Chakrabarty, D. (1998). Minority histories, subaltern pasts. *Postcolonial Studies*, 1(1), 15-29. doi:10.1080/13688799890219
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Chambers, S. (1998). Contract or Conversation? Theoretical Lessons from the Canadian Constitutional Crisis. *Politics & Society*, 26(1), 143-172. doi:10.1177/0032329298026001006
- Chatterjee, P. (1993). *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Christmas, R. (2013). Multi-Track Diplomacy and Canada's Indigenous Peoples. *Peace Research*, 44/45(2), 5-30,222. Retrieved April 11, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1658207626?accountid=14846>
- City of Burnaby. (2018). *City's Opposition to Kinder Morgan Pipeline Route Highlighted in Video Released Today*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from City of Burnaby: https://www.burnaby.ca/About-Burnaby/News-and-Media/Newsroom/City-s-Opposition-to-Kinder-Morgan-Pipeline-Route-Highlighted-in-Video-Released-Today_s2_p6371.html
- City of Prince Rupert. (2019). *Metlakatla, Lax Kw'alaams and City sign Relationship Protocol*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Prince Rupert: http://www.princerupert.ca/metlakatla_lax_kwalaams_and_city_sign_relationship_protocol_2019_09_16

- City of Quesnel. (2017). *Recognition, reconciliation, and partnerships*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Quesnel: <https://www.quesnel.ca/our-community/news-notice/news-releases/recognition-reconciliation-and-partnerships>
- City of Quesnel. (2019). *Lhtako Dene and City of Quesnel move forward in reconciliation*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from City of Quesnel: <https://www.quesnel.ca/our-community/news-notice/news-releases/lhtako-dene-and-city-quesnel-move-forward-reconciliation>
- City of Vancouver. (2014). *Year of Reconciliation: June, 2013 – June, 2014*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Vancouver: <https://vancouver.ca/people-programs/year-of-reconciliation.aspx>
- City of Vancouver. (2020). *City of Reconciliation*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Vancouver: <https://vancouver.ca/people-programs/city-of-reconciliation.aspx>
- City of Victoria. (2016). *Trans Mountain Pipeline Update*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from City of Victoria: <https://www.victoria.ca/EN/meta/news/news-archives/2016-archive/trans-mountain-pipeline-update.html>
- City of Victoria. (2020a). *Beacon Hill Park*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Victoria: <https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/residents/parks/beacon-hill.html>
- City of Victoria. (2020b). *Reconciliation*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from City of Victoria: <https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/reconciliation.html>
- Civic Info BC. (2019). *Regional District of East Kootenay and ?Akisq\Nuk First Nation Service Agreement 2007-2012*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Civic Info BC: https://s3.ca-central-1.amazonaws.com/civicinfo/public_files/First+Nations/Agreement--RDEK_Akisqnuk_First_Nation--2007_2012.doc
- Coldwater First Nation v. Canada, 2020 FCA 34 (FCA February 2, 2020). Retrieved February 29, 2020, from <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/fca/doc/2020/2020fca34/2020fca34.html>
- College of Family Physicians of Canada & Indigenous Physicians Association of Canada. (2016). *Health and Health Care Implications of Systemic Racism on Indigenous Peoples in Canada*. Retrieved March 19, 2020, from College of Family Physicians of Canada: https://www.cfpc.ca/uploadedFiles/Resources/_PDFs/SystemicRacism_ENG.pdf
- Comack, E. (2018). Corporate Colonialism and the “Crimes of the Powerful” Committed Against the Indigenous Peoples of Canada. *Critical Criminology*, 26(4), 455–471. doi:10.1007/s10612-018-9414-y
- Comox Valley Regional District. (2010). *Protocol Agreement for Communication and Cooperation Building a K\ómoks First Nation and Comox Valley Local Governments*

- Relationship*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Comox Valley Regional District: https://www.comoxvalleyrd.ca/sites/default/files/docs/About/1-kfn_protocol_agreement.pdf
- Comox Valley Regional District. (2018). *K'ómoks First Nation and CVRD Working Together on Water Agreement*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Comox Valley Regional District: <https://www.comoxvalleyrd.ca/connect/news/k-moks-first-nation-and-cvrd-working-together-water-agreement>
- Congress of Aboriginal Peoples. (2020a). *About Us*. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from Congress of Aboriginal Peoples: <http://www.abo-peoples.org/en/about-us/>
- Congress of Aboriginal Peoples. (2020b, January 4). *Reconciliation Toolkit for Business Leaders*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from Congress of Aboriginal Peoples: http://www.abo-peoples.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/WP-Revised-Reconciliation-Toolkit_Digital_May12-compressed.pdf
- Cook, A. (2016). A Politics of Indigenous Voice: Reconciliation, Felt Knowledge, and Settler Denial. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 36(2), 69-80. Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1938073834?accountid=14846>
- Cornerstone Planning Group. (2006). *Moving from Dialogue to Partnership: Exploring Innovative Local Government-First Nation Partnerships*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities: <https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Library/Policy~Topics/First~Nations~Relations/Province-wide~Community~to~Community~Forum~Final~Reports/PC2C%202006%20Final%20Report.pdf>
- Corntassel, J., Chaw-win-is, & T'lakwadzi. (2009). Indigenous storytelling, truth-telling, and community approaches to reconciliation. *English Studies in Canada*, 35(1), 137-159. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A228994881/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=dde d27c0>
- Corrigall-Brown, C., & Wilkes, R. (2012). Picturing Protest: The Visual Framing of Collective Action by First Nations in Canada. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(2), 223–243. doi:10.1177/0002764211419357
- Cowichan Valley Regional District. (2010). *Memorandum of Understanding: Lower Cowichan/Koksilah Rivers Integrated Flood Management*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Cowichan Valley Regional District:

<https://www.cvrld.bc.ca/DocumentCenter/View/7997/MOU---Cowichan-Koksilah-Flood-Management?bidId=>

- Crawford, S. S. (2018). The Canadian Crown's Duty to Consult Indigenous Nations' Knowledge Systems in Federal Environmental Assessments. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 9(3). doi:10.18584/iipj.2018.9.3.4
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299. doi:10.2307/1229039
- Daniels v. Canada (Indian Affairs and Northern Development), 1 SCR 99 (SCC April 14, 2016). Retrieved April 6, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/gpfth>
- Dashorst, P., Mooren, T. M., Kleber, R. J., Jong, P. J., & Huntjens, R. J. (2019). Intergenerational consequences of the Holocaust on offspring mental health: a systematic review of associated factors and mechanisms. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology*, 10(1). doi:10.1080/20008198.2019.1654065
- De Juan, A., & Pierskalla, J. H. (2017). The Comparative Politics of Colonialism and Its Legacies: An Introduction. *Politics & Society*, 45(2), 159–172. doi:10.1177/0032329217704434
- Delgamuukw v. British Columbia, 3 SCR 1010 (SCC December 11, 1997). Retrieved January 18, 2020, from <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1569/index.do>
- District of Port Hardy. (2020). *First Nations Information*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from District of Port Hardy: <https://porthardy.ca/visitors/history/first-nations-information/>
- District of Tofino. (2018). *Ahousaht-Tofino Protocol Agreement*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from District of Tofino: <http://www.tofino.ca/blog/view/ahousaht-tofino-protocol-agreement>
- Drees, L. M. (2012). *Healing Histories : Stories from Canada's Indian Hospitals*. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press. Retrieved March 19, 2020, from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/lib/uvic/reader.action?docID=4827350&ppg=166>
- Edmonds, P. (2010). Unpacking settler colonialism's urban strategies: Indigenous peoples in Victoria, British Columbia, and the transition to a settler-colonial city. *Urban History Review*, 38(2), 4-20. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A226716855/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=0b3d6e5a>
- Eisenberg, A. (2013). Indigenous cultural rights and identity politics in Canada. *Review of Constitutional Studies*, 18(1), 89-109. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A358057437/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=2ea988ce>

