

Reconciliation in Vancouver: From Federal Truth Telling to Municipal Reconciliation

**by
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Abstract

There has recently been increasing attention in Canada towards the responsibilities that municipal governments have in resolving some of the systemic issues that Indigenous Peoples face, while living in urban centres. In particular, the term “reconciliation” is being utilized by many cities across Canada as a way to amplify the voices of Indigenous Peoples and further, to strengthen the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in urban centres. This research explores the City of Vancouver’s decision to prioritize reconciliation as a policy goal. In addition, this work further analyzes the impacts resulting from the City of Vancouver’s execution of reconciliation activities, since the development of the Framework for Reconciliation, that increased municipal engagement for reconciliation activities to occur.

Keywords: reconciliation; Indigenous rights; municipal colonialism; City of Vancouver

Dedication

This is dedicated to my sons Trystan, Bryn and Owain. To the BADdest guy around and one of my dearest friends, my father. And to my beloved late mother Rhian, for all the reasons. Rwy'n dy garu.

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When I began my Masters, I was unmarried and had no children. As I finish, I have a wonderful husband and three incredible sons. It has been a long, winding journey and I am so humbled to look back and recognize the tremendous amount of support I received that allowed me to complete this research.

To Chad, you probably took the kids swimming 100 times these past few months so I could write in the evenings. You acted as editor when I had finished a section, debater when I was working through an argument and cheerleader when I was stuck. Thank you for keeping me laughing through all of our challenges, I love you forever. To my personal hero and friend, my dad- thank you for supporting me always and for being one of my favourite people to ponder the world's problems with. To my best friend Jill, thank you for your generosity and providing the literal space that gave me a quiet spot to work while being close to Owain. To my dear friend Kaitlin for your 'supply' which made my time away from baby O feasible. Thank you Coco for taking such great care of Owain (Chub chub) while I wrote this. I absolutely would not have finished if it weren't for all of your collective love and support.

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As a settler on this land, I have a lot of work to do. I thank all of those who allowed me to interview them and who shared personal stories about their ancestors

who have lived here since time out of mind. Your willingness to share your pain, frustration and hope to yet another researcher is deeply humbling. I will not share here about what I will do to bring meaningful change to the pervasive racism and systemic oppression that continues to impact Indigenous Peoples. Rather, I plan to show my commitment through my actions, now and for the rest of my life.

There was a photo collage on the desk where I wrote most of this paper, of my mom running the Khatsalano in about 1995. I would look at it often and there was one picture in particular, my mom shouting something at the camera as she ran by, that became a great source of motivation for me. There she was, cheering me on, telling me I could do this. Even in her absence, her strength of character and ridiculous determination still encourages me in all things. Thank you mam, for everything.



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List of Acronyms

MST Development Corporation	A partnership of Tsleil-Waututh, Squamish and Musqueam Nations to acquire properties in their nations' traditional territories.
MVAEC	Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UAPS	Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study
UIPAC	Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee

Glossary

Aboriginal	Inuit, First Nations, and Metis peoples who are recognized as having rights under S.35 of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982.
ćəsnaʔəm	The ćəsnaʔəm village site is a traditional Musqueam village sit located on the southern edge of the City of Vancouver.
Decolonize (from an Indigenous lens)	To resist and undo the forces of colonialism and to re-establish Indigenous Nationhood. It is rooted in Indigenous values, philosophies, and knowledge systems. It is a way of doing things differently that challenges the colonial influence we live under by making space for marginalized Indigenous perspectives (Our Women and Girls are Sacred, 2017) .
First Nation	Refers to a band or reserve-based community and the people who are part of that community.
Indigenous	The sovereign Nations and people who have naturally inhabited Canada and other parts of the world for millennia.
Potlaching	A legal process that ensured transmission of cultural knowledge
Mini-public	A diverse group of citizens get together to discuss a civic issue of concern.
Reconciliation	A process and act of shifting relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, governments, and institutions that involve an understanding of historical grievances towards Indigenous peoples, atonement for those grievances and action to build stronger relations based on mutual understanding and respect.
Redress	To remedy or make up for; to remove the cause of; and to exact reparation for a grievance or complaint.
Reparation	An act of atonement for physical or emotional harm.
Rights and title-holders	The original Peoples with inherent right to land or a territory.
Self-determination	The ability for First Nations to make choices and impact their own members through management of their Nations social, legal and economic affairs

Chapter 1. Introduction

Recently, there has been increasing attention in Canada towards the responsibilities that municipal governments have in resolving some of the systemic issues Indigenous Peoples face, while living in urban centres. In particular, the term “reconciliation” has been utilized by many cities across Canada as a way to amplify the voices of Indigenous Peoples and further, to strengthen the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in urban centres. My research will explore what led the City of Vancouver to prioritize reconciliation as a policy goal. In addition, I will examine the impacts resulting from the City of Vancouver’s execution of reconciliation activities since the development of a Framework for Reconciliation (“the Framework”).

Reconciliation as a process has been employed around the world as a way to rebuild interpersonal relationships after conflict. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (the “TRC”) was established by the Federal government from 2008- 2015 and was tasked with documenting accounts shared by survivors of the Indian Residential School System. The TRC, which will be further detailed in Chapter 2, defined reconciliation as:

Reconciliation is about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in this country. In order for that to happen, there has to be awareness of the past, an acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, p. 6)

The City of Vancouver provides a case study for a municipal government that is taking steps to develop a roadmap for reconciliation.

The Framework set the stage for increased municipal engagement for reconciliation activities to occur. It also provided a platform for formal and informal collaboration between the City of Vancouver and local Indigenous stakeholders including title holding First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples. This research is intended to evaluate the opportunities the Framework presents as a model for collaborative governance with First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples, as it pertains to

reconciliation at the municipal level. Lastly, the impacts of the Framework will also be used to assess any insights that have resulted from its execution.

1.1. Research Question

To understand the opportunities the City of Vancouver's Framework for Reconciliation provides, it is important to contextualize the Framework as a part of a broader system of governance and political history with Indigenous Peoples. This research poses the following questions:

- 1) What were the social, historical and political factors that led to reconciliation being prioritized as a core urban policy goal by the City of Vancouver?
- 2) How has the inclusion of the Framework for Reconciliation in the City of Vancouver's policy priorities led to formalized collaboration between the City, and Indigenous Peoples?
- 3) Why have municipal governments in Canada expressed a desire to take an active role in reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples?
 - a. Are there lessons that can be learned for other cities?

