Deliberation and Diplomacy:

Statue Removals in Two Municipalities in Canada

by

Corie Kielbiski

B.A, The University of Victoria, 2019

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Department of Political Science

Deliberation and Diplomacy:
Statue Removals in Two Municipalities in Canada

by

Corie Kielbiski
B.A, The University of Victoria, 2019

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Matt James, (Department of Political Science)
Supervisor

Dr. Avigail Eisenberg, (Department of Political Science)
Departmental Member

Abstract

In what seems to be a nascent culture of accountability, advocates across Canada, and beyond, are rallying against commemorative symbols, namely statues, to demand systemic change. Increasingly, conversations about removing statues are not just focused on outcomes, whether or not statues should stay or go, but about process – who and in what ways communities should be included within decision making. Democratic deliberation is often imagined as the most fair and just approach to resolving conflict together: the principles of inclusion, equality, and publicity ostensibly ensure that all who wish to share their opinions are heard. However, there are scholars who challenge these assumptions by focusing on the ways that historical injustice has caused structural, procedural, and behavioural discrimination that impacts whose opinions are shared or valued. Thus, contemporary scholars are interested in how deliberation can be modified, particularly within an age of reconciliation, to rectify these inequitable barriers.

Because of where statues are situated, within municipal boundaries, it is local governments in Canada that are faced with addressing these complex questions. This research analyzes two distinct case studies of statue removals, the removal of the Edward Cornwallis monument in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the removal of the John A Macdonald monument in Victoria, British Columbia, to understand the impacts of each distinct deliberative processes. Considering the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action and the principle of self-determination, this thesis shows that deliberating with Indigenous nations and representatives demands a new approach to deliberation, one that I call diplomatic deliberation.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

I recognize, with respect, the traditional territories of the lək̓ʷəŋən and W̲SÁNEĆ nations where the writing and research of this thesis took place. I am deeply grateful for the opportunity to live and work on these lands. Although I discuss and weigh the merits and pitfalls of different deliberative and reconciliatory initiatives within this thesis, judgements about whether a reconciliatory strategy or deliberative relationship is meaningful will always belong to the nations and Indigenous representatives with whom these relationships are forged.

I am grateful to have been supported and encouraged by wonderful people throughout this thesis-writing process. This research would not have been possible without the enduring support of my Supervisor, Dr. Matt James. Anyone who knows Matt knows his penchant for grammar and clarity, his undeniable intelligence, and his passion for topics at the heart of this thesis. Matt was instrumental in guiding me through this work and I am extremely grateful for his enduring advice and helpful nudges. The expertise of Dr. Avigail Eisenberg has also been a tremendous help, especially with attempting to organize my ideas within the realm of democratic deliberation. Thank you, Avigail.

I am also grateful for the support that I have received from the University of Victoria and the Department of Political Science as well as the Social Sciences, Humanities and Research Council of Canada, which funded this research.

Special thanks also go to all my friends and family. Thank you to my mother, Sherry, who made me believe from a young age that anything was possible. It was this sentiment, along with your strong work ethic, that pushed me to complete this project. I also gratefully acknowledge my close friend and confident, Tayler. Thank you for all the venting sessions, for all your understanding that made me feel validated and heard and for continually dragging me away from the computer for much needed walks and nature time - all our discussions helped me more than you realize.

Most of all, I want to thank Jordan. Nothing I can say here can express the depth of my appreciation and love for all that you do and all that you are. I am continually inspired by your creativity and resolve, and I am forever grateful for your understanding, your patience, and your unwavering faith in me. Thank you, my love.

Chapter One

A Tipping Point: Deliberation and Commemoration in Halifax and Victoria

Increasingly, calls for racial justice and for reconciliation with Indigenous[1] communities have leveraged a growing movement that has dragged monuments[2] from relative imperceptibility into larger discussions of justice and reparation — discussions that, surprisingly, have been happening at the local level. Where these discussions are taking part is surprising because calls for redress and reconciliation are typically framed against the actions of the nation state. However, because statues are located within municipal boundaries, discussions about commemoration have propelled municipal governments into courageous and sometimes cowardly conversations of the politics of memory and 'truth' related to who and what monuments symbolize. Monuments are effectively being mobilized to demand communities begin to come to terms with historical and ongoing injustice and to demand that new political commitments, with distinct political communities, are made visible.

This thesis will utilize a comparative analysis of two case studies of monument removal controversies. These controversies are the removal of the Edward Cornwallis monument in Halifax, Nova Scotia on January 31, 2018, and the removal of the John A. Macdonald monument in Victoria, British Columbia on August 11, 2018. The central focus of this thesis will be on considering the process of removing each monument, specifically whose voices were heard, drawn from, respected, or given veto within the consultation and deliberation processes of each city. Using Iris Marion Young's theory of inclusion and democracy primarily, as well as insight

[1] In this chapter and throughout the following chapters I use the term "Indigenous" and "First Nations" interchangeably to refer to those, and the descendants of those, who were the first inhabitants of what is now known as Canada. I also refer to individual Indigenous nations such as Mi'kmaq, Esquimalt and Songhees.
[2] The terms "monument" and "statue" are used interchangeably within this thesis.

from literature related to monuments, reconciliation, municipal governance, and Indigenous settler relations, it is clear that deliberation with historically oppressed groups[3] gives rise to distinctive demands within democratic deliberation — because Indigenous communities are distinct, with different cultures, political traditions, histories and rights, there are further considerations to be made when deliberating with Indigenous communities that may even require a departure from the democratic and deliberative paradigm. The guiding question of this thesis is: What do these two controversial statue removals, and the attitudes and strategies of the respective municipalities that removed them, help us to understand about the distinctive policy considerations of commemorative controversies in municipalities?

In Halifax, after the failure of a 2016 motion to ask staff to prepare a report to engage the public about Cornwallis —who enacted the now infamous 'Scalping Order' in 1749, in which a bounty was paid for the scalps of Mi'kmaq men, women, and children — Poet Laureate Rebecca Thomas, a Mi'kmaq woman, and the first Indigenous person to hold that position, wrote a poem entitled "Not Perfect;" the poem described her frustration with the monument and the process of discussing Cornwallis at the local level.[4] Shamed by her words, a councillor brought the motion about the monument forward again in May, 2017 and Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) Council agreed to create an "expert panel" of ten people appointed jointly by HRM and by recommendations from the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs.[5] The HRM website called

[3] Bashir Bashir expertly condenses Iris Marion Young's (1990) definition of oppression to understand what makes a particular group oppressed; "people are oppressed when, by virtue of their membership to a particular social group they are vulnerable to the 'five faces of oppression': namely, exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, or violence." See Bashir Bashir, "Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 50-52.
[4] Jacob Boon, "Cornwallis Naming Debate Will Return to Council," *The Coast*, April 12, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-naming-debate-will-return-to-council/Content?oid=6895644.
[5] Jacob Boon, "Panel of Experts to Review use of Cornwallis Name," *The Coast*, April 26, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/panel-of-experts-to-review-use-of-cornwallis-name/Content?oid=7065268.

this a "ground-breaking committee and collaboration." [6] The committee was tasked with conducting its work in accordance with the mission of the municipality, remaining transparent, accessible, and truthful.[7] The HRM recommended that experts be drawn from the fields of history and commemoration, military history and Mi'kmaq history, with Indigenous and non-Indigenous community experience.[8] In addition, HRM staff suggested that the expert panel, later renamed a task force, could seek out other expert advice including "anthropologists, ethicists, psychologists, sociologists, landscape architects, urban designers and others." [9] The task force, which was essentially, a special advisory committee, aimed to engage the public about remembering Cornwallis through a series of consultation sessions open to anyone who wanted to participate; however, a few notable occurrences stopped the task force initially from reaching its goal.

During discussion about the task force, notably in July 2017, over 300 people gathered at the Cornwallis monument with the goal of pulling it down; after a rally and ceremony the monument was left standing and the city put a black tarp over the statue that was almost immediately pulled off by activists.[10] Additionally, citing that the process was taking too long, the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs announced in January 2018 that it was withdrawing from the process and demanded the monument be removed immediately.[11]

---

[6] Halifax, "Special Advisory Committee on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History - Terms of Reference, October 3, 2017, https://cdn.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/171003rc1414.pdf.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid, 7.
[10] Jacob Boon, "Cornwallis Tarp Already Removed," *The Coast*, July 15, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-tarp-already-removed/Content?oid=8406518.
[11] Alexander Quon, "Assembly of N.S. Mi'kmaq Chiefs Withdraws from Cornwallis Panel, Calls for Immediate Removal of Statue," *Global News*, January 26, 2018, https://globalnews.ca/news/3990363/assembly-of-n-s-mikmaq-chiefs-cornwallis.

Consequently, before the task force was officially formed, the HRM removed the Cornwallis monument because of safety concerns over rising tensions and further planned protests; the monument was taken down on January 31, 2018 and put into storage. In April 2020, the Task Force had made recommendations about what to do with the monument after several public consultations – namely, that it should be displayed in a municipal museum. In contrast, Victoria embarked on a more private, diplomatic-like, deliberative protocol.

In Victoria, the decision to remove the monument was reached by the City Family, a group established on the advice of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations in 2017, made up of Indigenous community members and city councillors (with always more Indigenous members than non-Indigenous), which utilized non-hierarchical and Indigenous-informed decision making to initiate conversations about reconciliation.[12] The City Family is part of the City of Victoria's Witness Reconciliation Program, where chiefs and council members from both the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations were brought together to provide guidance and oversight for the City Family in a Coast Salish method of coming together.[13] Mayor Lisa Helps explained that the process which the City of Victoria undertook to address meaningful reconciliation within the municipality was an uncomfortable and unconventional process; however, Helps also explained that from her perspective, reconciliation meant doing things differently and questioning traditional customs and routines.[14] In order to begin the process of what they were tasked to do – addressing the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Actions for municipalities and to foster healing and reconciliation within the municipality – the City Family recommended that the Macdonald

[12] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Lisa Helps, "Comment: Put Macdonald Statue's Future in a Deeper Context," Times Colonist, September 2, 2017, https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/comment-put-macdonald-statues-future-in-a-deeper-context-4653541.

statue, of Canada's first prime minister who is understood to be the architect of residential schools, be removed.[15]

Victoria City Council approved the motion on August 8, 2018 and the monument was dislodged from its pedestal and moved into storage in the early morning hours of August 11, 2018.[16] The decision was abrupt to all who had not been a part of the private meetings of the City Family throughout, what the City of Victoria's website called a year-long process of discussion and truth-sharing.[17] Disgruntled city councillors and members of the public, both locally and nationally, expressed outrage at the exclusive nature of the decision-making process to remove the monument. Mayor Lisa Helps even issued a public statement, apologizing for not consulting the wider public before approving the motion; however, Helps also reiterated that she still believed Council made the right decision.[18] Despite taking two different paths, both municipal approaches resulted in the removal of the colonial monuments in question; however, what the process by which these removals occurred reveals, in terms of the impact of the deliberative strategies and protocols of each case study, is what this thesis aims to understand.

Justification

Monuments are gaining increased attention within what seems like a nascent culture of accountability inspired by decolonial efforts, Black Lives Matter activists, and social justice

---

[15] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation.
[16] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," *The Tyee*, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[17] City of Victoria, "City Family Story," August 9, 2018, video, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Meeting.aspx?Id=01d75a84-7f5f-4294-9615-88864d0bd873&Agenda=Merged&lang=English.
[18] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation is a Learning Process for Us All," *Lisa Helps Victoria*, August 29, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/29/reconciliation-is-a-learning-process-for-us-all/.

advocates demanding racial justice, historical accountability, and an end to police brutality. Consequently, debates about monument removals in Canada and the United States have increasingly attracted the attention of white nationalist groups such as the "Proud Boys" as seen at Cornwallis protests in Halifax[19] and the "Soldiers of Odin" who were present at Macdonald's removal in Victoria.[20] Indeed, monument removals are a divisive issue that have sparked violence, racial tensions, and frustrations about historical and contemporary injustice. Therefore, questions of process — about who should be consulted and how decisions should be reached about what to do with these 'symbols of harm' — have become increasingly important to local governments. Both the Victoria and Halifax examples suggest that process is paramount, particularly because deliberation with Indigenous community members brings up complex process-related questions about decision making protocols, given that Indigenous communities are distinct political actors with their own laws and governance traditions. In addition, interactions between Indigenous and municipal governments in Canada are increasing because of land claims, self government negotiations and resurgence activities, densification in urban environments as well as calls for more Indigenous protocols and reconciliation at the local level. Further, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Calls to Action call specifically for collaboration and representation.[21]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's Calls to Action direct all levels of government in Canada to make change, in addition to several sections that speak directly to actions that should be undertaken at the local level and that arguably advocate for the

---

[19] Anjuli Patil, "Cornwallis Protest Held Amid Canada Day Celebrations," *CBC*, July 1, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-protest-chief-grizzly-mama-canada-day-1.4187445.
[20] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," *The Tyee*, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[21] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Calls to Action," 2015, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf.

advancement of a nation-to-nation relationship with Indigenous people.[22] Within the Calls to Action there are multiple sections that speak directly to working in "collaboration" with Indigenous people and representatives to accomplish diverse goals.[23] Recognizing Indigenous community members as more than stakeholders,[24] cooperators, or co-citizens within the same political community, but instead, policy collaborators and rights-holders, requires attention to historical injustice as well as meaningful relationship building. These initiatives, when taken seriously, may challenge legitimating principles of deliberative democracy such as inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity in favour of a more diplomatic-like relationship with Indigenous nations. Therefore, monument removals offer an understudied opportunity to engage with the process of deliberation and historical justice policy making at the local level, to assess who is included and on what terms, during the decision making process and to understand what the impacts of these decisions are.

To pursue these questions, we turn now to consider three particularly relevant scholarly literatures dealing, respectively, with statue removals, democratic engagement (including in policy making processes) and Indigenous-settler relations at the municipal level. This literature is interrelated in the sense that commemorative activities bring up process-related questions related to deliberation and policy. Because these discussions involve historically excluded groups, consideration within deliberation, such as how long-standing inequities are addressed, will also be weighed. Therefore, literature related to these three scholarly subjects will be invaluable to undertaking research of the process related events in both Halifax and Victoria.

---

[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] As explained in Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011).

Statue Removals

Monuments are material expressions of the past that convey varied messages of hope, power, and solidarity. Although the individuals that monuments depict are often long-dead, the actions and policies of colonial, imperial, and confederate figures continue to live on. Indeed, there are diverse expressions and even obligations that monuments have, in addition to being works of art, that demand critical attention. Although there is a dearth of literature related specifically to the deliberative and consultative process of monument removals, there is rich scholarship to draw upon about the political symbolism and narratives of monuments that will enrich my study of the deliberative protocols undertaken to address the commemoration of Macdonald and Cornwallis. In addition, recent events including the rogue removals of the Macdonald monument in Montreal and the Ryerson monument in Toronto will be touched upon to demonstrate the demand to remove these symbols and the political imperative to find meaningful solutions. Additionally, scholarship related to the 'place' of monuments generally will also be important to this thesis to further understand the political symbolism of monuments in urban geographies.

Traditionally, monuments have been used to legitimize state narratives of glory, heroism, and conquest. Heroic figures cast in stone have been mobilized to establish an official and singular version of state history and ideology, most notably across Europe. In the late 1940's the Soviet Union famously used monuments in a "relentlessly didactic" endeavor to encourage solidarity with revolutionary leaders and to celebrate the end of fascism.[25] As potent symbols of national ideology that connect people over a wide geographical area, scholars suggest that

[25] Beverley James, "Fencing in the Past: Budapest's Statue Park Museum," *Media, Culture & Society*, *21*(3), (1999), 291.

monuments express narratives of 'truth' that have authoritative albeit 'imagined' meaning.[26] Using Benedict Anderson's theory of "imagined communities" helps to understand that nations are constructed through symbols of collective unity and identity that signal a sense of belonging. Regardless of geographic distance, or pervasive inequalities nations are "imagined" as "horizontal comradeship" through national symbols and mythologies.[27] Osborne[28] and Sumartojo[29] also remark upon the role of monuments within a "geography of identity"[30] that is defined by the use of landscapes, place naming, commemorative events, national mythology, and dates that shape social connection and collective memory.[31] Further, Hobsbawm and Ranger's self-explanatory theory of "inventing tradition" [32] is particularly useful for understanding why the Cornwallis and Macdonald monuments were erected and what the arguments for keeping them in place are about. In essence, Hobsbawm and Ranger argue that "traditions" that seem or claim to be quite old can be recent in origin and sometimes invented.[33] The history of each of these monuments and the history of their commemoration will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

---

[26] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, Verso, 2006); Catherine E. Arthur, "Struggle, Suffering, and Symbols: Narratives of Nationalism and Representing Identity," in *Political Symbols and National Identity in Timor-Leste*, (Springer International Publishing, 2018) 1–33, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-98782-8 and Brian S. Osborne, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 39–77.
[27] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, Verso, 2006), 6.
[28] Brian S. Osborne, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place," *Canadian ethnic studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 39–77.
[29] Shanti Sumartojo, "Memorials and State Sponsored History," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, eds. Bevernage, Berber, Nico Wouters, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 450 doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6.
[30] Brian S. Osborne's term from "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place," *Canadian ethnic studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 39–77.
[31] Ibid, 2.
[32] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012)
[33] Ibid, 1.

In addition to narratives that have been recently and traditionally attached to these monuments, another dimension that adds meaning to these inanimate structures is their physical location within urban geographies. The spaces and places of prestige within urban landscapes that monuments occupy upholds authoritative legitimation. Cities in Canada are framed through colonial street names and architecture; monuments of heroicized national figures on display are another poignant method that reiterates the often-subliminal structure of settler colonialism.[34] They are, as historian Timothy Stanley contends, part of a "wallpaper of dominance" that is often invisible to settlers until rips in the wallpaper, when monuments are removed or challenged for example, become visible.[35] Additionally, urban centres in Canada are politically-charged geographies that largely invisibilize Indigenous and racialized presence.[36] While this is starting to change with Indigenous resurgence activities bringing Indigenous symbols and names back into urban centers, settler colonialism is largely built into city streets.[37] Further, the structure and site of monuments can be indicative of authoritative meaning.

The size and public grandeur of colonial monuments, often placed atop pedestals, columns, and platforms, attempts to uphold their symbolism as figures of public importance. Their locations, from outside city hall where the John A. Macdonald monument once stood in Victoria BC, or in a central park where the Edward Cornwallis monument was located in Halifax, also showcases the importance of these individuals in shaping policy, law, and culture. These locations also exemplify an authoritative historical significance that fails to provide nuance to the harm that these colonial figures have caused and that largely de-legitimizes other

[34] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.
[35] Timothy J. Stanley, "Commemorating John A Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia," *BC studies*, no. 204 (2020): 2.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid, 5.

memories as insignificant and potentially even divisive in contrast to the unifying symbolism of celebrated heroes. Further, the failure of most to notice these figures, despite their grandness, mimics the familiarity and perceived taken for grantedness of the urban framework of settler-colonialism. However, demographics within cities have been rapidly changing for decades, generally, reflecting far more multicultural and racialized communities whose presence has challenged the legitimacy of male, white, able-bodied figures as representative of the whole. People have also increasingly challenged the exclusionary and oppressive policies that these figures continue to represent.

In addition to representing colonial sovereignty, monuments are overwhelmingly male. *The New Statesman* in the U.K and the *Washington Post* in the U.S found that there is a staggering lack of statues to commemorate females — 86% and 92% of statues in their respective countries are of men.[38]Although it was not part of their analysis, there is also a lack of monuments to represent people of colour. If monuments are expressions of socially constructed discourses of belonging, nationalism, and community, then most monuments that are male and white can signal who belongs within a political community and who does not. It is no surprise then, because of the exclusionary nature of monument representations and their ability to outlast the political regimes that created them, that they can lose their imagined unifying principles.

Although statues are made of seemingly impenetrable materials, oftentimes bronze and other metals, the meaning of monuments, and other commemorative symbols for that matter, transforms depending on how people interact with them in differing social and political conditions. Social and cultural geographers Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu explain that, regardless of the power of political regimes to invent or control symbolic

[38] Katharina Bucholz, "Gap Between Male and Female Statues is Monumental," Statista, March 8, 2019, https://www.statista.com/chart/17299/number-of-public-statues-depicting-men-and-women-in-the-us-and-the-uk/.

infrastructure, its power is never absolute and the ability to erase the meaning and narratives of former regimes, by removing statues for example, may never be complete or accepted.[39] Rose-Redwood et al. argues that urban streetscapes, of which monuments are a part, are spaces where competing ideologies and histories collide and that it is at the "intersections of different temporal worlds that the political life of urban streetscapes unfolds." [40] In other words, monuments are symbolic depositories where people attach competing narratives of memory or history, and contestations can take place that animate how these hardened symbols are interpreted. In addition, the acts of monument destruction,[41] like their evocation, are also political acts of collective meaning-making. This is evident in the toppling of more recent confederate and colonial monuments across the United States and Canada.

In addition to ongoing reconciliation and decolonial efforts, there are recent events in both the U.S. and Canada that have ignited monument engagement and that are relevant to this thesis to demonstrate the sustained and increasing social demand to remove these problematic symbols as well as the political pressure to find amicable solutions. In 2015, approximately 60 public symbols of the confederacy, including multiple monuments, were removed or renamed following the massacre of nine black parishioners in a church in Charleston, South Carolina by a white supremacist.[42] When pictures of the shooter with confederate flags surfaced, a national conversation was sparked regarding the power of symbols to incite hatred and violence.[43] Two years later in Charlottesville, Virginia, a group of white supremacists gathered in a "Unite the

---

[39] Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "The Urban Streetscape as Political Cosmos." In *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes*, 1:1–24. 1st ed. Routledge, 2018, 1.
[40] Ibid.
[41] That have been occurring for centuries, see Jacey Fortin, "Toppling Monuments, a Visual History." *The New York Times*, August 17, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/17/world/controversial-statues-monuments-destroyed.html.
[42] Southern Poverty Law Centre, "Weekend Read: The State of the Confederacy in 2017," April 28, 2017. https://www.splcenter.org/news/2017/04/28/weekend-read-state-confederacy-2017.
[43] Ibid.

Right " rally to protest the impending removal of the confederate monument of Robert E. Lee. A Neo Nazi attending the event deliberately accelerated into a group of counter protestors, killing civil-rights activist Heather Heyer with his vehicle, and injuring many others.[44] These examples demonstrate how historical symbols and monuments are far more than benign threats; they can be representative of the endurance of racialized hate and oppression.

Two other more recent events are also worth mentioning. The public murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer on May 25, 2020, was filmed and ignited black activists and allies across the U.S. and the world to protest Floyd's horrific murder, as well as ongoing police brutality in the United States. As a result of a sense of injustice and lack of adequate systemic changes, monuments became sites of accountability where advocates gathered to demand social and political change. Although there has yet to be an official record of just how many statues in the U.S. and abroad have been toppled because of the movement following Floyd's murder, it is safe to suggest that hundreds of monuments — of individual slaveholders, colonists, and racist politicians [45] — have been dislodged across the world, with even more vandalized.[46] One such monument was the John A Macdonald monument in Montreal, Quebec.

On August 29, 2020, at the end of a march against racial injustice inspired by the Black Lives Matter movement, protestors gathered at the monument of John A. Macdonald in downtown Montreal, attached ropes to Macdonald's bronze frame and pulled him to the ground to a chorus of cheers; in a symbolic act of capital punishment for Macdonald's crimes in which

---

[44] Andrew Katz, "Unrest in Virginia:" Clashes Over a Show of White Nationalism in Charlottesville Turn Deadly," Time, August 13, 2017, https://time.com/charlottesville-white-nationalist-rally-clashes/.
[45] As Emma Renaerts describes the "growing heap" of discarded monuments in Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," The Tyee, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[46] Bonnie Berkowitz and Andrew Blanco, "A Record Number of Confederate Monuments Fell in 2020, but Hundreds Still Stand. Here's Where," The Washington Post, Updated March 12, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/national/confederate-monuments/.

he was never tried, the impact of the fall decapitated the statue.[47] Monuments as representatives of oppressive ideologies, can mimic the seemingly immovable inequities and taken for grantedness of systemic racism experienced by marginalized communities. Therefore, toppling monuments, or alternatively, erecting new monuments, can be understood as calls for new political commitments to be made visible. Most recently, in May 2021, the discovery of the bodies of 215 Indigenous children — all undocumented deaths — in a burial site adjacent to a residential school in Kamloops B.C., has renewed engagement with monuments yet again.

The statue of Egerton Ryerson at formerly named Ryerson University, now Toronto Metropolitan University, had been defaced multiple times in the past as Ryerson, not unlike Macdonald, is considered one of the architects of residential schools in Canada. After the 215 children were discovered, advocates surrounded the monument with dozens of children's shoes and toys in a makeshift memorial; the base of the monument was spray painted with messages such as "No child left behind" — Ryerson's face, chest and hands were painted red.[48] Less than a week later on June 6, 2021, after a rally to honour the 215 children, a group of individuals tore down the monument and began the arduous task of removing Ryerson's head. The group used "a crowbar, an electric saw, a propane torch, and collective brute strength" to remove the head in a process that one activist described as "cathartic." [49] The bronze head is now at the end of a spike at 1492 Landback lane on the territory of Six Nations in Ontario. Six Nations has since put a call out on social media demanding "the heads of all colonizer monuments and the elimination of all

[47] Pat Hickey, "John A. Macdonald Loses his Head as Protesters Topple Statue," Montreal Gazette, August 31, 2020. https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/john-a-mcdonald-loses-his-head-as-protesters-topple-his-statue.
[48] Liz Braun, "Statue of Egerton Ryerson May Have to Go." Toronto Sun, June 1, 2021, https://torontosun.com/news/local-news/braun-statue-of-egerton-ryerson-may-have-to-go.
[49] Joshua Best, "Toronto Canada. The statue of Egerton Ryerson at the university that carries his name, got a new paint job that aptly reflects his true history and legacy…" June 1, 2021, https://www.instagram.com/p/CPliIVXB4vU/?.

monuments of genocide." [50] Without a coherent or inclusive plan by governments to address monuments as symbols of harm to marginalized communities, activists are creating their own processes of removal.

These interactions with monuments demonstrate the systemic injustice that some feel colonial figures continue to express, even in modern times; however, not all agree about whether these symbols should be removed or revered. There are numerous Canadian politicians who have voiced support to keep monuments where they stand most notably the Conservative Party of Canada. In September 2020, former Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer held a press conference alongside three Conservative MPs at a statue of John A. Macdonald in a Regina park where he praised Macdonald's role in building Canada. Scheer stated, "If we replace cancel culture with critical thinking, we can have heartfelt conversations and actual dialogue rather than emotional reactions."[51] His comments were met by a chorus of shouting from protestors who came to contest the press conference.[52] Despite Scheer's and other similar political rhetoric decrying the destruction of history, on March 31, 2021, after hearing emotional testimony from survivors of residential schools, the City of Regina voted to remove the statue and to place it into storage.[53] Interestingly, one councillor who voted against the motion stated that she was concerned that the general public was not adequately consulted before the decision was made,

[50] 1492 Landback Lane, Ryerson's Head at 1492 Land Back Lane…" Facebook Post, June 9, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/1492LandBackLane/photos/320128643165251
[51] Mickey Djuric, "Protesters Boo Andrew Scheer at Conservative Rally Favouring John A. Macdonald Statue," Global News, September 3, 2020, https://globalnews.ca/news/7314523/andrew-scheer-john-a-macdonald-rally-regina/
[52] Ibid.
[53] Heidi Atter, "Regina Council Votes in Favour of Removing Statue of Sir John A. Macdonald from Victoria Park," CBC News, March 31, 2021, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/regina-council-john-a-macdonald-statue-removed-1.5971413

which calls into question who should be consulted when contemplating removing monuments and how a deliberation process should proceed. [54]

In fact, there are similar examples that suggest the importance of process, in particular meaningful consultation, when the question of commemoration is raised within municipalities. In February, 2021, Vancouver City Council unanimously voted to rename a street to Nora Hendrix Way to honour the contributions of late Nora Hendrix; however, Hogan's Alley Society, a non-profit organization that had been negotiating with the city to revitalize the presence of Black history in Vancouver, stated that the black community was not consulted.[55] To June Francis, co-chair of the Hogan's Alley Society, this lack of consultation did not signify the more meaningful change that the society was looking for; without it, the name change was mere tokenism instead of an actual commitment to working with the black community.[56] Also in Vancouver, on February 16, 2020, after a Women's Memorial March, demonstrators tied ropes around the statue of "Gassy" Jack Deighton, a riverboat captain and saloon keeper who married and fathered a son with a 12 year old Squamish Nation girl, and pulled it to the ground.[57] In response, Vancouver Mayor Kennedy Stewart said that negotiation to remove the statue was already underway and that these 'dangerous actions' impeded reconciliation.[58] A spokesperson from the Squamish Nation also stated that negotiations to remove the statue in a 'culturally safe and respectful way' were indeed, ongoing.[59]

---

[54] Ibid.
[55] Justin McElroy, "Nora Hendrix to Become First Black Woman with a Vancouver Street Named After Her," CBC News, February 10, 2021 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/nora-hendrix-way-2021-vancouver-1.5907896
[56] Ibid.
[57] National Post Staff, "Who was 'Gassy Jack' and Why Was His Statue Toppled in Vancouver?" Nation Post, February 15, 2022. https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/who-was-gassy-jack-and-why-was-his-statue-toppled-in-vancouver
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

Lastly, although not exhaustively, in 2021, the City of Victoria rejected a motion by City Councillors Geoff Young and Stephen Andrew to ask the Royal B.C. Museum to keep its "Old Town" exhibit open, despite the museum's plan to close the exhibit in an effort to consult First Nations and minority groups to reimagine displays.[60] While Mayor Helps said that the museum's plan reflected their commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, Councillor Young replied that "for better or worse, we do live in a democracy."[61] From my interpretation, Young implied that the equal and inclusive tenets of democracy, in which everyone's voices are ostensibly drawn from and weighed, are the very foundation of our society which the museum's consultation process threatened to diminish. Geoff Young's comment as well as the examples listed above, illustrate the imperative to understand the stakes of commemorative decision-making protocols. In fact, who and in what way people are consulted or collaborated to reach decisions about commemoration can be paramount to ensuring that commemorative activities move from symbolic to systemic change.

Democratic Engagement, Consultation Processes and Policy

The following section addresses literature on democratic theory, deliberation processes, and policy making. All three of these fields of scholarship offer invaluable support to my research. Democratic theory related to inclusion, equality and the politics of difference will be instructive to assess the deliberative and consultative processes between Indigenous and local governments in both of these cases. Additionally, literature related to deliberation will be invaluable to understanding the normative ideas and principles that deliberative democratic

[60] Darron Kloster, "Victoria Council Rejects Motion Asking Museum to Keep 3rd Floor Open During Redesign, Times Colonist," Nov 20, 2021, https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/victoria-council-rejects-motion-to-ask-museum-keep-floor-open-during-redesign-4780009
[61] Ibid.

engagement requires and that a diplomatic-like partnership with Indigenous nations might challenge. For ease of understanding, I will break down the deliberative approaches in this thesis into three categories that are explained below: the liberal deliberative approach, deliberative reconciliation, and diplomatic deliberation.

As Maeve Cooke explains, deliberative democracy refers to a core feature of democratic government that upholds a central place for reasoned discussion.[62] The deliberative model is a system of aggregating and justifying interests and preferences through dialogue that is considered legitimate because of its normative ideals of political inclusion and equality.[63] In other words, the assumption is that all of those affected by an issue, to a reasonable extent, should be included within decision making and discussions on equal terms so that decisions are more likely to be considered fair and legitimate.[64] Other principles of deliberative democracy that are considered vital are the ideals of transparency and publicity. These aspects of a liberal deliberative approach will be discussed more closely in the chapters to follow. Amy Gutman and Dennis Thompson have long advocated for the importance of a deliberative democracy to resolve conflicts and to produce justifiable decisions because everyone's perspectives have, ostensibly, been considered and discussed.[65] Their approach is what I am calling the liberal deliberative approach.

A liberal deliberative approach upholds the importance of including citizens within political decision making as a requirement of a free and democratic society. In this regard, a liberal deliberative approach is a response to a rationalist approach to policy making that rules by

---

[62] Maeve Cooke, "Five Arguments for Deliberative Democracy," *Political Studies*, 48(5), 2000 https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00289, 947.
[63] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Why Deliberative Democracy?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

principle and that is suspicious of the power of groups. This approach is also differentiated from aggregative modes of gathering preferences, such as surveys and public opinion polls, that do not provide an opportunity for citizens to justify their perspectives.[66] In this regard, a liberal deliberative framework is praiseworthy because it theoretically allows for all members of society to participate in the political realm, to advocate for their own interests, and to attempt to influence public policy equally. Indeed, there are multiple political theorists who uphold the power of this approach to promote democratic legitimacy, education for citizens, fairness, and community building.[67] However, it is also worth considering whether these parameters work for everyone, or if this approach can adequately incorporate the views and interests of marginalized groups.