- Elections Canada. (2011). *Official Voting Results: Forty-First General Election 2011*. Retrieved February 23, 2020, from Elections Canada: <https://www.elections.ca/scripts/ovr2011/default.html>
- Elections Canada. (2019, October). *October 21, 2019 Federal Election: Election Results*. Retrieved February 23, 2020, from Elections Canada: <https://enr.elections.ca/ElectoralDistricts.aspx?lang=e>
- Elliott, M. (2018). Indigenous Resurgence: The Drive for Renewed Engagement and Reciprocity in the Turn Away from the State. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 61-81. doi:10.1017/S0008423917001032
- Esquimalt Nation. (2020). *Programs*. Retrieved August 23, 2020, from Esquimalt Nation: <https://www.esquimaltnation.ca/programs>
- Esquimalt Nation. (2020a). *Our Nation*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from Esquimalt Nation: <https://www.esquimaltnation.ca/our-nation>
- Esquimalt Nation. (2020b). *Re: Notice of Reserve Restrictions*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Esquimalt Nation: https://www.esquimaltnation.ca/app/webroot/uploads/Restriction_to_EN_Reserve_COVID19.pdf
- Evans, M. (2018). A future without forgiveness: beyond reconciliation in transitional justice. *International Politics*, 55, 678–692. doi:10.1057/s41311-017-0091-3
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of The Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fenn, E. A. (2000). Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America: Beyond Jeffery Amherst. *The Journal of American History*, 86(4), 1552-1580. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2567577>
- Finegan, C. (2018). Reflection, Acknowledgement, and Justice: A Framework for Indigenous-Protected Area Reconciliation. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 9(3). doi:10.18584/iipj.2018.9.3.3
- First Nations Child & Family Caring Society. (2020). *Bearing Witness for First Nations Kids at the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from First Nations Child & Family Caring Society: https://fncaringociety.com/sites/default/files/chrt_infographic_web_0.pdf
- First Nations Health Authority. (2020). *FNHA Overview*. Retrieved April 8, 2020, from First Nations Health Authority: <https://www.fnha.ca/about/fnha-overview>

- First Nations Housing & Infrastructure Council British Columbia. (2020). *Our Mandate*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from First Nations Housing & Infrastructure Council British Columbia: <https://www.fnhic-bc.ca/our-mandate>
- First Nations LNG Alliance. (2020). *First Nations LNG Alliance*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from First Nations LNG Alliance: <https://www.fnlngalliance.com/>
- Fixico, D. (2020). *A Native Nations Perspective on the War of 1812*. Retrieved March 21, 2020, from PBS: <https://www.pbs.org/wned/war-of-1812/essays/native-nations-perspective/>
- Fleras, A., & Maaka, R. (2010). Indigeneity-Grounded Analysis (IGA) as Policy(-Making) Lens: New Zealand Models, Canadian Realities. *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 1(1). doi:10.18584/iipj.2010.1.1.4
- Foley, T. (2011). 'An Unknown and Feeble Body': How Settler Colonialism Was Theorized in the Nineteenth Century. In F. Bateman, & L. Pilkington (Eds.), *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics Identity and Culture* (pp. 10-27). Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230306288
- Fontaine, T. (2016, May 10). *Canada officially adopts UN declaration on rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Canadian Broadcasting Corporation: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/canada-adopting-implementing-un-rights-declaration-1.3575272>
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. (C. Gordon, Ed., C. Gordon, L. Marshall, J. Mepham, & K. Soper, Trans.) New York: Vintage Books.
- Free, M. (2018). Settler Colonialism. *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 46(3-4), 876-882. doi:10.1017/S1060150318001080
- Freeman, V. (2014). In defence of reconciliation. *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 27(1), 213-223. Retrieved April 11, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A360795928/LT?u=uvictoria&sid=LT&xid=65cd86ed>
- Gallagher, J., Mendez, J. K., & Kehoe, T. (2015). The First Nations Health Authority: A transformation in healthcare for BC First Nations. *Healthcare Management Forum*, 28(6), 255–261. doi:10.1177/0840470415600131
- Gettler, B. (2013). Money and the Changing Nature of Colonial Space in Northern Quebec: Fur Trade Monopolies, the State, and Aboriginal Peoples during the Nineteenth Century. *Histoire sociale/Social history*, 46(92), 271-293. Retrieved June 6, 2020, from <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/534561>

- Gitxaala Nation v. Canada, 2016 FCA 187 (FCA June 23, 2016). Retrieved February 29, 2020, from <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/fca/doc/2016/2016fca187/2016fca187.html>
- Global Fund For Women. (2020). *Climate Justice*. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from Global Fund For Women: <https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/climate-justice/>
- Gomashie, G. A. (2019). Kanien'keha / Mohawk Indigenous Language Revitalisation Efforts In Canada. *McGill Journal of Education*, 54(1), 151-171. Retrieved March 7, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/2275866826?accountid=14846>
- Gover, K. (2015). Settler–State Political Theory, ‘CANZUS’ and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. *European journal of international law*, 26(2), 345-373. doi:10.1093/ejil/chv019
- Government of British Columbia. (2020a). *B.C. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from Government of British Columbia: <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/united-nations-declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples>
- Government of British Columbia. (2020b). *Coronavirus disease (COVID-19)*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from HealthLink BC: <https://www.healthlinkbc.ca/health-feature/coronavirus-disease-covid-19>
- Government of British Columbia. (2020c). *Local Government Legislative Framework*. Retrieved April 17, 2020, from Government of British Columbia: <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/local-governments/facts-framework/legislative-framework>
- Government of British Columbia. (2020c). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Government of British Columbia: <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/governments/indigenous-people/new-relationship/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-calls-to-action>
- Government of Canada. (1845). *Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation: <http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Historical%20Reports/Bagot%20report.pdf>
- Government of Canada. (1847). *Report of Dr. Ryerson on Industrial Schools*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation: <http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Historical%20Reports/Ryerson%20Report.pdf>
- Government of Canada. (1869). *Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation:

<http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Historical%20Reports/1869%20Gradual%20Enfranchisement%20Act.pdf>

Government of Canada. (1969). *Statements of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy 1969*. Retrieved February 17, 2020, from National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation:

<http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Historical%20Reports/1969%20The%20White%20Paper.pdf>

Government of Canada. (1996). *Volume 5 - Renewal: A Twenty-Year Commitment*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Library and Archives Canada:

<http://data2.archives.ca/e/e448/e011188230-05.pdf>

Government of Canada. (2008, June 11). *Prime Minister Harper offers full apology on behalf of Canadians for the Indian Residential Schools system*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from

Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada: <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100015644/1100100015649>

Government of Canada. (2016, November 29). *Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Pipeline Announcement*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Prime Minister of Canada:

<https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/speeches/2016/11/29/prime-minister-justin-trudeaus-pipeline-announcement>

Government of Canada. (2016a). *250th Anniversary of the Royal Proclamation of 1763*.