To answer these questions, I conducted extensive research and in-depth interviews with City of Vancouver staff, key stakeholders from Tsleil-Waututh, Squamish and Musqueam Nations as well as key urban Indigenous stakeholders. The methodology for my research can be found in Chapter 4, including information on individuals I interviewed. Chapter 2 will provide context into the history of British Columbia and the provincial government's relationship with Indigenous Peoples following colonization, with a specific focus on the City of Vancouver's historical relationship with Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam Nations. In my Literature Review in Chapter 3, I will review key concepts that informed my research including memory politics and reparation displacement. Chapter 5 focuses on the Framework for Reconciliation and its implementation. Chapter 6 will discuss the research findings which will be analyzed in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 will provide a short conclusion.

1.2. Justification

Indigenous People represent the youngest and fastest growing population in Canada (Government of Canada, 2010). There are also more Indigenous People moving to urban centres than ever before in the history of Canada (Government of Canada, 2010, Statistics Canada, 2016). This has resulted in a changing urban landscape and a renegotiation of urban spaces as they are traditionally utilized. One important critique of planning and urban studies is a term called municipal colonialism offered by Stanger-Ross. Municipal colonialism refers to traditional urban spaces that often utilize a colonial history that removes Indigenous presence in cities (2008, p. 544). Edmonds refers to this as a colonial amnesia whereby Indigenous presence is either erased from urban space or “alternatively considers Indigenous peoples to be merely anomalous to urban space, and misplaced in urban historiographies” (2010, p. 4). Sandercock posits that this removal has always been intentional and makes the practice of urban planning complicit in the continued exclusion of Indigenous Peoples in urban spaces, even when spaces are argued to be “post-colonial” (2004, p. 119).

My work addresses the gap in urban studies research that erases Indigenous presence in cities and instead, places Indigenous Peoples experiences and insight at the center of an urban studies academic inquiry. There is additional need for my research based on Cardinal’s work that focuses on the ways that Indigenous Peoples are researched. Cardinal identifies the need to provide a more balanced understanding of survey and research outcomes when focusing on Indigenous Peoples. He uses the example of Indigenous centred *cultural indicators* as a survey measurement for individuals looking to research social and health determinants of Canada’s urban Indigenous population (2006, p. 220). He underscores the importance of collaboration and meaningful engagement with this community as a way to provide more accurate and relevant data (2006, p. 226).

For reconciliation to occur between municipalities and Indigenous Peoples in cities, there is an argument to be made about ensuring that Indigenous Peoples are involved, engaged and participating meaningfully in urban planning processes and developments. This involvement should happen regardless of the current lack of legal obligation for the City to participate. Unfortunately, there is documented evidence of negative treatment towards Indigenous Peoples in the City of Vancouver including their

continued struggle to claim space in urban centres (Envirionics, 2011; Sandercock, 2004; Goodman, et al., 2017; Schnarch, 2004). Additionally, there is also a confirmed gap in research to fully identify the ways in which this unique group is excluded (Cardinal, 2006; Barman, 2007; Peters, 2005). This gap can be partially understood through a lens of governance; one that recognizes the limited role municipalities have contributed to maintaining healthy Indigenous relationships. Indeed, issues pertaining to Indigenous Peoples are legally federal dominion and through land, provincial jurisdiction. However, Magnusson asserts the value cities hold as organizational nodes of modern life and whose governments are much more suited to managing various social issues than their provincial or federal counterparts, which are significantly removed from everyday processes (2005, p. 9). Indeed, local governments are the first line of support for Indigenous Peoples looking to receive various services. Local governments also have the infrastructure in place to respond to needs faster and are more familiar with the types of challenges Indigenous Peoples face as they navigate urban space; one that is often unfriendly to them.

My research on the Framework is an opportunity to understand how a local government can activate their policies to support First Nations and Indigenous Peoples, which is a relatively new practice for local governments. The increasing numbers of Indigenous-identifying individuals living in cities in the past decade has required municipalities to become more engaged with this unique population, regardless of their legal obligation. British Columbia has a unique history of being a province with very few treaties signed upon the establishment of British rule. This has resulted in many municipalities in the province currently operating on unceded traditional territories of local First Nations (Barman, 2007, p. 4). The City of Vancouver operates on the unceded territory of the Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish Nations. The City also has the third largest urban Indigenous population in Canada (City of Vancouver, 2014). As we will see, the significance of land to Indigenous culture is paramount and creates an inherent tension between cities and the original occupants of the land when that land is considered illegally occupied.

Chapter 2. Context

To analyze the City's framework and policy priority on reconciliation, it is important to contextualize the broader historical and current experiences of Indigenous Peoples and First Nations who live in and around what is known as the City of Vancouver. It is also important to define their rights and aspirations, as Mayor Robertson declared in his Year of Reconciliation proclamation speech (City of Vancouver, 2014):

As a City of Reconciliation, Vancouver will continue to enable innovative and inclusive actions to build a legacy of understanding and respect between all cultures. We are making a long-term commitment to advance reconciliation, to meaningfully support the rights and aspirations of Indigenous People in Vancouver, and to share our progress with cities globally.

In the following sections, I will provide a summary of:

- British Columbia's historical land-based engagement with First Nations;
- A historical summary of the City's engagement with First Nations;
- A brief overview of the Indian Residential School System;
- The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement and establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission;
- Urban Indigenous Peoples experiences in Vancouver today; and
- The Year of Reconciliation

Together, the Framework will be recognized as a culmination of historical, political and social developments that enabled reconciliation to be articulated as a necessary municipal policy.

2.1. A Unique History in British Columbia

To understand the City of Vancouver's current relationship with Indigenous Peoples, there is a need to understand the relationship as a part of a broader historical framework within the province. Indeed, the Province of British Columbia has a unique place in Canada's national relationship with Indigenous Peoples for two specific reasons. First, before Confederation, the British Crown recognized that Indigenous Peoples had title to land (BC Treaty Commission, 2020a). Under the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the

acquisition of such land from Indigenous Peoples could only be purchased by the British, mostly through treaties (BC Treaty Commission, 2020a). When British Columbia joined confederation in 1871, very few treaties had been signed in the province and the remaining land (approximately 94% of the province) was left unresolved (Penikett, 2006, p. 76). This lack of resolution later resulted in land claim disputes across the province, followed by decades of on-going legal battles over Crown land. The term “unceded territories” is in reference to this fact, whereby government bodies, institutions and other large systems operate on land that they do not have legal title to. The assertion by Indigenous Peoples that they were original occupiers of the land prior to British law and rule, as evidenced through oral history, is a foundation to numerous legal disputes today (Anker, 2018, p.14).

The BC Treaty Commission was established in 1992 as an “independent body responsible for facilitating treaty negotiations among the governments of Canada, BC and First Nations in BC” (BC Treaty Commission, 2020a). Since its inception, of the approximate 198 First Nations in British Columbia, seven Nations have completed the six-stage negotiation process and have ratified treaties. There is an additional 58 Nations at various stages of the treaty-making process (BC Treaty Commission, 2020b). Approximately 48% of First Nations in British Columbia are not currently engaged with the BC Treaty Commission in any capacity (BC Treaty Commission, 2020b). Critics of the process have called it ineffective and cite its huge operating cost (over one billion dollars spent between 1992 and 2009), the strict guidelines by the Federal government for those Nations wishing to engage in negotiations, and the lack of process for the many Nations with overlapping land claims, as strong evidence of its incapability.