In *Beyond Adversary Democracy*, Jane Mansbridge studies deliberative democracy in practice at a town meeting in 'Selby,' (a pseudonym for the town where Mansbridge's research took place) Vermont. She found that inclusive meetings, in the sense that the door is open for everyone to participate, do not result in equal participation, or the equal protection of the interests of all citizens. Mansbridge found that women were far less likely to speak at town meetings, that women felt that issues they raised were discriminated against on the basis of gender and that it was taken for granted in Selby that men are traditionally in charge of political matters within the town; she also found that poorer, less educated people in the town participated in meetings less and were significantly less likely to feel as if they had any say in town matters.[68]

---

[66] Ibid, 15.
[67] Such as Maeve Cooke, "Five Arguments for Deliberative Democracy," *Political Studies*, 48(5), 2000 947–969. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00289 . Other Liberal deliberative theorists agree, such as Jürgen Habermas, "Struggles for Recognition in Constitutional States," *European Journal of Philosophy.*1 (2), (1993), 128–55; Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004) and John Rawls, "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited." *The University of Chicago law review* 64, no. 3 (1997): 765–807.
[68] Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 190.

Structural economic and social inequalities impact whether or not people feel confident to participate in democratic deliberation; they also affect how or if their opinions are heard or valued.

As James Tully explains, it is also imperative to consider the struggles and achievements of Indigenous peoples to gain recognition of their rights of self governance and determination. Historically, colonial political processes have been imposed over Indigenous peoples, despite their active resistance.[69] This has remained constant under the colonial assumption that Indigenous people are subject to the Canadian government rather than equal and self-governing nations.[70] While the distinct tensions of deliberating with Indigenous nations will be discussed more substantively further into this chapter, it is important to bring this link in here to establish how the unequal deliberative dynamics highlighted by Mansbridge are magnified when deliberation occurs with Indigenous representatives.

The second approach to deliberation recognizes and attempts to address the imbalance of power that Mansbridge and Tully point out. Deliberative reconciliation is critical of the idea of reasonableness and equality that a liberal deliberative approach upholds. For example, according to deliberative reconciliation theorists, such as Iris Marion Young and Bashir Bashir, norms of speech style associated with social privilege impact whose voices are considered valid and legitimate. Young suggests that the expectation of reasonableness within deliberation in the form of emotionless or dispassionate speech is also problematic and the assumption that people should remain objective or use specific grammatical language and tone is culturally specific.[71] Young explains that dispassionate speech styles are associated with white middle class males and that

[69]James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009, 226-227.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 39-40.

speech that is perceived to be more embodied or excited is associated with women or racialized minorities.[72] Bashir also remarks upon the idea of reasonableness within democratic debate and suggests that what is considered reasonable "within a process of reasoning that takes place within a concrete social and cultural context" is likely to be determined by the ideology of the dominant group, not those who are marginalized or typically excluded.[73] Therefore, recognizing deeply embedded power relations within an inclusive deliberative framework of decision making is key to understanding how processes privilege certain perspectives and to understanding how this could be improved upon for specific policy making endeavors.

Deliberative reconciliation theorists also argue that in societies where structural inequalities exist, democratic procedures, including deliberation, are likely to reinforce existing inequalities because people who hold more economic and social power are able to marginalize those who are less privileged.[74] This is why Bashir and Will Kymlicka suggest that challenges of diversity have stimulated political and social theorists to reassess liberalism — because of the failure of deliberative democracy to include groups who have been historically oppressed.[75] When groups are seeking justice, deliberating with those who are perceived to perpetuate injustice and harm under the assumption that through reasoned agreement we can come to terms in which we all accept is laughable to activists demanding more than political recognition.[76] Similarly, Young argues that where social and political differences exist that cause some groups to hold privilege over others, then concepts of justice and reparation should begin with

---

[72] Ibid.
[73] Bashir Bashir, "Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 65.
[74] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 34.
[75] Bashir Bashir and Will Kymlicka, "Introduction," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 1-24.
[76] See Bashir, 2008; Eisenberg, 2014; Meslin, 2019; Mouffe, 1999; Muldoon, 2008; Young, 2001.

acknowledging and addressing those differences.[77] From Young and Bashir's point of view, deliberative democracy must include a mode of recognizing embedded power relations that in its unadulterated form, a liberal deliberative approach does not do.

Young and Bashir aim to address the distinctive challenges that historical injustice brings to deliberation in differing ways. Young advocates for a politics of difference that recognizes the particularities between groups and that advocates for possibly restructuring dynamics to attend to and to affirm these differences.[78] Bashir argues for engaging in a "politics of reconciliation" before deliberation takes place that can include conducting truth commissions, political apologies, and even reparations.[79] Both of these viewpoints aim to address the flaw of treating everyone the same within a liberal deliberative approach, regardless of the lived experience or background of deliberators that significantly alters their values, perspectives, and rights. The deliberative reconciliation approach, arguably because it is more process-oriented instead of prescriptive, also leaves the door open for furthering what is possible within a reconciliatory objective.

There are also scholars such as Chantal Mouffe and James Tully who suggest that deliberative democracy neglects an agonistic quality that is essential for democratic engagement. An agonistic form of deliberation invites conflict and adversarial positions into deliberation as a means to recognize that conflict is inevitable and as a method to establish legitimate outlets for disagreement within the public sphere.[80] From an agonistic perspective, because the process of debating the removal of Victoria's John A. Macdonald monument was closed to the wider public

---

[77] Iris Marion Young, *Justice, and the Politics of Difference*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 3.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Bashir, Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation,"102
[80] Paul Muldoon, "The Very Basis of Civility: On Agonism, Conquest and Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 115-116.

and did not keep minutes or notes for the public to review, the process was not indicative of a wider community struggle that agonists believe may be necessary to move beyond the ideologies and social structures that a figure like Macdonald represents, that of the permanence of colonialism and white supremacy. From Mouffe's and Tully's perspectives, the opportunity to engage agonistically, in the sense that disagreement instead of solution focused deliberation is welcomed, is a more realistic version of how to accommodate diverse interests. From an agonistic point of view, the system of universality that liberal democratic deliberation and often the politics of reconciliation entails, fails to initiate more substantive discussions about sovereignty and power sharing that can be born from conflict. However, in terms of monument removals and the mostly unavoidable conversations of white supremacy and settler colonialism that arise within debates of the fate of monuments, whether community wide discussions (with distinct political communities) about historical injustice will be mutually beneficial to 'all of those affected' is questionable.

There are multiple reasons for conducting a closed, as in private, process that the City of Victoria initiated or an open, meaning everyone is invited to take part, process that Halifax Regional Municipality pursued for monument removal discussions. The reasons for having an open process are explained within the long-heralded tenets of a traditional deliberative framework – the principles of inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity ostensibly ensures that there is a myriad of different perspectives that are heard within deliberation and that decisions will be agreed upon and accepted as legitimate because of this. However, as Mansbridge and Young contend, open does not mean equal because of procedural and structural dynamics that privilege those with the most social and political power. Although there are differing views on how to rectify these dynamics, there are also, arguably, certain circumstances

that necessitate moving beyond the traditional modes of community-wide struggle and deliberation, such as in the case of longstanding historical injustice.

The third approach to deliberation that I will be discussing in this thesis is my own conception of what I call diplomatic deliberation that rejects the equal and inclusive arguments from the liberative deliberative approach and that builds from the deliberative reconciliation approach that attempts to recognize and address deep structural differences. Closed deliberation processes, in the sense that the wider community is not invited to take part and meetings are held in private, are opportunities for deliberation that mimic diplomatic processes where relations are conducted with minimal distractions or publicity to ensure that the confrontational tactics that have happened in other jurisdictions discussing public commemoration, for example, do not conflict with larger objectives for reconciliation or redress. As previously mentioned, debates about the fate of monuments have become hostile, violent, and even deadly. Therefore, initiating a more closed process of discussion and deliberation related to the fate of monuments can be at a practical level, safer in the sense that those deliberating are insulated from racist individuals and groups. However, as demonstrated by letters to the editor following the removal of the Macdonald monument in addition to the online vitriol that spanned across the country, a diplomatic process is not immune to public harassment. There also are other reasons, such as what reconciliation may require, in addition to the right of self-determination, that may necessitate a more diplomatic deliberation or internal process of negotiation. Additionally, the Victoria case demonstrates how diplomacy can be supplemented with community-wide deliberative reconciliation procedures to meet the democratic requirements of inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity.

While Indigenous nations are part of the wider political community with settlers, they are also part of distinct political communities that are different, as defined by the Constitution of Canada, by rights of original occupancy and by arbitrary geographical boundaries that constitute those rights on and off reserves. Drawing on James Tully's concept of multinational democracies is helpful to understanding the unique circumstances that distinct political communities bring to democratic deliberation and to policy making in Canada. Tully explains that countries like Canada not only consist of many cultures (multicultural) but they also consist of two or more nations, which makes them multinational.[81] Members of nations within a nation "are or aspire to be recognized as self governing with the right to self-determination"; members can exercise this right externally through secession or internally "by the reconfiguration of the existing constitutional association so its multinational character is recognized and accommodated." [82] Thinking about Canada as multinational highlights why Canada, and other multinational democracies for that matter, requires specific protocols for addressing and creating specific policy, such as historical justice policy. In other words, the principles of equality and inclusion that a liberal deliberative approach promises are not equipped to provide more than mutual recognition of differences to distinct nations within a nation – a diplomatic approach, as the City of Victoria initiated that builds from deliberative reconciliation, better attends to these differences.

Diplomacy, at its core, refers to the conduct of relationships by peaceful means, typically conducted by and among representatives, often of international governments.[83] However,

---

[81] James Tully, "Introduction," in *Multinational Democracies*, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.
[82] Ibid, 3.
[83] Andrew Cooper, Andrew F, Ramesh Thakur, and Jorge Heine, "Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy," In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, edited by Andrew Cooper, Ramesh Thakur, and Jorge Heine, (Oxford University Press, 2013).

diplomacy can also take place on a smaller scale. In his book, *Federal - Provincial Diplomacy,* Richard Simeon explores the dynamics of inter-provincial negotiation in the 1960s that led to significant policy innovation, such as the creation of the Canadian pension plan and the patriation of the Constitution.[84] Simeon found that senior federal and provincial representatives meet as governments in formal conferences to form policy —creating and sustaining relationships of diplomacy. He suggests that these types of internal diplomatic negotiations are unique to Canada, because of the (1) frequency of interactions; (2) the forms the interactions take; and (3) the relative influence of certain governments.[85] In Canada, issues involving federal and provincial negotiations are numerous and they happen frequently between direct representatives of different governments that often have diverging ideological interests.[86] However, despite these significant differences in identity, interests, and values, Simeon found that intergovernmental negotiation, naturally prompted by Canada's structure of federalism, can produce effective policy.[87] Therefore, historical and ongoing negotiations between provinces produced by federalism are similar in nature to international negotiations and arguably, a diplomatic deliberative framework on an international scale is what can also be envisioned when there are negotiations that takes place with Indigenous representatives, even at the local level.

Although international relations as a field of study has long ignored the historical and contemporary diplomatic practices of Indigenous peoples, it is also well established that formal structures of diplomacy, protocols for encountering and communicating across boundaries, are also deeply embedded within Indigenous history, practices and traditions.[88] While Simeon's

---

[84] Richard Simeon, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820, 314.
[85] Ibid, 300.
[86] Ibid, 301.
[87] Ibid, 331.
[88] Ravi de Costa, "Indigenous Diplomacies Before the Nation-State." In *Indigenous Diplomacies*, ed. J. Beier Marshall. 1st ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 61-77.

influential book was first published in 1972, before the concept of an Indigenous government to Canadian government relationship was understood, let alone accepted by settlers, the same principles can be applied to understanding what I am calling internal diplomatic relationships between Indigenous nations and local governments in Canada. These relationships are not entirely diplomatic, but quasi-diplomatic or diplomatic-like because they involve representatives from Indigenous nations; however, municipal governments are not representative of a nation, but of a community. A relationship of internal diplomacy then, as I refer to it, is a diplomatic relationship that occurs within what is typically considered a singular nation state at the municipal level. A relationship of internal diplomacy is like a nation-to-nation framework that respects the rights and self-determination of Indigenous groups and that advances efforts to recognize and respect historically excluded groups within and outside democratic deliberation.

While there are well established critiques of accommodating pluralistic societies within a deliberative process, this research will move beyond these criticisms to understand the process of deliberation, even relationships of diplomacy, within multinational democracies at the local level. Not only will this research be useful to its area of focus, monument removals, but it will also be relevant to other policy areas that may be similar, such as debates about street renaming or memorials.

Policy Making

This thesis is interested in understanding whose knowledge and expertise is drawn from in cases of historical justice policy making and what effect this has on possible outcomes. Young suggests that social groups who have experienced oppression should be afforded special

treatment within the policy making process.[89] Indeed, there are multiple scholars who have suggested that cultural identity should be a normative basis for making specific rights claims.[90] To assist in this analysis, I will draw upon a foundational understanding of policy and policy making from Leslie Pal as well as research developed by Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith who showcase the relationship between knowledge and the role of the 'expert' within policy making.

According to Pal, public policy can be defined as "a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems." [91] It is a framework or guide to policy makers and a method for citizens to hold their representatives accountable. In democracies like Canada, policy is created by elected officials who are guided by their electorate, often with the advice of 'experts' at higher levels of administration.[92] Policy typically addresses complex problems that policy makers believe need solving; however, policies can also be vague, in general.[93] Pal explains that it is programs and actions that put policies into effect, and he also emphasizes the importance of consistency, in part that the actions and statements of a municipality, for example, match their policy goals and objectives.[94]

Policy making, like deliberative democracy, is based on rationalism and an ideology of reasonableness that is rooted in Western and European epistemologies. As Pal explains, it is important to understand where the form of reason that policy makers rely on comes from to appropriately assess what counts as knowledge and what does not.[95] It is widely understood that

---

[89] Ibid.
[90] Such as Iris Marion Young, *Justice, and the Politics of Difference*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 81 and Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times* (Thomson Canada, 2006).
[91] Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times* (Thomson Canada, 2006), 2.
[92] Ibid, 6.
[93] Ibid, 11.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid, 19.

knowledge that does not adhere to the Western and European knowledge paradigms often associated with the naturalist approach to social science research has largely been devalued within the academy. Additionally, within the political realm, the production of knowledge through evidence-based policy making upholds the legitimation of 'experts' and 'expert' knowledge within the policy process which can displace the embodied knowledge of individuals and groups whose perspectives are often excluded from political decision making.[96]Affirming the experiences and expertise of those impacted by historical injustice is an important step in recognizing the special consideration that should be afforded to distinct political communities. Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith's theory is also helpful in theorizing the type of knowledge and expertise that is drawn upon within policy making.

Orsini and Smith develop their framework through the example of autism activism in Canada and the United States, where they observe a change in social movements related to health — a move away from a reliance on hegemonic ideas of what counts as knowledge or expertise.[97] Orsini and Smith found that knowledge is mobilized in social health movements in three ways: the instrumentalist approach uses expert knowledge to advance political claims; the second type contests what constitutes 'expert' knowledge in the first place; and the third type utilizes embodied knowledge and lived experience to advocate for policy related to personal interests.[98] The third area of knowledge mobilization identified by Orsini and Smith, embodied knowledge, which suggests that people can use their own situated knowledge and experience (although not always exclusively) as expertise, is particularly useful to understanding the value of consulting

[96] Marjorie DeVault, "Talking Back to Sociology: Distinctive Contributions of Feminist Methodology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 22, no. 1 (1996): 29–50.
[97] Michael Orsini, and Miriam Smith. "Social Movements, Knowledge and Public Policy: The Case of Autism Activism in Canada and the US," *Critical policy studies* 4, no. 1 (2010), 41-42.
[98] Ibid, 39.

marginalized communities on matters directly related to their identity and experience .[99] Additionally, this definition will be utilized to understand key policy-making and deliberative considerations relevant to Indigenous participation and voice in Canadian commemorative controversies.

Indigenous-Settler Relations at the Municipal Level

To understand the special circumstances that multinational democracies bring to democratic deliberation and to policy making, the next section of this chapter will explore literature related to Indigenous and settler relations at the local level. This research also aims to fill a knowledge gap within the realm of Indigenous and settler relations and local government related to monument removals, knowledge gathering, consultations and process. Although the relationship between Indigenous and municipal governments is widely understudied, there is foundational literature within the context of this relationship that will help to guide this study related to intergovernmental relationships, reconciliation, and policy making.

Firstly, Abele et al. suggests that with few exceptions, Indigenous people are largely invisible to urban policy makers and within urban policy making.[100] There are a number of reasons for the invisibility including institutional racism that has led to the political and social 'othering' of Indigenous groups; land dispossession and the relocation of Indigenous people away from urban centers that were once gathering places to reserves; as well as what many scholars identify as a 'jurisdictional maze' that provides a method to evade political responsibility.[101]

---

[99] Ibid, 48.
[100] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech and Michael McCrossin. "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalitie*s, ed. Evelyn J Peters, (McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011), 89.
[101] Ibid.

The 'jurisdictional maze' refers to the overlapping web of political actors, stakeholders, and policy sectors that respond and interact with Indigenous people in Canada. A substantial facet of Canadian political culture has involved arguing over the essential questions of 'the rules of the game,' a phenomenon that Peter Russell calls "mega-constitutional politics." [102] It is simply traditional for governments to use the framework of federalism, the division of powers outlined in the Constitution, to shirk responsibilities to another level of government, especially when those responsibilities involve complex social and economic implications.[103] Local governments and their relationship with Indigenous communities offer a particular type of jurisdictional ambiguity because of the subordinate nature of municipal governments to their corresponding province and their interactions with Indigenous groups who are considered distinct political communities within the broader settler community.

According to the Constitution, local governments are under the purview of the province and "Indians and Land Reserved for the Indians" are an exclusive matter of federal parliamentary control.[104] Additionally, in 1951, the federal government amended the Indian Act to relinquish their responsibility to off-reserve Indigenous communities to the provinces. Although most of the Indigenous population within Canada now lives in urban centres, [105] municipal governments are not empowered with constitutional authority to attend to the special rights of Indigenous communities and therefore, in most cases, view them as equal to every other citizen – ignoring

---

[102] Peter H, Russell, *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?* 3rd ed. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[103] As discussed in relation to environmental protection in Kathryn Harrison, *Passing the Buck: Federalism and Canadian Environmental Policy, (*UBC Press, 1996) and in the case of healthcare regarding Jordan's Principle that was included in the TRC's Calls to Action. More information can be found here: Canadian Public Health Association. "Jordan's Principle and Public Health." October, 2017. https://www.cpha.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/policy/positionstatements/jordan-positionstatement-e.pdf

[104] Constitution Act, 1867 (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, reprinted in R.S.C. 1985, app. II No. 5. https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-1.html

[105] See Joanne Heritz, "From Self-Determination to Service Delivery: Assessing Indigenous Inclusion in Municipal Governance in Canada," 61 (4), (2018), 596-615.https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/capa.12277

the significance of the culture, rights, and traditions of Indigenous governments and representatives. As Abele et al. point out, "cities deal with residents and with neighbors" without the language or practices that recognize the special attributes of certain community members – adding to the invisibility of Indigenous people in urban environments. [106]

This jurisdictional maze has naturally led to variation among municipalities regarding how they have responded to Indigenous people and communities.[107] When Abele et al. asked a city official, about "urban Aboriginal policy," they replied, "The City of Toronto has no jurisdiction and/or requirement in this area."[108] The authors tracked numerous officials who stressed that municipalities had neither the jurisdiction nor legislative authority to create specific policy related to Indigenous community members and therefore they did not see it as a priority or even a possibility.[109]

In 2019, the Association of Municipalities in Ontario (AMO) wrote a report to start a process of engagement with the province about the role of local governments in enacting the Duty to Consult.[110] AMO suggested that a lack of clarity from provinces around the Crown's Constitutional Duty has led to confusion, project delays and in some cases, strained relationships between municipal and Indigenous governments.[111] AMO argued that local governments do not have the Duty the Consult, citing the 2004 Supreme Court of Canada *Haida* case which states the Crown's duty cannot be delegated.[112] Likewise, in *Neskonlith*, (2012), the British Columbia

---

[106] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech and Michael McCrossin. "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalitie*s, ed. Evelyn J Peters, (McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011), 114.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid, 109.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Association of Municipalities in Ontario (AMO), "Municipal Governments and the Crown's 'Duty to Consult.' April 10, 2019.
[111] Ibid, 3.
[112] Ibid, 4.

Court of Appeal held that the City of Salmon Arm did not have a constitutional responsibility to consult and that municipalities generally, do not have the authority to consult because of their subordinate relationship to provinces and because of a "lack of practical resources" to do so.[113] However, there are scholars who suggest that viewing local governments as mere administrative arms of the province is an outdated and impoverished view of a modern municipality.[114] Local governments oversee massive constituencies, are involved in multi million-dollar land developments and are increasingly engaging with issues that are associated with provincial and federal responsibilities such as climate change initiatives and most significant to this research, reconciliation.

The Calls to Action from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Report in 2015 publicly called upon the Canadian government to take action to redress the legacy of residential schooling in Canada and to advance reconciliatory initiatives. Although the recommendations of the TRC focused almost exclusively on the federal government, there are several sections that speak directly to actions that should be undertaken by municipal governments (sections, 44, 47, 57, 75, and 77) that range from asking local governments to honour and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, asking them to "repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty," and asking them to provide education to public servants on the history of Indigenous peoples.[115] These directives are in addition to nine sections that call upon "all levels" of government to act in addition to the Calls, as previously mentioned, to work in collaboration with Indigenous people and organizations.[116] Further, there is also deliberately

---

[113] Neskonlith Indian Band v. Salmon Arm (City), Sept 24, 2012 BCCA 379 (CanLII), https://canlii.ca/t/fst86
[114] Warren Magnusson, "Are Municipalities Creatures of the Provinces?" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, *39*(2), (2005), 5–29. https://doi.org/10.1353/jcs.2006.0019
[115] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "Calls to Action," 2015, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf
[116] Ibid.

broad language within the Calls to Action that suggests reconciliation is a national affair in which all levels of government and society must take part.

Although there are legitimate critiques[117] as to the constitutional impact of truth commissions, there is no doubt that the TRC was instrumental in mobilizing municipal action. Because of the TRC's Calls to Action, the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) and the Big City Mayor Caucus have created a Reconciliatory Working Group to help municipalities to "identify ways to support the federal government in its commitment to implement the TRC Calls to Action." [118] Although this board admittedly does not seek to expand municipal jurisdiction, the FCM released a reconciliation document that outlines some of the changes that cities have made since the release of the TRC in 2015, including establishing Indigenous working groups and committees to holding educational series and commemorative events.[119] However, some of these moves have been criticized as being tokenistic and ineffective.[120]Although Vancouver named itself the "City of Reconciliation" in 2014, Penny Kerrigan, of the Urban Indigenous Peoples' Advisory Committee, stated that Vancouver has failed to listen to its own Advisory Committee or to make any meaningful changes to advance relationships between the city and Indigenous communities.[121] The scattered actions that the term reconciliation have inspired are

---

[117] Such as Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014) and Ravi de Costa, "Discursive Institutions in Non-Transitional Societies: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada," *International Political Science Review*, *38*(2), (2017): 185–199 https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116667729

[118] Federation of Canadian Municipalities. "Pathways to Reconciliation: Cities Respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action," accessed July 7, 2021. http://www.fcm.ca/Documents/tools/BCMC/Pathways_to_reconciliation_EN.pdf

[119] Ibid, 6-8.

[120] For example, Katie Hyslop, "Vancouver Is Failing on 'City of Reconciliation' Claim, Says Its Indigenous Committee," The Tyee, July 10, 2021, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/07/10/Vancouver-Fails-Reconciliation-Claim/ and Pamela Palmater, "Restoring the Place of Indigenous Peoples in the GTHA," Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, Accessed May 21, 2021, https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/imfg/research/bold-ideas/restoring-the-place-of-indigenous-peoples-in-the-gtha/Palmeter, n.d

[121] As cited in Katie Hyslop, "Vancouver Is Failing on 'City of Reconciliation' Claim, Says Its Indigenous Committee," The Tyee, July 10, 2021, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/07/10/Vancouver-Fails-Reconciliation-Claim/

well-studied and critiqued, but this thesis aims to offer a fresh perspective of reconciliation in relation to deliberation and historical justice policy processes at the local level.

The term reconciliation is possibly the most contested term that this thesis utilizes. Senator Murray Sinclair, chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, stated that reconciliation is about restoring balance to the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people; it is about atonement, making amends and "maintaining a mutual respectful relationship." [122] However, there is valid criticism of reconciliation as being a method of legitimizing the state, of accommodating Indigenous nations within a multicultural framework of liberal recognition instead of making more substantive moves to deconstruct colonial policies and procedures. In place of reconciliation, activists and scholars are turning toward another term, Indigenous resurgence, to describe activities related to self-determination and affirming Indigenous relationships to land, practices, language, and culture.[123] This thesis will utilize the definition of reconciliation by Andrew Schaap, which interweaves a concept of agonism as well as Indigenous resurgence, as I understand it, into a concept of reconciliation.[124] Schaap "rehabilitates" the concept of reconciliation by complicating the notion of reconciliation as ideology.[125] Through contesting common definitions of reconciliation, Schaap affirms that reconciliation can be considered 'politics'— that is, a concept that is both ideological,

---

[122] Government of Canada. "Truth and Reconciliation (with the Honourable Senator)," accessed July 5, 2021. https://www.csps-efpc.gc.ca/video/ssontr-eng.aspx

[123] As explained by Glen Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus : Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Duke University Press: Durham; London, 2014) and Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017).

[124] Not dissimilar to Borrows and Tully's endeavor in John Borrows and James Tully, *Resurgence and Reconciliation; Indigenous-Settler Relations and Earth Teachings, (*University of Toronto Press, 2018).

[125] Andrew Schaap, "Reconciliation as Ideology and Politics." *Constellations*, 15:2, (2008), 249, https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2008.00488.x, 249

emancipatory and transformative.[126] This concept of reconciliation is instructive to understanding reconciliation as an unfolding process that requires ongoing renegotiation and consultation. It also allows for a closer examination of process as it relates to reconciliatory initiatives that a municipality may be interested in taking.

Dr. Pamela Palmater, Mi'kmaq lawyer, Professor and the Chair of Indigenous Governance at Toronto Metropolitan University, states that cities must move beyond celebratory attempts to recognize Indigenous nations within urban environments, such as installing a medicine wheel in downtown Toronto for Canada day festivities and towards transferring power within current governance structures to Indigenous representatives.[127] According to Palmater, reconciliation involves significant changes to urban decision-making processes in order to make substantive efforts to address the TRC's Calls to Action.[128] Instead of strictly being the subjects of policy, Palmater advocates for Indigenous people to be involved in the policy-making process. Likewise, Walker, Moore, and Linklater argue in "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables" that there is value in transitioning from a cooperative model to a co-production model of urban Indigenous policy making.[129] Walker et al. argue that policy and programs that are co-produced with Indigenous communities repeatedly create favourable outcomes because decisions are made according to the interests of the Indigenous community involved. [130] Importantly, Walker et al. suggest that co-productive relationships are an outcome not of reconciliation endeavors, but rather of the right of self-determination that emanates from original occupancy.

---

[126] Ibid, 259.
[127] Pamela Palmater, "Restoring the Place of Indigenous Peoples in the GTHA," Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, Accessed May 21, 2021. https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/imfg/research/bold-ideas/restoring-the-place-of-indigenous-peoples-in-the-gtha/
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011) 163 .
[130] Ibid, 164.

A city official in Abele et al.'s work suggested that what matters in the formulation of policy at the local level is jurisdiction and demographics, rather than rights "based in past history."[131] However, history is precisely what scholars and advocates suggest informs present conditions and gives reason, if not obligation, for municipal governments to collaborate with and to recognize the embodied knowledge of local Indigenous communities within historical justice policy making.[132] Similar to Walker et al. and to Palmater, Robert Young, Professor of Political Science at the University of Western Ontario, suggests that Indigenous people should have special representation within municipal policy precisely because "they have different histories, different cultures and different political traditions; most important, they have different rights." [133] Understanding historical conditions is therefore paramount to creating meaningful co-productive relationships and policy with Indigenous communities at any level of government.

Conclusion

While the intersection of monuments, democratic deliberation and Indigenous-settler relationships is politically complex, it is an increasingly relevant area of research. Monuments are continually being targeted as society grapples with systemic oppression made all too familiar by ongoing racially motivated violence. Additionally, despite reconciliation and redress being a national affair, with responsibility typically falling to the federal government in Canada, the urban location of monuments coupled with responsibilities of reconciliation have thrust local

---

[131] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech and Michael McCrossin, "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalitie*s, ed. Evelyn J Peters, (McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011), 109.
[132] Ibid, 110.
[133] Robert Young, "Conclusion." In *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Peters, Evelyn J. Montreal & Kingston; (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 224.

governments into unfamiliar negotiations of reparation. The TRC's Calls to Action in particular, have propelled municipal governments into conversations about how reconciliation can be achieved; specifically, the sections that speak directly to municipalities and the imperatives of collaboration and representation are significant when municipalities confront questions about process, consultation, and deliberation with Indigenous representatives.

The following chapters will seek to showcase the processes that both Victoria and Halifax undertook to remove their monuments. Scholarship from critical geographers will be useful to understanding the contested narratives attached to both the Cornwallis and Macdonald monuments that have been mobilized to spark meaningful discussions of historical injustice in both Halifax and Victoria. Drawing upon democratic theorists, I will bring substantive attention to the deliberative strategies of each municipality to understand the democratic imperatives, such as inclusion, equality, publicity and transparency, that were strategically affirmed and challenged in Halifax and Victoria respectively, to remain politically consistent, from each city council's perspective, with larger goals of reconciliation. Relying on scholars of Indigenous-settler relations will also be vital to understand what deliberation within multinational democracies may require, even at the municipal level, to respect the right of self-determination. This approach will help to address the aim of this thesis, which is to explore what these two controversial statue removals and the attitudes and strategies of their respective municipalities that removed them, help us to understand about the distinctive policy considerations of commemorative controversies in municipalities.

Chapter Two

The Negotiation of Commemoration: Cornwallis, Collaboration, and Deliberation in Halifax

This chapter will investigate the commemorative politics of the Edward Cornwallis monument in Halifax, Nova Scotia; specifically, this chapter will analyze the consultative and deliberative decisions and protocols that were undertaken to remove the monument to understand the distinct considerations that occurred within the process of decision-making. In other words, this chapter will attempt to explain and to analyze the Halifax Regional Municipality's decision to collaborate with the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs – and the public – to reach a decision about what to do with the Cornwallis monument.

The first part of this chapter will be an introduction to the historical relationship between Edward Cornwallis and the City of Halifax to bring context to why the commemoration of Cornwallis is vigorously contested. In 1749, Cornwallis led an invasion of Mi'kma'ki, Mi'kmaq territory, to establish a British outpost in the area. The inevitable retaliation from the Mi'kmaq resulted in Cornwallis issuing his brutal "Scalping Proclamation" where a bounty was paid for the scalps of Mi'kmaq men, women and children in an attempt to eliminate the Mi'kmaq from the territory in which they had resided since time immemorial.[1] Cornwallis was only in what is now known as Halifax for three years; despite this, there are parks, rivers, streets and schools named after Cornwallis across Nova Scotia and, until recently, a large statue to commemorate him in a park bearing his name in downtown Halifax. Cornwallis's violent and short tenure in

[1] Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not the Savages,* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000).

Halifax is not only relevant to this thesis to understand why his commemoration is problematic, but also to understand how narratives about history are created and sustained.

To follow this historical section, will be another brief historical account of the contestations of the commemoration of Cornwallis in the Halifax Regional Municipality including a letter written to council by the Mi'kmaq Native Friendship Centre in 2016 that requested that Cornwallis Street be renamed. Councillor Waye Mason suggested that when the Friendship centre wrote to council six weeks later, inquiring as to why they had not received a response, that he knew the council's backs were "up against the wall" and that the "right" thing to do was to have a conversation about the commemoration of Cornwallis.[2] This conversation led first to a failed motion in 2016 and eventually, largely because of efforts of local advocates like Mi'kmaq elder, scholar and activist Daniel Paul and because of the persuasive poetry of Halifax's Poet Laureate (2016-2018) Mi'kmaq scholar Rebecca Thomas, Councillor Shawn Cleary introduced a successful motion in 2017—a motion for staff to prepare a report regarding the creation of an expert panel to engage the public and to advise council on the commemoration of Cornwallis.