Retrieved February 17, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1370355181092/1370355203645>

Government of Canada. (2016c, November 2). *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Library and Archives Canada:

<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/royal-commission-aboriginal-peoples/Pages/final-report.aspx>

Government of Canada. (2017). *Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Address to the 72th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Prime Minister of

Canada: <https://pm.gc.ca/en/news/speeches/2017/09/21/prime-minister-justin-trudeaus-address-72th-session-united-nations-general>

Government of Canada. (2017a). *Canada-Metis Nation Accord*. Retrieved April 1, 2020, from Prime Minister of Canada: <https://pm.gc.ca/en/canada-metis-nation-accord>

Government of Canada. (2017b). *First Nations in Canada*. Retrieved January 15, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1307460755710/1536862806124>

Government of Canada. (2017d, July 24). *Northern Gateway Pipelines Project*. Retrieved

February 29, 2020, from Natural Resources Canada: <https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/our-natural->

resources/energy-sources-distribution/clean-fossil-fuels/pipelines/energy-pipeline-projects/northern-gateway-pipelines-project/19184

Government of Canada. (2018, May 29). *Agreement Reached to Create and Protect Jobs, Build Trans Mountain Expansion Project*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.canada.ca/en/departement-finance/news/2018/05/agreement-reached-to-create-and-protect-jobs-build-trans-mountain-expansion-project0.html>

Government of Canada. (2019, September 5). *Delivering on Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.rcaanc-cirnac.gc.ca/eng/1524494530110/1557511412801>

Government of Canada. (2019c, October 15). *Phase IV engagement*. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.canada.ca/en/campaign/trans-mountain/phaseiv-consultations.html>

Government of Canada. (2020). *Jordan's Principle*. Retrieved June 19, 2020, from Government of Canada: <https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/eng/1568396042341/1568396159824>

Government of Canada. (2020b, February 7). *Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Justice Laws Website: <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-16.html#h-52>

Government of Ontario. (2012). *Working With First Nations, Inuit And Métis Families Who Have Experienced Family Violence: A Practice Guide For Child Welfare Professionals*. Retrieved April 15, 2020, from Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies: https://cwrp.ca/sites/default/files/publications/en/FN_Inuit_Metis_Families_Family_Violence.pdf

Government of TŁİCHQ. (2018). *Indian Hospitals Class Action*. Retrieved June 21, 2020, from Government of TŁİCHQ: <https://www.tlichq.ca/news/indian-hospitals-class-action>

Green, A. (2019). Exceeding the Limits of Reconciliation: 'Decolonial Aesthetic Activism' in the Artwork of Canadian Artist Meryl McMaster. *Cultural Studies Review*, 25(1), 4-22. doi:10.5130/csr.v25i1.6155

Greenwood, M., & Lindsay, N. M. (2019). A commentary on land, health, and Indigenous knowledge(s). *Global Health Promotion*, 26(Supp. 3), 82-86. doi:10.1177/1757975919831262

Grenier, M. (1994). Native Indians in the English-Canadian Press: The Case of the 'Oka Crisis'. *Media, Culture & Society*, 16(2), 313-336. doi:10.1177/016344379401600207

Hamelin, L., & Pimentel, T. (2020, January 27). *'We've got a real divide in the community: 'Wet'suwet'en Nation in turmoil*. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from Aboriginal Peoples

- Television Network: <https://aptnnews.ca/2020/01/27/weve-got-a-real-divide-in-the-community-wetsuweten-nation-in-turmoil/>
- Hanna, P., Langdon, E. J., & Vanclay, F. (2016). Indigenous rights, performativity and protest. *Land Use Policy*, 50, 490-506. doi:10.1016/j.landusepol.2015.06.034
- Hanrahan, M. (2017). Water (in)security in Canada: national identity and the exclusion of Indigenous peoples. *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 30(1), 69-89. doi:10.3828/bjcs.2017.4
- Hanson, A. J. (2017). Reading for Reconciliation? Indigenous Literatures in a Post-TRC Canada. *English Studies in Canada*, 43(2-3), 69-90. doi:doi:10.1353/esc.2017.0022
- Hanson, E. (2009). *The Indian Act*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Indigenous Foundations: https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/the_indian_act/
- Harris, C. (2004). How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(1), 165-182. Retrieved April 18, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3694073>
- Harris, C. (2008). Historical geography and early Canada: a life and an interpretation. *The Canadian Geographer*, 52, 409-426. doi:10.1111/j.1541-0064.2008.00222.x
- Harris, C. (2012). The Native land policies of Governor James Douglas. *BC Studies*(174), 101. Retrieved February 18, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A300721680/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=b32b794a>. Accessed 18 Feb. 2020.
- Hautala, D., & Sittner, K. (2019). Longitudinal Mechanisms Linking Perceived Racial Discrimination to Aggressive Delinquency among North American Indigenous Youth. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 56(5), 694-735. doi:10.1177/0022427819834331
- Head, B. W., & Alford, J. (2015). Wicked Problems: Implications for Public Policy and Management. *Administration & Society*, 47(6), 711-739. doi:10.1177/0095399713481601
- Held, M. B. (2019). Decolonizing Research Paradigms in the Context of Settler Colonialism: An Unsettling, Mutual, and Collaborative Effort. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 18, 1-16. doi:10.1177/1609406918821574
- Heritz, J. (2018). From self-determination to service delivery: Assessing Indigenous inclusion in municipal governance in Canada. *Canadian Public Administration*, 61(4), 596-615. doi:10.1111/capa.12277

- Holsinger, B. W. (2002). Medieval Studies, Postcolonial Studies, and the Genealogies of Critique. *Speculum*, 77(4), 1195-1227. doi:10.2307/3301217
- Hoogeveen, D. (2015). Sub-surface Property, Free-entry Mineral Staking and Settler Colonialism in Canada. *Antipode*, 47(1), 121-138. doi:10.1111/anti.12095
- Horvath, R. J. (1972). A Definition of Colonialism. *Current Anthropology*, 13(1), 45-57. Retrieved June 12, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/2741072
- Hotte, N., Nelson, H., Hawkins, T., Wyatt, S., & Kozak, R. (2018). Maintaining accountability between levels of governance in Indigenous economic development: Examples from British Columbia, Canada. *Canadian Public Administration*, 61(4), 523-549. doi:10.1111/capa.12287
- Hunt, D. (2016). Nikiwian: Contesting Settler Colonial Archives through Indigenous Oral History. *Canadian Literature*(230-231), 25. Retrieved April 6, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A510652404/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=708ae7d>
- Hunter, A. (2003). *Electoral Insight – Aboriginal Participation in Elections*. Retrieved February 23, 2020, from Elections Canada: <https://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=eim/issue9&document=p6&lang=e>
- Hwilitsum First Nation. (2009). *Re-Submission of Certain Evidence of the Hwilitsum First Nation in the British Columbia Utilities Commission (BCUC) Reconsideration of the Interior to Lower Mainland (ILM) Transmission Project (Order No. F-21-09)*. Retrieved April 23, 2020, from BC Utilities Commission: https://www.bcuc.com/Documents/Proceedings/2009/DOC_23256_C1-11_REVISED%20Hwilitsum%20Evidence.pdf
- Idle No More. (2020). *Calls for Change*. Retrieved March 21, 2020, from Idle No More: http://www.idlenomore.ca/calls_for_change
- Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020). *Pathways to Collaboration: Introduction*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: <https://www.bcibic.ca/reports/pathways-to-collaboration/>
- International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. (2011). *IWGIA's Global Network*. Retrieved April 1, 2020, from International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs: <https://www.iwgia.org/en/network.html>