The issue of land is not only of practical importance for Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia who need a place to live, it is also a significant part of their identity. Indigenous People are innately connected to their traditional territory. Land is intrinsic to how Indigenous People relate to themselves and the world. For many Indigenous groups, as stated by Marie Battiste, a Mi'kmaq woman and professor in the College of Education and Director of the Indigenous Education Research Centre at the University of Saskatchewan, land signifies knowledge and the transfer of that knowledge through generations.

Indigenous knowledge is... inherently tied to land, not to land in general but to particular landscapes, landforms, and biomes where ceremonies are properly held, stories properly recited, medicines properly gathered, and transfers of knowledge properly authenticated' (2005, p. 8).

The value of land in Indigenous culture and spirituality is foundational to their existence. The tension between Indigenous Peoples and local governments and its non-Indigenous residents as shown through land claims, underpins efforts to rebuild relationships.

Second, British Columbia is also home to approximately one-sixth of the country's total Indigenous population (Penikett, 2006, p. 6). Historical colonial processes have mischaracterized Indigenous Peoples as a single homogenous group which is inaccurate at best and damaging, racist and perpetuating a lasting negative narrative at worst. Each First Nation group within British Columbia has their own unique language, traditions, protocols and history. Complexity is further differentiated by each Nations' individual size, location and distinct relationship with the province. As evidenced in the following chapters, the complexity of diversity amongst First Nations and Indigenous Peoples makes a reconciliation goal all the more challenging.

2.2. The City of Vancouver

"...the tract of land known as the Town of Granville ...hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate in fact and in law, the name of the 'City of Vancouver.'" Vancouver Centennial Celebration Act, April 6, 1886 (Province of British Columbia, n.d.)

The City of Vancouver exists and operates on the unceded territories of the Coast Salish Peoples, namely the Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish Nations (City of Vancouver, 2014) (Appendix A). The history of these three First Nations is rich and embedded in the land now known as the City of Vancouver. From the Vancouver Historical Society website (n.d.) acknowledging where these Nations lived, worked and played for thousands of years prior to the colonization of the area by British nationalists:

The major settlements of the Squamish (Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw) were Whoa Whoi Whoi (Xwáyxway) in Stanley Park, Snaug (Senakw), near the present-day Burrard Bridge on False Creek, and Xwemelch'stn at the mouth of the Capilano River. The other two groups, which shared the Halomelem [Salishan] language, were the Tsleil-Waututh (səlilwətał) and

the Musqueam (Xwméthkwyiem). The Tsleil-Waututh, whose plankhouse village was at the mouth of Taylor Creek on the north side of Burrard Inlet, shared the resources of the area through marriage or other uniting relationships.

The engagement between the three First Nations was significant and complex. There were systems in place that redistributed wealth and established intermarriage between Nations to avoid political conflicts. Further there was the practice of potlatching - a legal process based in traditional protocols that ensured transmission of cultural knowledge (Davidson and Davidson, 2018)- to maintain peace (Vancouver Historical Society, n.d.). When first contact was made between settlers and local First Nations in the late 1700's, relationships were initially amicable with the Spanish and British, primarily interested in mapping the area (Vancouver Historical Society, n.d.). These Coast Salish Nations continued to live in their settlements across and beyond what is now known as the City of Vancouver, with settlers being given the opportunity by the British government to “pre-empt land (160 acres at a time) not set aside for Native settlements, town sites or military reserves” (Vancouver Historical Society, n.d.). Thus, the City of Vancouver became a diverse landscape of First Nations settlements, military reserves and British individuals.

Over time, this once amicable relationship, transformed. By the end of the 1960's, the Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam First Nations experienced the illegal removal of land title and their settlements were sub-divided, relinquished or reallocated for development by the City for its growing non-Indigenous populations (Vancouver Historical Society, n.d.; Stanger-Ross, 2008; Barman, 2007). The False Creek Indian settlement was created in 1869 and covered approximately 37 acres in southwest Vancouver (Figure A1) (UBC, 2009a). Over the span of 100 years, the settlement was further sub-divided for various development opportunities by the federal and provincial governments, and by 1965 the Kitsilano Indian Reserve No. 6 was completely sold off (Figure A2) (UBC, 2009a). Another example of this type of displacement was the former Squamish settlement Xwwayxwway that was situated on the eastern shore of Vancouver's now Stanley Park. In 1913, the City proactively partnered with senior governments to remove what had been named the “Brockton Point families” from the area to serve the City's economic development goals (Stanger-Ross, 2008). This case was brought to the Supreme Court by the Squamish Nation families and in 1931, the Judge sided with the municipality stating that the Brockton Point

families did not provide the necessary evidence to show that they had been living in the area for a prolonged period of time (Barman, 2007, p. 25).

From the time that the City was established, the “settlements” of the Coast Salish Nations have undergone significant change. This process of change is tied up in the historical political legacies of federal and provincial governments that restricted Indigenous rights in a myriad of ways through the Indian Act. Land redistribution efforts and legislated policies against First Nations were implemented to restrict their rights and access. (Stanger-Ross, 2008; UBC, 2009b; James, 2009; James, 2014). Additionally, during the time of conquest in the City, the Indian Act was being amended. Coupled with the already restrictive policies, the amended Indian Act would further serve to disenfranchise Indigenous populations in British Columbia by changing their familial relations irreparably. This amendment would see thousands of Indigenous children removed from their homes and placed in forbidding residential schools, scarring many families for generations.

2.3. Canada’s Residential School Legacy

Across Canada during the 1880’s and as late as the early 1990’s, Indigenous children were forcefully removed from their family homes and sent to government-operated residential schools. While there, children were stripped of their culture and language, and many children experienced unimaginable sexual, psychological and physical abuse at the hands of nuns, priests and other religious supervisors (UBC, 2009b). Children who were fortunate to return home briefly for a few weeks in the summer, no longer spoke their first language and were unable to communicate with their parents. This led to a multitude of lasting negative impacts for Indigenous communities, including family breakdown, addictions, violence and a complete disruption of traditions and cultures for generations (UBC, 2009b). It is an enduring cycle of intergenerational trauma that still continues to shatter many Indigenous families today. Indeed, there are more Indigenous children in government care today than there was during the height of Indian Residential School System (Humphreys, 2014). This story of trauma and family breakdown has been studied for decades and the causation between colonization, the Indian Residential School System and Indigenous Peoples current low socioeconomic levels is well documented (Loppie and Wien, 2009; Redfern, 2009; Wilson and MacDonald, 2010; Brascoupé and Waters, 2009). In spite of these incredible challenges

and cultural suppression, Indigenous Peoples continue to demand justice both at a grassroots level and through legal court proceedings.