The expert panel was designed to have an equal number of Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members with varying educations and community experience. The panel, later renamed the Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History, was created in partnership with the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs. However, the Cornwallis monument was removed by an order of council on January 31, 2018, before the panel was officially formed. Rising tensions caused the Assembly to withdraw from the panel process; however, both parties resumed their partnership

[2] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 9:19-9:25 video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s

in December, 2018; the Assembly and the HRM became equally responsible for the processes, procedures, and financial responsibilities of the Task Force when it resumed.

To follow this historical account of events, that lead to the formation of the Task Force in Halifax, the more substantive work of this chapter will begin. I will first analyze the commemoration of Cornwallis using scholarly literature from Jeffrey Olick, Reuben Rose-Redwood, and Shanti Sumartojo related to commemorative landscapes and historical injustice to help untangle the contentious narratives attached to this monument. Historians agree that Cornwallis was not a significant historical figure in many respects; he was an unsuccessful and short-lived governor —it was not until after confederation that Cornwallis was revived as a great figure of Halifax worthy of celebration. Understanding that narratives about historical figures are invented, that history has a history, is helpful to unpack the arguments made by multiple Councillors and members of the public that suggest removing the monument would be erasing history — a version of history attached to the monument that did not refer to the indefensible actions of Cornwallis against the Mi'kmaq. Understanding what these narratives entail is especially relevant to highlight what exactly the backlash — to even the discussion about the commemoration of Cornwallis —was about. I suggest that it is precisely because the conversations about the monument are tied to deeper conversations about settler colonialism and reconciliation with Indigenous community members that the virulent backlash in this case study, occurred.

I will then rely on the democratic theory of Iris Marion Young, James Tully, and Bashir Bashir, among others, to attempt to address the guiding question of this thesis, which is to discern what the attitudes and strategies of the HRM help us to understand about the distinctive policy considerations of commemorative controversies in municipalities. Although the liberal

deliberative approach to deliberation is often praised for its promise to include and to empower otherwise excluded groups by welcoming everyone into a process of dialogue, there are other scholars, such as Young, Bashir and Ravi de Costa, who have suggested that in cases of longstanding historical injustice there must be special considerations that are made within deliberation. Deliberative reconciliation goes beyond the universal inclusion principles of a liberal deliberative approach to restructuring deliberative dynamics to welcome diverse expressions, to interrogate dominant ideas of reasonableness, to take responsibility for oppressive practices and to educate citizens on the historical dimension that gives rise to these demands.[3] In particular, when historical acts of injustice have shaped a groups' identity and social position fundamentally;[4] when there is structural domination of a particular group, as is the case of Indigenous people,[5] then the advantages and disadvantages of normative principles of a traditional deliberative approach, such as equality, inclusion, transparency and publicity, must also be weighed. This is because deliberation can replicate and reinforce structural discrimination, such as polices, procedures and behaviour, that privileges the norms and protocols of dominant social groups.

Because of advocacy from the Mi'kmaq community and the Assembly, a cooperative partnership was struck between the HRM and the Assembly to address the issue of commemoration within the municipality that, in some respects, remedied deficits of exclusion that are described above. However, because the wider public was also consulted with to reach a decision about what to do with the monument, as is the deliberative democratic requirement, and

[3] Bashir, Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," Res Publica (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2011), 127 and 139.
[4] Ibid, 129.
[5] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.

the HRM reserved and exercised the power to reject representatives suggested by the Assembly, the Task Force was not a type of diplomatic, government to government relationship that occurs on an international or an inter-provincial scale.[6] The creation and aims of the Task Force, in comparison with the City Family in Victoria, is vital to understanding the tension between traditional deliberative and constitutional norms and emergent norms of deliberative reconciliation and diplomacy.[7]

The final section of this chapter will rely on scholarship from James Tully, Walker, Moore and Linklater, Abele et al. and Andrew Schaap to further explore the collaboration between the Assembly and the HRM. Thanks to decades of advocacy by Indigenous advocates and their allies, the Assembly recognized the embodied knowledge of Indigenous leaders by agreeing to collaborate on the issue of the commemoration of Cornwallis. This approach supported the TRC's Calls to Action to work with Indigenous communities on commemorative activities as well as broader policy issues related to reconciliation.[8] The move to create the Task Force was also politically consistent with the HRM's 2015 Reconciliation Statement that aimed to strengthen the relationship between the Assembly and the HRM. However, including the community within decision-making and ignoring the calls by Indigenous community members to remove the monument for decades before deliberation occurred, arguably undermined the rights and sovereignty of Indigenous community members. Through this historical and analytical approach, I hope to provide a better understanding of the impacts and consequences of the distinctive considerations of the HRM's deliberative strategy.

---

[6] Richard Simeon, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820

[7] Importantly, all judgments about the meaningfulness of each deliberative strategy or reconciliatory achievements in both case studies are ultimately deferred to the nations and Indigenous representatives involved.

[8] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Calls to Action." 2015, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf

Context and Background

Edward Cornwallis arrived in Halifax on June 21, 1749, to establish an agricultural settlement on the eastern coast of Nova Scotia that was also meant to protect British settlers from the French fort at Louisburg.[9] The repurposing and occupation of the territory of the Mi'kmaq people, who are among the original inhabitants of the Atlantic provinces of Canada, resulted in violent clashes between British forces and the Mi'kmaq. Although London allegedly encouraged Cornwallis to engage in trade with local natives initially and to keep the peace with the French, Cornwallis ignored these directives and instead implemented terror and mass killings in retaliation to Mi'kmaq resistance.[10] The same year that he arrived, Cornwallis issued the now infamous Scalping Order, in which a bounty was paid to settlers and soldiers for the scalps of Mi'kmaq men, women, and children.[11] Although the number of Mi'kmaq people who were killed as a result of the Proclamation is unknown, there are records that suggests "scalps were being brought in by the bagful."[12] Only three years after he arrived and forever altered the lives of the surviving Mi'kmaq people of Nova Scotia, Cornwallis left Halifax in a state of war in 1752.

Despite his brutal legacy, Cornwallis was actually not a significant historical figure, initially; Cornwallis was an unsuccessful Governor who spent his short tenure in Nova Scotia asking his superiors at the Board of Trade to relocate him.[13] In fact, historians agree that Cornwallis was largely forgotten until 1899, when his status as the "founding father" of Halifax was invented to foster growing narratives of nationalism.[14] Following confederation, there were

---

[9] Jon Tattrie, "Cornwallis Statue," Canadian Encyclopedia, Jan 23, 2018, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/cornwallis-statue
[10] Daniel N. Paul, *We Were Not the Savages* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000), 115.
[11] Ibid, 117.
[12] Ibid, 116.
[13] Tom Fraser. "Edward Cornwallis, Public Memory, and Canadian Nationalism," 2018, https://activehistory.ca/2018/03/edward-cornwallis-public-memory-and-canadian-nationalism/
[14] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 5:34-6:15 video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s

efforts across Canada to glorify colonial conquest; historical papers were written about Cornwallis to construct a narrative that Cornwallis was a heroic national figure of importance – shortly after these efforts, plans to erect a monument of Cornwallis were underway.

In the 1920's, Nova Scotia Premier E.N. Rhodes set up the Cornwallis Memorial Committee to erect a statue of Cornwallis to promote tourism to the region and to celebrate Cornwallis as the founder of Halifax.[15] The statue was erected in 1931 and was predominantly paid for by the Canadian National Railway ($11,600), the province of Nova Scotia ($2,500), the City of Halifax ($2,500) and other contributors including corporations and even school children ($3,758.89).[16] The statue was unveiled in Park Nova Scotian, later renamed Cornwallis Park, and now known as Peace and Friendship Park as of June, 2021.[17] In 1974, the federal government recognized Cornwallis as a "person of national historical significance" because of his role in founding Halifax;[18] however, increasing opposition to the commemoration of Edward Cornwallis ramped up in the 1990's.

Local Mi-kmaq elder, scholar and activist Daniel Paul published a book in 1993 entitled *We Were Not the Savages: A Mi'kmaq Perspective on the Collision Between European and Native American Civilizations* that detailed Cornwallis's war against the Mi'kmaq people during the first period of British colonization; the book also challenged long-held narratives about the city's founder. Paul chronicled the barbaric mistreatment of the Mi'kmaq who resisted the

---

[15] Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society, "Cornwallis Park and Statue, "accessed July 5, 2021, https://hmhps.ca/sites/cornwallis-park-and-statue

[16] Halifax, "Special Advisory Committee on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History - Terms of Reference," October 3, 2017, 2 https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/171003rc1414.pdf

[17] Elizabeth McMillan, "Newly Renamed Peace and Friendship Park Celebrated in Halifax," *CBC News*, June 21, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/peace-and-friendship-cornwallis-park-halifax-1.6073550

[18] Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf

expropriation and occupation of their lands and who endured violent treatment at the direction of Cornwallis. Paul continues to be a driving force behind a grass-roots campaign to educate people about the full history of the province and to advocate for the renaming of all public places bearing Cornwallis's name.

In 2008, Paul and local advocate Cheryl LeBlanc-Weldon started a petition that called for the removal of the Cornwallis statue and the renaming of all public assets named after Cornwallis.[19] The petition gained a few thousand signatures, but there was no action taken at the provincial or municipal level.[20] Three years later, in 2011, a year after appointing its first Mi'kmaq representative, the Halifax regional school board voted unanimously to rename Cornwallis Junior High. The board agreed that the name was "inappropriate and unacceptable"[21] because of Cornwallis's legacy of violence against Mi'kmaq residents; the school has since been renamed Halifax Central Junior High.[22] Following this action, in 2016, the Mi'kmaq Native Friendship Centre requested that Cornwallis Street be renamed; the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church (now New Horizons Baptist Church) wrote a letter to council in support of the Mi'kmaq centre's request.[23] However, despite the debate about Cornwallis's name and legacy beginning to gain more traction, the request was ultimately rejected by the Halifax Regional Municipality; a pivotal motion, detailed below, was also rejected in the same year.

---

[19] Acadian.org, "Rename Cornwallis Petition," date accessed, July 17, 2021, *Acadian.org* https://www.acadian.org/history/232-2/

[20] Ben Sichel," Renaming Cornwallis; 2,000 sign Petition, but NDP Government Seems Uninterested," January 17, 2009, http://halifax.mediacoop.ca/fr/story/1746

[21] CBC News, "Halifax Founder's Name to Disappear from School," June 23, 2011. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/halifax-founder-s-name-to-disappear-from-school-1.1063185

[22] CTV News, "Cornwallis Junior High Officially Renamed," Jan 26, 2012, https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/cornwallis-junior-high-officially-renamed-1.759067

[23] Nzhingha Millar, "Cornwallis Street Baptist Church to change its name," *The Signal*, March 17, 2017 https://signalhfx.ca/cornwallis-street-baptist-church-to-change-its-name/

In 2016, Councillor Waye Mason, inspired in part by the city's Statement of Reconciliation in 2015, that was written in response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action,[24] tabled a motion to ask staff to prepare a report on a public engagement process that would help to advise council on the public use of Cornwallis's name.[25] After an hour of tense deliberation, the motion was narrowly defeated 8-7; two councillors were not present for the vote.[26] Dissenting councillors suggested that they had received angry emails from residents who wanted the statue and the name to remain[27] and multiple dissenting Councillors lamented that the HRM could not "rewrite history." [28] Additionally, Mason stated that the motion prompted "some of the most ridiculous and abusive emails and phone calls" he had ever received.[29] Mason attributes inaccurate media narratives about the motion, summed up in the media headline "Halifax to Consider Scrubbing the City of Edward Cornwallis," to inciting polarizing sentiments from Councillors that stopped his motion from moving forward.[30] However, there were similar debates and discussions already taking place locally and across Canada during this period.

In 2015, the Premier of Nova Scotia Stephen McNeil acted to have a sign for the Cornwallis River removed, as a result of a request from Daniel Paul.[31] The river runs through a Mi'kmaq community in the Annapolis valley and Paul felt it was inappropriate to have this sign

---

[24] Halifax, "Statement of Reconciliation from Halifax Regional Council," December 8, 2015. http://legacycontent.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/documents/151208ca1442.pdf
[25] Jacob Boon, "Halifax Votes to Keep Honouring Edward Cornwallis," May 11, 2016, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/halifax-votes-to-keep-honouring-edward-cornwallis/Content?oid=5387004
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 20:24-20:40, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s
[29] Jacob Boon, "Panel of Experts to Review Use of Cornwallis Name," April 26, 2017 https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/panel-of-experts-to-review-use-of-cornwallis-name/Content?oid=7065268
[30] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 19:54, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s
[31] Jean Laroche, "Cornwallis Statue Removal from Park Should be Considered, Says Premier," Dec 11, 2015, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-name-debate-1.3360725

in such close proximity.[32] Additionally, following the TRC's Report in 2015, the City of Calgary asked their Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee to determine which steps from the TRC's Calls to Action could be undertaken by Calgary's municipal government.[33] As a result, the City of Calgary renamed the Langevin Bridge to Reconciliation Bridge in 2017 because of Langevin's ties to Canada's residential schooling system.[34] Similarly, in 2015 the Quebec Toponymy Commission, a public body that is responsible for managing place names in the province, "de-officialised" 11 place names that began with the "N" word across the province.[35] This move was the result of a petition started by Rachel Zellars, a PhD student at McGill University who noticed the offensive names.[36] As of June 2020, only one of the locations has been renamed and the commission has not set a deadline to rename the others.[37] There are also countless examples of place renaming and statue removals that took place after the HRM's statue removal that suggest that Halifax council's initial motion on the Cornwallis issue was not likely to be definitive.

In response to Mason's narrowly defeated 2016 motion and some of the offensive rhetoric by city councillors, Halifax's Poet Laureate (2016-2018) Mi'kmaq scholar and advocate, Rebecca Thomas, wrote a poem entitled "Not Perfect" which she performed before council in April of 2017. The title of "Not Perfect" referenced the exact words used by Councillors David

[32] Jean Laroche, "Cornwallis Statue Removal from Park Should Be Considered, Says Premier," Dec 11, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-name-debate-1.3360725.
[33] Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee "White Goose Flying; A Report to Calgary City Council on the Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action 2016," May 2016, C:/Users/MrsBl/Downloads/white-goose-flying-calls-to-action-cauac.pdf.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Carmel Kilkenny, "…." name to be changed in 11 Quebec locations," Last modified Oct 29, 2015. https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2015/09/28/-name-to-be-changed-in-11-quebec-locations/.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Phil Carpenter, "Efforts Heat up to Change Some of Quebec's Racially Offensive Location Names," Last modified June 29, 2020, https://globalnews.ca/news/7122636/changing-quebecs-racially-offensive-location-names

Hendsbee [38] and Matt Whitman[39] who used them to describe their position that no one is perfect and therefore the figure of Cornwallis should remain. The poem describes Thomas's frustration about the defeated motion, about how the HRM has neglected the presence, interests, and history of Mi'kmaq people within the community. As Thomas stated, "It's time for minds to be changed and pride to be checked."[40] Thomas's poem also asked who would explain to her nieces and her nephews why the legacy of genocide that Cornwallis represents continued to be immortalized.[41]

Two weeks later, inspired and perhaps shamed by her words, Councillor Shawn Cleary introduced a new motion for a staff report with terms of reference for creating an expert panel to engage the public and to advise council on how to remember Cornwallis as well as Indigenous history in public spaces; Cleary cited the HRM's 2015 Reconciliation Statement as one of the purposes for bringing the motion forward; the motion was approved 15-1 in April, 2017. [42] Numerous council meetings preceded the motion where conversations about who should participate on the expert panel and how it should proceed took place.

Two months after the motion to create an expert panel was approved, on Canada Day, July 1, 2017, Chief Grizzly Bear Mama led a ceremony at the statue of Cornwallis attended by approximately 50 people – the Chief shaved her head and placed her braids upon the feet of the statue to raise awareness of those who had been lost by the legacy of violence and trauma that Cornwallis inflicted.[43] The group was interrupted by five white men who identified themselves

---

[38] Found here: Jacob Boon, "Halifax Votes to Keep Honouring Edward Cornwallis," May 11, 2016, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/halifax-votes-to-keep-honouring-edward-cornwallis/Content?oid=5387004
[39] Found here: Jacob Boon, "Update: Matt Whitman all-lives-matters Cornwallis panel," October 4, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/shithead-matt-whitman-all-lives-matters-cornwallis-panel/Content?oid=9892266
[40] Halifax, "Poet Laureate Rebecca Thomas - Not Perfect," *YouTube*, April 11, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3XR8PP-_pM&t=10s.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Jacob Boon, "Panel of Experts to Review use of Cornwallis Name," April 26, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/panel-of-experts-to-review-use-of-cornwallis-name/Content?oid=7065268
[43] Anjuli Patil, "Cornwallis Protest Held Amid Canada Day Celebrations," July 1, 2017, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-protest-chief-grizzly-mama-canada-day-1.4187445.

as being part of the "Proud Boys," a far-right all male organization now labelled as an official terrorist group in Canada, who said to Indigenous supporters "You're disrespecting General Cornwallis." [44] The five members of the "Proud Boys," later identified as members of the Canadian armed forces,[45] were carrying a Canadian Red Ensign flag that was originally used in Canada in the 1870's and is now widely adopted as white-supremacist propaganda.[46] This interaction, which thankfully did not result in physical violence, demonstrates the mobilization of the far right to enlist settler history and settler heroes in their backlash campaigns against moves in the direction of reconciliation and equality.

After the Canada Day event, another protest took place two weeks later, where approximately 300 people gathered at the Cornwallis statue to demand its removal. Group organizers asked Mayor Mike Savage, who was present at the protest, to remove the statue immediately and to move forward with an "Indigenous-Halifax expert panel."[47] In July 2017, when this protest took place, the panel had not yet been formed and no timeline had been given as to when public consultations would be complete. Mayor Mike Savage stated that he would present the demands to council, but also cautioned that people on "both sides" must be respected.[48] As a temporary solution, the city covered the statue with a tarp during the protest. Although Mi'kmaq elder Isabelle Knockwood stated that she hoped the tarp would symbolize a

---

[44] Anjuli Patil, "Cornwallis Protest Held." Patil, Anjuli. "Cornwallis Protest Held Amid Canada Day Celebrations." *CBC*. July 1, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-protest-chief-grizzly-mama-canada-day-1.4187445.

[45] Elizabeth McMillan and Anjuli Patil, "Forces Members Who Disrupted Indigenous Rally Face 'Severe Consequences,' July 4, 2017, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/proud-boys-canadian-military-indigenous-protest-disrupted-1.4189615.

[46] Graeme Hamilton, "Former Canadian flag, the Red Ensign, gets new, darker life as far-right symbol," July 10, 2017, https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/former-canadian-flag-the-red-ensign-gets-new-darker-life-as-far-right-symbol.

[47] Jacob Boon, "Cornwallis Tarp Already Removed," *The Coast*, July 15, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-tarp-already-removed/Content?oid=8406518.

[48] Ibid.

"period of mourning" for people who died because of Cornwallis's scalping order, the tarp was removed only a few hours later, presumably by members of the public.[49]

While public pressure to remove the statue continued to mount, the tentative terms of reference for the panel were released in October 2017. To create the terms of reference, the HRM consulted numerous individuals and groups including academics and historians, representatives of the provincial office of Aboriginal Affairs, Parks Canada, the Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society, international experts on complexity studies and Daniel Paul.[50] According to HRM staff, several themes emerged during these discussions, such as the need to consult the public as well as a concern about experts: primarily, the role that experts should have in decision making.[51] Those consulted suggested that questions about commemoration, about how to remember the past and how the past informs the present, "are questions for community, citizens and politicians rather than for experts."[52] Other themes included the balance of knowledge and community experience among panelists as well as "community credibility." [53]

The Staff Report ultimately recommended that the panel consist of eight members who would be drawn equally from Indigenous and non-Indigenous backgrounds, comprised of co-chairs from Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities with leadership and chairing experience, as well as an even number of members with experience or expertise in the areas of history and commemoration, Military history, Mi'kmaq history and Indigenous and non-indigenous community experience.[54] Staff recommended that the members of the panel be

---

[49] Ibid.
[50] Halifax. "Special Advisory Committee on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History - Terms of Reference." October 3, 2017, 5 https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/171003rc1414.pdf.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid, 7.

appointed by Council by resolution and four of the eight members of the panel would be chosen from a slate of candidates recommended by the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs (Assembly).[55] The report also suggested that the panel could opt to seek advice from "experts including anthropologists, ethicists, psychologists, sociologists, landscape architects, urban designers and others that may not be represented in a proposed panel." [56]

The terms of reference were passed in October 2017. Councillor Matt Whitman was one of the two votes against the administrative order. He stated that he was concerned the terms did not specify "fact-based" decisions and that they were too narrowly focused on Cornwallis: "How about African Nova Scotians? How about Acadians? How about gays, lesbians, everyone else? This is just about Cornwallis. There are lots of other names—Barrington, Quinpool, Coburg—that we should also be looking at if we go down this road." [57] In response, Rebecca Thomas pointed out that Whitman was "all lives mattering" the statue debate.[58] Councillors Hendsbee and Stephen Adams also shared concerns that Indigenous members of the panel would have difficulty remaining impartial, although no such concerns were raised about non-Indigenous members.[59] Unfortunately, these comments were not isolated events.

Documents obtained in an FOI request conducted by *The Coast* newspaper in 2017 reveal racist and insensitive comments made by Councillor Hendsbee via email who suggested that the tarp used to cover the statue should have been red and who joked about "passing the peace-pipe" among councillors.[60] Responding to a resident who asked council to remove the statue in order to

---

[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid, 7.
[57] Jacob Boon, "Update: Matt Whitman All-Lives-Matters Cornwallis Panel," October 4, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/shithead-matt-whitman-all-lives-matters-cornwallis-panel/Content?oid=9892266
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Jacob Boon, "David Hendsbee Surprised Halifax Didn't Use a Red Tarp to Cover Cornwallis Statue," October 25, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/david-hendsbee-surprised-halifax-didnt-use-a-red-tarp-to-cover-cornwallis-statue/Content?oid=10335984

acknowledge the past and to respect Mi'kmaq people, Hendsbee writes, "I wonder how far to [sic] we go back to rectify this? Do we pass our keys to our homes and give them back to the First Nations to live in?" [61] These comments reveal a pattern of ignorant vitriol from Councillor Hendsbee, who also appeared on the News 95.7's *Rick Howe Show* before the July 2017 protest, calling Indigenous organizers "hotheads on the warpath." [62]

In the months that followed these statements, debates about who would occupy the eight seats on the expert panel ensued. Although the list of names put forward by Council and by the Assembly were not released to the public initially and was strictly discussed in-camera, meaning these names were discussed privately to maintain confidentiality, in early January 2018, media sources confirmed that Chief Wilbert Marshall was on the list of names proposed by the Assembly.[63] Chief Marshall was considered a controversial candidate by some councillors as he had previously served three years in jail when he was convicted of sexually assaulting an unconscious 20-year-old woman in 2008.[64] Although the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs voted unanimously to include Marshall on the panel, certain councillors objected to his participation, delaying the process of confirming any of the panel members further.[65]

On January 26, 2018, the Assembly made a sudden announcement calling for the immediate removal of the Cornwallis monument and announcing their withdrawal from the panel discussion process.[66] The Assembly unanimously agreed that the process had taken far too long

---

[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Jacob Boon, Cornwallis Panel Nominee's Sexual Assault Conviction," January 11, 2018, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-panel-nominees-sexual-assault-conviction/Content?oid=12026010
[64] Ibid.
[65] Anjuli Patil, "Council to Consider Removing Cornwallis Statue from Halifax Park," January 29, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/report-recommends-removing-edward-cornwallis-statue-1.4509522
[66]Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs, "Community Notice: The Assembly Calls for Cornwallis Statue to be Removed Immediately," January 26, 2018, *Facebook.* https://www.facebook.com/AssemblyNSChiefs/photos/a.200481517137184/334456147073053/?type=3

and that the Mi'kmaq were ready to see immediate action.[67] By January 26, 2018, the panel had not yet been formed, nor had it begun its work in consulting the public which would take months after the committee had been brought together.

Consequently, at a Council Meeting on January 30, 2018, staff recommended that the Edward Cornwallis statue be removed and placed into storage while further deliberation could take place, citing their most immediate concern as one of "public safety." [68] Staff suggested that protests may increase given the Assembly's withdrawal from the process and there could be a threat of damage to the statue as well as potential conflicts between protestors and counter-protestors.[69] Under "Risk Consideration," staff mentioned an already planned protest for February 4, 2018, and the potential for clashes that also posed a reputational risk for the HRM.[70] Heading these warnings, council voted 12-4 to remove the statue.[71] The statue and the stone pedestal on which it stood were removed on January 31, 2018 and placed into storage.

Nine months later in October, 2018, HRM voted to re-authorize the establishment of the joint committee between Halifax Regional Council and the Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs; the panel would establish its own procedures and processes of decision making and would be provided two years to complete its mission.[72] In December 2018, an administrative order was agreed to between both parties and in January 21, 2019, the newly formed Special Advisory Committee passed its first motion to be renamed the Task Force on the

---

[67] Ibid.
[68] Halifax, "Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis." January 30, 2018, 2, https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/180130rc171.pdf
[69] Ibid, 3.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Cassie Williams and Anjuli Patil, "Controversial Cornwallis Statue Removed from Halifax Park," January 31, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-statue-removal-1.4511858
[72] Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020, 5, https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf

Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History.[73] The Task Force then embarked on its assignment to consult the public; four public engagement sessions happened in June 2019 and two public engagement sessions happened in October 2019 — each event was widely advertised and open for everyone to participate.[74] In total, 70 participants made presentations at the combined meetings; there were also 76 written submissions received "from 55 unique contributors." [75]

The Final Report of the Task Force submitted July 21, 2020, detailed the summary of these engagement processes. The majority of those who contributed to the engagement sessions opposed returning the statue to its original location or to any site of positive public commemoration.[76] There were 12 contributors who were in favour of the statue's restoration to the park, but with modifications such as the addition of other statues or educational materials; there were 14 who argued for the full reinstatement of the statue.[77] Some of these participants argued that the actions of Cornwallis were defensible for the time period in which they took place and they shared concerns about the removal of the statue erasing history; in some cases, contributors questioned "the impartiality of the Task Force and its members." [78] However, the report reads that overall, a "spirit of civility and respectfulness" prevailed.[79]

The Task Force ultimately recommended that the statue not be returned to a place of public commemoration under any circumstances, that it remains in storage until a civic museum could be created and that Cornwallis Park be renamed "Peace and Friendship Park." [80] These

[73] Ibid, 5.
[74] Ibid, 7.
[75] Ibid, 8.
[76] Ibid, 43.
[77] Ibid, 43.
[78] Ibid, 44.
[79] Ibid, i.
[80] Ibid, iii.

recommendations were among 17 other recommendations, some entirely free and others requiring financial investments, that were intended to honour HRM's commitment to reconciliation in 2015 and to rectify the near absence of public Mi'kmaq commemorations.[81]

This section has provided details of the events leading up to the formation of the Task Force and the removal of the Edward Cornwallis monument. The section also highlighted why Cornwallis is a contested figure in Halifax and the steps that have been taken by the HRM to address the commemoration of Cornwallis within the municipality leading up to the statue's removal. The key points that will be brought forward into the next section for analysis, are the dueling narratives that have been placed upon the statue that give reason for its removal. Advocates and scholars like Daniel Paul and Rebecca Thomas as well as historians such as John Tattrie reveal the violent history of Cornwallis that complicate the manufactured narrative of Cornwallis as an imperial hero. Following this, I will then discuss the deliberative protocol that the HRM undertook as well as Indigenous-settler relations at the municipal level.

Statues

The Cornwallis monument is an example of how monuments can be public depositories where people attach competing narratives, often as social and political conditions change. Not dissimilar to the legacies of John A. Macdonald that will be explored in the following chapter, for some, Cornwallis is a "founding father," a representative of the building of Canada and even to one prolific amateur historian and participant in the Halifax statue debates, Leo Deveau, a "victim" to modern social justice agendas.[82] To others, Cornwallis is a man who represents

[81] Ibid, iii-v.
[82] Marc Montgomery, "Removing Cornwallis - Facts vs Modern Social Justice Agenda," February 27, 2018. https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2018/02/20/removing-cornwallis-facts-vs-modern-social-justice-agenda/

genocide, unhonoured treaties and broken promises of peace, and friendship, as well as enduring legacies of racism.[83] These divided narratives are why the statue was repeatedly called a "flashpoint" for conflict and why the threat of increasing tension at the statue was cited as a reason to remove it.[84]

Sociologist Jeffrey Olick suggests that our society is shaped by narratives that are constitutive of identity, that are expressions of culture, and an instrument of politics.[85] This is why struggles for historical recognition and reparation around the world have centered on confronting toxic narratives of the past; collective remembering is an active and sustained process of construction and reconstruction of narratives—the Cornwallis monument is a perfect example to illustrate how collective memory has history, to understand what provoked changes in how people remember and the variety of practices, such as commemoration or the removal of monuments, that constitute remembering.[86] Historians agree that the heroic narrative of Cornwallis was constructed to coincide with the nation's search for a Canadian national identity. The manufacturing of the mythic patriotic narrative of Cornwallis is punctuated by the fact that his statue bore no physical resemblance to him – the sculptor worked with a portrait of the wrong subject.[87] However, the manufactured imperial nationalism that created the statue is the same nationalism that sustains the fight against its removal.

When the Proud Boys descended upon protests at the monument, they were carrying the red ensign flag, now associated with far-right groups, on Canada Day no less — a day associated

---

[83] CTV News Atlantic, date accessed Sept 12, 2021, https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/video?clipId=870833
[84] Halifax. "Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis." January 30, 2018, 2-3. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/180130rc171.pdf,
[85] Jeffrey K. Olick, *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 5.
[86] Ibid, 122.
[87] Halifax, "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020, 24. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf

with the celebration of empire. The Proud Boys emphasized that Canada is a "British Colony" and suggested that protestors were "disrespecting Cornwallis." [88] Their presence, as defenders of British heritage, was later underscored by the revelations that the men were also members of the Canadian military; the settlement of Halifax began as a military outpost and Cornwallis's violent actions aimed to secure the territory for British settlement. The actions of the Proud Boys, disrupting a Mi'kmaq ceremony, and their comments, emphasizing Halifax as being a British space where the concerns of the Mi'kmaq are considered disrespectful, demonstrate how the narratives of nationalism attached to the monument clash with discourses of reconciliation and reparation.

As Reuben Rose-Redwood reminds us, narratives of historical social exclusions are typically reinforced as 'materialized discourses.'[89] In his study of place renaming that is comparable to the symbolism of statues, Rose-Redwood cites geographer Derek Alderman who states that statues are a part of 'larger struggles over social and political identity and are used for resisting the hegemonic order as well as reproducing it.' [90] As part of the "colonial wallpaper," monuments are materialized discourses of Canadian national unity and sovereignty.[91] Challenging the narrative of the heroic "founding father" is therefore contesting, at a personal level, the identity of 'the' nation, as well as the very structure of the City of Halifax as an inevitable British military outpost that naturally supplants the interests, values, and even history of Indigenous peoples that existed for millennia before the British arrived.

---

[88] Tom Fraser. "Edward Cornwallis, Public Memory, and Canadian Nationalism," 2018, https://activehistory.ca/2018/03/edward-cornwallis-public-memory-and-canadian-nationalism/

[89] Reuben Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory, and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City," *Social & Cultural Geography,* 9:4, (2008) 432, DOI: 10.1080/14649360802032702

[90] Ibid.

[91] Timothy J. Stanley, "Commemorating John A. Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia." *BC Studies* no. 204 (19, 2020): 89-113, 237. http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/scholarly-journals/commemorating-john-macdonald-collective/docview/2369405744/se-2?accountid=14846.

Therefore, what is at stake within conversations about commemoration in this case is more than the removal of a historical artifact; it is the confrontation of settler colonialism, which is arguably what has triggered backlash from Councillors such as Hendsbee detailed earlier in this chapter, who argued that the statue should actually be relocated to a more prominent position —he suggested the Halifax waterfront where Cornwallis is thought to have disembarked [92] —and what prompted groups such as the Proud Boys to disrupt a Mi'kmaq ceremony in an attempt to instigate confrontation. Or, on another occasion, what precipitated a Neo-Nazi group, ID Canada, to write a letter to the HRM calling the removal of the Cornwallis monument an "unforgivable offence," provoking Councillor Whitman, who claimed he had not knowledge of who the group was, to retweet their post describing their letter. [93] This type of backlash, to the claims and concerns of Indigenous communities, signifies the deeper struggles which monuments are a part. As Mayor Mike Savage shared to CBC News, "For me, I've always said the statue is an impediment to getting where we need to be with our First Nations partners, primarily the Mi'kmaq, but also the Métis who live here in Nova Scotia." [94] Removing a monument or renaming streets and parks are not only symbolic actions and these responses demonstrate this fact; rethinking the commemoration of Cornwallis, through the HRM's Statement of Reconciliation especially, is also about considering how the traditional strategies of the HRM have largely excluded Indigenous perspectives, voices, and governance — conversations that advocates used the Cornwallis monument to initiate.