- International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. (2020). *About IWGIA*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs: <https://www.iwgia.org/en/about>
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2020a). *Canadian Inuit Food Security Map*. Retrieved April 1, 2020, from Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami: <https://www.itk.ca/nuluaq-mapping-project/itk-food-security-map-canada/>
- Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. (2020b). *Who We Are*. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami: <https://www.itk.ca/national-voice-for-communities-in-the-canadian-arctic/>
- Ishiguro, L. (2016). HISTORIES OF SETTLER COLONIALISM: Considering new currents. *BC Studies*(190), 5-13, 180. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1836867142?accountid=14846>
- Jackson, S. N. (2018). Golden Eagle rising – reconciliation, Indigenous resurgence, and a new beginning. *Journal of Global Ethics*, 14(2), 300-303. doi:10.1080/17449626.2018.1517818
- Jacobs, L. A. (2009). *Mapping the Legal Consciousness of First Nations Voters: Understanding Voting Rights Mobilization*. Retrieved June 7, 2020, from Elections Canada: https://www.elections.ca/res/rec/part/APRC/vot_rights/vot_rights_e.pdf
- Jewell, E., & Mosby, I. (2019, December 17). *Calls To Action Accountability: A Status Update On Reconciliation*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Yellowhead Institute: <https://yellowheadinstitute.org/2019/12/17/calls-to-action-accountability-a-status-update-on-reconciliation/>
- Johnstone, M. a. (2020). Shaping Canadian citizens: A historical study of Canadian multiculturalism and social work during the period from 1900 to 1999. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 29(1), 71-82. doi:10.1111/ijsw.12379
- Kepkiewicz, L., & Dale, B. (2019). Keeping ‘our’ land: property, agriculture and tensions between Indigenous and settler visions of food sovereignty in Canada. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 46(5), 983-1002. doi:10.1080/03066150.2018.1439929
- Kitching, G. T., Firestone, M., Schei, B., Wolfe, S., Bourgeois, C., O’Campo, P., . . . Smylie, J. (2019). Unmet health needs and discrimination by healthcare providers among an Indigenous population in Toronto, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Public Health*. doi:1-10. DOI:10.17269/s41997-019-00242-z

- Koggel, C. M. (2018). Epistemic injustice in a settler nation: Canada's history of erasing, silencing, marginalizing. *Journal of Global Ethics*, 14(2), 240-251. doi:10.1080/17449626.2018.1506996
- Kulchyski, P. (2015). Trail to Tears: Concerning Modern Treaties in Northern Canada. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 35(1), 69-81. Retrieved June 6, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1753235580?accountid=14846>
- Ladner, K. L., & McCrossan, M. (2014). Whose Shared History? *Labour*, 73, 200-202. Retrieved June 12, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/24244253
- Lamb, D., Yap, M., & Turk, M. (2018). Aboriginal/Non-Aboriginal Wage Gaps in Canada: Evidence from the 2011 National Household Survey. *Industrial Relations*, 73(2), 225-251. Retrieved June 22, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/2070895901?accountid=14846>
- Lashta, E., Berdahl, L., & Walker, R. (2016). Interpersonal contact and attitudes towards indigenous peoples in Canada's prairie cities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(7), 1466-4356. doi:10.1080/01419870.2015.1105989
- Law Society of British Columbia. (2020). *Why Reconciliation Matters*. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Law Society of British Columbia: <https://www.lawsociety.bc.ca/our-initiatives/truth-and-reconciliation/>
- Leeuw, S. d. (2017). Writing as righting: Truth and reconciliation, poetics, and new geographing in colonial Canada. *The Canadian Geographer*, 61(3), 306-318. doi:10.1111/cag.12395
- Lightfoot, S. (2015). Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment. *Native American and Indigenous Studies*, 2(1), 15-39. Retrieved March 23, 2020, from <https://www-muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/article/635816>
- Lloyd, C., Metzger, J., & Sutch, R. (2013). *Settler Economies in World History : Settler Economies in World History*. Leiden: BRILL.
- Longstaffe, M. (2017). Indigenous Women as Newspaper Representations: Violence and Action in 1960s Vancouver. *The Canadian Historical Review*, 98(2), 230-260. Retrieved April 5, 2020, from <https://www-muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/article/660138>

- Lux, M. K. (2010). Care for the 'Racially Careless': Indian Hospitals in the Canadian West, 1920–1950s. *The Canadian Historical Review*, 91(3), 407-434. doi:10.1353/can.2010.0018
- Lux, M. K. (2016). *Separate beds: a history of Indian hospitals in Canada, 1920s-1980s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Mahony, M., & Endfield, G. (2018). Climate and colonialism. *WIREs Climate Change*, 9(2), e510. doi:10.1002/wcc.510
- Mancke, E. (2019). The Age of Constitutionalism and the New Political History. *The Canadian Historical Review*, 100(4), 620-637. Retrieved June 16, 2020, from <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/742581>
- Marston, D. (2003). *The French-Indian War 1754-1760*. New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203484746
- Martin, B., Stewart, G., Watson, B. K., Silva, O. K., Teisina, J., Matapo, J., & Mika, C. (2020). Situating decolonization: An Indigenous dilemma. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 52(3), 312-321. doi:10.1080/00131857.2019.1652164
- Martin, L.-A. (2017). Anger and Reconciliation: A Very Brief History of Exhibiting Contemporary Indigenous Art in Canada. *Afterall: A Journal of Art, Context, & Enquiry*, 43(1), 102–115. doi:10.1086/692560
- Maul, D. (2019). *The International Labour Organization: 100 Years of Global Social Policy*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from International Labour Organization: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_725012.pdf
- McBride, S. (2003). Quiet Constitutionalism in Canada: The International Political Economy of Domestic Institutional Change. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 36(2), 251-273. Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/stable/3233246>
- McCrossan, M. (2018). Eviscerating Historic Treaties: Judicial Reasoning, Settler Colonialism, and 'Legal' Exercises of Exclusion. *Journal of Law and Society*, 45(4), 589-616. doi:10.1111/jols.12131
- McDonnell, M. (2015). Maintaining a Balance of Power: Michilimackinac, the Anishinaabe Odawas, and the Anglo-Indian War of 1763. *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 13(1), 38-79. doi:10.1353/eam.2015.0001
- McGill, S. A. (2017). *History of Early Canada*. Toldeo, Ohio: Great Neck Publishing. Retrieved June 7, 2020, from

<http://ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=prh&AN=17908486&site=ehost-live&scope=site>

- McGuire, M. C., & Denis, J. S. (2020). Unsettling pathways: how some settlers come to seek reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 9(4), 505-524. doi:10.1080/2201473X.2019.1598701
- McKegney, S. (2013). "Pain, pleasure, shame. Shame": Masculine embodiment, kinship, and indigenous reterritorialization. *Canadian Literature*(216). Retrieved June 6, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A350337070/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=5dd9e958>
- McNeil, K. (2008). Negotiated Sovereignty: Indian Treaties and the Acquisition of American and Canadian Territorial Rights in the Pacific Northwest. In A. Harmon, & J. Borrows, *The Power of Promises : Rethinking Indian Treaties in The Pacific Northwest* (pp. 35-85). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Métis Nation British Columbia. (2020a). *About MNBC*. Retrieved March 30, 2020, from Métis Nation British Columbia: <https://www.mnbc.ca/about>
- Métis National Council. (2013, October). *Métis Nation Commemorates the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Proclamation of 1763*. Retrieved June 16, 2020, from Métis National Council: <https://www.metisnation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/MNC-Press-Release-Royal-Proclamation-october-7-2013.pdf>
- Métis National Council. (2020a). *Métis National Council*. Retrieved March 30, 2020, from Métis National Council: <https://www.metisnation.ca/index.php/who-are-the-metis/mnc>
- Métis National Council. (2020b). *The Métis Nation*. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from Métis National Council: <https://www.metisnation.ca/index.php/who-are-the-metis>
- Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat. (2020). *Two-Eyed Seeing*. Retrieved April 27, 2020, from Mi'gmawei Mawiomi Secretariat: <https://www.migmawei.ca/two-eyed-seeing/>
- Millington, R., Giles, A. R., Hayhurst, L. M., Luijk, N. v., & McSweeney, M. (2019). 'Calling out' corporate redwashing: the extractives industry, corporate social responsibility and sport for development in indigenous communities in Canada. *Sport in Society*, 22(12), 2122-2140. doi:10.1080/17430437.2019.1567494
- Mills, A. (2016). The lifeworlds of law: on revitalizing indigenous legal orders today. *McGill Law Journal*, 61(4), 847-884. Retrieved June 25, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A477991942/LT?u=uvictoria&sid=LT&xid=bc7ee724>