2.4. Class Action Lawsuit and the Truth and Reconciliation of Canada

On June 11, 2008, the Federal Government made an official apology for the government-sanctioned abuse towards Indigenous children and families beginning in the 1870's and lasting for over one hundred years (Government of Canada, 2008). This historic recognition came after the outcomes resulting from a 2006 class action lawsuit by the Assembly of First Nations (Eisenberg, 2018, p. 23). As a part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the Government of Canada would support and fund:

- A Common Experience payment, worth \$1.9 billion for former residential school students;
- An Independent Assessment to process individual claims of sexual and physical abuse (\$1.7 billion);
- Measures to support health and healing services for victims of residential schools (\$125 million);
- The establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (\$60 million)
- Commemoration (\$20 million); and
- The creation of a residential school archive to ensure ongoing education;

The establishment of the TRC became the impetus for all level of government to actively pursue reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. As stated on their website, the goal of the TRC was “to guide and inspire Indigenous Peoples and Canadians in a process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect” (TRC, n.d.). Over the course of five years, over 6,750 survivors of the residential school system and their families shared their experiences through public and private sessions (Eisenberg, 2018, p. 23). This culminated in a report Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future published by the TRC on December 15th, 2015. The report included 94 Calls to Action to encourage reconciliation in Canada for individuals and all levels of government in Canada, including cities.

In 2016 the Federation of Canadian Municipalities released *Pathways to Reconciliation: Cities respond to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action* to acknowledge the TRC's city-focused calls to action. The report encouraged cities across Canada to create opportunities for reconciliation through the TRC's Calls to Action. This report would provide a roadmap to support the growing Indigenous presence in cities. The City of Vancouver was one of the first municipalities to formally establish a policy to engage in reconciliation with local Indigenous populations.

2.5. Urban Indigenous Peoples in the City of Vancouver Today

For the purposes of this research, I used the findings from the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study (UAPS) (EnviroNics, 2011). The UAPS outlined the values, experiences and aspirations of Indigenous Peoples in Vancouver. For the purposes of my research, the UAPS was utilized to understand the rights and aspirations noted by Mayor Robertson as the standards Indigenous Peoples wished to achieve in Vancouver. I also reviewed the 2013 Vancouver Coastal Health *Community Health Profile* that focused on urban Indigenous Peoples health outcomes. Further, Indigenous-specific data extracted from Statistic Canada, was assessed to contrast Indigenous Peoples' aspirations with the current realities they face in Canada. National data was used in my evaluation due to the general lack of research on Indigenous Peoples in Vancouver as discussed in my justification section, these three documents consisted of the most accurate and specific accounts of Indigenous experiences in the City of Vancouver.

As stated in Chapter 1, the City of Vancouver has the third largest urban Indigenous population in Canada with over 40,000, self-identified Indigenous Peoples. The Community Health Profile (2013) also documented that approximately 50% of the Indigenous population in Vancouver is less than 24 years of age. Below is a summary of this citywide community profile. Highlights from Statistics Canada's Census data, which outlines some of the challenges facing Indigenous Peoples locally and within the country include:

- Of those counted in the City's homeless count, 39% identified as Indigenous (despite Indigenous Peoples only making up 2.2% of the population) (City of Vancouver, 2019a);

- Indigenous people were more than twice as likely as non-Indigenous people to be the victim of non-spousal violence (12% versus 5%) (Statistics Canada, 2011);
- The life expectancy for Indigenous people is 68.5 years as compared to 81 years for non-Indigenous people (Statistics Canada, 2016);
- Regarding employment, Indigenous people have higher rates of unemployment and those who are employed, have lower incomes than their non-Indigenous counterparts (Statistics Canada, 2011); and
- One third of Indigenous Peoples live below the poverty line in Vancouver (many are single parent, female headed families) (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Despite the statistics showing the disparate experiences of Indigenous Peoples as compared to non-Indigenous persons, the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study makes it clear that urban Indigenous people in the City of Vancouver today have great aspirations for themselves. According to the UAPS, of the over two thousand self-identified Indigenous surveyed in the city of Vancouver, the top three reasons that participants moved to the city were: employment opportunities, to further their education and for a better quality of life. A vast majority of respondents (80%) said they enjoyed living in Vancouver “a lot” and almost 70% felt that they could have a positive impact on the city (2011, p. 19 and 53). When asked about their aspirations in the city, as well as how they would define success, Indigenous respondents primarily spoke about completing their education as well as raising a healthy family who would contribute to the Vancouver community (2011, p. 55- 58). Unfortunately, the majority of Indigenous respondents also reported that they felt non-Indigenous people viewed them in a negative way. Stereotypes including being thought of as lazy, drug addicted, lacking intelligence and living in poverty were examples given by respondents in Vancouver. Lastly, 8 in 10 respondents stated they had been directly or indirectly impacted by residential schools (2011, p. 29). This is significant because it is a clear indicator of the intergenerational impact stemming from residential school survivors discussed in Section 2.3.

Taken together, there appears to be a contradiction between the aspirations of urban Indigenous Peoples in the City of Vancouver and the struggles that urban Indigenous Peoples face as indicated by Statistics Canada and Vancouver Coastal Health’s Community Health Profile. Analyzing the City of Vancouver’s Indigenous-focused initiatives will help clarify the nature of the incongruity between Indigenous Peoples aspirations for success and the reality of being disproportionately represented

among the urban poor. Indeed, the City of Vancouver’s year of reconciliation was established in response to the results from both of these reports.

2.6. The Year of Reconciliation

On June 17, 2013, Mayor Gregor Robertson proclaimed June 21st, 2013 to June 20th, 2014 to be the “Year of Reconciliation”. In establishing this precedent, the City of Vancouver (2013) issued the following statement regarding reconciliation:

The City is supporting a Year of Reconciliation by acknowledging the negative cultural impacts and stereotypes that resulted from Canada’s residential school system, to witness the process of reconciliation and healing, and advance with a greater shared understanding of the historical impacts that have shaped the experiences of Indigenous people to date.