---

[92] Pam Berman, "Edward Cornwallis statue should be 'prominently displayed,' Hendsbee says" Dec 14, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-statue-removed-david-hendsbee-1.3364851.
[93] Emma Davie, "Halifax Councillor Under Fire for Retweeting Pro-White Group," Feb 1, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/matt-whitman-halifax-council-twitter-white-supremacist-group-1.4515649.
[94] Anjuli Patil, "Council to consider removing Cornwallis statue from Halifax Park," January 29, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/report-recommends-removing-edward-cornwallis-statue-1.4509522.

Debates about historical narratives, memory, and colonialism gives voice, at the same time, to narratives of exclusion, oppression, and injustice. Statues under public scrutiny, the public space that surrounds them and, in turn, municipal chambers where their fate is typically debated, also offers fertile ground for reflection, raising awareness, solidarity, and community building. During the protests at the Cornwallis monument that were mentioned previously, Indigenous leaders gathered in song and ceremony, singing, drumming, and transforming the space around the statue to a scene of community and resistance. Although organizer Elizabeth Marshall said that she wanted to bring the statue down "like Saddam," she also said that the day felt like "a rebirth of our people" who "have felt like they were voiceless, and today they had a voice." [95] Suggesting that Cornwallis, to Marshall at the very least, is akin to Saddam Hussein affirms the importance of the removal of this monument to signify political change, and the possibility of transition to a new political relationship between the Mi'kmaq and the HRM. As Sumartojo explains, constructing or demolishing memorials, is sometimes linked to periods of political and social transformation; monuments can be vessels of visibilizing authority by maintaining how history is represented, but they are also sites of contestations where neglected histories and differences can become evident.[96]

In addition, the Task Force that was born from conflict about the statue also underlies the power of this monument as a tool for provoking important discussions about the community's values and for re-examining the relationship between the Assembly and the HRM. The recommendations from the Task Force created to address the statue also included a number of

[95] CBC News: The National, "Protesters Demand Removal of Cornwallis Statue in Halifax," July 15, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8TRFjQT6BY.
[96] Shanti Sumartojo, "Memorials and State Sponsored History," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, edited by Bevernage, Berber, Nico Wouters, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 449-450 doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6.

other impactful directives that were approved by council, including renaming Cornwallis Park to Peace and Friendship Park as well as initiating a process "with full participation from representatives of the Mi'kmaq community" that would identify places where Indigenous history—prioritizing commemorating residential school survivors and missing and murdered Indigenous women — could be publicly displayed.[97] The process of removing the Cornwallis monument involved a reclaiming of Indigenous space within the city and also arguably created the basis for a more egalitarian understanding of consultative practices moving forward. The consultation process that the HRM undertook will be examined in the section to follow, primarily, who was included within these decisions, how they were included, and what this helps us to understand.

Democratic Engagement, Consultation Processes and Policy

In this section, I will first apply the traditional aspects of a liberal deliberative approach —that have long been heralded as legitimating factors for political decision making — to the creation and the strategies of the Task Force in Halifax; these traditional aspects are inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity. I want to use these principles to explore the creation and actions of the Task Force to understand how the HRM's deliberative strategy lined up and departed from normative principles of a liberal deliberative approach and deliberative reconciliation, to accommodate Indigenous community members. Next, I will explain why deliberation within multinational democracies, that is, within countries that have more than one

[97] Halifax, "Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," date accessed Sept 21, 2021, 62, https://www.halifax.ca/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/inactive-boards-committees-commissions/task-force.

nation,[98] like Canada, challenges assumptions about inclusive democratic engagement, consultation, and participation. Beginning in this section and continuing in the following substantive section of the chapter, I will build upon literature related to diplomacy to explain the distinct differences that can be weighed when deliberating within Indigenous communities—changes that move beyond recognition and accommodation of differences within a typical inclusive deliberative reconciliation framework toward diplomatic relations guided by a nation-to-nation framework.

This process of consulting the public[99] to understand and to measure the preferences of the community corresponds with democratic principles, such as inclusion, equality and the common good. The community consultations undertaken by the Task Force welcomed anyone who was able to participate, ostensibly providing an equal opportunity for all of those affected by this decision or all of those who wished to influence the outcome of the statue dilemma, to share their perspectives in discussion.[100] Creating a formal, open to all community-wide forum of this kind brings legitimacy to democratic decision making because it builds confidence that there is a type of political equality — participants feel as though decisions are being made through reason instead of through fear or false consensus.[101] As mentioned previously, 50% of the makeup of the Task Force were Mi'kmaq community members and 50% of the makeup of the Task Force were non-Indigenous; however, the inclusive public consultations that the Task Force pursued communicated – in principle at least – an obligation and responsibility to listen to everyone.[102]

---

[98] See James Tully, "Introduction," In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, 1–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511521577.003.
[99] When using the term "public" throughout this thesis, I am keeping in mind Nancy Fraser's (1990) critique of the public sphere, originally theorized by Jürgen Habermas, that I will expand upon shortly.
[100] Halifax, "Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," date accessed Sept 21, 2021, https://www.halifax.ca/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/inactive-boards-committees-commissions/task-force
[101] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 23-24.
[102] Ibid, 80.

Creating a space for the community to engage in public forums where records were being kept also provides a manner of transparency and accountability.

Responses from the public were noted and considered by the panel, as detailed in their final report, which is available for the public to survey. Having a public record of events and a detailed summary of the reasons behind the panel's recommendations is helpful to understanding the actions that the HRM undertook — citizens can trust and assess that the process was undertaken with agreed upon protocols and reasoning. Providing reasoning and justification, as a reminder, according to Gutmann and Thompson, is the most important function of a liberal deliberative approach.[103] The report is also an educational tool, regarding the process, organization, questions, conclusions, and considerations that can be drawn upon by other municipalities facing similar issues of contested commemoration. Transparency is also coupled with accountability; it is a method to hold the Task Force members as well as the City Councillors responsible for their decision-making practices. Governments must be accountable to their citizens and having access to reports, whether these are disclosed proactively or released through freedom of information requests, is traditionally thought of as being important for building trust among political representatives and community members.

In addition to transparency, accountability, equality, and inclusiveness, another ideal of democratic deliberation is also at play here, publicity.[104] Although the public consultations were not an open forum for debate, but rather discussions and information gathering sessions, the interaction of participants – with different individual and collective histories, ideals and interests – formed a public which had to "face one another" to discuss collective problems.[105] The 'public'

[103] Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Why Deliberative Democracy?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
[104] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 25.
[105] Ibid.

that the shared consultative sessions created through common procedures of circle discussions required participants to understand that their point of view would be shared with other members of the public and of the panel. The dynamic of expressing oneself to a public can encourage participants to explain their positions or proposals in a way that acknowledges that a third party is listening.[106] In other words, accountability can result in explanations that are more robust, or that aim to be understandable, reasonable, and acceptable as opposed to flagrant comments that create a compelling media headline without further explanation.[107]

Allowing the community to engage on this issue, apart from typical council meetings, also draws on the capacity of community members to take part in a process of resolution. The process of engaging in a community wide struggle is something that both deliberative and agonistic[108] scholars would agree is beneficial; deliberative democrats[109] would support the inclusion of citizens to make the community aware of historical injustice and oppression and to engage in moving toward a resolution, while agonists[110] would support the opportunity for people to engage outside the usual confines of political deliberation, not necessarily to reach consensus, but to have a legitimate outlet for disagreement that can form the basis for ongoing engagement. However, when attempting to assess the HRM's approach to deliberation through a historical injustice lens, or a lens that takes seriously the social and political position of

---

[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.
[108] As a reminder from Chapter 1, agonistic democracy, as envisioned by political theorist Chantal Mouffe, rejects the perceived counterproductive process of consensus-based decision making of democratic deliberation that, from an agonistic perspective, is not realistic within divided societies because it neglects the fact that antagonism will always exist and because it does not allow for diverse opinions or expressions to be taken seriously.
[109] Such as Bashir, Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2012): 127-143; Duncan Ivison, "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *Deliberative Democracy in Practice,* ed. David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams, 115-138 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), and John Dryzek, *Deliberative Global Politics: Discourse and Democracy in a Divided World (*Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).
[110] Such as Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*. (New York: Verso, 2000) and James Tully, "Struggles over Recognition and Distribution." *Constellations*, 7: (2000), 469-482, https://doiorg.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/1467-8675.00203.

Indigenous nations and community members, there are further considerations within deliberation, exclusivity, and discrimination for example, that must also be considered.

While public consultations meet the requirement for equal and inclusive deliberative norms and even provide a public forum for agonistic discussion, as explained by Mansbridge, inclusive public meetings do not always result in equal participation by all.[111] It is not uncommon for marginalized voices to go unheard, ignored, or, worse, silenced, by structural dynamics such as institutional rules, procedures and individual behaviour that work together to perpetuate racism and discrimination, that privilege groups and individuals — white, male, able bodied, 'reasoned' — over others. Differences in gender, race, class, and perceived ability are directly related to structural differences in power, resource allocation and discursive hegemony.[112]

As political theorist Nany Fraser contends in her critique of Jürgen Habermas's original conception of the "public" sphere, "deliberation can serve as a mask for domination." [113] Fraser also contends that the idea that there is only one "public" is a bourgeois conception that is not an adequate theory to explain actual democracy.[114] Fraser argues that there is a multiplicity of publics in late capitalist and multicultural societies; some of these publics are differently empowered, segmented and subordinated to others.[115] In other words, the interests and values of those who are socially and politically marginalized are often excluded within deliberation — which means that consulting 'the' public is not always as comprehensive as it sounds. In addition, to return to the deliberative norm of 'publicity,' although the public consultations

---

[111] Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[112] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 83.
[113] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," Social Text, no. 25/26 (1990), 64.
[114] Ibid, 77.
[115] Ibid.

created an environment where people were encouraged to articulate their claims in a reasonable manner so that community members might reasonably accept them, the criteria to determine what is reasonable are likely to reflect the norms of the dominant group and not the norms and values of the historically excluded group.[116] Therefore, inclusive and equal deliberation is not always possible within public consultation.

The panel and partnership aimed to, in part, remedy these inequitable structural circumstances; creating a Task Force that was, eventually, equally responsible to the HRM and the Assembly displayed a level of mutual acknowledgment and consideration – the HRM showcased that there are significant differences of social and political position that must be addressed through structural change. In other words, by recognizing that the task of assessing public commemoration was a policy matter that was best solved with Indigenous community members in partnership, the HRM changed the typical conditions of municipal policy making, of a liberal deliberative approach, to include and to value the perspectives of Indigenous representatives. This approach can be conceptualized as a deliberative reconciliation approach, that recognized inequitable circumstances and aimed to address them through structural change.

Importantly, the step to create the Task Force was only taken after years of lobbying, protests, and advocacy work by members of the Mi'kmaq community primarily. As Waye Mason stated before he initiated the first motion to consider the commemoration of Cornwallis within the city, he felt that the Council's back was "against the wall."[117] However, this collaborative approach to addressing the Cornwallis statue demonstrated that historical

---

[116] Bashir Bashir, "Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 65.
[117] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 9:19-9:25, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s.

differences, at least in terms of this policy issue, were considered. There will be more detail on this in the following section of this chapter, but it is significant to mention here to demonstrate the power that was shared, however unwillingly at first, with the deliberative panel and with Indigenous representatives in particular.

Unlike some democratic processes that rely solely on aggregating preferences by determining which proposal has the highest numerical support, the Task Force acted as a safeguard to evaluate which responses were supported by the best evidence or reasoning; although, we already know from Young that what is considered the best reasoning typically favours the dominant group.[118] As stated in the final report of the Task Force, public engagement was not the only determinant of the panel's recommendations. The Meeting Minutes of the SAC reveal that the panel did not only gather to consult the public, but it also consulted unspecified research materials about commemoration more broadly.[119] There were also presentations made to the Task Force, about commemorative naming policies, on public art and recent commemorative projects that the wider public was also invited to attend.[120] The panel was ultimately responsible for justifying its recommendations and decisions through research materials, through the expert opinions of panel members, and through public input. However, the very idea that the panel was constructed to consult the wider public about an issue, the public commemoration of someone Indigenous leaders had described as "an unrepentant war criminal," is also worth considering

[118] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 22
[119] Halifax, "Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020, 45. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf
[120] Halifax and the Assembly of Nova Scotian Mi'kmaq Chiefs, Meeting Overview and Highlights," May 13, 2019, https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/190513CTFmeetingoverview.pdf

within the context about mutual respect and inclusive deliberative dynamics.[121] For many Mi'kmaq people, such as Daniel Paul and Rebecca Thomas, there was no question about whether it was appropriate to continue to commemorate a man whose actions Paul described as "indefensible" and consulting the wider community, to meet the tenets of deliberative democracy in this case, meant prolonging the monument's removal further.[122]

Upon the HRM's announcement that the panel would be created, Indigenous studies professor at Dalhousie University, Patti Doyle-Bedwell, questioned whether an expert panel was needed to examine the issue of commemorating Cornwallis; "I think there are people that have been talking and writing about this for a long time," she said, "I don't know why they don't have enough information to make a clear decision of Cornwallis's role in Nova Scotia."[123] Doyle-Bedwell went on to say that she supported the panel if it was the only way that council could move forward with their examination.[124] With seemingly the same incredulous attitude, when the Assembly pulled out of discussions about the expert panel and called for the immediate removal of the monument, Daniel Paul, who had been advocating for the statue's removal for 30 years said he couldn't "see any sense in prolonging this thing anymore. Get it over with. Remove the statue, rename the park, and let's get on with life."[125] Likewise, in an interview about the process, Rebecca Thomas stated:

---

[121] Halifax, "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020, 25, https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf

[122] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s

[123] As cited in Samantha Calio, "Halifax Council Vote to Examine Cornwallis Commemoration on City Properties," Ku'ku'kwes News, last modified April 26, 2017. http://kukukwes.com/2017/04/26/halifax-council-vote-to-examine-cornwallis-commemoration-on-city-properties/

[124] Ibid

[125] CTV News Atlantic. 'Get it over with': Protest Planned as Cornwallis Controversy Reignites." January 29, 2018. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/get-it-over-with-protest-planned-as-cornwallis-controversy-reignites-1.3780794

> We want our humanity back and it is so, so terrible that we have to ask the people who took our humanity away from us to give it back again. And for anyone who doesn't want to participate in that, is makes me so very sad that they can't see that they hold a part of who we are and if we really want to get better, that they need to be willing to let that go.[126]

Indeed, from the perspective of Doyle-Bedwell, Paul, and Thomas, consulting the wider community may not have been a necessary or even an appropriate step — Mi'kmaq community members had been asking for the statue's removal long before the idea to form the Task Force surfaced and hearing other perspectives on this issue seemed to undermine the seriousness of their demands.

Additionally, as demonstrated by the motion to remove the statue in January 2018, there was nothing, legally speaking, that was stopping council from removing the monument before public consultations began; in fact, that is exactly what occurred. However, during protests at the monument in July 2017, Mayor Mike Savage stated the issue must continue to be examined from all perspectives before and if the situation was ever to be resolved.[127] Hearing from "all sides" of the debate within the deliberative process is exactly why Rebecca Thomas remained cautious when the announcement of creating the panel was announced: "The vast majority of Haligonians are white people who can trace their lineage from settler colonization," said Thomas — "Again, the populace who doesn't really have a perspective on an Indigenous story might say 'They're trying to erase history.'[128] While including the wider community within decision making is a

---

[126] Ryan Van Horne, "The Truth About Cornwallis," *Halifax Magazine*, (2018): 14-15, https://issuu.com/advocateprinting/docs/halifax_mag_janfeb_2018_flipbook?fbclid=IwAR3zPKX8kq_RNkxkr3paFU0d1vVZnLxFwL1NAwh8r08JVvKuzazPEtTAjCw.
[127] Jacob Boon, "Cornwallis Tarp Already Removed," *The Coast*, July 15, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-tarp-already-removed/Content?oid=8406518.
[128] Jacob Boon, "Cornwallis Naming Debate Will Return to Council," *The Coast*, April 12, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-naming-debate-will-return-to-council/Content?oid=6895644.

procedural requirement of democratic deliberation, conversations about a matter of historical injustice with a historically excluded group that operates with its own legal and cultural traditions may require, because of the principles of mutual respect and self-determination, a more diplomatic approach.

Disagreements about the causes and consequences of historical injustice, which can occur within discussions about public commemoration, gets to the heart of social and political conflict – these conversations are difficult to navigate and this type of tension may not coalesce with an environment of mutual respect and recognition that diplomatic relationships with Indigenous nations require.[129] Additionally, it is widely understood by democratic theorists that there is no guarantee that deliberation will create a change in attitudes; this sparks the question as to whether or not including "all of those affected" within discussions about the symbolic meaning of oppressive historical figures, or whether or not creating an open forum that relates intrinsically to the oppression of minority groups, is beneficial.

Despite these longstanding inequitable circumstances of a liberal deliberative approach, inviting the wider community within a process of deliberation, according to Gutmann and Thompson, provides, at a basic level, opportunities for participation, for attempting to justify certain perspectives and for influencing policy.[130] While consensus is not always possible or realistic through deliberation in divided societies, the opportunity to enter into dialogue can produce an understanding of the expressions and opinions of others.[131] When a deliberative reconciliation approach is undertaken, which welcomes diverse expressions and identifies and

---

[129] Duncan Ivison. *Deliberative Democracy in Practice*, edited by David Kahane, et al., UBC Press, 2010. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uvic/detail.action?docID=3412658, 119.
[130] Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Why Deliberative Democracy?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
[131] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 6-7.

attempts to restructure inequitable circumstances, deliberation, according to Young and Bashir, can also be the beginning of a more just political community. However, emphasizing the imperative of a deliberative protocol, regardless of what the issue is that is up for discussion or who is taking part, can also be problematic.

As explained earlier in this chapter, individual Indigenous advocates and Assembly representatives had been calling for the statue to come down, and the park renamed, for decades before the process of community consultation and deliberation was proposed. These calls were largely unacknowledged. Additionally, the multiple protests at the monument, where ceremony was conducted and demands were read, were mentioned in the Staff Report that outlined the recommendation to remove the monument, but only in relation to the perceived violence and possible "increased volatility" at the statue.[132] While the collective struggle, of mostly Indigenous advocates, against the commemoration of Cornwallis kept the statue debate alive within the municipality, their demands and non-deliberative political activities were not favoured in place of deliberation. As Young explains, political engagements that are non-deliberative are powerful expressions of opinion that are typically excluded in place of privileging deliberation and what is understood to be reasonableness and civility.[133]

A stark example of the privileging of deliberative protocols is July 18, 2017, when Métis advocate Trish MacIntyre interrupted a council meeting, a meeting where the demands of the group who protested at the Cornwallis statue were promptly read and set aside without consideration. MacIntyre asked where people should go to discuss the statue if they had already contacted the Premier and Mayor, to which she was repeatedly answered that there was no speaking allowed from the gallery until Mayor Savage called a recess and MacIntyre was

[132] Halifax, "Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis," 2.
[133] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 47.

escorted out of city hall by security— while Councillor Matt Whitman smiled and filmed her. [134] As Young contends, political expressions that are considered unreasonable, such as chanting, singing, protests or disruptions, can be considered extreme and are therefore, not typically accepted as legitimate political discourse.[135] While the collaborative relationship between the HRM and the Assembly was innovative and productive, the reliance upon what is perceived to be civil discourse, by those who self- assuredly speak for civility, can quite literally exclude and alienate people who express their opinions in a way that clashes with a common (settler-colonial) understanding of reasonableness. This exchange and the expressions of those at the protest also bring up questions about reconciliation and whether the HRM imposed its own view of what reconciliation, truth, and mutual respect entailed —this will be discussed in the next substantive section to follow.

Through weighing the merits and pitfalls of democratic deliberation in relation to the HRM's deliberative strategy, I have sought to show that another strategy, beyond a liberal deliberative approach of inclusiveness and a deliberative reconciliation approach of addressing differences, may be necessary when deliberation involves communities who have been shaped by longstanding historical injustice. Moreover, there are further considerations when deliberation occurs with Indigenous peoples who have been historically disadvantaged and excluded from colonial political processes. Even though Indigenous people are physically and constitutionally a part of the same political community as everyone else, they are also, distinct political communities. Even further than being distinct, Indigenous communities are also considered separate nations unto themselves with the right of self governance. This means that deliberative

[134] Jacob Boon, "Watch This: Cornwallis Protester Disrupts Council, Records Video," July 18, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/watch-this-cornwallis-protester-disrupts-council-records-video/Content?oid=8472264.
[135] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 47.

protocols involving Indigenous communities should, to some extent, involve representatives of that distinct community or nation in a diplomatic-like relationship with the municipality.

As explained by Simeon, although diplomacy typically occurs on an international scale, diplomatic relationships, uniquely in Canada, also effectively occur on a smaller scale because of frequent, influential interactions of provincial and federal representatives.[136] As we will understand from the Victoria example, this type of relationship can also be envisioned at the local level between Indigenous nations and local governments; however, the collaborative relationship between the HRM and the Mi'kmaq cannot be considered a relationship of diplomacy because the decision to remove the statue was not solely delegated to the representatives brought together by the HRM; rather, the panel was tasked with engaging the public about what to do with the monument and then to make recommendations to council for deliberation based upon those interactions. Therefore, feedback from the public, no matter the historical background, experience, or reasoning of participants, played a key role within the process of decision making for the Task Force and the HRM. The meetings were also conducted publicly and there are records online for anyone to access and review. The protocols of inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity, previously examined in this section, are vital aspects that protect democracy's purpose, to promote participation and to protect the interests of individuals and groups; however, these principles alone do not take the historical dimension of engaging historically oppressed groups seriously. A diplomatic deliberative process, which does not have to exclude the wider public entirely, may prove to be a more suitable alternative to respecting the governance and rights of Indigenous nations and representatives.

[136] Richard Simeon, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820.

The preceding analysis was an attempt to understand the deliberative and consultative approach that the HRM undertook to address the commemoration of Cornwallis. While the community was invited to participate within the deliberation process to hear from 'all sides' of this issue, the creation of the Task Force, which recognized the value of cooperating with Mi'kmaq representatives to address the issue of commemoration within the municipality, accommodated community differences beyond a typical inclusive liberal framework, toward a deliberative reconciliation approach. However, this partnership cannot be considered a diplomatic or government to government decision-making process precisely because of the equality, inclusiveness, transparency, and publicity of the process. The next section of this chapter will push further on the partnership between the HRM and the Assembly to understand the reconciliatory imperatives that led to the creation of the Task Force and why a diplomatic-like relationships can also be considered fair and legitimate, even at the municipal level, to address commemorative controversies.

Indigenous-Settler Relations and Policy Making

The collaborative approach that the HRM undertook is a step towards working quasi-diplomatically, or in a government to government relationship with the Mi'kmaq, which is an important foundational principle, outlined below, that James Tully identifies as imperative to meet the demands of justice.[137] Although the creation of the Task Force was not intended to be a diplomatic one – indeed, the Task Force is more of a special committee than a quasi-diplomatic partnership – the decision-making power of the collaborative Task Force is an example of co-productive policy making with Indigenous nations; the Task Force was a project born from

[137] James Tully. *Public Philosophy in a New Key*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.

reconciliatory promises and from a commitment to changing the relationship between the HRM and the Assembly. The section to follow will look more closely at this relationship by exploring the historical and contemporary circumstances, such as the right to self-determination and the calls to work collaboratively from the TRC, that form its basis.

Tully suggests that in order to move toward a new relationship with Indigenous communities that is consistent with what is envisioned in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People's Final Report, as well as the TRC's I would add, there appears to be a need to implement the following five principles: mutual recognition, intercultural negotiation, mutual respect, sharing and mutual responsibility.[138] It can be argued that the Task Force, eventually, incorporated these principles; the Assembly and the HRM recognized each other as equal and coexisting governments and then negotiated from a place of this mutual recognition to reach agreement on how they would associate and how they would approach the issue of public commemoration, after the Assembly initially pulled out of the process — this type of mutual respect and acknowledgment is an essential facet of building trust and equality.[139] In respect to these principles, the Task Force is an example of a shifting of attitudes where Indigenous governments and representatives are being recognized, not as subordinate, but as diverse, contemporary, and equal.[140] This recognition is a minimal prerequisite to engaging with nations who have distinctive histories and differing characteristics and protocols. Mutual respect, trust, and equality are also imperative for sharing responsibility and for co-producing policy together.

Walker, Moore, and Linklater found that Indigenous community members are typically only invited to participate within discussions about the implementation of policy, instead of

[138] Ibid, 229.
[139] Ibid.
[140] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, 228.

being involved within policy making itself. [141] The authors suggest that this cooperative dynamic does not go far enough to implementing the principles of a nation-to-nation relationship based on mutual respect and acknowledgment. A co-production model of policy making, however, goes beyond cooperation or "voices at the table" to the involvement of state and non-state actors working together to identify problems, to setting priorities, delivering programs, services, and beyond.[142] Importantly, the government does not give away their responsibility for policy making when non-state actors are involved in a co-productive model, but rather, it proceeds on the understanding that there are certain issues that are more accurately defined and addressed together.[143] The basis for implementing the principles of a just relationship that Tully describes and for working collaboratively with Indigenous representatives that Walker et al. advocates for, is the principle of self-determination.

The right to self-determination emanates from original occupancy, from treaties and from the constitutional arrangements between the state and Indigenous communities.[144] While municipal governments do not have given responsibilities to work with Indigenous nations in a diplomatic partnership, recognizing the inherent sovereignty of Indigenous governments through the principle of self-determination is helpful for building sustained co-productive relationships instead of an incidental or occasional policy collaboration that Abele et al. suggests is prevalent in municipalities.[145] The matter of recognizing and affirming self-determination is complex;

---

[141] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011), 163.
[142] Ibid, 163.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid, 164.
[145] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech, and Michael McCrossin, Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities, in Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011), 88.

Abele et al. found in their work that multiple Indigenous organizations expressed uneasiness about interacting with municipalities because of the possibly of "diminution of federal fiduciary responsibilities and of their own sovereignty." [146] However, Walker et al. advocate for the leadership and expertise of Indigenous community members and they suggest that adhering to the overarching principles of "nation-to-nation" and of mutual respect and recognition can help to guide practical approaches to urban Indigenous policy making.[147]

Although the key principle of self-determination is not mentioned within the Statement of Reconciliation made by the HRM in 2015, the basis for affirming this principle, mutual recognition, creating a strong working relationship and equal partnership based upon mutual respect and guided by truth, is emphasized within the Statement as well as within numerous HRM Staff reports about the commemoration of Cornwallis.[148] The Reconciliation Statement, which was inspired by the TRC's recommendations, appears to have been a guiding document within the process of creating the Task Force and its procedures. On April 25, 2017, Councillor Shawn Cleary's motion to request a staff report with recommendations for the composition and structure of an expert panel to address the commemoration of Cornwallis, outlined that this report should be conducted in the spirit of the HRM's Statement of Reconciliation.[149] Indeed, the Task Force argued that the success of this motion (15-1) recognized and affirmed that the task of the committee "must necessarily be situated in the wider context of the Calls to Action issued in 2015 by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission."[150]

---

[146] Ibid, 100.
[147] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011), 165.
[148] Halifax. "Statement of Reconciliation from Halifax Regional Council." December 8, 2015. http://legacycontent.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/documents/151208ca1442.pdf.
[149] Halifax, "Report - Task Force," 1.
[150] Halifax, "Report - Task Force," 2.

In the TRC's Calls to Action, there are multiple calls that reference the importance of commemoration and there are dozens of references to "working collaboratively" with Indigenous elders, groups, organizations and individuals to accomplish both commemorative action steps as well as broader initiatives such as developing educational policy and dispersing community resources.[151] Developing a strong collaborative relationship to address subjects that involve longstanding grievances not only involves mutual recognition of a nation-to-nation or at the very least, a government to government dynamic (because the municipality is, of course, not a nation), but also the affirmation of Indigenous knowledge as credible and valuable to the process of policy making. Indeed, in addition to listening, reflecting, and deliberating upon community engagement, Task Force members were also expected to use their "expertise, experience and judgement." [152]

Including Indigenous representatives, not simply as members of the community, but on equal terms with the Halifax Regional Municipality, affirms that the HRM's Council members recognized the knowledge and expertise that the Assembly brought to the subject of public commemoration. Ignorant comments made by the public and certain Councillors, such as Hendsbee and Adams, who feared Task Force members would face difficulty remaining impartial,[153] miss the very fact that partiality was exactly the point. The Final Report by the Task Force reiterates the purposeful recognition of the experience of Assembly representatives, which

[151] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Calls to Action," 2015, https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf
[152] Halifax, "Special Advisory Committee," 7
[153] The Report from the Task Force mentions that correspondents raised the concern of impartiality (See Halifax "Report-Task Force) and find a quote from Councillors Stephen Adams expressing his concern about Indigenous representatives being unbiased here Jacob Boon, "Update: Matt Whitman."

is related to Orsini and Smith's theory of embodied expert knowledge,[154] as imperative to the process of consultation and deliberation. Additionally, including Assembly representatives in an authoritative role, instead of on equal terms with the wider community within public consultation, is an affirmation of the value of the perspectives and experience of those representatives.

Recognizing and valuing embodied knowledge and experience as evidence rejects commonly held notions of expertise only stemming from academic institutions or historical evidence only being ascertained within written accounts instead of through oral testimony, song, or generational knowledge. The Task Force acknowledges the limitations of relying on evidence that has been generated without an Indigenous frame of reference and even suggests caution in assuming that there is a settled view of history from authors who considered Indigenous knowledge somehow beneath Western knowledge.[155] These statements affirm the value placed upon the expert opinion of Assembly representatives—representatives whose expertise traditional settler understandings of that term will consistently devalue and overlook—while also acknowledging that paying attention to historical injustice demands these considerations.

Although historical injustice is not typically at the forefront of discussions about political inclusion, Bashir argues, without abandoning the deliberative paradigm, that the historical oppression of social or cultural groups inevitably impacts a groups' identity, demands, and political position; therefore, democratic deliberation with multinational democracies must move beyond simple modes of recognition and inclusion to restructuring how deliberation can address

[154] From Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith, "Social Movements, Knowledge and Public Policy: The Case of Autism Activism in Canada and the US." *Critical policy studies* 4, no. 1 (2010): 38–57.
[155] Halifax "Report-Task Force," 11

the impacts of historical injustice.[156] Bashir's way of thinking on this is particularly relevant to the Victoria case as Victoria's deliberative strategy more dramatically restructures the process of deliberation into a diplomatic-like relationship, but is also important here to help to explain how reconciliation was used as a supplement to deliberation in the Halifax case. What I mean by this is that, although reconciliation does not offer a comprehensive framework for deliberation, both Bashir[157] and Schaap[158] argue that reconciliatory processes demand that political representatives re-negotiate their political association. In other words, reconciliation can inform forward-looking modes of political decision making such as strengthening relationships as the HRM did, and this can be supplemented with "backward-looking" political decision making, to ensure that processes of deliberation, consultation, and policy making acknowledge and attend to historical injustice, possibly in the name of reconciliation.[159] Although it can be argued that reconciliation being applied arbitrability to only certain policy endeavors, by certain municipalities, can sideline more substantive action, viewing reconciliation as a productively ambiguous term, as Schaap does, can also enable dialogue and negotiation that are place and people specific.[160] To say this in another way, from my understanding, keeping the meaning of the term "reconciliation" open to debate and interpretation means that it is not a final resolution to be achieved and that reconciliatory goals or activities can continue to shift and transform to correspond to evolving conditions and demands.