- Morden, M. (2016). Theorizing the resilience of the Indian Act. *Canadian Public Administration*, 59(1), 113-133. doi:10.1111/capa.12162
- Morgan, V. S., Castleden, H., & Huu-ay-aht. (2018). "This Is Going to Affect Our Lives": Exploring Huu-ay-aht First Nations, the Government of Canada and British Columbia's New Relationship Through the Implementation of the Maa-nulth Treaty. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 33(3), 309-334. doi:10.1017/cls.2018.23
- Morris, M. J. (1995). Overcoming the Barricades: The Crisis at Oka as a Case Study in Political Communication. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 30(2), 74-90. Retrieved February 22, 2020, from <https://muse-jhu-edu.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/article/673076/pdf>
- Motz, T., & Currie, C. (2019). Racially-motivated housing discrimination experienced by Indigenous postsecondary students in Canada: impacts on PTSD symptomology and perceptions of university stress. *Public Health*. doi:10.1016/j.puhe.2018.12.011
- Mullin, M. (1993). Personal Politics: William Johnson and the Mohawks. *American Indian Quarterly*, 17(3), 350-358. doi:10.2307/1184878
- Municipal-Aboriginal Adjacent Community Cooperation Project. (2002). *Partnerships in Practice: Case Studies in Municipal and First Nations' Economic Development Cooperation*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities: <https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Library/Policy~Topics/First~Nations~Relations/Relationship~Building~and~Dispute~Resolution~Resources/Partnerships%20in%20Practice%202002.pdf>
- Nagy, R. (2014). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Genesis and Design. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 29(2), 199-217. Retrieved June 9 2020, from <https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/551210>
- National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. (2019). *Executive Summary of The Final Report*. Retrieved October 26, 2019, from National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls: https://www.mmiwg-ffada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Executive_Summary.pdf
- Native Women's Association of Canada. (2018). *The Indian Act Said What?* Retrieved February 22, 2020, from Native Women's Association of Canada: <https://www.nwac.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/The-Indian-Act-Said-WHAT-pdf-1.pdf>
- Nelles, J., & Alcantara, C. (2014). Explaining the Emergence of Indigenous-Local Intergovernmental Relations in Settler Societies: A Theoretical Framework. *Urban Affairs Review*, 50(5), 599-622. doi:10.1177/1078087413501638

- Nemtin Consultants Limited. (2004). *Communities in Cooperation: A Guide to Alternative Dispute Resolution for First Nations & Local Governments in BC*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:
<https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Library/Policy~Topics/First~Nations~Relations/Relationship~Building~and~Dispute~Resolution~Resources/Communities%20in%20Cooperation%20Guide%202004.pdf>
- Nester, W. R. (2000). *The First Global War 1756-1775: Britain, France and the Fate of North America*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, Incorporated.
- Neylan, S. (2013). Colonialism and Resettling British Columbia: Canadian Aboriginal Historiography, 1992–2012. *History Compass*, 11(10), 833-844. doi:10.1111/hic3.12084
- Nijhawan, M., Winland, D., & Wüstenberg, J. (2018). Introduction: contesting memory and citizenship in Canada. *Citizenship Studies*, 22(4), 345–357. doi:10.1080/13621025.2018.1462506
- Ninomiya, M. E., & Pollock, N. J. (2017). Reconciling community-based Indigenous research and academic practices: Knowing principles is not always enough. *Social Science & Medicine*, 172, 28-36. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.11.007
- Nkrumah, K. (1965). *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from Marxists Internet Archive:
<https://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nkrumah/neo-colonialism/introduction.htm>
- Nunn, N., & Qian, N. (2010). The Columbian Exchange: A History of Disease, Food, and Ideas. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 24(2), 163-188. Retrieved January 15, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25703506>
- Nuxalk Nation. (2020). *Environment*. Retrieved August 1, 2020, from Nuxalk Nation:
<https://nuxalknation.ca/community/environment/>
- O'Byrne, N. C. (2007). "A rather vexed question ...": the federal-provincial debate over the constitutional responsibility for Metis scrip. *Review of Constitutional Studies*, 12(2), 215-253. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A208336591/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=a61252bd>
- Office of The Wet'suwet'en. (2020). *Pipelines in Wet'suwet'en Traditional Territory*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from Office of The Wet'suwet'en:
<http://www.wetsuweten.com/territory/pipelines/>

- Ojha, A. (2003). Trail of Tears: Looking At Indigenous History of Canada (17th to 19th Centuries). *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 64, 1272-1280. Retrieved February 17, 2020, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44145555>
- Okanagan Indian Band. (2020). *Our History*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Okanagan Indian Band: <https://okib.ca/about-us/our-history>
- Ontario Arts Council. (2020). *Indigenous Culture Fund*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Ontario Arts Council: <https://www.arts.on.ca/grants/activity/discontinued/indigenous-culture-fund>
- Orelus, P. W., & Chomsky, N. (2014). Third World Countries Under Western Siege: Noam Chomsky and Pierre Orelus in Dialogue. *Counterpoints*, 458, 97-106. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/42982200
- Palmer, L. (2006). 'Nature', Place and the Recognition of Indigenous Polities. *Australian Geographer*, 37(1), 33-43. doi:10.1080/00049180500511954
- Parmenter, J. W. (1997). Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766. *Ethnohistory*, 44(4), 617-654. doi:10.2307/482883
- Perlovsky, L. (2009). Language and emotions: Emotional Sapir–Whorf hypothesis. *Neural Networks*, 22(5-6), 518–526. doi:10.1016/j.neunet.2009.06.034
- Podruchny, C., Gleach, F. W., & Roulette, R. (2010). Putting Up Poles: Power, Navigation, and Cultural Mixing in the Fur Trade. In C. Podruchny, & L. Peers (Eds.), *Gathering places : Aboriginal and fur trade histories*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Poundmaker Cree Nation. (2020). *About Poundmaker Cree Nation*. Retrieved March 31, 2020, from Poundmaker Cree Nation: <http://www.poundmakercn.ca/about.html>
- R. v. Badger, 1 SCR 771 (SCC April 3, 1996). Retrieved February 22, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/1frbp>
- R. v. Powley, 2 SCR 207 (SCC 2003). Retrieved March 22, 2020, from <http://canlii.ca/t/51pd>
- R. v. Sparrow, 1 SCR 1075 (SCC May 31, 1990). Retrieved January 18, 2020, from <https://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/609/index.do>
- Raynauld, V. (2018). Canada is #IdleNoMore: exploring dynamics of Indigenous political and civic protest in the Twitterverse. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(4), 626-642. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301522