Upon completion of the Year of Reconciliation, the City announced itself as a “City of Reconciliation” with a formal adoption by City of Vancouver Council on July 8th, 2014 (City of Vancouver, 2014). The vision and goals by the City of Vancouver as a City of Reconciliation included

Table 2-1 City of Reconciliation Goals

Our vision As a City of Reconciliation, we will:	Our goals Our long-term goals:
Form a sustained relationship of mutual respect and understanding with local First Nations and the Urban Indigenous community, including key agencies	Strengthen local First Nations and Urban Indigenous relations
Incorporate a First Nations and Urban Indigenous perspective into our work and decisions	Promote Indigenous peoples arts, culture, awareness, and understanding
Provide services that benefit members of the First Nations and Urban Indigenous community	Incorporate First Nations and Urban Indigenous perspectives for effective City services

Note: City of Vancouver Framework for Reconciliation (2014). Retrieved January 15, 2020 from <https://council.vancouver.ca/20141028/documents/rr1.pdf>

The policy document drafted by staff to realize these visions and goals was entitled the *Framework for Reconciliation*. The Framework was developed to layout the structure of activities the City would facilitate to establish its goal of creating a "sustained relationship of mutual respect and understanding with local First Nations and the Urban Indigenous community" (City of Vancouver, 2014). The report outlined three foundational

components of cultural competency, strengthening relations, and effective decision-making within the City's service provision and ongoing relationships with Vancouver's title holding First Nations, the Musqueam, Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and urban Indigenous community (City of Vancouver, 2014). To move the Framework forward, the City acknowledged its partnership with Reconciliation Canada, an Indigenous-led non-profit organization as well as the City's Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee.

2.7. Context Summary

The history of dispossession and violence enacted on Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia has created a legacy of mistrust, resulting in fractured relationships between Indigenous Peoples and government (Sandercock and Lyssiotis, 2003; Peters and Andersen, 2013). The City of Vancouver is not immune from this legacy, and its treatment of the Brockton Point families, and attempts to remove other established settlements of Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam Peoples from their territories is a disgraceful part of its history. There is also a clear disconnect between the aspirations of Indigenous Peoples in the City and their actual lived experience in the City as suggested by the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study and subsequent statistics from Statistics Canada and Vancouver Coastal Health's Community Health Profile. The establishment of the TRC was seen by government officials and Canadian citizens alike as an opportunity to look deeply into the fractured relationship between non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples. The City of Vancouver's efforts to be a City of Reconciliation is a bold articulation of a commitment to a shared path forward.

Chapter 3. Literature Review

The following literature review will explore scholarship to contextualize the City of Vancouver's Framework of Reconciliation and its relevance within the historical, social and political dynamics of the City of Vancouver. As discussed by Harris, "[i]t seems obvious that as we try to repair a relationship impregnated with the particular colonialism that unfolded in this province, it will be helpful to understand how that relationship came about" (2002, p. xxvi). It is in this spirit that I directed my literature review towards broader historical components that led to a call for reconciliation at the municipal level. Four major historical components that were investigated were the "right to the city", collaborative governance, reparation displacement and memory politics.

First, the City's policy goal of reconciliation was juxtaposed within a broader urban issue of advanced marginality and the "right to the city", which urban Indigenous Peoples have struggled with for many years. Given that Indigenous populations have been purposefully excluded and disenfranchised prior to and after the establishment of the City of Vancouver, potential challenges a reconciliation policy goal poses for the City are highlighted. The concept of collaborative governance is emphasized as a compelling structure to move the City's reconciliation goals forward. The City's partnerships with the three title holding First Nations, Reconciliation Canada, the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council and the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee will be important relationships for the City to achieve its policy goal of reconciliation. Last, I collected information that established the Vancouver policy prioritization for reconciliation as part of a national and global shift of redress. James defines redress culture as the "overall pattern of governance arising from how a community engages its historical injustices" (2014, p. 1). This theme is significant to my research because it exposes ways in which state apologies towards Indigenous People can shape how historical injustices are revised and responsibilities for redress are renegotiated.

3.1. The Right to the City

...the totem poles, subsequently relocated to Brockton Point, have become the single most popular attraction in Vancouver. For residents

and visitors alike, they provide an encounter with Indigeneity safely removed from real life (Barman, 2007, p. 28).

As discussed previously, Indigenous Peoples are currently supported and directed through provincial and federal legislation. Municipalities do not have a binding authority over service provision, land rights or other important issues for Indigenous Peoples. This historical appointment of responsibility does not acknowledge the long-standing record Indigenous Peoples have in urban spaces. In reality, Indigenous Peoples were present on the lands along the Northwest Coast at the very inception of forts and towns, formed first by fur trade mercantilism and then by waves of immigration (Edmonds, 2010, p. 4-5). The section below evaluates the following components related to the discussion of the right to the city:

- Right to urban space and land; and
- Advanced marginality

Right to Urban Space and Land

One of the challenges of reconciliation is an established narrative that to be Indigenous is to be distinctly rural and not an urban dweller. This concept has been written on in depth and links historical systemic racism against Indigenous Peoples as providing the foundational narrative for this idea (Peters and Lafond, 2013, Stanger-Ross, 2008, Edmonds, 2010). The ability for Indigenous Peoples to meaningfully live, work and play in an urban space is predicated on the idea that they have (and are seen to have) full access to the city. Therefore, it is important to first discuss access to the city for Indigenous Peoples or as Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey deem it, the right to the city.

The City of Vancouver prides itself as a world class city, in part due to its diverse population. Under the City's *equity, diversity and inclusion* webpage is the following notation:

People are at the heart of everything we do, and we are working hard to ensure our activities support fairness, equality, and access for all (City of Vancouver, 2020).

David Harvey discusses access to the city as the co-creation of an urban space through our daily interactions and our various political, economic and intellectual activities (2003, p. 939). However, there are significant barriers to Indigenous Peoples' full access to the city and as Harvey would share, to create and change the city to their hearts' desire (2003, p. 939). Harvey contends that not all have equal access and quotes Marx's famous line "between equal rights, force decides" (Marx, 1976 as cited in Harvey, 2003 p. 939). This is confirmed by Henri Lefebvre who acknowledges that our daily actions are rooted in distinct systems and are "reorganized under the administrative and political authority of the urban power" (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 151). The city is not a neutral space. When looking at the history of the City of Vancouver and its relationship with Indigenous Peoples, it is relevant to discuss Harvey's focus on private property as the chasm that separates marginalized groups and the right to the city. Harvey notes that the establishment of one's inalienable right to private property has continued to trump any other right available (2003, p. 940) and this is evident by the City's historical dispossession of reserve land. This preference towards private property and property speculation has had the impact of profit making by any means necessary, including at the destruction of economies and increasing the inequalities between the rich and poor (2003, p. 941).

The City of Vancouver is documented as having some of the most expensive real estate in the country and Harvey's argument on private property is relevant. Additionally, there is an argument to make that Indigenous art, place naming and other forms of Indigenous visibility in the City of Vancouver falls under the same reanimation in the context of memory politics. Harvey argues that the same folks who "destroy" cities with their speculation, then go on to "reanimate" them with theatres and operas" (2003, p. 941). This is supported by Lefebvre's argument of space being an outcome of a sequence and set of operations which "highlights the ways in which the unequal distribution of power in social space becomes naturalized and its operations forgotten" (Edmonds, 2010, p. 5). Further evidence of this is found in the Urban Aboriginal Peoples Study which concluded non-Indigenous Vancouverites as "cultural romantics", whereby their understanding and appreciation for Indigenous Peoples is rooted in their art and cultural contributions (Environics, 2011, p. 11). On one hand, this appreciation conveys some matter or respect towards Indigenous Peoples but it actually exposes the prejudicial undertones that are occurring as a part of this cultural appreciation.