---

[156] Bashir, Bashir, "Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups," 54-55
[157] Bashir, Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2012)
[158] Andrew Schaap, "Reconciliation as Ideology and Politics," *Constellations*, 15:2, (2008), https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2008.00488.x
[159] Bashir Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2012), 141
[160] Andrew Schaap, "Reconciliation as Ideology and Politics," 251

One of the reasons for removing the monument in Halifax was that it represented a hinderance to furthering discussions and engagement about reconciliation with the Mi'kmaq and other Indigenous people within the HRM. Although the Statement of Reconciliation does not have the force of law, keeping up or reinstating the statue in a public space would be contradictory to any interpretation of reconciliatory aspirations. As Pal explains, policy consistency is significant in terms of how the public perceives that policy, as well as the legitimacy of the goals and problems that policy aims to address.[161] While the Reconciliation Statement is rather abstract in its aims, creating the collaborative Task Force and removing the monument in the name of strengthening the relationship between the Assembly and the HRM is what puts the Statement into effect. As Pal suggests, it is the implementation process that elaborates on the goals of policy and that can ensure that policy goals and definitions remain consistent.[162]

In addition to the consistency of making the Reconciliation Statement and then, eventually, following through with creating the Task Force and using the Statement as a guiding document for consultations and deliberation, the Final Report of the Task Force also suggests that removing the monument is simply and profoundly a way to remain *morally* consistent. Listed under the question if there were any compelling broader reasons to remove the monument, especially given the HRC's Statement of Reconciliation, there is a response that the idea that Mi'kmaq or other Indigenous people would have to walk by the statue of someone who is responsible for putting a bounty on the scalps of their ancestors and then was symbolically

[161] Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*, (Thomson Canada, 2006), 11
[162] Ibid, 11-12

glorified is "simply wrong and unconscionable," in fact, the report reads, "common decency forbids it." [163]

Conclusion

This chapter has offered an examination of commemorative politics associated with the removal of the Edward Cornwallis monument in Halifax. Specifically, this chapter detailed the steps that led to the statue removal, with particular attention to the deliberation and consultation protocols that the HRM undertook. Instead of relying on opinion polls, or a public referendum — a consolidation of preferences that gives no criteria for distinguishing the quality or motives of preferences — the HRM favoured a deliberative approach.[164] While a liberal deliberative model is considered a legitimate process to address problems collectively, because of its principles of inclusion, equality, and publicity as explained by Young and Mansbridge, these dynamics do not result in an equal participation for all because of structural and historical discrimination. As demonstrated by the racist comments from Councillor Hendsbee such as naming Indigenous advocates "hot heads on the warpath" or Councillor Whitman's actions when Métis advocate Trish MacIntyre was escorted from municipal hall, discrimination can also happen on a personal level and within normative political practices. Indeed, because political protocols and decision making are carried out within a particular norm of order that has excluded and marginalized minority groups, formal political democracy can reproduce structural inequalities.[165] These inequalities are magnified when deliberation occurs with Indigenous communities or representatives. To address these discrepancies and to maintain what Pal calls horizontal consistency, which is consistency across different policy fields, the Halifax Regional Council

[163] Halifax "Report-Task Force," 48
[164] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 20
[165] Ibid, 17

cited their 2015 Reconciliation Statement when creating an expert panel that later became a collaborative Task Force to address the issue of the public commemoration of Edward Cornwallis, as well as the recognition and commemoration of Indigenous history within the municipality. The HRM arguably modified a liberal deliberative approach into a deliberative reconciliation approach to decision making.

This partnership was not a diplomatic one, but it expanded traditional liberal assumptions of democratic deliberation because there were considerations about differences that have historical and contemporary implications regarding power differentiations within the community and within deliberation. Instead of welcoming the Assembly to participate within consultative sessions like every other member of the community, the HRM undertook a collaborative approach to working with the Assembly to co-produce policy; this approach aligned with directives in the TRC's Calls to Action that detail the importance of working with Indigenous governments in a collaborative fashion; the Task Force also demonstrated, to some degree, mutual respect and acknowledgment, a recognition of the value of the embodied knowledge and experience of Assembly representatives as well as the right of self-determination. However, involving non-Indigenous members and organizations on decision making bodies that have to do with Indigenous policy fields (historical justice in this case) can also undermine the self-determining autonomy of Indigenous nations.[166] In addition, asking the public to weigh in with their own opinions, regardless of their history or background, arguably threatens to diminish the expert knowledge, decision-making capacity and even sovereignty of Indigenous nations and representatives. However, including the community within the decision-making and consultative

[166] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011), 193

process, as explained in the previous section of this chapter, was most likely an attempt to adhere to the deliberative principle of inclusiveness and equality, to respond to an issue that many people within the municipality appeared to care deeply about and to honour commitments to work toward reconciliation together— regardless of the pitfalls of democratic deliberation that have silenced marginalized voices and privileged the protocols and values of the most powerful.

While removing a monument and renaming a park are symbolic acts of recognition and reparation, which can have significant impacts for the communities who have fought for this change, the collaboration with the Assembly is arguably what also makes the monument's removal important. Thanks largely to the work of advocates such as Daniel Paul and Rebecca Thomas, the narratives of heroism and glory that have long been attached to the Cornwallis monument have been challenged by a commitment to putting the HRM's Statement of Reconciliation into action — at least regarding the commemoration of Cornwallis. Recognizing the importance of honoring the Statement of Reconciliation and continuing co-productive relationships, is what will create a lasting effect of the monument's removal. As Mayor Mike Savage said about Daniel Paul's speech at the unveiling of the newly named Peace and Friendship Park, "It's amazing what can happen when we talk to each other. Talk to each other and then act." [167] While talking is not always as substantial as listening and sharing power within a specific task force to find a solution about a specific problem does not substantially alter the relationship between the Assembly and the HRM in every respect, this deliberative reconciliation approach leaves room for further consideration of process, and even diplomacy.

[167] Nebal Snan, 'It's a Giant Step in Nova Scotia': Peace and Friendship Park Unveiled in Halifax After Removal of Cornwallis Statue, name [sic]. June 21, 2021, https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/news/its-a-giant-step-in-nova-scotia-peace-and-friendship-park-unveiled-in-halifax-after-removal-of-cornwallis-statue-name-100602663/

Although the City of Victoria also approached their statue dilemma through a commitment to acting on reconciliation, Victoria's city council undertook a different protocol that takes the collaborative relationship in Halifax a step further to a diplomatic deliberative approach. The next chapter of this thesis will focus on the process of deliberation and consultation that lead to the decision to remove the John A Macdonald monument where I will detail what made the approach of this municipality so different and what the impacts of these differences are.

Chapter Three

A Chosen Family: Deliberating Diplomatically in Victoria

This chapter will investigate the steps that the City of Vitoria undertook to remove the statue of John A. Macdonald in front of city hall. Specifically, it will explain and analyze the decision of Victoria City Council to create a diplomatic-like partnership, with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, known collectively as the Lekwungen people. Beginning in 2017, guided by Chiefs and council members (Witnesses) from both nations, the City Family and Witness Reconciliation Program were born. The City Family was made up of Indigenous and non-Indigenous members – with more Indigenous than non-Indigenous members – and it made the recommendation to remove the John A. Macdonald monument after a year-long process of deliberation.[1] This decision was affirmed on August 9, 2018, by a majority of Victoria City Council members. However, because the City Family meetings were held in private and the monument was removed only two days after the City Family's decision was brought to council, many community members felt alienated and excluded from the process.

In centering the protocols and traditions of the Lekwungen people, which the reader will learn more about within this chapter, the City Family reinterpreted the liberal deliberative ideals of inclusiveness and equality to form a diplomatic-like relationship with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations. In doing so, the deliberative ideals of transparency and publicity were also challenged to do something in Councillor and City Family member Marianne Alto's words was

[1] City of Victoria, "Reconciliation," accessed June 6, 20220, https://www.victoria.ca/EN /main/city/reconciliation.html.

"profoundly different."[2] This chapter will discuss and weigh the impacts of Victoria City Council's decision to create the City Family to understand what made this process different from a traditional municipal approach and Halifax Regional Municipality's. As this chapter will explain in more depth, it is the diplomatic-like relationship that the City of Victoria struck with the Lekwungen peoples, instead of creating a committee with other familiar processes such as transparency, reporting, and deadlines, that made Victoria Council's approach innovative and arguably, meaningful. As a reminder, legitimate assessments about whether reconciliatory accommodation and relationships are meaningful is deferred to the nations and Indigenous representatives involved in these processes. How this approach can be defended as meaningful from my perspective, as a settler, will be explained within the analytical section of this chapter.

The first part of this chapter will introduce the historical relationship of John A Macdonald to Canada and the City of Victoria. Macdonald's historical legacy, as the first prime minister of Canada and his indisputable public record of racism, will be discussed. It is paramount to understand, in as much space as this chapter allows, Macdonald's vision and efforts toward creating a state system predicated on the suffering and exclusion of Indigenous and racialized communities. This background brings context to the contested nature of the commemoration of Macdonald and the reason why the City Family called for its removal.

The next part of this historical section will explore and explain the approach that the City of Victoria undertook to reach its decision to remove the John A Macdonald monument from the steps of City Hall. In contrast to the HRM, which formed a public-facing[3] task force to solve the

[2] City of Victoria, "City Family Story," August 9, 2018, video, 1:51:41, https://pub-:victoria.escribemeetings.com/Meeting.aspx?Id=01d75a84-7f5f-4294-9615-:88864d0bd873&Agenda=Merged&lang=English.

[3] What I mean by public-facing is that anyone from the wider community was welcomed to attend meetings and there were meeting notes for the public to survey.

dilemma of the Cornwallis monument, the City of Victoria favoured a multifaceted Indigenous approach to engage in discussion about topics related to reconciliation, including the commemoration of Macdonald. The City Family brought appointees from the nations, as well as two members of city staff and members from City Council, together to be guided by Witnesses (Chiefs and council members) from the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations.[4] Mayor Helps has argued that this approach was created to affirm the City of Victoria's commitment to reconciliation; however, this process also frustrated community members who felt excluded from the discussion. As a result, the removal of the monument created a sustained backlash in the media and even made international news, so much so, that Mayor Lisa Helps apologized for not understanding that more people might want to be a part of the process of reconciliation[5] – although most of the criticism centered around wanting to be a part of the discussion to remove the monument.

After the historical section of this chapter is complete, its more substantive analysis will begin. I will first analyze the narratives associated with the John A Macdonald monument in the Statue section. It is important to consider the distinction between the history of Macdonald as a political figure and the history of his monument to understand the motivations of his commemoration, as an attempt to cement a national narrative of colonial legitimacy. In this short section I will, again, rely on the insights of Jeffrey Olick, Adele Perry, and Reuben Rose-Redwood to understand the competing narratives at play that are attached to Macdonald's monument. These scholars help to reveal that the Macdonald monument is more than a material

[4] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation-program.html.
[5] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation is a Learning Process for Us All," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 29, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/29/reconciliation-is-a-learning-process-for-us-all/.

object, but a highly contested symbolic one that has catalyzed substantial community discussion and opportunities for relationship building.

Following this, I will rely on the democratic theory from Iris Marion Young who argues for a deliberative reconciliation approach to deliberation that welcomes and attends to differences in social and political power; Duncan Ivison, who explores the challenges of legitimacy that historical injustice brings to deliberation; Bashir Bashir, who argues that deliberation is possible with historically excluded groups if certain conditions are met; and Jane Mansbridge, who challenges the assumption that equal and inclusive deliberation means that everyone's voices are heard and valued – to help understand the distinct deliberative considerations that were made in this case. A fundamental difference to the Halifax case, is that Victoria did not engage in a community-wide process of deliberation to decide whether to remove the monument, a process that Halifax intended to pursue before the statue was removed because of safety concerns – the City Family discussions happened privately, and their meetings and conversations are not part of public record. Without creating reports or adhering to other conventions like notetaking, timelines, or deliverables, Helps explained that the City Family had meaningful discussions, guided by the Songhees and Esquimalt Chiefs and Councils.[6] This process challenged the principles of a liberal deliberative approach that theorists argue help to ensure decisions are considered legitimate; these ideals are inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity.

[6] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation and Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue from Steps of City Hall," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 8, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/08/reconciliation-and-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-from-steps-of-city-hall/.

However, Jane Mansbridge argues that inclusiveness and equality do not ensure that all participants will have equal participation[7] and it is widely understood that structural barriers, such as procedures, protocols and traditions of democratic debate, can restrict participation for some and preserve privilege for others.[8] Additionally, ongoing processes of colonization have obstructed and marginalized Indigenous government traditions, protocols, and authority. As this chapter will argue, there are also further considerations, such as historical injustice, reconciliation and the right to self-determination, that must also be weighed when deliberation occurs within multinational democracies to consider and address the neglect and exclusion of minority groups. With the goals of reimagining a new relationship with the Lekwungen peoples as part of a reconciliatory framework, the City of Victoria transformed traditional deliberation into a diplomatic-like partnership with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations.

The last section of this chapter will delve broadly into the collaborative diplomatic-like relationship between the City of Victoria and the Lekwungen people. More specifically, this section will draw upon theory, explained below, from Paulette Regan, James Tully, Andrew Schaap, as well as Walker, Moore, and Linklater, to understand the impact of deliberating in a diplomatic fashion as the City of Victoria did as well as what reconciliation requires. All these scholars agree that a transformation of the relationship between Indigenous communities, indeed Indigenous governments, and settlers is an imperative of meaningful efforts of reconciliation. While it is important to consider the historical dimension of long-standing injustices within deliberation, as Bashir advocates, other scholars like Schaap and Regan suggest that reconciliation offers an opportunity for renegotiation that is place specific. In *Unsettling the*

[7] Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[8] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 8-9.

Settler Within, Regan explores historical Indigenous diplomacy and argues that Indigenous laws and governance are well suited to resolving conflicts and building trust.[9] Further, the principles of self-determination requires that a nation-to-nation, or at least a government-to-government dynamic occur, arguably even at the municipal level to move beyond cooperation, to the coproduction of policy.[10] Through this comparative, historical and analytical approach, I hope to understand the distinct considerations and impacts of the City of Victoria's deliberative strategy. In addition, my focus on the diplomatic-like relationship that the City Family exemplified is a contribution to democratic theory within multinational societies and discussions about municipal commemoration.

Context and Background

John Alexander Macdonald is a prolific figure in Canada whose name may inspire patriotism among nationalists, as much as it, increasingly, inspires shame. Macdonald was a lawyer, businessman and famously, Canada's first prime minister, who is known as the father of confederation for his role in uniting the provinces into the Dominion of Canada. Macdonald is also known for his significant role in irrevocably altering the lives of Indigenous people in Canada. As James Daschuk explains in his award-winning book, *Clearing the Plains*, Macdonald oversaw mass starvation and epidemics among Indigenous populations who were forced onto reserves to clear the land for development, primarily the Canadian Pacific Railway, and European settlement.[11] When Macdonald took office for the second time in 1878, Indigenous

[9] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010), 146-147.
[10] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011).
[11] James W. Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*, (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

people who lived on the plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan were already in the grip of famine caused by the catastrophic disappearance of bison in the wild because of overhunting and the introduction of disease from cattle ranching.[12] Macdonald capitalized on this famine; starvation was used as a coercive tactic to have treaties signed and Indigenous communities moved onto reserves in exchange for rations; as both the Prime Minister and the self-appointed Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Macdonald oversaw the flagrant dismissal of treaty obligations to assist First Nations in times of crisis; rations were often never delivered or wholly inadequate, worsening the catastrophe of famine and disease.[13]

Macdonald was also greatly concerned with preserving what he called the "Aryan race" and Aryan principles.[14] During a debate about the 1885 Electoral Franchise Act, Macdonald used the arguments of biological racism, which essentially hinge upon the alleged natural racial categories that supposedly manifest as inferior biological differences, to argue that those of Chinese or Mongolian descent should not have the right to vote.[15] Macdonald claimed that Chinese and European people were separate species and that the disenfranchisement of Chinese people was necessary to protect the future of British America.[16] However, Macdonald also advocated for the enfranchisement of First Nations people, making his project of genocide and exclusion complicated by diverse and enduring assimilative tactics.[17]

---

[12] Ibid, 99-102.
[13] Ibid, 108-112.
[14] Timothy J. Stanley, "John A. Macdonald's Aryan Canada: Aboriginal Genocide and Chinese Exclusion," Active History, January 7, 2015, http://activehistory.ca/2015/01/john-a-macdonalds-aryan-canada-aboriginal-genocide-and-chinese-exclusion/#10.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Anthony Wilson-Smith, "Indigenous Peoples and the Fight for the Franchise," The Canadian Encyclopedia, last modified January 21, 2022. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-peoples-and-the-fight-for-the-franchise#.

Further, Macdonald's legacy as one of the key architects of Canada's Residential Schooling System is perhaps what has received the most attention from his sordid past. An 1894 amendment to the Indian Act gave government and church officials the power to forcibly institutionalize Indigenous children under the age of 16.[18] Macdonald's Indian agents, in addition to church officials, forcibly separated Indigenous children from their families with the aim of weakening family ties and disrupting cultural linkages to assimilate the children into a dominant Euro-Canadian way of being.[19] Over 150,000 children were stolen from their families, and it is estimated that approximately 6,000 children died while attending these schools.[20] As the Truth and Reconciliation report states, these schools were only educational in name — Indigenous children faced widespread psychological, physical, and sexual abuse.[21] The last residential school in Canada closed in 1996 and their legacy continues to haunt survivors and their families.

Macdonald was also Victoria's Member of Parliament (MP) from 1878-1882. During the 1878 election, when Macdonald's Liberal Conservative government won a majority government, Macdonald actually lost his seat in his hometown of Kingston, Ontario.[22] Fortunately for him, Macdonald also was also on the ballot in Marquette, Manitoba and in Victoria, B.C.; Macdonald won both seats and chose to be the representative of Victoria.[23] Despite never actually visiting the city until long after his term, Macdonald was widely praised in the *Daily Colonist* newspaper

---

[18] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "*Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*." 2015. https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Daniel Schwartz. "Truth and Reconciliation Commission: By the Numbers," CBC News, June 3, 2015, https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-by-the-numbers-1.3096185.
[21] Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, "*Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*," 2015, https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf
[22] Tristan Hopper, The Bizarre Tale of How John A. Macdonald Got Elected Victoria MP," Capital Daily, October 25, 2019, https://www.capitaldaily.ca/news/macdonald-victoria-election-1878-voting-polls-bc.
[23] Ibid.

(now known as the *Times Colonist*) and received a hero's welcome when he visited Victoria in 1882.[24] Macdonald died of a stroke nine years later, in 1891, in Ottawa; he was 76 years old.[25]

Although Macdonald was a federal member of parliament, his statue, commissioned, paid for and donated by the Sir John A. Macdonald Historical Society to the City of Victoria in 1982, stood in front of City Hall for 36 years.[26] Approximately a decade ago, Chris Considine of the Sir John A. Macdonald Society, asked Victoria City Council to relocate the statue to rectify this discrepancy, possibly to the downtown Centennial Square or elsewhere; however, the statue remained where it was installed.[27] John Dann, the artist who made the statue, described it as a bronze portrait, approximately 330lbs, and deliberately made without a pedestal to make him more accessible and relatable.[28] Dann shares that the statue, from his point of view, is a work of art created without attention to political accomplishments or failures.[29]

Amid an international debate about the place of historical figures, including the resolution of the Elementary Teacher's Federation of Ontario to urge school boards to remove John A. Macdonald's name from public schools in 2017,[30] Métis activist and survivor of the 60's

---

[24] Ibid.
[25] J. K. Johnson and P. B. Waite, "Macdonald Sir John Alexander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, University of Toronto, accessed June 27, 2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macdonald_john_alexander_12E.html.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Roxanne Egan-Elliott, "The Fate of the Sir John A. Macdonald Statue: A Future Teaching Tool?" Times Colonist, March 15, 2020, https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/the-fate-of-the-sir-john-a-macdonald-statue-a-future-teaching-tool-4679795.
[28] John Dann, "Removing My Statue of John A. Macdonald from View is Not Going to Change Our History," The Globe and Mail, August 14, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-removing-my-statue-of-john-a-macdonald-from-view-is-not-going-to/.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Shanifa Nasser, "He's Considered Canada's Founding Father, But Many Ontario Teachers Want His Name Stripped from Public Schools," CBC News, August 23, 2017, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/john-macdonald-school-1.4259643.

scoop,[31] Bill Stewart, shared his plan to ask Victoria City Council to remove the Macdonald statue with CTV News.[32] Long time City Councillor Geoff Young was also interviewed for the segment and he cautioned that removing the statue was a slippery slope: "If we start to eliminate recognition of all those leaders, then we would find very quickly that we're making efforts to forget our past entirely." [33] In September 2017, Stewart used the words from Prime Minster's Justin Trudeau's speech to the United Nations General Assembly, which happened on the same day, to implore city councillors to take the issue of improving the relationship between Indigenous people and Canada, seriously.[34] Victoria City Council declared 2017 the "Year of Reconciliation" and discussions to remove the statue, unbeknownst to the public, were already underway.[35]

In 2015, Councillors Marianne Alto and Charlayne Thornton-Joe asked the City Manager to investigate how to move forward with the TRC's Calls to Action and in December 2015, based on review of reconciliation initiatives in other cities, the Manager recommended the creation of a working group.[36] In February 2015, the draft terms of reference for the group were presented to council and were anchored in three guiding principles: "to solicit meaningful community input . . . to incorporate culturally appropriate practices in all work and discussion of

---

[31] The 60's scoop refers to a particular time in history, and not to a specific policy, where Indigenous children were taken from the families and placed into the care of mostly Anglo-Saxon families under the guise of child-welfare. The 60's scoop is sometimes cited as an extension of residential schooling.
[32] CTV News, "Calls for Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue in Victoria Amid National Debate," August 25, 2017, https://vancouverisland.ctvnews.ca/calls-for-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-in-victoria-amid-national-debate-1.3562652.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," The Tyee, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[35] City of Victoria, "2017 Declared A Year of Reconciliation," Media Release, June 30, 2016, https://www.victoria.ca/assets/City~Hall/Media~Releases/2016/2016Jun30_MR_2017%20Declared%20A%20Year%20of%20Reconciliation.pdf.
[36] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," *Critical sociology* 46, no. 4-5 (2020), 666.

the committee; and to commit to transparency, inclusiveness, and accountability." [37] In February 2015, Council approved a motion made by Councillor Marianne Alto to consult with the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations regarding their interest in participating in the working group and their comments on the draft terms of reference.[38]

Discussions with the two nations resulted in the launch of the Witness Reconciliation Program and the City Family, initiatives that replaced the group, created to facilitate dialogue with the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations.[39] Lisa Helps, Mayor of the City of Victoria, explained that creating a committee or a task force as the municipality does for other endeavors was not quite right for this process — through conversations with chiefs and councils of the two nations, the city decided to adopt an Indigenous, Coast Salish method of coming together.[40] The Witness Reconciliation Program, which is still ongoing, was this Coast Salish method that focused on nurturing and building a relationship between the city and Indigenous partners as its foundation and that brought Witnesses, who were chiefs and council members from both the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations,' to provide guidance and oversight for the City Family to move toward shared visions and goals.[41] According to the City of Victoria's website, the City Family worked with an Indigenous speaker who recounted discussions at City Family meetings to Witnesses during Witness ceremonies, where advice from the Witnesses was offered and heard by City Family members.[42] Following these ceremonies, the City Family would then take steps to work

---

[37] Ibid.
[38] City of Victoria, "Minutes, Victoria City Council," February 22, 2016, https://pubvictoria.escribemeetings.com /FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=8232.
[39] City of Victoria, "Reconciliation," Accessed June 6, 2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN /main/city/reconciliation.html.
[40] Lisa Helps, "Comment: Put Macdonald Statue's Future in a Deeper Context," Times Colonist, September 2, 2017, https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/comment-put-macdonald-statues-future-in-a-deeper-context-465354.
[41] Ibid.
[42] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation-program.html.

toward the actions and ideas endorsed and expressed by the Witnesses. The City Family was also tasked with considering how Victoria City Council could respond to the TRC's Calls to Action for municipalities, how the city could tell the stories of what happened at residential schools and to, broadly, foster healing and reconciliation. [43]

The City Family was made up of Indigenous and non-Indigenous community members, with appointees from the nations, City Councillors, and two City staff members to support the program.[44] The City Family, did not operate as per standard municipal practice – the meetings were entirely private, the Family did not have formal terms of reference and there were no agenda minutes or notes of its proceedings recorded.[45] Beginning in June 2017, the family met once per month in Mayor Lisa Helps's office. The meetings had no fixed agenda; family members sat on couches and chairs, they shared meals and began discussions.[46] Marianne Alto, one of the Victoria's city councillors who spearheaded the creation of the program and City Family member, stated that: "It was a very organic and slow-moving discussion," and "That has been a tremendous learning experience for all of us who are not Indigenous: how unhelpful it often is to rush."[47]

According to Helps, the issue of the statue of Macdonald arose quickly in these meetings. City Family members expressed uneasiness about passing the Macdonald statue on their way into City Hall and over the course of approximately a year, focused discussions took place about

---

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," *Critical sociology* 46, no. 4-5 (2020), 667. I want to note that the fact that the City Family did not keep records, accessible either on the website or through freedom of information (FOI) requests is a barrier to conducting research for this comparative analysis and that barrier is a point of interest that I will reflect upon further in another section of this chapter.
[46] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," The Tyee, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[47] Ibid.

removing the monument; during this time the City Family, with the advice of Witnesses, also crafted the language that would be on the plaque where the statue once stood.[48] Although conversations about the monument removal were ongoing, the council members that were part of the City Family did not report back to council or the public about these discussions until August 7, 2018 when the "City Family story," detailing its aims and aspirations, was brought to the attention of city council in the form of a late amendment to a council meeting agenda .[49]

On Thursday, August 9, 2018, during a Committee of the Whole Meeting, Helps, Alto and Thornton-Joe each presented their own testimonials about the City Family's decision to request the removal of the statue. Helps talked about the City Family process, calling it an "unconventional and uncomfortable approach" that led to deep and meaningful deliberations about what to do with the statue; she explained that these discussions ultimately led to the recommendation before council that day, that the statue be safely placed into storage while a conversation, with the City Family, the two nations, council and the wider community, about what to do with the figure could take place.[50] Alto echoed Helps' words and also read from two letters, one from the Songhees and one from the Esquimalt Nation, in support of the City Family's decision.[51] Both of the nations conceptualized the statue removal as a symbol of progress toward reconciliation and the fight against systemic racism and oppression. Alto stated that she was especially struck by something Chief Ron Sam of the Songhees nation said that the

---

[48] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation and Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue from Steps of City Hall," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 8, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/08/reconciliation-and-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-from-steps-of-city-hall/.
[49] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," *Critical sociology* 46, no. 4-5 (2020), 668.
[50] City of Victoria, "City Family Story," August 9, 2018, video, 1:43:13, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Meeting.aspx?Id=01d75a84-7f5f-4294-9615-88864d0bd873&Agenda=Merged&lang=English.
[51] Ibid, 1:46:35.

work that is being done together "lays the foundation for generations to come." [52] Alto explained that embarking on the City Family process was already an extraordinary leap of faith for the City of Victoria and to follow through with the decision to remove the statue was another opportunity to do something profound and to demonstrate that the work that city and the two nations were doing, "was good." [53] Thornton-Joe also expanded upon her personal experience in the difficult and long process of learning about the impact of John A Macdonald's actions on Indigenous community members and Chinese immigrants. [54]

After the recommendation was presented by Helps, Alto and Thornton-Joe, other councillors shared their thoughts about the motion. Councillor Geoff Young shared that he agreed that the subject was worthy of discussion and that he was affected by those who were troubled by the presence of Macdonald at city hall, but he could not support the motion for various reasons, primarily because the discussion did not include all the citizens of the city.[55] Other Councillors also lamented about a lack of transparency within the process and lack of consultation with the wider community. Councillor Pam Madoff suggested that the last-minute motion appeared "choreographed" so that other voices could not be heard before the statue was removed.[56] In response, Helps reiterated that a process of dialogue with the wider community would happen and that removing the statue would enable this dialogue. In fact, a last-minute amendment was made, calling for the mayor to follow through on her commitments to hold

[52] Ibid, 1:15:15.
[53] Ibid, 1:52:33.
[54] Ibid, 1:53:00.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

public consultation on the matter.[57] Council voted 8-1, Young being the lone dissenting vote, in favour to remove the statue.

Two days later, at 5:00am on August 11, 2018, the statue was dislodged from its platform, hoisted into the air with ropes, and placed onto foam pads on the back of a flat-bed truck.[58] The spectacle attracted a large crowd, with some who had draped themselves in Canada flags and with others who brandished signs that read "Lisa Helps helps herself" and "Keep Sir John, Remove Council."[59] Reuben Rose-Redwood, scholar of historical landscapes and geography at the University of Victoria, attended with a sign that read: "We Aren't Erasing History, We're Making It."[60] Not dissimilar to Halifax, the event also attracted members of the white extremist group Soldiers of Odin as well as the far-right organization, B.C. Proud.[61] As the statue was cut away from its base some attendees, who had lamented that the event felt like a funeral, began to sing the national anthem, while others countered singing "na na na, hey, hey, hey goodbye." [62] The plaque that replaced the monument, was installed immediately following Macdonald's removal. The words had been carefully crafted by the City Family to explain why the monument was removed; the plaque also read "We will keep the public informed as the

---

[57] Ibid.
[58] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," *The Tyee*, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[59] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," 671
[60] CBC News, "John A. Macdonald Statue Removed from Victoria City Hall," August 11, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/john-a-macdonald-statue-victoria-city-hall-lisa-helps-1.4782065
[61] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," *The Tyee*, Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues.
[62] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," *Critical sociology* 46, no. 4-5 (2020), 671.

Witness Reconciliation Program unfolds, and as we find a way to recontextualize Macdonald in an appropriate way":[63] the plaque was vandalized within hours of being installed.[64]

The reaction to the monument's removal was swift. The statue's removal made national, and even international news and many federal and provincial elected officials weighed in. On August 9, 2018, federal Conservative leader Andrew Scheer tweeted "We should not allow political correctness to erase our history." [65] A week later on August 16, 2018 the *Times Colonist* reported that then federal Environment Minister Catherine McKenna asked the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to investigate how to address controversial historical figures[66] and in Ontario, the newly elected Progressive Conservative Premier, Doug Ford, sent an official request for Victoria to send Ontario the statue.[67] Finally, among many other responses from public figures, Dr. Andrew Weaver, then leader of the B.C. Green Party called the removal of the monument a "boneheaded move" by Victoria City Council, particularly because the process denied input from "regular people." [68]

On August 14, 2018, John Dann, the artist who created the monument, penned an op-ed in the *Globe and Mail* condemning the statue's removal. Dann specifically targeted Lisa Helps calling her actions "precipitous and misguided" because they were "done in secret, hurriedly (in

---

[63] City of Victoria, "Reconciliation," Accessed June 6, 2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN /main/city/reconciliation.html.
[64] Jon Azpiri and Kylie Stanton, "Plaque That Replaced John A. Macdonald Statue Outside Victoria City Hall Already Vandalized," Global News, August 13, 2018, https://globalnews.ca/news/4385980/john-a-macdonald-plaque-victoria-vandalized/.
[65] Timothy J. Stanley, "Commemorating John A Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia," *BC studies*, no. 204 (2020): 89–237.
[66] Times Colonist, "McKenna: Pulling Statue No Way to Address Dark Past," August 16, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/canada/times-colonist/20180816/281586651437829.
[67] Timothy J. Stanley, "Commemorating John A Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia," *BC studies*, no. 204 (2020), 3.
[68] Scott Brown, "Victoria Macdonald Statue to Be Relocated," National Post, August 30, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/canada/national-post-national-edition/20180830/281655370943177.

the span of 10 days), arbitrarily and undemocratically." [69] Dann then went on to say that if removing the sculpture was the best way forward that he would support it, but then he contradicted himself by lamenting that he could not believe "that any rational person who has reflected on our history can really think that removing about 150 kilos of bronze from view is going to change our history or help us understand it better." [70]

Among the continuous onslaught of mostly critical news pieces related to the monument's removal, on August 29, 2018, Mayor Lisa Helps issued a public apology "for not recognizing that the city family's process might make some people feel excluded from such an important decision." She explained that she "didn't recognize the great desire of Victoria residents to participate in reconciliation actions" and that "The process going forward will enable this." [71] Helps went on to say that "Reconciliation means following Indigenous leadership. It means listening carefully to how symbols and monuments that might be meaningful to many can create barriers for others. . . but it is complex, and so we will make mistakes as we navigate and try to walk this road together." [72]

One year later, the promise to consult the public became a reality, as the city embarked on its first Reconciliation Dialogues, a series of six public conversations meant to build upon the Witness Reconciliation Program. The Dialogues, guided by the Lekwungen nations, the City Family, Lisa Helps, city councillors and other special guests, aimed to increase understanding and awareness about reconciliation and why community conversations about this topic are

---

[69] John Dann, "Removing My Statue of John A. Macdonald from View is Not Going to Change Our History," The Globe and Mail, August 14, 2018, https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-removing-my-statue-of-john-a-macdonald-from-view-is-not-going-to/.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation is a Learning Process for Us All," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 29, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/29/reconciliation-is-a-learning-process-for-us-all/.
[72] Ibid.

important. [73] The dialogues were free to attend, offered free childcare during the event and are all recorded and available on the City of Victoria's website for viewing. The first dialogue began on September 30, 2019 at Victoria City Hall - the topic was Lekwungen Knowledge and the Land; Dialogue two was on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the City; Dialogue three was about Newcomers to Canada and Reconciliation; and Dialogue four was about Sir John A Macdonald, in Conversation.[74] Dialogue five and six, about Urban Indigenous Experiences in Canada and Rethinking Heritage in the Context of Reconciliation, respectively, were postponed because of the pandemic and rescheduled for the summer of 2022.