- Regional District of Mount Waddington. (2010). *North Island Regional Protocol Agreement (Mount Waddington Region)*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Village of Port Alice: <https://portalice.ca/wp-content/uploads/North-Island-Regional-Protocol-Agreement.pdf>
- Reid, J. (2010). The Doctrine of Discovery and Canadian Law. *Journal of Native Studies*, 30(2), 335-359. Retrieved June 6, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1009079324?accountid=14846>
- Renner, J. (2014). The Local Roots of the Global Politics of Reconciliation: The Articulation of ‘Reconciliation’ as an Empty Universal in the South African Transition to Democracy. *Millennium*, 42(2), 263–285. doi:10.1177/0305829813511865
- Repin, N. (2012). Somewhere Beyond The Barricade: Explaining Indigenous Protest in Canada. *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 32(1), 143-171. Retrieved April 11, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1285471725?accountid=14846>
- Roache, T. (2019, December 23). *Cultural resilience, colonialism and challenges for Indigenous journalism*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from Aboriginal Peoples Television Network: <https://aptnnews.ca/2019/12/23/cultural-resilience-colonialism-and-challenges-for-indigenous-journalism/>
- Robinson, A. M. (2020). Governments must not wait on courts to implement UNDRIP rights concerning Indigenous sacred sites: lessons from Canada and *Ktunaxa Nation v. British Columbia*. *The International Journal of Human Rights*. doi:10.1080/13642987.2020.1747441
- Rollo, T. (2014). Mandates of the state: Canadian sovereignty, democracy, and indigenous claims. *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 27(1). Retrieved June 25, 2020, from <https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/apps/doc/A360795929/CPI?u=uvictoria&sid=CPI&xid=7eaa5d509>
- Romaniuk, S. N., & Wasylciw, J. K. (2014). Canada’s Evolving Crown: From a British Crown to a “Crown of Maples”. *American, British and Canadian Studies*, 23(1), 108-125. doi:10.1515/abcsj-2014-0030
- Romney, P. (1999). Provincial Equality, Special Status and the Compact Theory of Canadian Confederation. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 32(1), 21-39. doi:10.1017/S0008423900010088

- Ross, A., Dion, J., Cantinotti, M., Collin-Vézina, D., & Paquette, L. (2015). Impact of residential schooling and of child abuse on substance use problem in Indigenous Peoples. *Addictive Behaviors, 51*, 184–192. doi:10.1016/j.addbeh.2015.07.014
- Rotz, S. (2017). ‘They took our beads, it was a fair trade, get over it’: Settler colonial logics, racial hierarchies and material dominance in Canadian agriculture. *Geoforum, 82*, 158-169. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.04.010
- Rowe, A. C., & Tuck, E. (2017). Settler Colonialism and Cultural Studies: Ongoing Settlement, Cultural Production, and Resistance. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies, 17*(1), 3–13. doi:10.1177/1532708616653693
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Scia'new First Nation. (2016). *Boundary Change in Langford, Metchosin, and Beecher Bay*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Scia'new First Nation (Beecher Bay): <http://beecherbay.ca/news/boundary-change-in-langford-metchosin-and-beecher-bay>
- Scott, X. (2018). Repairing broken relations by repairing broken treaties: Theorizing post-colonial states in settler colonies. *Studies in Social Justice, 12*(2), 388-405. doi:10.26522/ssj.v12i2.1697
- Short, D. (2005). Reconciliation and the Problem of Internal Colonialism. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 26*(3), 267-282. doi:10.1080/07256860500153534
- Smiley, D. V. (1962). The Rowell-Sirois Report, Provincial Autonomy, and Post-War Canadian Federalism. *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 28*(1), 54-69. Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/139263>
- Smith, J. A., & Mitchell, T. L. (2020). Development of an UNDRIP Compliance Assessment Tool: How a Performance Framework Could Improve State Compliance. *The International Indigenous Policy Journal, 11*(2). doi:10.18584/iipj.2020.11.2.10713
- Songhees Nation. (2020). *March 23: Statement from Songhees Nation Leadership*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Songhees Nation: <https://www.songheesnation.ca/news/march-23-statement-from-songhees-nation-leadership>
- Stanley, T. (2016). John A. Macdonald, “the Chinese” and Racist State Formation in Canada. *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry, 3*(1). doi:10.24908/jcri.v3i1.5974
- Strachan, J., & Nickleson, P. (2018). Doing Long Work: Critical Perspectives on Indigenous-Settler Collaboration in Canadian Art Music. *University of Toronto Quarterly, 87*(4), 83-101. doi:10.3138/utq.87.4.10

- Strupinskienė, L. (2017). "What is reconciliation and are we there yet?" Different types and levels of reconciliation: A case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Human Rights, 16*(4), 452-472. doi:10.1080/14754835.2016.1197771
- Stz'uminus First Nation. (2020). *Governance*. Retrieved August 23, 2020, from Stz'uminus First Nation: <https://www.stzuminus.com/>
- Te'Mexw Treaty Association. (2020). *The Lead Up To The Douglas Treaties*. Retrieved June 18, 2020, from Te'Mexw Treaty Association: <https://temexw.org/moderntreaties/douglas-treaties/>
- Temper, L. (2019). Blocking pipelines, unsettling environmental justice: from rights of nature to responsibility to territory. *Local Environment: The International Journal of Justice and Sustainability, 24*(2), 94-112. doi:10.1080/13549839.2018.1536698
- Todorova, M. (2016). Co-created learning: Decolonizing journalism education in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication, 41*(4), 673-692. doi:10.22230/cjc.2016v41n4a2970
- Trans Mountain. (2020). *Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from Trans Mountain: <https://www.transmountain.com/indigenous-peoples>
- Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion. (2018, April 30). *Signatory Nations*. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from Treaty Alliance Against Tar Sands Expansion: <http://www.treatyalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/TAATSE-SignatoryNations-EN-R12-20180430-OL.pdf>
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015a). *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1 Origins to 1939*. Retrieved June 7, 2020, from Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Volume_1_History_Part_1_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015b). *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015c). *What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation*. Retrieved January 11, 2020, from Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: http://nctr.ca/assets/reports/Final%20Reports/Principles_English_Web.pdf

- Tsleil-Waututh Nation. (2020). *Our Story*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from Tsleil-Waututh Nation: <https://twnation.ca/our-story/>
- Tsleil-Waututh Nation v. Canada (Attorney General), 2018 FCA 153 (FCA August 30, 2018). Retrieved February 20, 2020, from <https://www.canlii.org/en/ca/fca/doc/2018/2018fca153/2018fca153.html?searchUrlHash=AAAAAQyVHNsZWlsLVdhXR1dGggTmF0aW9uIHYuIENhbmFkYSAoQXR0b3JuZXkgR2VuZXJhbCkAAAAAAQ&resultIndex=1>
- Tsleil-Waututh Nation, District of North Vancouver. (2007). *Co-operation Protocol Between the Tsleil-Waututh Nation and the District of North Vancouver*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from Civic Info BC: https://www.civicinfo.bc.ca/Library/First_Nations_Service_Agreements/Cooperation_Protocol_Agreement--Dnv_and_TsleilWaututh_Nation--2007.pdf
- Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. (2010). *Mandate*. Retrieved March 22, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs: <https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/mandate>
- Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. (2016, September 22). *First Nations and Tribes Sign New Treaty Joining Forces To Stop All Tar Sands Pipelines*. Retrieved February 29, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs: <https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/tarsandstreaty>
- Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. (2020a). *Historical Timeline*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs: <https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/timeline>
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2005). *Building Relations with First Nations: A Handbook for Local Governments*. Retrieved May 2, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities: <https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/library/Policy~Topics/First~Nations~Relations/Relationship~Building~and~Dispute~Resolution~Resources/Building%20Relations%20with%20First%20Nations%20handbook%202nd%20ed%20Feb%202005.pdf>
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2009). *Community to Community Forum Program Status Report 1999-2009*. Retrieved June 28, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities: <https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Funding~Programs/LGPS/C2C/c2c-report-2009.pdf>
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2018, September). *Memorandum of Understanding Between The Province of British Columbia and The Union of British Columbia Municipalities on Engagement with UBCM and Local Governments on Treaty Agreements, Non-Treaty Agreements and Indigenous Initiatives*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:

https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions~and~Policy/Policy/First~Nations~Relations/2018_ubcm_mou_signed.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2020). *Communities Reconciling*. Retrieved July 10, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:

<https://www.ubcm.ca/EN/main/resolutions/policy-areas/first-nations-relations/reconciliation-relationships/communities-reconciling.html>

Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2020a). *Community to Community Forum*. Retrieved April 17, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:

<https://www.ubcm.ca/EN/main/funding/lgps/community-to-community-forum.html>

Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2020b). *Okanagan Indian Band - City of Vernon*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:

https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions~and~Policy/Policy/Vernon_OKIB_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities. (2020c). *Policy Documents & Initiatives*. Retrieved April 17, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Municipalities:

<https://www.ubcm.ca/EN/main/resolutions/policy-areas/first-nations-relations/current-policy-initiatives/policy-documents-initiatives.html>

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020a). *Beecher Bay First Nation - District of Metchosin - City of Langford*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/BeecherBay_Metchosin_Langford_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020b). *Katzie First Nation - The City of Pitt Meadows*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/UBCM-PATHWAYS_Katzie_PittMeadows.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020c). *Kitselas First Nation - City of Terrace*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/UBCM-PATHWAYS_Kitselas_Terrace.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020d). *Lil'wat Nation - The Village of Pemberton*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment

Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Lilwat_Pemberton_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020e). *Northern Secwepemc Te Qelmucw, Tsilhqot'in and Southern Carrier / Dakehl First Nations - Cariboo Regional District*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/UBCM-PATHWAYS_NsTQ_Cariboo.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020f). *Northern St'at'imc - District of Lillooet - Squamish Lillooet Regional District*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/NorthernStatimc_Lillooet_SLRD_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020g). *Shuswap First Nation - The District of Invermere*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Shuswap_Invermere_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020h). *Snuneymuxw First Nation - City of Nanaimo*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions~and~Policy/Policy/UBCM-PATHWAYS_Snuneymuxw_Nanaimo.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020i). *Squamish Nation - The District of Squamish*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/UBCM-PATHWAYS_Squamish_Squamish.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020j). *Stz'uminus First Nation - Town of Ladysmith*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Ladysmith_Stzuminus_20190909.pdf

Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020k). *Tk'emlúps te*

- Secwépmc - The City of Kamloops*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/UBCM-PATHWAYS_Tkemlups_Kamloops.pdf
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020l). *Tla-o-qui-aht - Yuulu?il?ath - District of Ucluelet - District of Tofino*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Tla-o-qui-aht_Yuu%C5%82u%CA%94i%C5%82%CA%94ath_Ucluelet_Tofino_20190909.pdf
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020m). *Tla'amin Nation - City of Powell River - qathet Regional District*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Tlaamin_PowellRiver_20190909.pdf
- Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council. (2020n). *'Namgis First Nation - The Village of Alert Bay*. Retrieved July 4, 2020, from Indigenous Business and Investment Council: https://www.bcibic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/AlertBay_Namgis_20190909.pdf
- Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs. (2020b). *#AllEyesonWetsuweten: RCMP Violently Remove Wet'suwet'en from their Territories while BC and Canada Stand By*. Retrieved June 12, 2020, from Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs: https://www.ubcic.bc.ca/alleyesonwetsuweten_rcmp_violently_remove_wet_suwet_en
- Uni'stot'en Camp. (2020). *Background of the Campaign*. Retrieved April 12, 2020, from Uni'stot'en Camp: <https://unistoten.camp/no-pipelines/background-of-the-campaign/>
- United Nations. (1960). *Resolution 1514*. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from United Nations: [https://www.undocs.org/A/res/1514\(XV\)](https://www.undocs.org/A/res/1514(XV))
- United Nations. (2007, September 13). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved January 4, 2020, from United Nations: https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf
- United Nations. (2020a). *Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices Factsheet*. Retrieved June 13, 2020, from United Nations: https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/5session_factsheet1.pdf

- United Nations. (2020b). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. Retrieved February 23, 2020, from United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs: <https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/declaration-on-the-rights-of-indigenous-peoples.html>
- Village of Lumby. (2018). *Lumby and Splotsin sign Protocol Agreement*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Village of Lumby: <https://lumby.ca/content/lumby-and-splotsin-sign-protocol-agreement>
- Village of Lumby. (2020). *Monashee Community Forest*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from Village of Lumby: <https://lumby.ca/content/mcf>
- Ward, M. C. (2012). Understanding Native American Alliances. In M. H. Danley, & P. J. Speelman, *The Seven Years' War : Global Views* (pp. 47-72). BRILL.
- Water Canada. (2012). *Don't Drink the Water*. Retrieved June 20, 2020, from Water Canada: <https://www.watercanada.net/feature/dont-drink-the-water/>
- Webber, J. (2016). We Are Still in the Age of Encounter: Section 35 and a Canada Beyond Sovereignty. In P. Macklem, & D. Sanderson, *From Recognition to Reconciliation : Essays on the Constitutional Entrenchment of Aboriginal and Treaty Rights* (pp. 63-99). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Webster, D. (2017). Truth and reconciliation in Southeast Asia and the Melanesian Pacific: Potential Canadian contributions and potential lessons for Canada. *International Journal*, 72(1), 120-130. doi:10.1177/0020702017695215
- Welch, S. (2019). *The phenomenology of a performative knowledge system: Dancing with native american epistemology* (1st ed.). Cham: Springer International Publishing. doi:10.1007/978-3-030-04936-2
- Whitehouse, D. (1994). The Numbered Treaties: Similar Means to Dichotomous Ends. *Past Imperfect*, 3, 25-45. doi:10.21971/P73S39
- Whyte, J. D. (1974). The Lavell Case and Equality in Canada. *Queen's Quarterly*, 81(1), 28-42. Retrieved June 18, 2020, from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/docview/1296883491?accountid=14846>
- Whyte, K. P. (2018). On resilient parasitisms, or why I'm skeptical of Indigenous/settler reconciliation. *Journal of Global Ethics*, 14(2), 277-289. doi:10.1080/17449626.2018.1516693

- Wilson, J., & Nelson-Moody (Tawx'sin Yexwulla), A. (2019). Looking Back to the Potlatch as a Guide to Truth, Reconciliation, and Transformative Learning. *Teaching and Learning*, 2019(157), 43-57. doi:10.1002/tl.20329
- Wilson-Raybould, J., & Raybould, T. (2014). *Governance Toolkit*. Retrieved April 5, 2020, from British Columbia Assembly of First Nations: <https://www.bcafn.ca/about-bcafn/leadership/governance-toolkit>
- Wood, P. B., & Rossiter, D. A. (2011). Unstable properties: British Columbia, aboriginal title, and the “new relationship”. *The Canadian Geographer*, 55(4), 407-425. doi:10.1111/j.1541-0064.2011.00366.x
- Woolford, A., & Benvenuto, J. (2015). Canada and colonial genocide. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 17(4), 373-390. doi:10.1080/14623528.2015.1096580
- World Health Organization. (2020, March 11). *WHO Director-General's opening remarks at the media briefing on COVID-19 - 11 March 2020*. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/dg/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020>
- ʔaqam. (2015). *ʔaqam and City of Kimberley sign MOU*. Retrieved July 9, 2020, from ʔaqam: <https://www.aqam.net/news/%CA%94aq%CC%93am-and-city-kimberley-sign-mou>

Appendices

9.1 Appendix A: Jurisdictional Scan of Local Government Action Examples

Case Study	Communication			Services and Programming				Development and Planning		
	Protocol Agreements	Formalized Meetings or Forums	Formal Acts of Recognition, Acknowledgement or Awareness	Service Agreements	Parks and Recreation Agreements	Shared Tourism or Agriculture Arrangements	Direct Program Funding and Grants	Resource Management Partnerships	Land Use Planning	Joint Economic Development Initiatives
'Namgis First Nation and the Village of Alert Bay (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020n)	yes		yes	yes		yes			yes	yes
?Akisq'Nuk First Nation and the Regional District of East Kootenay (Civic Info BC, 2019)				yes						