Ultimately, a cultural romantic lens is problematic as it situates Indigenous Peoples in the past and contributes to the idea that to be Indigenous is to be archaic and outside of modern urban society.

A challenge for reconciliation in the City of Vancouver is rooted in historically tense relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. The narrative of Indigenous Peoples being contradictory to urban life in Vancouver is a significant impediment to relational progress. Stanger- Ross (2008) uses the example of the Musqueam reserve in Stanley Park to highlight the historical and divisive relationship between Indigenous Peoples and the City of Vancouver. Stanger-Ross argues that municipal negotiations with urban reserves in Vancouver “helped to create a mirage of an impossible contradiction between cities and Indigenous people” (2008, p. 580). Urban reserves were seen as an impediment to the growth and a threat to urban vitality. Indigenous Peoples were framed according to Edmonds as “inconvenient, incompatible wanderers” as a “nuisance, vagrant and prostitute” (2010, p. 6). Once this narrative of Indigenous Peoples was established, municipal governments were able to justify the requisition of Indigenous land due to its negligent state created by negligent people. Stanger-Ross created the term “municipal colonialism” (2008) to showcase settler-colonial order “of propertied, incorporated, ordered space from the ‘bedlam’ of Aboriginal space, deemed chaotic and unprofitable” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 9). The Brockton Point incident in Stanley Park for example, helped to solidify that Indigenous Peoples were contradictory to the idea of “urban” (Stanger-Ross, 2008; Peters and Lafond, 2013). Peters and Lafond confirm that “decades of activism have failed to unseat the association between Indigeneity and primitiveness in contrast to urbanism and civilization” (2013, p.89). Indeed, this experience has been the basis for colonization of the province as discussed by Harris.

Basically, it was the product of the pervasive settler assumptions, backed by the colonial state, that most of the land they encountered in British Columbia was waste, waiting to be put to productive use: or, where Native people obviously were using the land, that their uses were inefficient and therefore should be replaced (2002, p. 265).

Peters and Lafond outline examples of barriers such as non-Indigenous prejudice to explain how it “reminds them [Indigenous Peoples] that their right to use these spaces is under control of the dominant society” (2013, p. 95). This joins with a larger discussion on the privatization of space by corporations and how citizens enter into pseudo-private

spaces that are actually deeply regulated (Mitchell and Staehli, 2006, p. 152). These ideas augment Peters and Lafond's work on the importance of Indigenous Peoples appropriating public space for cultural and familial traditions and to feel that they are full citizens. Currently, Indigenous people are not visible in the city because "[a]ssumptions of inappropriateness, criminality, laziness, and irresponsibility associated with being visibly Indigenous means they are not free to act like ordinary inhabitants of the city and so must create an exclusionary urban space" (Peters and Lafond, 2013, p. 102). In terms of reconciliation at the municipal level, Indigenous people must have opportunities to build their own community and to feel comfortable in urban spaces. There must exist a site of refuge, in an otherwise colonial space which is wrought with violence and barriers against Indigenous Peoples as described by scholars (Peters and Lafond, 2013; Coulthard, 2014; Cardinal, 2006). Reconciliation in action is said to be about both Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Peoples coming together, which is not the same as Indigenous Peoples creating their own community on their own terms. Reconciliation as a proclamation is not addressing the desire for Indigenous Peoples to create their own space. As Isin and Siemiatycki argue "struggles for recognition are much deeper than the wresting of new possibilities from space; they involve resisting, subverting, and exposing strategies of racialization that are enacted through space" (1997, p. 206). This activation of reclaiming Indigenous Peoples rightful space in urban society is further challenged by issues of advanced marginality, which relegate marginalized groups to the fringes of society.

Advanced Marginality

In addition to Canada's history with Indigenous Peoples, the changing landscape of cities over time has further impacted this unique population. Wacquant has discussed the emergence of advanced marginality based on "the rise of post-industrial economies, which increased inequality even in the context of economic prosperity, the elimination of low-skilled jobs, the degradation of employment conditions and the retrenchment of the welfare state" (2016, p. 121)¹.

¹ The origins of advanced marginality can be traced to post-Fordist mutations that Wacquant acknowledges is comprised of the six following components:

- The growing internal heterogeneity and desocialization of labor;

While each feature is important, for the purposes of this literature review, I will summarize how each component has acted to collectively impact Indigenous populations in Vancouver. Like Harvey (2003), Wacquant discusses private property and the capitalist system as removing a place that is “suffused with shared emotions, joint meanings and practices to indifferent “spaces” of mere survival and contest” (2016, p. 126). This removal of shared emotions and joint meanings from the city lends itself to the notion that Indigenous Peoples, who originally occupied cities, no longer have a place to feel safe from areas dominated by colonial society. This is also true for their sense of community and ability to find support. When economic restructuring occurs, individuals can no longer “fall back upon the social economy of their community of provenance” (Wacquant, 2016, p. 127). This loss of “hinterland” as Wacquant coins it, further increases the marginalization of Indigenous Peoples who may not have a community of support in the city. Certainly, in the midst of trying to cope with the intergenerational trauma of residential schools, the exclusion from urban spaces and the loss of traditional lands, many Indigenous Peoples also have to cope with a diverse economic and environmental landscape for which they were not well adapted or effectively prepared for by way of social respect and formal education. In true irony, Gale on her work with Aboriginals in Australia describes the current landscape of the city that renders “immigrant settlers as native and Aboriginal People in turn as alien or indeed constituted as urban immigrants” (Gale, 1972 as cited in Edmonds, 2010, p.16). Wacquant finishes by cautioning that each feature of advanced marginality lends itself to increasing the risk of “street violence, political alienation, organizational desertification, and economic informalization” if not addressed meaningfully (2016, p. 123). A reconciliation policy is challenged by the ways in which Indigenous Peoples have been forcibly allocated to the fringes of society. It would benefit aligning with key principles of a collaborative governance model as described by Ansell and Gash (2007).

-
- The functional disconnection of neighborhood conditions from macro-economic trends
 - Territorial fixation and stigmatization
 - Special alienation and the dissolution of place
 - The loss of a viable hinterland; and
 - The symbolic fragmentation of marginalized populations.