Dialogue four, about Macdonald, was held on March 2, 2020, at the Victoria Event Centre and the conversation began with a performance by Lekwungen Traditional Dancers and a theatrical performance by The Canadian Heritage Arts Society to introduce the history of John A. Macdonald. The event was hosted by Lisa Helps and her guest Cindy Blackstock, a Gitxsan activist for child welfare, executive director of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, and professor of Social Work at McGill University. The purpose of this dialogue was not to decide the fate of the Macdonald monument, but rather to engage in conversation to consider the appropriate context for monuments of controversial historical figures, including Victoria's John A Macdonald statue.[75] Approximately 400 people were in attendance and Helps and Blackstock asked questions from the stage for the small groups, gathered in small circles amongst round tables, to discuss.

The questions asked of participants, in two separate discussion sections were:

---

[73] City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogues," Accessed July 15, 2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/victoria-reconciliation-dialogues.html.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.

1.If you were First Nations, Inuit, Métis, Chinese or person of colour, how would you feel (or if you are, how did you feel) to see John A Macdonald's statue in front of city hall? And

2.Knowing what we know now about Sir John A Macdonald how does that change the way, if at all, that you view the removal of the statue?

3.What should the city's next steps be for handling the Macdonald statue?

4.What is one thing you can do right now in your own life to address the injustices in the legacy of Sir John A Macdonald?[76]

Mayor Helps asked attendees to write their answer to number three on a post-it and to stick it on a board on the way out to help to inform the city of next steps. The responses have not yet been released to the public.

The above section was an explanation of the events leading up to and following the decision to remove the John A. Macdonald monument from the steps of City Hall in Victoria. This section began by detailing Macdonald's brutal actions to ensure white supremacy within the Dominion of Canada. This context was necessary to discern why the removal of the monument was the first order of business for the City Family, the body created by both the Lekwungen people and Victoria City Council as part of the Witness Reconciliation Program to address meaningful reconciliation within the municipality. This section also expanded upon the backlash that occurred because of the unique process that the municipality undertook. Instead of consulting the public and discussing the merits and pitfalls of removing the statue over a series of council meetings or even a public referendum, the City Family had private meetings where the

[76] City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogue #4 Sir John A Macdonald in Conversation," 1:33:37, Video, September 3, 2019, 1:33, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Players/ISIStandAlonePlayer.aspx?Id=883d509f-6957-4199-8d4d-c95210afab58.

discussion to remove the monument happened outside of the public record. Members of the City Family explained that this was a Coast Salish way of coming together and a unique opportunity for the City of Victoria to demonstrate its commitment to changing the relationship between the municipality and the Lekwungen peoples. The monument, its symbolism and the narratives attached to this statue will be the first topic for analysis in the proceeding section.

Statue

Shanti Sumartojo explains that monuments can be sites where society's varied memories collect and where ideological and political discourses are mediated.[77] These discourses both authorize the inception of monuments, as I will argue, and challenge their commemorative effect. Although most people may walk by a statue without ever noticing it, a phenomenon of the subliminal nature of settler colonialism, in this case it is evident that the Macdonald statue was also a source of pain and a display of oppressive power for Indigenous community members. The reaction to the monument's removal also demonstrates that Macdonald continues to be vehemently celebrated as the "father" of Canada, even synonymous with the country itself. Like the Halifax case, the insights of Jeffrey Olick help to understand how narratives shape society and how collective remembering has a history. This is important to understand how narratives are created and sustained using symbols, like monuments, and how the interpretation of monuments, and the narratives people attach to them, can change in differing social and political conditions.

[77] Shanti Sumartojo, "Memorials and State Sponsored History," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, eds. Bevernage, Berber, Nico Wouters, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018) doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6, 450.

The Macdonald statue was installed in 1982, exactly 51 years after the Cornwallis monument was unveiled, but it appeared during a similar period of Canadian nationalism in flux. In an op-ed for the Winnipeg Free Press, University of Manitoba Professor Adele Perry wrote that it was not until the 1960's-70's that Macdonald began to be commemorated across Canada – Macdonald's face did not appear on the $10 bill until 1971.[78] Similar to the purposeful timing of statues to Confederate generals beginning to spring up in the United States around the Jim Crow years of intense racial segregation and again in the 1950's and 60's during the civil rights movement, Perry explains, that the time period when Macdonald began to be commemorated in Canada is marked by "a rise in Québécois nationalism, Indigenous resistance, the rise and agitation of feminism and a more diverse Canada."[79] Therefore, the commemoration of Macdonald, such as naming streets, buildings or erecting statues of him, can be read as an attempt to assert an authoritative colonial legitimacy, to make Macdonald's political commitments both visible and permanent. As cultural geographer Karen Till argues, social memory activities "tell us more about the people building a memorial than the peoples and pasts being commemorated." [80]

Although there were criticisms of Macdonald's exclusionary and racist policies, even during the time in which they were created,[81] perhaps more than any historical figure, Macdonald has become synonymous with Canada. When the statue was removed the *Globe and Mail* editorialized that even if "our national father" were removed from Victoria and even if his name

---

[78] Adele Perry, "Renaming Monuments is Closer Look at History," The Free Press, September 9, 2017, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/2017/09/09/renaming-monuments-is-closer-look-at-history
[79] Ibid
[80] As cited in Reuben Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory, and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City," *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9:4, (2008) 432
[81] Timothy J. Stanley, "John A. Macdonald's Aryan Canada: Aboriginal Genocide and Chinese Exclusion," Active History, January 7, 2015, http://activehistory.ca/2015/01/john-a-macdonalds-aryan-canada-aboriginal-genocide-and-chinese-exclusion/#10

were scrubbed from schools and highways, "Canada would still remain as his statue."[82] Importantly, although it was Macdonald who vehemently pursued the subjugation of Indigenous people and the racialization, assimilation, and exclusion of people of colour, his policies were enacted and survived because they were part of a system, part of the foundations of Canadian settler colonialism. As Perry argues, residential schools, as an example, are part of a system that is larger than any one government or party, which is why removing his statue, a symbol associated with a single narrative of colonial heroism, is an example of resistance to these systems.[83] One needs to look no further than the presence of far-right and white extremist groups at the statue's removal to understand the systemic narratives of exclusion that this monument continues to signify, to some.

The commemoration of individuals is a way to celebrate certain people or events. It is a way to materialize our values in the actual landscape, and, as Rose-Redwood explains in relation to street naming that can be extrapolated to monuments, it is a method to represent political commitments.[84] Therefore, removing monuments can be an opportunity to make new political commitments visible, which is arguably true for both case studies in this thesis. According to the letters from the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations to Victoria City Council, removing the monument symbolized progress toward an end to oppression and the start of an important journey toward reconciliation.[85] Although the removal of the monument initially caused

---

[82] Timothy J. Stanley, "Commemorating John A Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia," *BC studies*, no. 204 (2020), 3

[83] Adele Perry, "Renaming Monuments is Closer Look at History," The Free Press, September 9, 2017, https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/2017/09/09/renaming-monuments-is-closer-look-at-history

[84] Reuben Rose-Redwood, "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory, and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City," *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9:4, (2008) 432

[85] See Chief Ron Sam, "Regarding Removal of Statue," Songhees Nation, July 31, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21036 and Katie Hooper, "Dear Mayor Helps," Esquimalt Nation, Accessed July 2, 2022, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21034

widespread upset that circulated across Canada, there is no doubt that the removal also sparked deeper conversations within the wider community about the future of historical figures.

While the process of removing this monument is the focal point of the next section of this chapter, it is vital to acknowledge that the conversation to remove the monument evolved during a tipping point of political reckoning with the past. The TRC's Calls to Action were a critical turning point for the City of Victoria that provoked conversations about what reconciliation could look like within the municipality and then, eventually, the creation of the City Family that advocated for the statue's removal. Mayor Lisa Helps has shared that removing the monument was imperative for moving the relationship with the City of Victoria and the Lekwungen peoples forward and for demonstrating council's commitment to this relationship.[86] It was not about erasing history, but about creating a new future. Just as the inception of the Macdonald monument occurred during a moment of political and social change, the physical removal of the monument, on August 11, 2018, also occurred during a broader shift, this time in the consideration of historical injustice and reconciliation.

The conversations that precipitated and followed the statue removal in Victoria as well as Halifax, demonstrate that when conversations about monuments occur, other discussions about who belongs and what type of relationship can be imagined between marginalized communities and governments can also occur. As Helps explains in one of the Reconciliation Dialogue events, what has replaced the statue is a new dialogue of diverse people, "who together, hold the

[86] City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogue #4 Sir John A Macdonald in Conversation," video, September 3, 2019, 1:33, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Players/ISIStandAlonePlayer.aspx?Id=883d509f-6957-4199-8d4d-c95210afab58

possibility of creating a new narrative for ourselves." [87] This narrative is more nuanced than a single monument could ever be; it is about deliberately deciding what values to carry forward and which to leave in the past.

This section offered an analysis of some of the narratives attached to the Macdonald monument and, briefly, discussed what the mobilization of this monument achieved. It is important to consider the distinction between the history of Macdonald as a political figure and the history of his monument to understand the motivations of his commemoration, to legitimate a national narrative of colonial legitimacy. The removal of this monument and specifically, the process by which the decision to remove the monument was reached, challenges the legacy of pain and betrayal that Macdonald represents, which continues to manifest within a dominant Euro-Canadian political system that had historically marginalized and excluded Indigenous representatives and governance. The monument was a barrier to working in collaboration with the Lekwungen peoples and its removal marked a departure from familiar processes of doing business within the municipality to reimaging the protocols and traditions of local government. However, this change also sparked widespread frustration from those who felt excluded from the promise of inclusion that democratic deliberation typically provides. The next section of this chapter will analyze the consultation and deliberative protocols that the City of Victoria undertook to understand what makes this case so different from Halifax.

[87] City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogue #4 Sir John A Macdonald in Conversation," video, September 3, 2019, 1:33, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Players/ISIStandAlonePlayer.aspx?Id=883d509f-6957-4199-8d4d-c95210afab58 (2.35).

Democratic Engagement, Consultation Processes and Policy

Deliberative democracy is often celebrated because of its promise to include, empower, and give voice to groups within public deliberation and political decision making.[88] However, as explored in Chapter 1 and 2, the ability of democratic deliberation to appropriately accommodate longstanding injustice against historically oppressed groups[89] is questionable. What started as an idea to create a task force to begin the work of addressing reconciliation in Victoria ended with an exceptionally different approach to deliberation that departed, in some respects, from assumptions about deliberative democracy that are typically held up as ideal, such as inclusion, equality, transparency, and publicity. As Helps reiterated multiple times in response to backlash of the statue's removal, process was everything.[90] From Helps's perspective, focusing on the process of reconciliation that included and upheld Indigenous leadership, arguably as almost equal with Victoria's City Council's authority, was paramount to whatever decision came next. This section will analyze the process of deliberation that the City of Victoria undertook, what I am calling diplomatic deliberation and internal diplomacy. I will do this by drawing upon the scholarship of Young, Bashir, Ivison, Valadez and Mansbridge, primarily, to weigh the significance of the Victoria City Council's deliberative and consultative protocol. A closer examination of the imperative for diplomatic deliberation and collaboration that Victoria City

[88] Bashir, Bashir. "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation." Res Publica (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2012), 127

[89] I am using the definition of historically oppressed groups from Bashir Bashir, who summarizes Iris Marion Young's "five faces of oppression." What makes a group historically oppressed is systemic vulnerability to one or more of these five faces, which are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, or violence. For more see Bashir Bashir, "Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 50-52

[90] See Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation is a Learning Process for Us All," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 29, 2018, and Lisa Helps, "Comment: Put Macdonald Statue's Future in a Deeper Context," Times Colonist, September 2, 201

Council undertook will naturally follow in the next section, Indigenous-settler relations at the municipal level.

As discussed in the previous chapter, inclusiveness, and equality, in addition to transparency and publicity, are considered vital principles of democratic deliberation. I will deal with the perceived issues of inclusiveness and equality first as the exclusive nature of the decision to remove the monument was a focal point of the backlash to the statue's removal. According to Iris Marion Young and a liberal deliberative approach, a decision that is arrived upon through an *inclusive* democratic process, means that all of those affected by the decision, to the degree that the decision significantly impacts their life, should be included within decision making to ensure an ideal expression of perspectives and interests that are relevant to the issue at hand.[91] Adhering to the democratic norm of equality, which is typically paired with inclusiveness, means that all of those participating should be included on equal terms – everyone should have equal opportunity to share and to question one another.[92] The City Family arguably achieved these principles, by exclusively including those who were most affected by the topic of reconciliation, representatives from the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, who characterised the monument's removal as a symbolic step of rejecting discrimination and oppression and "embracing a new and inclusive way to work." [93] However, instead of a larger community-wide process of discussion and deliberation to meet the traditional deliberative approach of inclusiveness and equality, the City Family was formed as an alternative – a group that

[91] Emphasis is mine. Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Chief Ron Sam, "Regarding Removal of Statue," Songhees Nation, July 31, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21036 and Katie Hooper, "Dear Mayor Helps," Esquimalt Nation, Accessed July 2, 2022, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21034.

deliberately included the Lekwungen people in an equal, government-to-government, diplomatic-like relationship that excluded the wider community.

Duncan Ivison argues that it is gravely undemocratic to deny people the right to participate in shaping laws and rules that affect them.[94] While many people may have never noticed the Macdonald monument, there was considerable backlash that the wider community was not included within the process of decision-making to remove someone considered fundamental to Canada's nation-building project. Ivison argues, along with many democratic theorists, that the principles of inclusiveness and equality ensure that more perspectives are shared, which means that the outcome is more likely to be considered legitimate.[95] However, Ivison also contends that there are "legitimacy problems" in the case of Indigenous peoples, meaning that there is a contested legitimacy about the institutions that have shaped deliberative democratic norms.[96] In other words, because Indigenous people have their own laws, self-government protocols and traditions, and because many of the disadvantages Indigenous people face are related to dispossession and the denial of their self-governance, there is naturally contested legitimacy and authority of institutions that enforce deliberative norms.[97]

Jorge M. Valadez pushes further on this point, by arguing, in contrast to other theorists such as Ivison and Seyla Benhabib,[98] that there can be radical "incommensurability" between perspectives that undermines the dialogical procedure of deliberation that aims at agreement

---

[94] Duncan Ivison, "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," in *Deliberative Democracy in Practice,* eds. David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), ProQuest Ebook Central, 118.
[95] Ibid, 121.
[96] Ibid, 125.
[97] Ibid.
[98] See Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

based on mutually acceptable reasons.[99] Valadez argues that it is not always possible for all deliberators of differing cultural groups, or nations for that matter, to be convinced of each other's reasoning because their reasons differ fundamentally and morally; for example, considering whether land or natural resources should be measured primarily in monetary terms or in relation to spiritual connection or historical reciprocity.[100] In this example, according to Valadez, it would be highly unlikely that deliberators would find arguments for policy decisions reasonable and persuasive because of vastly differing worldviews.[101] However, both Ivison and Valadez agree that deliberation is still possible with historically oppressed groups; Valadez argues that with extensive multicultural education deliberators can understand the *common interests* of each other, instead of relying on reasoning alone. Valdez explains that relying upon finding mutually acceptable reasons does not work in cases of incommensurability and that focusing on common interests is a more realistic aim for members of society who have committed to understanding and respecting differing cultural groups.[102] Ivison argues that formal non-electoral processes, such as truth commissions that investigate historical injustice, in combination with a robust civil engagement where disagreement about legitimacy can take place, are key to advance discussions in deeply imperfect circumstances. [103]

Like Ivison, Bashir also advances a deliberative reconciliation approach and argues that there are further specificities to consider when deliberation occurs with Indigenous groups. Bashir explains that including Indigenous deliberators in an undifferentiated way, in other words,

---

[99]Jorge M. Valdadez, "The Implication of Incommensurability for Deliberative Democracy," in *Deliberative Democracy in Practice,* eds. David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), ProQuest Ebook Central, 172.
[100] Ibid, 166.
[101] Ibid, 155.
[102] Ibid, 172.
[103] Duncan Ivison, "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation," 132.

equal as individual speakers and deliberators with everyone else, downplays the specific and defined experiences of Indigenous groups and nations.[104] Without engaging in what Bashir calls "the politics of reconciliation" first, which can include making public apologies or reparations (which then act as public education activities that Valadez argues for), the inclusion principle of democratic deliberation will not be achieved.[105] Similarly, Young advocates for a politics of difference that welcomes particularities between groups and that involves restructuring existing systems so that marginalized groups can advocate without foregoing said differences.[106] However, as will be discussed more thoroughly in the Indigenous and settler relations section to follow, these theorists do not go far enough to affirm the self-determination of Indigenous nations in a way that moves beyond an inclusive and equal deliberative framework.

On the topic of inclusion, as discussed in the previous section, in a meeting of council on August 9, 2018, where the motion was passed to remove the statue, multiple councillors expressed concern that the wider public was not involved with the decision-making process. Long-time city councillor Geoff Young stated that the City Family's year-long conversations about the statue removal had largely happened behind closed doors and that the process was "disrespectful" to citizens who did not have the opportunity to discuss the statue.[107] Another critic of the City of Victoria's process is University of Victoria Professor and sociologist Sean Hier, who called the removal of the statue a symptom of the "moral panic" of reconciliatory politics that failed to undertake the familiar practices of deliberation, such as "strategically

---

[104] Bashir, Bashir, "Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation,"102.
[105] Ibid,133.
[106] As explained by Avigail, Eisenberg, "Education and the Politics of Difference: Iris Young and the Politics of Education," *Educational philosophy and theory* 38, no. 1 (2006): 7–23.
[107] City of Victoria, "City Family Story," August 9, 2018, video, 2:04:11 https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com /Meeting.aspx?Id=01d75a84-7f5f-4294-9615-88864d0bd873&Agenda=Merged&lang=English

cultivating subjectivities over long periods of time." [108] These critiques do not acknowledge that conducting an unfamiliar process, from the City Family's point of view, was precisely the point, nor do their concerns address how familiar processes of deliberation have disrespected the self-government of Indigenous communities.

Further, the community consensus that Councillor Young and Hier suggest is missing and necessary to the monument debate, in addition to the arguments for formal deliberation advanced by Ivison, to some degree, neglects the important fact brought forward by Mansbridge, that consensus-based decision making of deliberative democracy has and continues to exclude or ignore marginalized voices within the political realm.[109] As Mansbridge contends, having open participation within deliberation, in the sense that the doors are open to everyone, does not guarantee equal participation.[110] This is because of unequal power dynamics that privilege the protocols and traditions of the group with the most political and social power. Further, it is also problematic to suggest that consensus or that an idea of a common good can be ascertained that may require the participants to transcend the values that differentiate them.[111] Because Canada is multinational (many nations), how deliberation occurs with distinct nations, despite being unconventional within western democracies, is a vital topic of consideration, indeed as will be discussed in the next section and, according to James Tully, perhaps even a matter of justice.[112]

In addition to challenging the deliberative norms of inclusiveness and equality, the City Family's deliberative protocol also compromised the tenets of transparency and publicity. As

---

[108] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," 673.
[109] Jane Mansbridge, *Beyond Adversary Democracy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
[110] Ibid, 100.
[111] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 40.
[112] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.

mentioned, the City Family and Witness Reconciliation meetings were not made public. The exact reasoning and arguments of Family members regarding how the decision to remove the monument was argued or agreed upon and by whom is unknown. The lack of information for the wider public and other municipal government to analyze or to learn from is significant from a democratic and scholarly perspective.

The democratic ideal of publicity requires deliberative participants to express themselves in a way that is responsive and accountable to others.[113] While the City Family was answerable to the Indigenous Witness members there was no larger public to answer to, that Young explains is part of an inclusive and equal decision-making process.[114] Young contends that the principle of publicity means that those involved in deliberation share their perspectives and opinions with the knowledge that a third party may be listening.[115] This knowledge means that deliberators will try to express themselves in a way that is understandable and acceptable.[116] Without transparent access to the testimony of Family members, it is difficult to measure the reasonableness and justification of the decisions made, but not having access to this information also prompts reflection if non-Indigenous publics should have an inherent right to the stories and testimony from Family members about their relationship with a historical figures who has caused egregious harm to their community – not to mention who and through what lens an idea of reasonableness is being judged. Avoiding an inclusive community-wide discussion in fear of potential clashes appeared to be one of the driving factors of the secretive diplomatic-like process of the City Family – Mayor Helps explained that the monument needed to be removed quickly "instead of 6

[113] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 25.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.

months of racist backlash as we debated it as a community."[117] However, agonists argue, that without the conflict and disagreement that the City of Victoria's actions aimed to avoid, democracy fails.[118]

Agonists believe that deliberation is biased and incapable of allowing contestation and differences to be meaningfully conveyed.[119] Chantal Mouffe, as well as James Tully, are agonists that deal directly with the deliberative paradigm. Both theorists reject the notion that consensus-based deliberation is possible or a value to strive toward. Instead, as explained in Chapter 2, agonists argue for welcoming conflict into the political realm as a more realistic framework within a pluralistic society. More specifically, because there is a plurality of people, cultures, and perspectives, it is not likely that a consensus will be reached that is considered legitimate by everyone; in contrast, according to Mouffe, agonistic democracy would provide the freedom to challenge and to contest unjust norms as well as opportunities to express differences and even hostility in a way that motivates people to participate, but also binds them together.[120] The backlash that the City of Victoria aimed to avoid, from an agonistic perspective, cannot be avoided and therefore, should be identified and contested publicly. The initial process of deliberation, which happened among City Family members behind closed doors, did not provide a public forum for broad agonistic discussions.

---

[117] City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogue #4 Sir John A Macdonald in Conversation," Video, September 3, 2019, 1:30:32, https://pubvictoria.escribemeetings.com /Players/ISIStandAlonePlayer.aspx?Id=883d509f-6957-4199-8d4d-c95210afab58.
[118] Paul Muldoon, "The Very Basis of Civility: On Agonism, Conquest and Reconciliation," in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008), 127.
[119] John Dryzek, *Deliberative Global Politics: Discourse and Democracy in a Divided World (Cambridge*. Polity Press, 2006) 48.
[120] Paul Muldoon, "The Very Basis of Civility: On Agonism, Conquest and Reconciliation," 123.

Importantly, the tactic of closed-door meetings and decision-making is not new to politics. Young explains that "back door brokering" is a common tactic used by powerful people to get what they want — self-appointed committees deliberate privately and arrive at policies that they present as accomplished facts.[121] Closer to what occurred in this case are treaty negotiations. Treaty negotiations, according to Tully, are based upon procedures of reciprocity, they happen privately, over long periods of time on a nation to state basis.[122] Indeed, the relationship that Victoria City Council pursued with the Lekwungen peoples through the City Family and Witness Reconciliation Program can be considered a treaty-like relationship, although this relationship did not focus on a particular outcome, as treaty negotiations seek to do. Because there was mutual recognition and respect of representatives of different governments coming together in a private process of dialogue, the City Family relationship can also be considered diplomatic.

The City Family is comparable to a diplomatic relationship because it involved the affirmation and mutual respect of representatives from the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations as well as private meetings where negotiations were held between three respective governments. However, this process is quasi-diplomatic or diplomatic-like because negotiations took place at the local level, instead of on an international scale and because the City of Victoria Councillors who entered negotiations are not representative of a nation or a state, for the most part. Like Simeon's theory of how inter-provincial negotiations are related to international negotiations,[123] because representatives of different governments with distinct interests meet to discuss and to

---

[121] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, 54.
[122] James Tully. *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.
[123] Richard Simeon, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820.

negotiate policy decisions, negotiations with Indigenous nations, even at the municipal level, as evidenced in this Victoria case study, can also occur diplomatically.

Because Canada is made up of many nations, as Tully explains in *Multinational Democracies*,[124] deliberation seems to require, at least, quasi-diplomatic forms of deliberation involving representatives of distinct political communities who exist within the same geographical and constitutional framework. In the case of commemoration, in discussing reconciliation and historical injustice, the City of Victoria chose to engage in a relationship of what I am calling, as referenced in Chapter 1, internal diplomacy. Internal diplomacy is a concept that is similar to Audra Simpson's theory of nested sovereignty – nested sovereignty challenges the Westphalian notion of sovereignty as the singular and supreme authority of a given territory by suggesting that sovereignty can exist within sovereignty.[125] By arguing that nations exist within nations as Tully does and that sovereignty can exist within sovereignty as Simpson argues, it is also feasible to suggest that diplomatic relationships can occur within what is considered a singular state, even a municipality, and that these relations may attend to the rights and self-determination of Indigenous groups more so than recognition within deliberation. Diplomatic relationships and deliberation, arguably, move beyond the systemic discrimination of deliberative protocols and procedures, such as rules and traditions that privilege groups with the most power, toward a government-to-government dynamic within and against the boundaries of provincial and federal authority.[126]

---

[124] James Tully, "Introduction," in *Multinational Democracies*, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, 1–34. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), doi:10.1017/CBO9780511521577.003.
[125] Audra Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*, (Duke University Press: Durham; London, 2014).
[126] I suggest that these relationships work within and against the boundaries of provincial and federal authority because municipalities are under the purview of the province and Indigenous people are, according to the Constitution, under the authority of the federal government. Municipalities are given their authority by provinces but have no constitutional obligation to Indigenous Nations.

While it is impossible to know precisely what occurred during the closed-door discussions because of a lack of transparency, publicity, and inclusion (of the wider public), the Witness Reconciliation Dialogues were and continue to be opportunities for the entire community to share their thoughts and opinions on the matter of Macdonald's commemoration. The Dialogues welcome anyone to participate and are available for on-demand viewing on the City of Victoria's website. Although discussions among participants at tables cannot be ascertained via video, the facilitation, the presentations by table spokespeople and the questions up for discussions are all available for scrutiny. Indeed, while the ideals of democracy, primarily inclusiveness, equality, transparency, and publicity were challenged during the initial decision-making protocol that the City of Victoria undertook, community-wide discussions about the fate of the Macdonald monument were, seemingly, a more democratic process. Therefore, while diplomatic deliberation was important to forge the relationship between Indigenous and settler governments, it was also helpful to supplement this process with additional procedures that allowed for deliberation and discussion that some community members desired, and that democracy demands.

While diplomacy, arguably, provides a more just framework to engage with Indigenous nations and representatives, it is also important to consider the fundamental reason for deliberation. As liberal deliberative and deliberative reconciliation theorists explain, deliberation is a fundamental tool of democracy that allows for citizens to challenge and interrogate policy decisions and to ostensibly share their perspectives and views.[127] Additionally, by gathering preferences without community consultation, decisions are made solely by political

[127] Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, *Why Deliberative Democracy?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

representatives, which can reinforce unequal distributions of power between the state or appointed decision-making bodies and everyone else.[128] Even if minds or preferences remain unchanged after deliberation occurs, the opportunity to feel heard and to attempt to influence policy outcomes, while paying critical attention to differences in power and identity, are long-standing demands of social movements and marginalized communities.[129]

In addition, closing off deliberation may, hypothetically, provide fuel to extremist groups who aim to rally the silent or more moderate critics of statue removals and diplomatic deliberation in their moves against reconciliatory initiatives. Put another way, consulting the wider community is both a requirement of democratic deliberation and a requirement for democratic legitimacy; therefore, not allowing community input within decision making can, theoretically, agitate those who wish to denounce the merit of reconciliatory action or the state. However, as said in other words throughout this research, engaging with Indigenous nations is also a requirement of living within a multinational society. Additionally, if governments are to take the TRC's Calls to Action seriously, along with local, provincial, and national commitments to reconciliation, then engaging with Indigenous representatives as more than community members, and instead, on a nation-to-nation basis, provides legitimacy to policy goals and outcomes as well as actions to address historical injustice. Further, half measures within democratic deliberation that simply recognize the historical differences between deliberators do not go far enough to affirm the historical governance structures of Indigenous nations that requires diplomatic protocols.

[128] Ibid, 16.
[129] Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy, 3-4.*

This section began by articulating the traditional values of a liberal approach to deliberation and the alternative, Indigenous centered approach to deliberation and relationship of diplomacy that the City of Victoria undertook – that I conceptualize as a relationship of internal diplomacy. Theorists agree that the principles of inclusion, equality, transparency, and publicity are paramount to ensure that widespread opinions and perspectives that are relevant to the issue at hand are weighed and that decisions are considered legitimate because of a diversity of thought. However, all the theorists in this section agree that there are specific considerations that must occur when deliberation happens with historically excluded groups. While Bashir, Ivison, and Valadez agree that a "politics of reconciliation" entailing such actions as truth commissions, educational campaigns, and reparations should take place, Young advocates for the restructuring of deliberative dynamics to attend to the power imbalances that Mansbridge and Mouffe point out are unavoidable. However, except for Mouffe, these theorists do not abandon the deliberative paradigm for political decision-making, as the Victoria City Council did. Diplomatic deliberation, similar to a nation-to-nation or at least a government-to-government framework, is a step that moves beyond recognition within deliberation to affirming the self-determination of Indigenous nations. To address community concerns of inclusion, Victoria City Council chose to supplement their diplomatic approach with a process of deliberation, the Witness Reconciliation Dialogues, that invited community members to take part within discussions about reconciliation and the fate of the Macdonald monument. The next section of this chapter will attempt to understand why a diplomatic deliberative protocol was chosen and will push further on the notion of what reconciliation requires.

Indigenous-Settler Relations and Policy Making

In an op-ed to the local *Times Colonist* newspaper a year before the Macdonald statue was removed, Mayor Lisa Helps wrote that, upon reflection of the debate to remove the monument that had resurfaced on social media, she understood that there was no simple answer to removing the Macdonald monument, but a clear path forward.[130] Inspired by Paulette Regan's 2010 book entitled *Unsettling the Settler Within,* Helps explained that learning to understand Indigenous ways meant "being in diplomatic, political and legal environments that are foreign to us, just as our settler ways were foreign to Indigenous communities when we arrived in their territories." [131] The City Family was a departure from familiar processes of policy making at the local level because it involved Indigenous protocol and an emphasis on relationship building instead of a focus on a particular outcome. Applying the insights of Regan, as well as Tully, Walker et al., and Schaap, this section will analyze the relationship, made within the context of reconciliation, that Victoria City Council struck with the Lekwungen peoples.

As in the Halifax case, it was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC's) Calls to Action that prompted the City of Victoria to investigate how the city could implement reconciliatory actions.[132] On October 8, 2015, Councillors Alto and Thornton-Joe asked the City Manager to investigate how the city could initiate the TRC's recommendations within the city's jurisdiction.[133] In December, the City Manager presented the report that recommended the creation of a working group to address the five specific recommendations from the TRC to municipalities.[134] However, after meeting with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations a new

---

[130] Lisa Helps, "Comment: Put Macdonald Statue's Future in a Deeper Context," Times Colonist, September 2, 2017, https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/comment-put-macdonald-statues-future-in-a-deeper-context-465354.
[131] Ibid.
[132] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation-program.html.
[133] Sean P. Hier, "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past," 666.
[134] Ibid.

process was envisioned, consisting of an Indigenous-focused approach that Helps explained was a "better" way to move forward if the city was sincere in their pursuit of truth and reconciliation.[135]

James Tully argues that a relationship of reconciliation – that is not merely recognition from the state or a final settlement of some kind – can be negotiated between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people if the principles set forth in Canadian Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples are applied.[136] As explained in Chapter 2, these principles are mutual recognition, intercultural negotiation, mutual respect, sharing and mutual responsibility.[137] The City of Victoria arguably achieved these principles by engaging what Tully defines as a "treaty" relationship and that I define as a diplomatic-like partnership or a relationship of internal diplomacy with the Lekwungen peoples – because the City of Victoria and Lekwungen peoples recognized each other as co-existing and self-governing people and engaged in negotiation about their association, about how to redress historical injustice through the TRC's Calls to Action.