<p>Ahousaht First Nation, Hesquiaht First Nation, Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation, Toquaht First Nation, Yuułu?il?ath (Ucluelet) First Nation, and the District of Tofino (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 12-13; District of Tofino, 2018)</p>	yes	yes	yes			yes			yes	
<p>Boston Bar First Nation, Cook's Ferry Indian Band, Village of Lytton, Lytton First Nation, Spences Bridge, Siska Indian Band and the Fraser Valley Regional District (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 16-17)</p>		yes	yes			yes	yes			yes

<p>Cowichan Tribes (Kw'amutsun, Qwum'yiquun, Hwulqwselu, S'amuna', L'uml'umults, Hinupsum, Tl'ulpalus), the City of Duncan, the Cowichan Valley Regional District, and the District of North Cowichan (Cowichan Valley Regional District, 2010)</p>	yes		yes	yes				yes	yes	
<p>Fort Nelson First Nation, Town of Fort Nelson, and Northern Rockies Regional District (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 11)</p>	yes	yes	yes							

<p>Hupačasath First Nation and the City of Port Alberni (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 8-9)</p>			yes	yes		yes		yes		
<p>Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc (Kamloops Indian Band) and the City of Kamloops (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020k; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, pp. 15,31)</p>	yes	yes	yes	yes					yes	yes

<p>K'ómoks First Nation, Comox Valley Regional District, City of Courtney, Town of Comox, and the Village of Cumberland (Comox Valley Regional District, 2010; Comox Valley Regional District, 2018)</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p>yes</p>	<p></p>	<p></p>
<p>Katzie First Nation and the City of Pitt Meadows (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020b)</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>

Kitselas First Nation and the City of Terrace (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020c)	yes	yes	yes						yes	yes
---	-----	-----	-----	--	--	--	--	--	-----	-----

<p>Kwakiutl First Nation, 'Namgis First Nation, Da'naxda'x w / Awaetlala First Nations, Kwik'wastut inuxw Haxwamis First Nations, Gwa'sala- Nakwaxda'x w Nation, Quatsino First Nation, Tlatlasikwal a First Nation, the Regional District of Mount Waddington, the District of Port Hardy, the Town of Port McNeill, the Village of Port Alice and the Village of Alert Bay (Regional District of Mount Waddington, 2010; District of Port Hardy, 2020)</p>	<p>yes</p>		<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>						
--	------------	--	------------	------------	--	--	--	--	--	--

Lake Babine Nation and the Village of Burns Lake (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 10-11)		yes	yes	yes						yes
Ləkʷəŋən (Songhees) Nation, Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nation, and the City of Victoria (City of Victoria, 2020a; City of Victoria, 2020b)		yes	yes						yes	

<p>Lakwəŋən (Songhees) Nation, Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nation, W JOLELP (Tsartlip) Nation, BOKÉCEN (Pauquachin) Nation, STÁUTW (Tsawout) Nation, W SIKEM (Tseycum) Nation, MÁLEXEL (Malahat) Nation, Sc'ianew (Beecher Bay) Nation, T'Sou-ke, Pacheedaht Pune'laxutth ' (Penelakut) Nation, and the Capital Regional District (Alderhill Planning Inc., 2019)</p>		yes	yes							
<p>Lhtako Dene Nation and the City of Quesnel (City of Quesnel, 2019; City of Quesnel, 2017)</p>	yes	yes	yes		yes				yes	

Lheidli T'enneh First Nation, the City of Prince George, and the Regional District of Fraser-Fort George (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 10-12)	yes	yes	yes						yes	
Lil'wat Nation and the Village of Pemberton (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020d)	yes	yes	yes	yes						yes
Lyackson First Nation and Islands Trust Council (Union of British Columbia Municipalities)	yes	yes	yes						yes	

es, 2005, p. 14)										
Matsqui First Nation and the City of Abbotsford (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 25)					yes					
Metlakatla First Nation, Lax Kw'alaams First Nation, and the City of Prince Rupert (City of Prince Rupert, 2019)	yes	yes	yes							
x ^w məθk ^w əyəm (Musqueam) First Nation, Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish) First Nation, Tsleil-Waututh First Nation (Burrard Indian Band), and the City of	yes	yes	yes							

<p>Vancouver (City of Vancouver, 2020; City of Vancouver, 2014)</p>										
<p>Northern Secwepemc Te Qelmuw, Tsilhqot'in, Southern Dakehl (Carrier) First Nations, and the Cariboo Regional District (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020e)</p>										<p>yes</p>

<p>Northern St'at'imic, District of Lillooet, and the Squamish Lillooet Regional District District (Union of British Columbia Municipaliti es, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020f)</p>	yes	yes	yes			yes			yes	
<p>Nuxalk Nation, Heiltsuk Tribal Council, and the Central Coast Regional District (Cornerstone Planning Group, 2006, pp. 13-15)</p>		yes	yes	yes				yes	yes	

<p>Okanagan Indian Band and the City of Vernon (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2020b; Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 14-15)</p>	yes	yes	yes	yes		yes			yes	yes
<p>Penticton Indian Band and the City of Penticton (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 17)</p>	yes		yes							
<p>Scia'new (Beecher Bay) Nation, District of Metchosin, and the City of Langford (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous</p>			yes	yes					yes	yes

Business and Investment Council, 2020a; Scia'new First Nation, 2016)										
Shísháhlh Nation (Sechelt Indian Band) and the Sunshine Coast Regional District (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 39)		yes	yes	yes				yes		
Shuswap First Nation and the District of Invermere (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British	yes	yes	yes							yes

Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020g)										
Snuneymuxw First Nation and the City of Nanaimo (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020h)	yes		yes	yes		yes				yes
Splatin First Nation and the Village of Lumby (Village of Lumby, 2020; Village of Lumby, 2018)	yes	yes	yes					yes	yes	yes

Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish) First Nation and the District of Squamish (Union of British Columbia Municipali- ties, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020i)	yes		yes					yes		yes
Stz'uminus First Nation and the Town of Ladysmith (Union of British Columbia Municipali- ties, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020j)	yes		yes	yes		yes	yes		yes	yes

<p>T'exelc Nation (Williams Lake Indian Band), the City of Williams Lake, and the Cariboo Regional District (Cariboo Regional District; City of Williams Lake; T'exelc (Williams Lake Indian Band), 2016)</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>	<p>yes</p>							
<p>T'sou-ke Nation and the Capital Regional District (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 38)</p>			<p>yes</p>					<p>yes</p>		

<p>Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation communities , Yuulu?il?ath (Ucluelet) First Nation, District of Ucluelet, and the District of Tofino (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, & Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020)</p>	yes		yes			yes				yes
<p>Tla'amin Nation, the City of Powell River, and qathet Regional District (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, Government of British Columbia, First Nations Summit, &</p>	yes		yes			yes			yes	yes

Indigenous Business and Investment Council, 2020m)										
Tsleil-Waututh First Nation (Burrard Inlet Band) and the District of North Vancouver (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 27; Tsleil-Waututh Nation, District of North Vancouver, 2007)	yes		yes		yes					

Upper Similkameen Indian Band, the Town of Princeton and the Regional District of Okanagan-Similkameen (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 13-14)	yes	yes	yes					yes		
Westbank First Nation and the Regional District of Central Okanagan (Municipal-Aboriginal Adjacent Community Cooperation Project, 2002, p. 15)	yes		yes	yes						
West Moberly First Nations, Sauleau First Nation, McLeod Lake Indian Band, and the District of Chetwynd (Union of British		yes	yes						yes	

Columbia Municipalities, 2009, pp. 11-12)										
Xwémalkwu First Nation and the Regional District of Comox-Strathcona (Union of British Columbia Municipalities, 2005, p. 10)	yes		yes							