3.2. Collaborative Governance

Two questions I wish to address in this section of my literature review are: how will the City's tenuous history with the local First Nations impact its reconciliation goal? Additionally, does their partnerships with Reconciliation Canada, the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council and the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee as well as the three First Nations represent a collaborative governance structure? In response, I will utilize the theory of collaborative governance to evaluate the City's reconciliation goal and subsequent Framework development process. Ansell and Gash define collaborative governance as:

A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets (2007, p. 544).

Collaborative governance was developed in reaction to previous governance failures and as an "alternative to the adversarialism of interest group pluralism and to the accountability failures of managerialism" (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 543). In addition, with the growth and increasingly complexity of knowledge, the demand for collaboration increased and governance structures between public and private sectors became blurred (Stoker, 2008, p.17).

The term collaborative governance has also been identified as "associational governance" and more recently has been adapted to "cross-cultural collaboration" or "common ground" when referring to engagement between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups to discuss land management initiatives (Robson, Sinclair, Davidson-Hunt and Diduck, 2013, p. 1). The benefits for this governance model include collaborative dialogue and two-way communication, which can shift potentially adversarial dialogue to one based on cooperation and consensus (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 547). Power imbalances are renegotiated in this kind of governance and consensus-oriented decision-making becomes the normative process. Certainly, the City's choice of a reconciliation policy is a way to approach the past tenuous relationship with Indigenous Peoples and First Nations in a more collaborative manner. However, the City's partnerships between different Indigenous groups and First Nations vary, creating challenges to evaluating their efforts on the whole. The Urban Indigenous Peoples

Advisory Committee operates as a mini-public² and is under the jurisdiction of the City of Vancouver. Without city council endorsement, the Committee's ability to exert real influence is absent. The Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Committee (MVAEC) has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the City, potentially representing a better model of collaborative governance, as the City has committed funding to MVAEC priorities.

A challenge to consider on the subject of collaborative governance is clarity on the definition of this model and the different iterations it can take on. Robson et al. (2013) noted during a study of "common ground" activities in Kenora, Ontario³ that the terminology used was problematic for the general public in terms of understanding what exactly common ground referred to as shown in Table 3.1.

² "In intense forms of public consultations, select groups of citizens, called mini-publics, are given a large amount of information and then asked to deliberate on policy directions and make recommendations. Government officials may refuse to act upon these recommendations, unless they are convinced that the recommendations have wider support in the populace" (Boulianne, 2017, p. 119).

³ This research looked at a land management initiative between the local municipal government in Kenora, Ontario, Grand Council of Treaty #3 and local First Nations. The goal was to strive "to create new economic opportunities through sustainable development, whilst dealing with problems from the past and present" (Robson et al., p. 1). Problems of the past and present were in reference to the historical negative relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples and First Nations in the Kenora area.

Table 3-1 Understanding of ‘common ground’ among the general public in Kenora

Interviewee	Responses to question: what does common ground mean to you?
Euro-Canadians	It's a common place, an area that is accessible to everybody Making something more of a well-known public area It's about the natives in the city, something to do with that...it's been in the papers
Metis	Common for everyone, to the benefit the whole community
First Nations	Different cultures of the area...the idea that people who come from different parts of the world, that everyone has a story. Native people have been here for a long time but have been pushed out of the way. It's about rectifying that Exactly what it says, land shared by all.

Note: Content from Robson, J.P., Sinclair, A.J., Davidson-Hunt, I.J. and Diduck, A.P. (2013). What's in a name? The search for 'common ground' in Kenora, Northwestern Ontario. *Journal of Public Deliberation*. 9:2. Retrieved from: <https://search-proquest-com.proxy.lib.sfu.ca/publiccontent/docview/1465553435?pq-origsite=summon>.

Further, there were questions by the public regarding the intentions of the process and what it was meant to achieve. The conclusion regarding this kind of collaboration was that there needs to be clarity regarding roles and responsibilities for all parties involved:

When there is ambiguity in meaning, then a danger exists that activities could be ‘commons’ if and when the term gains broader currency. In other words, the term could be ‘spun’ or used deceptively to promote the perception that a certain practice truly reflects the ethic or philosophy of common ground, when, in actual fact, its meaning has been either watered down, co-opted or used as cheap moral posture (Robson et al., 2013, p. 15).

Wight further supports this and concludes that planning “fails to pay heed to the cultural context, or the social construction of meaning, and is restricted in its ability to shape the building of cross-cultural relations and discourse” (2005, as cited in Robson et al., 2013, p. 15).

There are clear concerns with a collaborative governance model and in particular when trying to be inclusive of Indigenous Peoples. A major concern with collaborative governance according to Ansell and Gash (2007) is based on three main components: time, trust and interdependence. To establish real collaboration, time is needed and that is not always readily available in certain institutions. This has been shown to impact non-state stakeholders, who question whether the process is actually truly collaborative, and

consequently may mistrust subsequent proceedings. Regarding the issues of trust and interdependence, a prehistory of antagonism between groups does not necessarily inhibit a successful collaborative governance process. In fact, it may create “a powerful incentive for collaborative governance” as Ansell and Gash would regard a history of conflict between two parties as evidence of strong interdependence (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 553). The understanding that there is no other choice and that this model may be the only way to engage often becomes an incentive to participate. With that said the authors acknowledge that with a history of antagonism between groups (such as with Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Peoples), it often brings a high degree of mistrust. They recommend that in order to move forward in a collaborative governance model, steps need to be taken to mitigate the mistrust present (2007, p. 554).

A limitation on collaborative governance as it relates to the Framework is that there has been limited research on the outcomes of this governance model and the research that has been conducted has shown mixed results (Ansell and Gash, 2007, p. 561). In terms of the initial question I asked at the beginning of this section, my literature on collaborative governance would caution this type of model being used in reconciliation initiatives. Indeed, the City’s historical relationship with Indigenous Peoples carries the weight of the three components outlined by Ansell and Gash, time, trust and interdependence.

Ryan Walker’s research with stakeholders, academics and Indigenous professionals across seven cities in Canada led to identifying five priority areas to improve municipal relations with Indigenous communities (Walker, 2008). The priority areas were identified as citizen participation and engagement, governance interface, Indigenous culture as a municipal asset, economic and social development and urban reserves, service agreements and regional relationships (Walker, 2008, p. 21). Walker’s article *Improving the Interface between Urban Municipalities and Aboriginal Communities* formed the basis for the City of Vancouver’s 2013 policy prioritization of reconciliation and strengthening its relationship with urban Indigenous Peoples and local First Nations (City of Vancouver, 2013). The five priority areas are not radically new concepts but the way that Walker contextualizes these priorities warrants further discussion. Walker cites Lane and Hibbard when he shares the idea of *transformative planning*, meaning “by or with indigenous peoples as a process of identifying and implementing strategies that transform structures of oppression” (2005 as cited in

Walker, 2008, p. 23). If we transfer this idea to the City of Vancouver's current initiatives, this transformative planning approach would allow urban Indigenous Peoples in the city (in conjunction with or via the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee) to confront Indigenous marginalization by actively developing plans or ideas to create real change such as Indigenous representation on all municipal planning committees. In addition, Walker also acknowledges a fundamental component regarding the entitlement of Indigenous aspirations and rights:

Working with Aboriginal peoples in a process of transformative planning will fail to reach the full measure of success without recognition of the Aboriginal right and community aspirations for meaningful measures of self-determination (2008, p. 24).