Like Tully, Paulette Regan argues that for reconciliation to be an authentic process, it must significantly alter dominant traditions that have disrespected or misrecognized Indigenous legal traditions and histories.[138] Indeed, challenging and changing the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous governments is an imperative that other scholars, such as Sheryl Lightfoot[139] and Tully, argue is essential for meaningful reconciliation efforts to begin. In her

---

[135] Lisa Helps, "Reconciliation and Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue from Steps of City Hall," Lisa Helps Victoria, August 8, 2018, https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/08/reconciliation-and-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-from-steps-of-city-hall/.
[136] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.
[137] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, 229.
[138] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within,* 147.
[139] Sheryl Lightfoot, "Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment." *NAIS: journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 2, no. 1 (2015): 15–39.

analysis of apologies, Lightfoot contends that a more genuine renegotiation of the Indigenous-state relationships would significantly improve any efforts at restoration that reconciliation efforts aim to achieve.[140] Likewise, Tully explains the transformation in the way that Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (let alone governments) relate to one another is imperative, but also challenging, because it involves freeing oneself from prejudices, habits, and behaviour inherited from the imperial past.[141] Councillor Marianne Alto as well as Mayor Helps explained that the City Family process was an opportunity for learning and a uncomfortable process that departed from familiar terms of reference – Helps reiterated that conventional assessments of success and progress would not demonstrate the City's readiness to embrace the challenge of reconciliation.[142] Challenging tradition and process and focusing on nurturing relationships as a foundation are exactly what the Indigenous-led process of reconciliation aimed to achieve.[143]

Victoria City Council created the City Family after a discussion with the Lekwungen people, to begin a formal process of reconciliation that created and used relationships "as a foundation" for working together – the removal of the monument in Victoria happened in order to begin this work.[144] As Florence Dick, a member of the Songhees Nation explained, while statues are being removed all the time it is rare for people to take the time to understand "our point of view." [145] In addition to creating the Indigenous informed Witness Reconciliation Program, the City of Victoria also provided reconciliation training for all its city staff and the

[140] Sheryl Lightfoot, "Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment," 35.
[141] James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key*, 230.
[142] City of Victoria, "Committee of the Whole Meeting," August 7, 2018, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033.
[143] Ibid.
[144] City of Victoria, "Reconciliation," Accessed June 6, 2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/reconciliation.html.
[145] Emma Renaerts, "The Right Way to Topple a Statue," The Tyee, Nov 3, 2020.

Reconciliation Dialogues were an opportunity to educate the public about the Lekwungen peoples, the principles of UNDRIP and the process of colonization, broadly.[146] Further, the City of Victoria's 2019-2022 Strategic Plan outlined 17 specific actions for "Reconciliation and Indigenous Relations" that ensure, according to Helps, that reconciliation will become "embedded in the practice of the city." [147] The City of Victoria aimed to foster a fluid, and adaptable approach to reconciliation and relationship building with the Lekwungen peoples. This approach positions reconciliation as a permanent and flexible part of the City of Victoria's work, indeed a facet of municipal politics, which is like what reconciliation theorist Andrew Schaap argues is a more realistic approach to reconciliatory objectives, instead of thinking of reconciliation as a destination or an outcome that a liberal deliberative approach aims to reach.

As Schaap argues, "reconciliation is a political good only so long as it is not realized." [148] In other words, as opposed to thinking of reconciliation as an outcome, Schaap argues that reconciliation is a fundamental part of politics that, because of its endurance, requires renegotiation that promotes ongoing discussion and opportunities for contestation.[149] Schaap's conception of reconciliation leaves room for the diplomatic and Indigenous-led protocol that Victoria undertook, which reimagined what deliberation could look like in the name of reconciliation in Lekwungen territory.[150] Alto described the City Family process as a journey of healing and learning that provided opportunities to reconsider and to re-examine the world and the way that the municipality does its work.[151] Similar to Schaap's theory, the City Family

[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Andrew Schaap, *Political Reconciliation*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 71
[149] Ibid, 72.
[150] Bashir, Bashir. "Reconciling Historical Injustices," 130-131.
[151] City of Victoria, "Committee of the Whole Meeting," August 9, 2018, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033.

process, in contrast to the Halifax Regional Municipality's process that began with the goal of finding a solution to addressing the commemoration of Cornwallis, was less about an outcome and more about sustaining a nurturing an ongoing relationship of reconciliation. In Victoria's case, this ongoing relationship involved the mutual recognition of government-to-government representatives and the recognition that traditional settler protocols would not add value or meaning to the work of reconciliation.[152]

In *Unsettling the Settler Within*, Regan explores historical peacemaking roles of Indigenous diplomats to demonstrate the varied cultures, languages and conflicting ideas within differing communities that came together historically to negotiate and achieve peaceful relations.[153] Regan suggests that Indigenous legal traditions and diplomatic practices should not be dismissed and that resolving conflicts using Indigenous legal traditions, such as respect for individuals and elders, storytelling, ceremonies, emotional connection and symbolic action, requires maintaining social and political relationships of mutual trust and benefit.[154] Entering into relationships based on these principles is exactly the framework that Walker, Moore and Linklater argue is essential to create Indigenous policy at the municipal level in a way that honours the principle of self-determination.[155]

As argued in Chapter 2, it is the principle of self-determination, the inherent Indigenous right of original occupancy, that emanates from treaties and constitutional arrangements between the state and Indigenous communities, that demands that there is consideration in municipal

---

[152] City of Victoria. "Committee of the Whole Meeting." August 7, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033.
[153] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within*, 148.
[154] Ibid, 157.
[155] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, ed. Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011) 163.

policy making beyond, to use Walker, Moore, and Linklater's phrase "voices at the table." [156] Although, using the principles of self-determination is contextual and can change depending on the varying beliefs of people who want it or may even reject it, it is a good starting point to guide a mutually respectful relationship that goes beyond cooperation to the co-production of policy.[157] As explained in Chapter 2, there are multiple references within the TRC's Calls to Action to collaborating and working together with Indigenous communities to accomplish diverse initiatives, including commemorative action.

The Witness Reconciliation Program is an example of a collaborative and co-productive relationship where non-state actors, the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations, were involved in both policy production and implementation. This process recognized and indeed valued the embodied knowledge, Orsini and Smith's theory of knowledge that stems for personal experience and identity (although not exclusively), to impact policy making.[158] Regan argues that Indigenous knowledge is often framed as "traditional," resulting in the treatment of Indigenous knowledge as if it was static and the assumption that Indigenous peoples are not engaged in the discovery of new knowledge, which could not be further from the truth.[159] By entering into a Coast Salish method of decision making, exemplified by the Witness Reconciliation Program, the City Family affirmed the value of Indigenous knowledge to the process of reconciliation and commemoration. The City Family also challenged the exclusion of historically excluded groups within political decision making while also affirming the value of working collaboratively and diplomatically.

---

[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid,165.
[158] Michael Orsini and Miriam Smith, "Social movements, knowledge and public policy: the case of autism activism in Canada and the US," Critical Policy Studies, 4:1, 38-57, DOI: 10.1080/19460171003714989.
[159] Paulette Regan, *Unsettling the Settler Within,* 150.

Conclusion

This chapter consisted of an analysis of the process that the City of Victoria undertook to remove the John A Macdonald monument from the steps of City Hall. Specifically, this chapter examined the unique approach that the City of Victoria chose to advance reconciliation within the municipality. The Witness Reconciliation Program brought together Indigenous Witnesses from the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations to oversee and to provide guidance to the City Family, a group comprised of City Council members and appointees from each nation. This Coast Salish way of coming together was chosen to demonstrate the municipality's sincerity in wanting to pursue truth and reconciliation.[160] While the City Family was a more inclusive, equal, public, and transparent process for the Lekwungen peoples, an official public hearing where non-Indigenous participants could offer their opinions, besides ongoing opportunities for members of the wider public to sign up to speak to council at any council meeting, did not take place before the removal of the monument occurred. Instead of relying on these familiar processes of deliberation and community consultation that ostensibly give everyone in the community an opportunity to have their voices heard, although Mansbridge and Young point out that unequal power dynamics ensure this is not always the case, the City of Victoria undertook a quasi-diplomatic approach that was later supplemented with deliberative reconciliation through the Witness Reconciliation Dialogues.

The relationships that the City of Victoria struck with the Lekwungen peoples is diplomatic-like because it involved distinct governments coming together to negotiate policy decisions and interests in private. I further clarify this relationship as quasi-diplomatic because

[160] City of Victoria, "Committee of the Whole Meeting," August 7, 2018, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033

the City of Victoria is not representative of a nation and these conversations did not take place on an international scale, but in fact, within Canada. Tully's conception of Canada as multinational, along with the imperative of self-determination, helps to illustrate why this approach, despite Victoria being a local government that is not constitutionally empowered with a responsibility to engage in diplomatic discussions, can be considered legitimate. Schaap's conception of reconciliation as negotiation and a central facet of politics helps to illustrate the journey of reconciliation that the City of Victoria committed to undertake. Although ambiguity in what reconciliation requires can lead to diverse outcomes in how municipalities decide to approach reconciliatory action, thinking of reconciliation *as* politics may engender a greater commitment to working collaboratively with Indigenous groups in the long term. Additionally, supplementing diplomatic deliberative activities with opportunities for deliberative reconciliation, where discussion occurs that recognizes and welcomes differences between deliberators and deliberation styles, as we have learned in this Victoria case, can prove to be an alternative to the liberal deliberative approach that respects Indigenous self-governance and the requirements of democracy.

The final chapter of this thesis will offer a conclusion to this comparative analysis. The conclusion will consider what comparing these two case studies together reveals, primarily the significance of focusing on relationships within discussions about commemoration and the challenges to deliberation that may arise within multinational societies. In the pursuit of reconciliation, both Halifax and Victoria underwent differing deliberative strategies that adhere to and compromise traditional norms of deliberation while considering emergent norms of reconciliation.

Chapter Four

Conclusion: Negotiation, Diplomacy, and Reconciliation in Halifax and Victoria

The aim of this thesis has been to compare and understand the distinct policy considerations, primarily, deliberative, and consultative, that were made in the commemorative case studies of Halifax and Victoria. I applied three categories of scholarly literatures, statue removals, democratic deliberation, and Indigenous-settler relations to assess who and in what way community members and indeed, distinct political communities, were included and respected within decision making about each municipality's monument in question. This chapter offers lessons that considering these cases together reveal, such as the challenge to democratic deliberation and municipal policy making that rights bearing political communities provide and that the TRC may require, as well as the power of monuments to mobilize overdue discussions about values and relationships.

In Chapter 1, I offered an introduction to this thesis that outlined the prevailing literature and context to approach this comparative analysis. As engagement with monuments and other commemorative symbols across Canada continues to increase, considering the process of decision making, how deliberation and consultation should proceed and with whom, is paramount to address concerns related to historical injustice and commemoration, even at the municipal level. As exploring these two case studies demonstrates, the unique constitutional and legal status of Indigenous peoples in Canada in particular, brings up complex process-related questions related to commemoration - including democratic engagement, diplomacy, and reconciliation – that demand critical attention. Diplomatic deliberation and internal diplomacy were identified in this chapter as new and emerging norms within multinational societies that stress nation-to-nation or government to government protocols for decision making related to

commemoration. Diplomatic deliberation builds from and can be supplemented with other concepts of deliberation such as a liberal deliberative approach that promotes participation, inclusion, and equality, and deliberative reconciliation, which argues for inclusion, while also attending to differences in social and political power in a myriad of ways.

In Chapter 2, I found that Halifax, eventually, used its Reconciliation Statement to guide its relationship with the Mi'kmaq to address the issue of the public commemoration of Edward Cornwallis. While the expert panel, which later became a collaborative task force, demonstrated the necessity of working with the Assembly of the Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs, asking the wider community to weigh in with their own opinions, a procedural requirement of deliberative democracy, also threatened to diminish the expert knowledge, authority, and decision-making capacity of Indigenous nations and representatives. However, the relationship that was struck between the HRM and the Assembly to approach the commemoration of Cornwallis together – regardless of the protocols of deliberation that can mimic structural inequalities – departed from typical decision-making processes within the municipality to collaborate with the Mi'kmaq on a matter that was deeply important to the Mi'kmaq community. This relationship and the approach of the Task Force were rooted in the reconciliation statement of the HRM — importantly, the Task Force was only realized after years of lobbying and protest from the Mi'kmaq community.

In Chapter 3, I found that Victoria entered a quasi-diplomatic partnership with the Lekwungen peoples to affirm its commitment to meaningfully addressing reconciliation within the municipality. It was from this relationship that the decision to remove the monument was pursued, but the closed-door meetings with representatives of the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations and the City of Victoria, which mimicked relationships of diplomacy, sidestepped the deliberative tenets of equality, inclusion (of the wider community), publicity and transparency that are considered imperative for policy decisions to be fair and legitimate. However, the

Witness Reconciliation Program and the City Family were created specifically to challenge convention in the pursuit of reconciliation. As Councillor Alto and Mayor Helps reiterated, although the frame of reference of local government is "steeped" in a colonial worldview, it is not dependent on this fact.[1] The unique diplomatic-like relationship that the City of Victoria created with the Lekwungen people demonstrated most of the Council's desire to embrace a new way of working together. Additionally, the Witness Reconciliation Dialogues supplemented the private internal diplomatic relationship that the City of Victoria forged with the Lekwungen peoples to provide an opportunity for the wider community to share their perspectives, to learn about reconciliation and the work of the City Family and to influence further policy regarding the Macdonald monument.

These case studies showcase the significance of what is at stake during commemorative policy making as well as the distinct opportunities that can be pursued when discussions about commemoration occur at the municipal level. Together, these case studies also demonstrate a tension between the normative principles of deliberative democracy, which promise transparency as well as equal and inclusive participation, and the demands of reconciliation, which require renegotiating relationships between Indigenous and settler governments. This tension also highlights the importance of considering whether democratic deliberation can or should be modified to respect and include the voices and perspectives of Indigenous community members and what reconciliation requires.

As explored in both chapters, the rules of democratic deliberation that invite all of those who are affected by an issue to be included within deliberation – undifferentiated from everyone

[1] City of Victoria, "Council Member Motion for the Closed Council Meeting of June 15, 2017," June 8, 2017https://www.victoria.ca/assets/City~Hall/Media~Releases/2017/2017Jun16_MR_Attachment_Witness%20Reconciliation%20Program%20Appointments.pdf.

else – marginalizes historically excluded groups whose differences significantly alter their interests, concerns, and identity. Therefore, scholars such as Iris Marion Young have called for a difference sensitive, reconciliation approach to deliberation that requires a restructuring of deliberative procedures so that particularities between groups are recognized and welcomed within deliberation – instead of universal policies that ignore said differences. However, even when deliberation is restructured to respect or acknowledge differences, it is still solution focused. Agonists believe that the outcome-oriented goal of democratic deliberation is part of what makes this approach to decision making unrealistic within pluralistic societies where deep differences and structural inequalities are too vast to overcome. Relationships of diplomacy are another alternative to deliberation that move beyond a difference sensitive approach advocated by Young and an agonistic approach to decision making pursued by scholars, such as Mouffe, and toward a government-to-government dynamic.

Because Canada is multinational, as explained by Tully, deliberation may require negotiation with representatives of distinct political communities, especially those who have historical rights of self-government. An internal diplomatic-like approach to decision making challenges traditional democratic norms of inclusion, equality, and transparency because traditional diplomatic relations require secrecy, mutual trust, and a lack of public access. As explored within this thesis, it is not unfounded to speak of this type of relationship, within the confines of what is commonly understood to be a singular nation state. Building from Tully's concept of multinational democracies and Simpson's theory of nested sovereignty, internal diplomacy at the local level naturally carries forward ideals of a just and practical relationship with Indigenous peoples that is set out in the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) as well as the TRC's Calls to Action. Both the RCAP and the TRC emphasize the importance of a restructured relationship between Indigenous and colonial governments and the affirmation of a

treaty, or government to government relationship based on mutual respect and shared responsibility.

Simeon's theory of intergovernmental diplomacy in federalism helps to illustrate the diplomatic-like relationships that already exist uniquely in Canada, because of the frequency of interactions between provincial and federal representatives, the form these interactions take and the influence of diverse governments.[2] These negotiations are like relationships of diplomacy on an international scale and treaty relationships that happen between representatives of different governments. Additionally, working in diplomatic co-productive relationships with Indigenous representatives affirms the self-government, embodied knowledge, and expertise of Indigenous nations. As a reminder, embodied knowledge, Orsini and Smith's concept, is the situated knowledge and experience that informs people's identity that can be viewed as expertise.[3] Who is an expert, in addition to who holds historical rights, is another consideration when policymaking occurs on matters that are deeply important to the experience and identity of particular groups. A relationship that is quasi diplomatic, in the sense that Simeon observes at the intergovernmental level within federalism, naturally affirms the value of working with such experts; this relationship also departs from patterns found by scholars of municipal and Indigenous policy making who argue that municipalities generally do not recognize the special attributes of Indigenous community members.[4]

As Abele et al. point out in their assessment of policymaking in four cities in Ontario, policymakers, generally, did not perceive local governments as having responsibility to develop

---

[2] Richard Simeon, *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*, (University of Toronto Press, 2006), https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820, 300.
[3] Michael Orsini, and Miriam Smith, "Social Movements, Knowledge and Public Policy: The Case of Autism Activism in Canada and the US," 48.
[4] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech and Michael McCrossin. "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, ed. Evelyn J Peters, (McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011), 114.

Indigenous-specific policy and failed to engage with Indigenous organizations past an advisory role.[5] Walker et al. also recognize this pattern and found that when policy that has to do with Indigenous people exists at the local level it is produced by local governments and sometimes implemented with Indigenous organizations.[6] Walker et al. argue that the coproduction of policy with Indigenous representatives is more likely to achieve meaningful outcomes precisely because it involves Indigenous representatives.[7] However, both Abele et al. and Walker et al. recognize the complexity of forming co-productive relationships and the extreme variability in terms of how Indigenous governments, community members, representatives or organizations are included or consulted within policy making at the local level. This lack of cohesion, largely because of jurisdictional ambiguity, constrains efforts to make long term plans. However, Abele et al. suggest that even without constitutional changes, it is evident that a new type of relationship between Indigenous people and local governments is developing, a product of the downloading of services from the province and also the forming of Indigenous advocacy groups and organizations that have stimulated community organization and means for coalition building.[8] Arguably, as seen in these two case studies, the TRC's Calls to Action and the shifting political narratives toward reconciliation have also inspired change.

Both municipalities in this case study cited the TRC as an impetus for creating and guiding the Task Force in Halifax and the Witness Reconciliation Program in Victoria. The HRM cited its Reconciliation Statement and the TRC's Calls to Action as key to informing questions about Cornwallis and the commemoration of Indigenous history that the Task Force

---

[5] Ibid, 108-109.
[6] Ryan Walker, James Moore and Maeengan Linklater, "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba," in *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters, (McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011), 164.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Frances Abele, Russel Lapointe, David J. Leech and Michael McCrossin. "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities," 115.

brought forward to the community.[9] In addition, both city councillors Waye Mason in 2016 and Shawn Cleary in 2017 – who brought motions forward to have a community conversation about Cornwallis – cited the HRM's Reconciliation Statement, which included references to the TRC, as reason to create a task force.[10] Likewise, the City of Victoria cited the TRC's Calls to Action for municipalities as a "framework" for creating the Witness Reconciliation Program and working towards reconciliation within the municipality.[11] In fact, in contrast to the Task Force in Halifax, the City Family and Witness Reconciliation Program were created specifically to help the city to respond to the TRC's recommendations and to, broadly, foster healing and reconciliation within the municipality.[12] The TRC's Calls to Action, then, are important guidance for developing reconciliatory policy at the local level and for redefining relationships between local governments and Indigenous communities.

Leslie Pal explains that public policy, like the TRC's Calls to Action, is a framework to guide policy makers to address interrelated problems and to hold representatives accountable.[13] Although policy is often general, it is made clear through action and delivery.[14] However, policy, even in the case of the TRC, can also be purposefully aspirational and meant to send a message rather than solve a specific problem.[15] For example, even though the TRC specifically calls for coordination and collaboration with Indigenous nations and representatives, it does not say *how* these policy goals should be accomplished. Although, there are very specific actions outlined

---

[9] Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," 2.
[10] Halifax, "Statement of Reconciliation from Halifax Regional Council," December 8, 2015. http://legacycontent.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/documents/151208ca1442.pdf.
[11] City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation-program.html
[12] Ibid.
[13] Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis*, 2.
[14] Ibid, 11.
[15] Ibid, 8.

within the Calls to Action, how deliberation and collaboration should proceed is uncertain. This ambiguity, in addition to the overlapping jurisdictional authority of municipal governments in relation to the provincial and federal governments, is illustrative of the varied and scattered reconciliatory initiatives across Canada. While many municipalities have made reconciliation statements, policy consistency, which requires matching actions, and statements with policy objectives, is not always evident.[16] However, just how far municipalities can stretch their given authority to recognize and affirm the authority and sovereignty of rights holding groups under the umbrella of reconciliation is also important to consider.

Schaap's view of reconciliation has been a useful tool to assess the reconciliation processes within each municipality as either solution focused, in the same way that democratic deliberation is, or as a process that recognizes conflict between groups is inevitable, sometimes irreconcilable, but more realistically, always open to negotiation. This second version of reconciliation is, of course, related to an agonistic view of democracy. As Schaap explains, reconciliation within divided societies is often understood as a need to reform or redeem the past for the sake of a common future, and in this way, reconciliation is often associated with religious (repentance) and therapeutic (healing) metaphors.[17] However, political reconciliation, from Schaap's point of view, is not about solutions necessarily or a mended future-oriented state, but about the possibility of a relationship that emerges through unfolding and ongoing action.[18]

A distinct lesson that this thesis has contributed, is that negotiation and a commitment to deepening and transforming relationships are key to affirm meaningful outcomes in commemorative controversies. In Halifax, the successful motion to address the memory of

---

[16] Ibid, 11.
[17] Andrew Schaap, *Political Reconciliation*, 17.
[18] Ibid, 94.

Cornwallis took years to achieve and proceedings to initiate the task force were also neglected causing the Assembly to withdraw from the process entirely. Over the course of time when Halifax council talked about initiating the process of the task force protests were held at the monument, where tensions were then stoked when the Proud Boys showed up to defend their hero. When the monument was removed and the Assembly returned to the process, almost a year later, Halifax Regional Council voted to establish an equal task force with the Assembly, where funding would be an equal responsibility between the HRM and the Assembly of Chiefs.[19] It was through this collaborative relationship that the HRM achieved, in some respects, what Pal calls "policy consistency" [20] because the Halifax Regional Council finally created policy that was consistent with its 2015 Reconciliation Statement that committed to working with Indigenous partners and in equal partnership with Indigenous people.[21]

In contrast to the HRM, the City of Victoria created the City Family and Witness Reconciliation Program with reconciliation as its focus. The removal of the statue happened to begin this important work and affirmed the City of Victoria's commitment to working toward transforming the relationship between the city and the Lekwungen peoples, to listen and to learn from Indigenous representatives. As Mayor Helps explained, from her perspective, asking the nations to sit on a task force was "colonial" and after discussions with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations council members learned that a more Indigenous focused approach would better serve a pursuit of truth and reconciliation.[22] Although the City Family process faced some public harassment and intimidation from extremist groups, its creation and protocols signified a

[19] Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," 1.
[20] Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis*, 11.
[21] Halifax, "Statement of Reconciliation from Halifax Regional Council," December 8, 2015. http://legacycontent.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/documents/151208ca1442.pdf.
[22] City of Victoria. "Committee of the Whole Meeting." August 7, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033.

departure from norms of deliberation and municipal policy-making precisely because of the historical injustices that the TRC's Calls to Action aimed to address.

Pamela Palmater contends that, in her view, that meaningful or substantive reconciliation occurs when power is transferred.[23] Instead of token or advisory roles, Palmater advocates for making space within current governance structures for Indigenous representatives.[24] Relationships of diplomacy or diplomatic deliberation are one such example of making space for Indigenous representatives to help govern that may fit the significant change to conducting business that Palmater advocates. Using the power-transferring criteria, Halifax's Task Force and special committee that conducted public consultation sessions is a step in the right direction, because the process affirms that there are special attributes of Indigenous community members that legitimate their role as representatives on the committee; however, this may not go far enough to recognize the embodied expertise, historical and governmental rights that form the basis of diplomatic-like or treaty relationships.

Of course, as Glen Coulthard explains, it is deeply problematic to presume that the colonial state constitutes a legitimate authority to determine which form of recognition, accommodation, or power should be affirmed or denied.[25] The authority of local governments (or any colonial government in Canada) is premised on the notion that Indigenous self-governance did not constitute equal or sovereign authority when Europeans first unilaterally imposed their power across North America.[26] Therefore, the significant changes that Palmater advocates, and

---

[23] Pamela Palmater, "Restoring the Place of Indigenous Peoples in the GTHA," Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, Accessed May 21, 2021. https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/imfg/research/bold-ideas/restoring-the-place-of-indigenous-peoples-in-the-gtha/
[24] Ibid.
[25] Glen Coulthard, "Resisting Culture: Seyla Benhabib's Deliberative Approach to the Politics of Recognition in Colonial Contexts," In *Deliberative Democracy in Practice,* eds. David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 151.
[26] Ibid, 153.

Victoria City council arguably undertook, to some degree, are about decolonizing institutional structures and processes, which may explain why such strong backlash has continued in this case.

Additionally, as mentioned within Chapter 2, how far-right groups have enlisted settler heroes in their backlash campaign against moves toward decolonization, reconciliation or equality is evidence that conversations about commemoration can be opportunities for examinations of power and, possibly, structural injustice. However, as mentioned, these groups can, theoretically, benefit from deliberative procedures that close off debate because secretive decision-making challenges requirements of democratic deliberation, and this supposed lack of democracy can be invoked by far-right actors to legitimate their demands. Not allowing any public deliberation on the topic of commemoration can, also, be dangerous in the sense that far-right actors can attach themselves to more moderate criticisms of statue removals and diplomatic decision-making as part of wider attacks on the legitimacy of reconciliatory initiatives. However, this dilemma is only hypothetical, and these two case studies do not give merit to this perceived threat – neither of the deliberative protocols in these cases were completely isolated from community input; indeed, far-right groups were prominent in the Halifax controversy, despite the municipality's open process of deliberation. Further, as the Victoria case demonstrates, diplomatic deliberation, arguably a requirement within multinational democracies, can be supplemented with deliberative reconciliation. Doing so allows for meaningful engagement with Indigenous nations on a government-to-government, or rather on a government *with* government basis, while also providing inclusive community deliberation that recognizes and attempts to transform policies and protocols that have historically oppressed and excluded marginalized groups. Indeed, this dilemma, of balancing the deliberative norms and traditions of democratic engagement with emergent norms of reconciliation, and diplomacy, is fraught with complexity

and further examples of municipal governments engaging in diplomatic relationships on the topic of commemoration are needed to understand the impacts and consequences of different approaches.

Importantly, what facilitated the deliberative strategies and relationships that are the subject of this research, are the Cornwallis and Macdonald monuments. Through relying on the insights of historians primarily, I have considered the distinction between the history of each of these prolific historical figures and the history of their commemoration. Historians agree that monuments, in which Cornwallis and Macdonald are not the exception, arrive during times of political and cultural transition, specifically to affirm the legitimacy of the regimes they represent – in terms of these two monuments, the affirmation and celebration of British sovereignty. Therefore, challenging the permanence of these monuments is often decried as "erasing" history and is sometimes met with virulent backlash because historical state narratives, that are presented as historical fact even though they often obscure or neglect a fulsome history of harm, are being questioned. As Daniel Paul states, while you cannot rewrite a historical event that transpired "you can rewrite history to the effect that you are revealing the actual facts." [27] In other words, the historical narratives and legitimacy that statues symbolically express are open to debate and interpretation.

As Glass and Rose-Redwood explain, because the spaces where commemorative names and symbols reside are produced through political agency and repeated social norms it is also possible that spaces can be symbolically "performed otherwise." [28] Indeed, as Sumartojo asserts, the meanings attached to monuments are always susceptible to reinterpretation, physical

[27] Northwest Arm Productions, "Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis," YouTube, Sept 19, 2017, 21:23-21:30, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s.
[28] Michael R. Glass & Reuben Rose-Redwood, "Introduction," in *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space*, eds. Michael R. Glass & Reuben Rose-Redwood, (New York, Routledge, 2014), 16.

altercation, or debates that re-animate their public significance.[29] Removing these two monuments from their original locations detaches these structures from their original impact, both physically and symbolically, by changing the meaning and narratives typically attached to them – of heroism, legitimacy, and permanency.[30] Therefore, removing monuments, instead of adding interpretative plaques for example, can more seriously delegitimize exclusionary narratives of history perpetuated by the state (through historical commemoration) and can signify a commitment to a new and emerging narrative, whatever that may be.[31] What I am trying to say here, is that removing monuments can signify a greater commitment to the goals and aspirations of council, such as reconciliation, because they demonstrate a more serious commitment to relinquishing narrative control.

Together, these case studies demonstrate how monuments can be used as tools to seed important discussions about a community's values and opportunities to nurture strained relationships. These examples also demonstrate how monuments and conversations about commemoration can simultaneously spark considerations of identity, authority, and power. The narratives that are attached to these monuments are ultimately stories told about history that can connect to struggles and divisions happening today. This is precisely why engagement with monuments surged across the United States and Canada in 2017 when a movement against racial injustice took on sudden prominence worldwide. While the symbolic meaning of removing commemorative symbols is extremely significant, their departure also leaves space for conversations about historical injustice and present-day injustice.[32] Engaging historical narratives

---

[29] Shanti Sumartojo, "Memorials and State Sponsored History," in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, eds. Bevernage, Berber, Nico Wouters, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018), 462.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 464.
[32] Lisa Blee and Jean M. O'Brien, *Monumental Mobility; The Memory Work of Massasoit*, (The University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 209.

within a process to remove monuments also reveals the many overlapping and distinct political actors and narratives at play within contested versions of history.[33]

The work of examining and understanding how deliberation and consultation occurs with Indigenous communities at the local level is far from complete. Because of the broad scope of reconciliation that is happening, or not, in municipalities across Canada and the limited constitutional authority and directives for local governments to engage in such endeavors, the opportunities to study and to understand a just and equitable deliberative strategy are robust. The location of commemorative symbols in cities across the country in which people continue to struggle with and against, paired with the calls to collaborate and work with Indigenous communities from the TRC, demands that local governments give serious and urgent consideration to diplomatic deliberative strategies moving forward. I argue that diplomatic deliberation is a vital supplement to deliberative reconciliation within multinational societies because it moves beyond recognition and cooperation to making space for Indigenous diplomacies and building mutual respect between settler and Indigenous governments. However, as stated at the beginning of this research, I ultimately defer judgement of what is meaningful to the nations and Indigenous representatives involved in these complex relationships across Canada, and beyond.

Another point that is worthy of further consideration in both cases, is the fate of each of the monuments of focus. While the Halifax Council accepted the recommendation of the Task Force to build a museum to house the monument, this work has not yet begun and there is no anticipated start date. However, as of the 2020 Halifax municipal election, Mayor Savage, Councillor Cleary, and Councillor Mason have each been re-elected, each of whom supported

[33] Shanti Sumartojo, "Memorials and State Sponsored History," 451.

and introduced the motion to investigate the role of Cornwallis, which is hopeful for the prioritization of the Task Force recommendations. In Victoria, the last Witness Reconciliation Dialogue event is wrapping up and considerations about a new possible location for the monument are, presumably, ongoing. Where the Macdonald monument will surface, if at all, is especially relevant going into further municipal elections. In the most recent municipal election, October 15, 2022, Lisa Helps, the mayor that spearheaded the City Family, and Councillor Charlayne Thornton-Joe, a City Family member, decided not to run again – Councillor Ben Isitt, also a City Family member, did not regain his seat; however, Councillor Marianne Alto was elected as mayor. It is difficult to predict how losing three of four Victoria Council City Family members will impact the new council's direction and priorities regarding reconciliation and relationship building between the city and the Lekwungen people. Until local government legislation is amended to require municipal governments engage in collaborative and co-productive relationships with Indigenous nations, a new council in either municipality could undo the critical work of listening and relationship building when deciding where the Macdonald and Cornwallis monuments will settle next.

Addendums

1.The fate of the Macdonald Monument decided, September 22, 2022.

At the time of writing the fate of the Macdonald monument was uncertain; however, Victoria City Council recently voted unanimously on Thursday, September 22, 2022, to return the Macdonald monument to the Sir John A. Macdonald Historical Society that originally donated the statue, with conditions. Victoria City Council asked the Society to not display the statue anywhere on Vancouver Island without their "best efforts" to seek approval of local First Nations.[1] Where the Macdonald monument will settle next and how it will be contextualized, if at all, remains in question.

2. Possible legal objection to the City Family's process, August 17, 2022

At the time of writing, an accusation was made that the City Family was an illegal process. More precisely, a critic explained that there is nothing in the Community Charter, an Act that governs municipalities in B.C., that would allow the Council to form a reconciliation process with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations where compensation was paid and no reports or meeting minutes were produced.[2] The closest definition within the Community Charter to the City Family is a special task force or advisory body, both of which the City of Victoria explained were not what the City Family was[3] and, both of which, according to the Community Charter, require

---

[1] Nicholas Pescod, "Victoria to Return John A. Macdonald Statue to Historical Society," chek News, September 22, 2022, https://www.cheknews.ca/victoria-to-return-john-a-macdonald-statue-to-historical-society-1094404/

[2] Eric James, "The story of the #CityFamily is really a tale of two city families. Both need to be understood to fully appreciate the audacity of this political expediency project. A thread…#Victoria #YYJ," Twitter August 17, 2022, https://twitter.com/ejamesyyj/status/1560012743444312064?s=10&t=FCrZTvJ8GnOtGsrWiYn2bg

[3] City of Victoria, "Committee of the Whole Meeting," August 7, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033

public access to meeting minutes and records.[4] The City of Victoria called the renumeration paid to City Family members a gift in accordance with the Indigenous custom of gift-giving, which does not have the same requirements for reporting as advisory groups or committees do.[5] Council also passed a resolution, on July 25, 2019, that requested Mayor Helps write to the Minister of Reconciliation and Indigenous Relations and the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing to request the province consider amending the Community Charter "to engage in reconciliation dialogue with First Nations and utilize, when appropriate, Indigenous practices as part of that process." [6] However, as Pal explains, policy instruments, how goals are to be achieved, can be overshadowed by problems and solutions, and limited by legal restrictions, such as the constitutional division of powers.[7] While the Macdonald monument was removed four years ago, at the time of writing, it seems that the City Family story is far from over.

[4] British Columbia, *Community Charter*, accessed Sept 13, 2022 https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/03026_00.
[5] Ibid.
[6] City of Victoria, "Minutes, Committee of the Whole," July 25, 2019, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=44135, 10.
[7] Leslie Pal, *Beyond Policy Analysis, 8-9.*

Bibliography

1492 Landback Lane. "Ryerson's Head at 1492 Land Back Lane…" Facebook Post, June 9, 2021, https://www.facebook.com/1492LandBackLane/photos/320128643165251

Abele, Frances, Lapointe, Russel, Leech, David J and McCrossin, Michael. "Aboriginal People and Public Policy in Four Ontario Cities." In *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*. Edited by Evelyn J. Peters, McGill, Queen's University Press, 2011.

Abele, F. and Graham, K. "What now? Future Federal Responsibilities Towards Aboriginal People Living in Cities." *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 1 (1): 162–82. doi: 10.5663/aps.v1i1.10135

Acadian.org, "Rename Cornwallis Petition." Date Accessed July 17, 2021. 2011https://www.acadian.org/history/232-2/

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, Verso, 2006.

Alcantara, C. and Nelles, J. *A Quiet Evolution: The Emergence of Indigenous Local Intergovernmental Partnerships in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016

Araujo, Ana Lucia. "Toppling monuments is a global movement. And it works," June 23, 2020. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/06/23/toppling-monuments-is-global-movement-it-works/

Arthur, Catherine E. "Struggle, Suffering, and Symbols: Narratives of Nationalism and Representing Identity." In *Political Symbols and National Identity in Timor-Leste*, Springer International Publishing, 2018, 1–33, doi:10.1007/978-3-319-98782-8_1.

Assembly of Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq Chiefs. Community Notice: The Assembly Calls for Cornwallis Statue to be Removed Immediately. January 26, 2018. *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/AssemblyNSChiefs/photos/a.200481517137184/334456147073053/?type=3

Association of Municipalities in Ontario, "Municipal Governments and the Crown's 'Duty to Consult.' April 10, 2019. https://www.amo.on.ca/sites/default/files/assets/DOCUMENTS/Indigenous/MunicipalGovernmentsandtheCrownsDutytoConsult20190410.pdf

Atter, Heidi. "Regina Council Votes in Favour of Removing Statue of Sir John A. Macdonald from Victoria Park," *CBC News*. March 31, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/regina-council-john-a-macdonald-statue-removed-1.5971413

Azpiri, Jon and Stanton, Kylie. “Plaque That Replaced John A. Macdonald Statue Outside Victoria City Hall Already Vandalized.” *Global News*. August 13, 2018. https://globalnews.ca/news/4385980/john-a-macdonald-plaque-victoria-vandalized/

Bakvis, H., Baier, G., & Brown, D. *Contested Federalism: Certainty and Ambiguity in the Canadian Federation.* Oxford University Press, 2008.

Barry, J. “Being Neighbourly: Urban Reserves, Treaty Settlement Lands, and the Discursive Construction of Municipal–First Nation Relations.” The International Indigenous Policy Journal, 10(5), (2019): doi: https://doi.org/10.18584/iipj.2019.10.5.8515

Bashir Bashir, “Accommodating Historically Oppressed Social Groups: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation,” in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, 48-69

Bashir Bashir and Will Kymlicka. “Introduction,” in *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* edited by Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, 1-24.

Bashir, Bashir. “Reconciling Historical Injustices: Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation.” (Liverpool, England) 18, no. 2 (2012): 127-143.

Belanger, Y. D. and Dekruyf, K. A. “Neither Citizen nor Nation: Urban Aboriginal (In)visibility and Co-production in a Small Southern Alberta City.” *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 37*(1), (2017):1-28. http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/scholarly-journals/neither-citizen-nor-nation-urban-aboriginal/docview/2250519836/se-2?accountid=14846

Benhabib, Seyla. *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002

Berkowitz, Bonnie and Blanco, Andrew. “A Record Number of Confederate Monuments Fell in 2020, but Hundreds Still Stand. Here’s Where.” *The Washington Post*. Updated March 12, 2021. https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2020/national/confederate-monuments/

Berman, Pam. “Edward Cornwallis statue should be 'prominently displayed,' Hendsbee says” Dec 14, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-statue-removed-david-hendsbee-1.3364851

Best Joshua, “Toronto Canada. The statue of Egerton Ryerson at the university that carries his name, got a new paint job that aptly reflects his true history and legacy…” June 1, 2021, https://www.instagram.com/p/CPliIVXB4vU/?

Blee, Lisa and O'Brien, Jean M. *Monumental Mobility; The Memory Work of Massasoit*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Boon, Jacob and Rendell, Lewis. "HRM makes a statement of reconciliation to aboriginal community." *The Coast*, December 8, 2015, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/hrm-makes-statement-of-reconciliation-to-aboriginal-community/Content?oid=5094113

Boon, Jacob "Cornwallis Naming Debate Will Return to Council." *The Coast*. April 12, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-naming-debate-will-return-to-council/Content?oid=6895644

Boon, Jacob. "Panel of Experts to Review use of Cornwallis Name." *The Coast*. April 26, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/panel-of-experts-to-review-use-of-cornwallis-name/Content?oid=7065268

Boon, Jacob. "Halifax Votes to Keep Honouring Edward Cornwallis." *The Coast*. May 11, 2016. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/halifax-votes-to-keep-honouring-edward-cornwallis/Content?oid=5387004

Boon, Jacob. "Cornwallis Tarp Already Removed." *The Coast*. July 15, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-tarp-already-removed/Content?oid=8406518

Boon, Jacob "Watch This: Cornwallis Protester Disrupts Council, Records Video," *The Coast*. July 18, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/watch-this-cornwallis-protester-disrupts-council-records-video/Content?oid=8472264

Boon, Jacob. "Update: Matt Whitman All-lives-Matters Cornwallis Panel." *The Coast*. October 4, 2017. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/shithead-matt-whitman-all-lives-matters-cornwallis-panel/Content?oid=9892266

Boon, Jacob. "David Hendsbee Surprised Halifax Didn't Use a Red Tarp to Cover Cornwallis Statue." *The Coast*, October 25, 2017, https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/david-hendsbee-surprised-halifax-didnt-use-a-red-tarp-to-cover-cornwallis-statue/Content?oid=10335984

Boon, Jacob. "Cornwallis Panel Nominee's Sexual Assault Conviction." *The Coast*. January 11, 2018. https://www.thecoast.ca/halifax/cornwallis-panel-nominees-sexual-assault-conviction/Content?oid=12026010

Borrows, John and Tully, James. *Resurgence and Reconciliation; Indigenous-Settler Relations and Earth Teachings.* University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Braun, Liz. "Statue of Egerton Ryerson May Have to Go." *Toronto Sun*. June 1, 2021, https://torontosun.com/news/local-news/braun-statue-of-egerton-ryerson-may-have-to-go

British Columbia. *Community Charter.* Accessed Sept 13, 2022, https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/03026_00

Brown, Scott. "Victoria Macdonald Statue to Be Relocated." *National Post*. August 30, 2018. https://www.pressreader.com/canada/national-post-national-edition/20180830/281655370943177

Bucholz, Katharina. "Gap Between Male and Female Statues is Monumental." Statista. March 8, 2019. https://www.statista.com/chart/17299/number-of-public-statues-depicting-men-and-women-in-the-us-and-the-uk/

Calio, Samantha. "Halifax Council Vote to Examine Cornwallis Commemoration on City Properties." Ku'ku'kwes News. Last modified April 26, 2017. http://kukukwes.com/2017/04/26/halifax-council-vote-to-examine-cornwallis-commemoration-on-city-properties/

Calgary Aboriginal Urban Affairs Committee. "White Goose Flying; A Report to Calgary City Council on the Indian Residential School Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action 2016." May 2016. C:/Users/MrsBl/Downloads/white-goose-flying-calls-to-action-cauac.pdf

Canadian Public Health Association. "Jordan's Principle and Public Health." October 2017. https://www.cpha.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/policy/positionstatements/jordan-positionstatement-e.pdf

Carpenter, Phil. "Efforts Heat up to Change Some of Quebec's Racially Offensive Location Names." *Global News*. Last modified June 29 2020. https://globalnews.ca/news/7122636/changing-quebecs-racially-offensive-location-names

Cooke, Maeve. "Five Arguments for Deliberative Democracy," *Political Studies*, 48(5), 2000 https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00289

CBC News. "Halifax Founder's Name to Disappear from School." *CBC*. June 23, 2011. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/halifax-founder-s-name-to-disappear-from-school-1.1063185

CBC News: The National. "Protesters Demand Removal of Cornwallis Statue in Halifax." July 15, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d8TRFjQT6BY

CBC News, "John A. Macdonald Statue Removed from Victoria City Hall." August 11, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/john-a-macdonald-statue-victoria-city-hall-lisa-helps-1.4782065

Chief Ron Sam. "Regarding Removal of Statue." Songhees Nation. July 31, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21036

City of Victoria. "Minutes, Victoria City Council." February 22, 2016. https://pubvictoria.escribemeetings.com/FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=8232

City of Victoria, "2017 Declared A Year of Reconciliation," Media Release, June 30, 2016, https://www.victoria.ca/assets/City~Hall/Media~Releases/2016/2016Jun30_MR_2017%20Declared%20A%20Year%20of%20Reconciliation.pdf

City of Victoria, "Council Member Motion for the Closed Council Meeting of June 15, 2017," June 8, 2017https://www.victoria.ca/assets/City~Hall/Media~Releases/2017/2017Jun16_MR_Attachment_Witness%20Reconciliation%20Program%20Appointments.pdf

City of Victoria. "Minutes, Committee of the Whole." July 25, 2019. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/FileStream.ashx?DocumentId=44135

City of Victoria. "Committee of the Whole Meeting." August 7, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033

City of Victoria. "Committee of the Whole Meeting." August 9, 2018. https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21033

City of Victoria, "City Family Story," August 9, 2018, video, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Meeting.aspx?Id=01d75a84-7f5f-4294-9615-88864d0bd873&Agenda=Merged&lang=English

City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogue #4 Sir John A Macdonald in Conversation," Video, September 3, 2019, 1:33, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/Players/ISIStandAlonePlayer.aspx?Id=883d509f-6957-4199-8d4d-c95210afab58

City of Victoria, "Victoria Reconciliation Dialogues," Accessed July 15, 2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/victoria-reconciliation-dialogues.html

City of Victoria, "Witness Reconciliation Program," Accessed July 25,2022, https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/witness-reconciliation-program/witness-reconciliation-program.html

City of Victoria. "Reconciliation." Accessed June 6, 2022. https://www.victoria.ca/EN/main/city/reconciliation.html

Constitution Act, 1867 (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, reprinted in R.S.C. 1985, app. II No. 5. https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-1.html

Cooke, Maeve. "Five Arguments for Deliberative Democracy." *Political Studies*, 48(5), 2000 947–969. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00289

Cooper, Andrew F, Ramesh Thakur, and Jorge Heine. "Introduction: The Challenges of 21st-Century Diplomacy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, edited by Andrew Cooper, Ramesh Thakur, and Jorge Heine. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Coulthard, Glen. “Resisting Culture: Seyla Benhabib’s Deliberative Approach to the Politics of Recognition in Colonial Contexts.” In *Deliberative Democracy in Practice*, edited by David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams, Vancouver: UBC Press, (2010): 138-154, ProQuest Ebook Central

Coulthard, Glen. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Crescenzi, Nicole. “Lisa Helps apologizes: More Consultation Needed in Statue Removal.” Victoria News, August 29, 2018. https://www.vicnews.com/news/the-victoria-mayor-issued-her-apology-aug-29-on-her-municipal-campaign-website

CTV News. “Cornwallis Junior High Officially Renamed.” *CTV News*. Jan 26, 2012. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/cornwallis-junior-high-officially-renamed-1.759067

CTV News. “Calls for Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue in Victoria Amid National Debate.” August 25, 2017. https://vancouverisland.ctvnews.ca/calls-for-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-in-victoria-amid-national-debate-1.3562652

CTV News Atlantic. ‘Get it over with’: Protest Planned as Cornwallis Controversy Reignites.” January 29, 2018. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/get-it-over-with-protest-planned-as-cornwallis-controversy-reignites-1.3780794

CTV News Atlantic. Date Accessed Sept 12, 2021. https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/video?clipId=870833

Davie, Emma. “Halifax Councillor Under Fire for Retweeting Pro-White Group.” *CBC News*, Feb 1, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/matt-whitman-halifax-council-twitter-white-supremacist-group-1.4515649

Dann, John. “Removing My Statue of John A. Macdonald from View is Not Going to Change Our History.” *The Globe and Mail*. August 14, 2018. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/article-removing-my-statue-of-john-a-macdonald-from-view-is-not-going-to/

Daschuk, James W. *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013.

de Costa, Ravi. Indigenous Diplomacies Before the Nation-State.” In *Indigenous Diplomacies*, edited by J. Beier Marshall. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 61-77

de Costa, Ravi. “Discursive Institutions in Non-Transitional Societies: The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.” *International Political Science Review*, *38*(2), (2017): 185–199 https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512116667729

DeVault, Marjorie. "Talking Back to Sociology: Distinctive Contributions of Feminist Methodology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 22, no. 1 (1996): 29–50

Djuric, Mickey. "Protesters Boo Andrew Scheer at Conservative Rally Favouring John A. Macdonald Statue." *Global News*. September 3, 2020. https://globalnews.ca/news/7314523/andrew-scheer-john-a-macdonald-rally-regina/

Dryzek, John. *Deliberative Global Politics: Discourse and Democracy in a Divided World. Cambridge*. Polity Press, 2006.

Egan-Elliott, Roxanne. "The fate of the Sir John A. Macdonald statue: a future teaching tool?" Times Colonist. March 15, 2020. https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/the-fate-of-the-sir-john-a-macdonald-statue-a-future-teaching-tool-4679795

Eisenberg, Avigail. "Education and the Politics of Difference: Iris Young and the Politics of Education." *Educational philosophy and theory* 38, no. 1 (2006): 7–23.

Eisenberg, Avigail, Webber, J., Coulthard, G., & Boisselle, A. (Eds.). *Recognition Versus Self-Determination: Dilemmas of Emancipatory Politics*. ProQuest Ebook Central https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca

Federation of Canadian Municipalities. "Pathways to Reconciliation: Cities respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action." Accessed July 7, 2021. http://www.fcm.ca/Documents/tools/BCMC/Pathways_to_reconciliation_EN.pdf

Fortin, Jacey. "Toppling Monuments, a Visual History." *The New York Times*, August 17, 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/17/world/controversial-statues-monuments-destroyed.html

Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." Social Text, no. 25/26 (1990): 56–80. https://doi.org/10.2307/466240.

Fraser, Tom. "Edward Cornwallis, Public Memory, and Canadian Nationalism." 2018. https://activehistory.ca/2018/03/edward-cornwallis-public-memory-and-canadian-nationalism/

Glass, Michael, R., & Reuben Rose-Redwood, "Introduction," in *Performativity, Politics, and the Production of Social Space*. Edited by Michael R. Glass & Reuben Rose-Redwood New York, Routledge, 2014, 1-34. https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9780203094587

Government of Canada. "Truth and Reconciliation (with the Honourable Senator) Murray Sinclair)." Accessed July 5, 2021. https://www.csps-efpc.gc.ca/video/ssontr-eng.aspx

Gutmann, Amy and Dennis Thompson. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Habermas, Jürgen. "Struggles for Recognition in Constitutional States." *European Journal of Philosophy.*1 (2), (1993), 128–55

Halifax. "Statement of Reconciliation from Halifax Regional Council." December 8, 2015. http://legacycontent.halifax.ca/council/agendasc/documents/151208ca1442.pdf

Halifax. "Poet Laureate Rebecca Thomas - Not Perfect," *YouTube*, April 11, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3XR8PP-_pM&t=10s

Halifax. "Special Advisory Committee on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History - Terms of Reference." October 3, 2017, 2. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/171003rc1414.pdf

Halifax, "Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History." Date Accessed Sept 21, 2021, https://www.halifax.ca/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/inactive-boards-committees-commissions/task-force

Halifax. "Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis." January 30, 2018. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/180130rc171.pdf

Halifax. "Report - Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History," July 21, 2020. https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/regional-council/200721rc11110.pdf

Halifax and the Assembly of Nova Scotian Mi'kmaw Chiefs, Meeting Overview and Highlights." May 13, 2019 https://www.halifax.ca/sites/default/files/documents/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/190513CTFmeetingoverview.pdf

Halifax Military Heritage Preservation Society. "Cornwallis Park and Statue." Accessed July 5, 2021, https://hmhps.ca/sites/cornwallis-park-and-statue

Hamilton, Graeme. "Former Canadian flag, the Red Ensign, gets new, darker life as far-right symbol." *National Post*. July 10, 2017, https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/former-canadian-flag-the-red-ensign-gets-new-darker-life-as-far-right-symbol

Harrison, Kathryn. *Passing the Buck: Federalism and Canadian Environmental Policy.* UBC Press. 1996.

Hickey, Pat. "John A. Macdonald Loses his Head as Protesters Topple Statue." *Montreal Gazette,* August 31, 2020. https://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/john-a-mcdonald-loses-his-head-as-protesters-topple-his-statue

Hier, Sean P. "Monumental Panic: Reconciliation, Moral Regulation, and the Polarizing Politics of the Past." *Critical sociology* 46, no. 4-5 (2020): 661–675.

Helps, Lisa. "Comment: Put Macdonald Statue's Future in a Deeper Context." *Times Colonist*, September 2, 2017. https://www.timescolonist.com/opinion/comment-put-macdonald-statues-future-in-a-deeper-context-4653541

Helps, Lisa. "Reconciliation is a Learning Process for Us All." Lisa Helps Victoria. August 29, 2018. https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/29/reconciliation-is-a-learning-process-for-us-all/

Helps, Lisa. "Reconciliation and Removal of John A. Macdonald Statue from Steps of City Hall." *Lisa Helps Victoria*. August 8, 2018. https://lisahelpsvictoria.ca/2018/08/08/reconciliation-and-removal-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-from-steps-of-city-hall/

Heritz, Joanne. "From Self-Determination to Service Delivery: Assessing Indigenous Inclusion in Municipal Governance in Canada," 61 (4), (2018), 596-615. https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/capa.12277

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Vol. 15. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Hooper, Katie. "Dear Mayor Helps." Esquimalt Nation. Accessed July 2, 2022, https://pub-victoria.escribemeetings.com/filestream.ashx?DocumentId=21034

Hopper, Tristan. "The Bizarre Tale of How John A. Macdonald Got Elected Victoria MP," Capital Daily, October 25, 2019, https://www.capitaldaily.ca/news/macdonald-victoria-election-1878-voting-polls-bc

Hyslop, Katie. "Vancouver Is Failing on 'City of Reconciliation' Claim, Says Its Indigenous Committee." *The Tyee*. July 10, 2021, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/07/10/Vancouver-Fails-Reconciliation-Claim/

Ivison, Duncan. "Deliberative Democracy and the Politics of Reconciliation." In *Deliberative Democracy in Practice*, edited by David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams, 115-138. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, ProQuest Ebook Central

James, Beverley. "Fencing in the Past: Budapest's Statue Park Museum." *Media, Culture & Society*, *21*(3), (1999), 291–311. https://doi.org/10.1177/016344399021003001

James, Eric. "The story of the #CityFamily is really a tale of two city families. Both need to be understood to fully appreciate the audacity of this political expediency project. A thread…#Victoria #YYJ." Twitter. August 17, 2022. https://twitter.com/ejamesyyj/status/1560012743444312064?s=10&t=FCrZTvJ8GnOtGsrWiYn2bg

Johnson, J.K and Waite, P.B, "Macdonald Sir John Alexander," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12, University of Toronto, accessed June 27,2022, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macdonald_john_alexander_12E.html

Katz Andrew. "Unrest in Virginia:" Clashes Over a Show of White Nationalism in Charlottesville Turn Deadly." Time. August 13, 2017. https://time.com/charlottesville-white-nationalist-rally-clashes/

Kilkenny, Carmel. "…to be changed in 11 Quebec locations." *CBC Radio* Canada. Last modified Oct 29, 2015. https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2015/09/28/-name-to-be-changed-in-11-quebec-locations/

Kloster, Darron. "Victoria Council Rejects Motion Asking Museum to Keep 3rd Floor Open During Redesign." *Times Colonist*. Nov 20, 2021. https://www.timescolonist.com/local-news/victoria-council-rejects-motion-to-ask-museum-keep-floor-open-during-redesign-4780009

Laroche, Jean. "Cornwallis Statue Removal from Park Should be Considered, Says Premier." *CBC News.* Dec 11, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-name-debate-1.3360725

Lau, Rebecca. "Most Halifax residents still oppose removing Cornwallis name from public infrastructure: poll." *CBC News*. Nov 28, 2017. https://globalnews.ca/news/3884855/most-halifax-residents-still-oppose-removing-cornwallis-name-from-public-infrastructure-poll/

Lightfoot, Sheryl. "Settler-State Apologies to Indigenous Peoples: A Normative Framework and Comparative Assessment." *NAIS : Journal of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association* 2, no. 1 (2015): 15–39.

MacVicor, Adam. "'Vandalism of Our History': Premier Jason Kenney Condemns Toppling of John A. Macdonald statue in Montreal." *Global News*. August 30, 2020. https://globalnews.ca/news/7306382/vandalism-of-our-history-premier-jason-kenney-condemns-toppling-of-john-a-macdonald-statue-in-montreal/

Magnusson, Warren. "Are Municipalities Creatures of the Provinces?" *Journal of Canadian Studies, 39*(2), (2005), 5–29. https://doi.org/10.1353/jcs.2006.0019

Mansbridge, Jane. *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1980

Meslin, Dave. *Teardown: Rebuilding Democracy from the Ground Up*. Penguin Canada, 2015.

McElroy, Justin. "Nora Hendrix to Become First Black Woman with a Vancouver Street Named After Her." *CBC News*. February 10, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/nora-hendrix-way-2021-vancouver-1.5907896

McMillan, Elizabeth & Patil, Anjuli. “Forces members who disrupted Indigenous rally face 'severe consequences.’ July 4, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/proud-boys-canadian-military-indigenous-protest-disrupted-1.4189615.

McMillan, Elizabeth. “Newly Renamed Peace and Friendship Park Celebrated in Halifax.” *CBC News*, June 21, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/peace-and-friendship-cornwallis-park-halifax-1.6073550

Miller, David. *On Nationality*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995.

Millar, Nzhingha. “Cornwallis Street Baptist Church to change its name.” *The Signal*. March 17, 2017. https://signalhfx.ca/cornwallis-street-baptist-church-to-change-its-name/.

Montgomery, Marc. “Removing Cornwallis - Facts vs Modern Social Justice Agenda.” February 27, 2018. https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2018/02/20/removing-cornwallis-facts-vs-modern-social-justice-agenda/

Mouffe, Chantal. *The Democratic Paradox*. New York: Verso, 2000.

Muldoon, Paul. “The Very Basis of Civility: On Agonism, Conquest and Reconciliation.” In *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies,* edited by Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008

Nasser, Shanifa. “He's Considered Canada's Founding Father, But Many Ontario Teachers Want His Name Stripped from Public Schools.” *CBC News*. August 23, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/john-macdonald-school-1.4259643

National Post Staff. “Who was ‘Gassy Jack’ and Why Was His Statue Toppled in Vancouver?” Nation Post. February 15, 2022. https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/who-was-gassy-jack-and-why-was-his-statue-toppled-in-vancouver

Neskonlith Indian Band v. Salmon Arm (City), Sept 24, 2012, BCCA 379 (CanLII), https://canlii.ca/t/fst86

Northwest Arm Productions. “Indefensible: The Troubling Legacy of Edward Cornwallis.” YouTube. Sept 19, 2017, video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5czbjc4iVMA&t=1426s

Olick, Jeffrey, K. *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*, New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.

Osborne, Brian S. “Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in Its Place.” *Canadian ethnic studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 39–77.

Orsini, Michael, and Miriam Smith. "Social Movements, Knowledge and Public Policy: The Case of Autism Activism in Canada and the US." *Critical policy studies* 4, no. 1 (2010): 38–57.

Pal, Leslie. *Beyond Policy Analysis: Public Issue Management in Turbulent Times*. Thomson Canada, 2006.

Palmater, Pamela. "Restoring the Place of Indigenous Peoples in the GTHA." Institute on Municipal Finance and Governance, Accessed May 21, 2021. https://munkschool.utoronto.ca/imfg/research/bold-ideas/restoring-the-place-of-indigenous-peoples-in-the-gtha/

Patil, Anjuli. "Cornwallis Protest Held Amid Canada Day Celebrations." *CBC News.* July 1, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-protest-chief-grizzly-mama-canada-day-1.4187445.

Patil, Anjuli. "Council to consider removing Cornwallis statue from Halifax Park." January 29, 2018.https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/report-recommends-removing-edward-cornwallis-statue-1.4509522

Paul, Daniel. N. *We Were Not the Savages*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000.

Perry, Adele. "Renaming Monuments is Closer Look at History." *The Free Press*. September 9, 2017. https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/analysis/2017/09/09/renaming-monuments-is-closer-look-at-history

Pescod, Nicholas. "Victoria to Return John A. Macdonald Statue to Historical Society," *Chek News*, September 22, 2022, https://www.cheknews.ca/victoria-to-return-john-a-macdonald-statue-to-historical-society-1094404/

Peters, Evelyn J. *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*. Montreal & Kingston; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.

Quon, Alexander. "Assembly of N.S. Mi'kmaq Chiefs Withdraws from Cornwallis Panel, Calls for Immediate Removal of Statue." Global News, January 26, 2018. https://globalnews.ca/news/3990363/assembly-of-n-s-mikmaq-chiefs-cornwallis

Rawls, John. "The Idea of Public Reason Revisited." *The University of Chicago law review* 64, no. 3 (1997): 765–807.

Regan, Paulette. *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2010.

Renaerts, Emma. "The Right Way to Topple a Statue." *The Tyee*. Nov 3, 2020, https://thetyee.ca/News/2020/11/03/Right-Way-To-Topple-Statues/

Rose-Redwood, Reuben. “From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory, and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City,” *Social & Cultural Geography*, 9:4, (2008) 431-452, DOI: 10.1080/14649360802032702

Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu. “The Urban Streetscape as Political Cosmos.” In *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes*, 1:1–24. 1st ed. Routledge, 2018.

Russell, Peter H. *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become a Sovereign People?* 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Schaap, Andrew. *Political Reconciliation*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005

Schaap, Andrew. “Reconciliation as Ideology and Politics.” *Constellations*, 15:2, (2008). https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/j.1467-8675.2008.00488.x

Schwartz, Daniel. “Truth and Reconciliation Commission: By the Numbers.” *CBC News*. June 3, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/truth-and-reconciliation-commission-by-the-numbers-1.3096185

Sichel, Ben. “Renaming Cornwallis; 2,000 sign Petition, but NDP Government Seems Uninterested.” January 17, 2009, http://halifax.mediacoop.ca/fr/story/1746

Simeon, Richard. *Federal-Provincial Diplomacy: The Making of Recent Policy in Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 2006, https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442674820.

Simpson, Audra. *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States*. Duke University Press: Durham; London, 2014.

Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

Snan, Nebal. 'It’s a Giant Step in Nova Scotia': Peace and Friendship Park Unveiled in Halifax After Removal of Cornwallis Statue.” June 21, 2021. https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/news/its-a-giant-step-in-nova-scotia-peace-and-friendship-park-unveiled-in-halifax-after-removal-of-cornwallis-statue-name-100602663/

Southern Poverty Law Centre. “Weekend Read: The State of the Confederacy in 2017.” April 28, 2017. https://www.splcenter.org/news/2017/04/28/weekend-read-state-confederacy-2017

Stanley, Timothy J. “John A. Macdonald’s Aryan Canada: Aboriginal Genocide and Chinese Exclusion.” Active History. January 7, 2015. http://activehistory.ca/2015/01/john-a-macdonalds-aryan-canada-aboriginal-genocide-and-chinese-exclusion/#10

Stanley, Timothy J. "Commemorating John A. Macdonald: Collective Remembering and the Structure of Settler Colonialism in British Columbia." *BC Studies* no. 204 (19, 2020): 89-237.

Statistics Canada. "Census Profile, 2016 Census." Accessed June 23, 2021. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dppd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=3520005&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&SearchText=Toronto&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=Visible%20minority&type=0

Steinhauer, Jillian. Go Ahead and Destroy That Racist Statue (and Then the System Too). The Nation. June 22, 2020. https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/optics-are-not-politics-the-difference-between-meaningful-and-hollow-political-gestures/

Sumartojo, Shanti. "Memorials and State Sponsored History." in *The Palgrave Handbook of State-Sponsored History After 1945*, edited by Bevernage, Berber, Nico Wouters, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2018, doi:10.1057/978-1-349-95306-6

Task Force on the Commemoration of Edward Cornwallis and the Recognition and Commemoration of Indigenous History**.** Halifax. https://www.halifax.ca/city-hall/boards-committees-commissions/inactive-boards-committees-commissions/task-force

Tattrie, Jon. "Cornwallis Statue." Canadian Encyclopedia, Jan 23, 2018. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/cornwallis-statue

Times Colonist, "McKenna: Pulling Statue No Way to Address Dark Past," August 16, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/canada/times-colonist/20180816/281586651437829

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. "*Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future*." 2015. https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Calls to Action." 2015. https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/british-columbians-our-governments/indigenous-people/aboriginal-peoples-documents/calls_to_action_english2.pdf

Tully, James. "Struggles over Recognition and Distribution." *Constellations*, 7: (2000), 469-482. https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1111/1467-8675.00203

Tully, James. "Introduction." In *Multinational Democracies*, edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, 1–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511521577.003.

Tully, James. *Public Philosophy in a New Key*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511790737.009.

Valadez, Jorge M. "The Implication of Incommensurability for Deliberative Democracy." In *Deliberative Democracy in Practice,* edited by David Kahane, Daniel Weinstock, Dominique Leydet, and Melissa Williams, 155-173. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010, ProQuest

Van Horne, Ryan. "The Truth About Cornwallis," *Halifax Magazine*, (2018): 14-15, https://issuu.com/advocateprinting/docs/halifax_mag_janfeb_2018_flipbook?fbclid=IwAR3zPKX8kq_RNkxkr3paFU0d1vVZnLxFwL1NAwh8r08JVvKuzazPEtTAjCw

Walker, Ryan, Moore, James, and Linklater, Maeengan. "More than Stakeholders, Voices and Tables: Manitoba." In *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*. Edited by Evelyn J. Peters. McGill- Queen's University Press, 2011.

Williams, Cassie and Patil, Anjuli. "Controversial Cornwallis Statue Removed from Halifax Park." January 31, 2018, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/cornwallis-statue-removal-1.4511858

Wilson-Smith, Anthony. "Indigenous Peoples and the Fight for the Franchise." The Canadian Encyclopedia. Last modified January 21, 2022. https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/aboriginal-peoples-and-the-fight-for-the-franchise#

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." Journal of Genocide Research 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409.

Young, Iris Marion. *Inclusion and Democracy*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2000.

Young, Iris Marion. "Activist Challenges to Deliberative Democracy." *Political Theory*, *29*(5), 670-690, (2001). from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3072534

Young, Iris Marion, *Justice, and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011

Young, Robert. "Conclusion." In *Urban Aboriginal Policy Making in Canadian Municipalities*, edited by Peters, Evelyn J. Montreal & Kingston; McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.