A sufficient analysis of self-determination⁴ is not within the scope of this assessment, but it is important to recognize that self-determination for some First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples in Vancouver is fundamentally central to altering marginalization. Self-determination is fundamentally important because it can give individuals the opportunity "to identify their own assessment of needs and feelings that is removed from structural and systemic constraints" (Walker, 2008, p. 23), an experience many have never had. Sandercock and Lyssiotis (2003) support this idea when they discuss a *multicultural perspective* as a potentially more effective way to promote the specific needs of diverse communities in cities. Sandercock and Lyssiotis state:

...at the core of multiculturalism as a daily political practice are two rights: the right to difference; and the right to the city. The right to difference means recognizing the legitimacy and specific needs of minority or subaltern cultures. The right to the city is the right to presence, to occupy public space, and to participate as an equal in public affairs' (2003, p. 103).

⁴ Self-determination as defined by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Gargett and the United Nations, 2013) respects that Indigenous Nations and individuals are free and equal to all other groups and individuals. Further, they have the right to be free from any kind of discrimination, in the exercise of their rights, in particular that based on their Indigenous origin or identity. Indigenous peoples right to self-determination means they can freely determine their political status and pursue their economic, social and cultural development. They have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their rights to participate fully, if they choose to, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the state.

The City of Vancouver will need to recognize that although they do not hold the primary legislative authority to govern Indigenous rights and aspirations, they do still have a significant role and responsibility to their Indigenous residents.

3.3. Memory Politics and Reparation Displacement

The City of Vancouver's reconciliation efforts are situated in a broader global redress movement of colonial states issuing apologies for historical crimes against Indigenous Peoples. Further, it is difficult for these state actions of redress to be disentangled from the colonial context from which they originated. That is to say that even state apologies for historical misgivings are still rooted in stories of violence, dispossession and anti-Indigenous racism. The City of Vancouver has a significant history of shameful actions towards the Indigenous inhabitants of the area prior to its incorporation including land dispossession and racism. The use of memory politics and reparation displacement are significant components to understanding the challenge reconciliation efforts pose for the City and Indigenous Peoples.

Memory politics refers to a concept which first acknowledges that nations are constructed through the creation of collective memories connecting members across time and space and that this creation is often unbalanced and dominated by the memories of the elite (James, 2014, p.1). Memory politics is of particular importance when discussing historical injustices and redress activities for the concern that "so many of our redress processes are directed towards inserting the Indigenous person into a reaffirmed colonial universe, where practices of economic, symbolic, and linguistic domination sit unchallenged" (Woolford, 2013, p. 77). As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the Framework for Reconciliation is not a legal document (City of Vancouver, 2014), and thus, provides no formal recourse if the City does not reconcile. Reparation displacement in turn, refers to the idea that the general population's understanding of responsibility for grievances enacted by state bodies are subtly redirected to avoid formal redress (James, 2009, p. 363). "Reparation displacement occurs when questions of cause, blame, and obligations are shunted away, more or less systematically, from a community that ought properly to be asked them" (James, 2009, p. 364). This process of displacement is not the same as a denial of past wrong doings but a blurring of responsibility whereby redirection of responsibility occurs more easily. Both concepts fit

in to the larger framework of transitional justice, which is defined by The United Nations (2010) as:

...consisting of both judicial and non-judicial processes and mechanism, including prosecution initiatives, facilitating initiatives in respect of the right to truth, delivering reparations, institutional reform and national consultations.

Emerging in the early-1990's, transitional justice has been used to "describe, analyze and prescribe the implementation and effect of various justice strategies underpinning institutional redress for past wrongdoings" (Henry, 2015, p. 199). Together, there is a synergistic process between memory politics and reparation displacement that impacts the facilitation of transitional justice at every level of governance pertaining to reconciliation.

In the context of memory politics in Canada and as it relates to redress activities with Indigenous Peoples, James argues that Canada's redress culture targets institutions vaguely, and instead focuses on either the victims' recovery or the promotion of the marginalized group's importance as a part of today's multicultural fabric (2014, p. 3). To James, this allows state bodies to "bypass questions of casual responsibility, ignore specific agents and mechanisms of injustice, and duck contemporary reform and accountability issues" (2014, p. 3). Redress culture is further challenged by Woolford who states:

...harm is individualized, itemized, and made governable so it can be delineated, counted, measured, estimated, and compensated. Through such practices, the past is managed more than it is mastered, as deeply social and ontological damage perpetrated through forced assimilation is transformed into a discrete set of calculable and reparable acts (2013, p. 68).

The overall argument put forward by James (2014) is that redress activities, when examined through a memory-politic lens, are shown to continue to adversely impact marginalized groups by sanitizing the present. This sanitization of the present relinquishes state leaders from responsibility, framing Canadian racism as a memory to be contemplated rather than a reality to be confronted. The same is true for local government. The selection of reconciliation as the method to engage with First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples by the City of Vancouver is inherently problematic. It is problematic for the fact that the approach does not directly address the systematic

discriminatory ways in which Indigenous Peoples have been impacted by the City's actions before, during and after incorporation. Without a reckoning of this discrimination, there is a strong argument to make that efforts towards reconciliation will fall far short of its intended goal. The TRC has also been criticized broadly for its superficial efforts to petition the Canadian government to take responsibility (James, 2004; Niezen, 2016).

James argues that the TRC process, while admirable in promoting the truth by giving survivors and their families a national platform to provide a counter-memory politic, it does so at the expense of calling for accountability to the state and other offending institutions in a meaningful way (2012, p. 182). Niezen also argues this and goes further by recognizing that victims and survivors of residential schools were not allowed to share the names of their abusers (2016, p. 924). Woolford best summarizes the limits of the TRC through an analysis of the settlement outcome of the original class action lawsuit:

The settlement agreement, itself, is circumscribed by the legal circumstances under which it was negotiated. In particular, it is 'not to be construed as an admission of liability by any of the defendants named in the Class Actions or the Cloud Class Action' (2013, p. 67).

This lack of accountability for the perpetrators of such horrific violent acts highlights a key limit of the TRC in finalizing reconciliation. There is an argument to be made, that any institution that takes up a reconciliation cause inspired by the TRC, will fail to meet its desired reconciliation goal. The failure can be directly attributed to the contrast between TRC's reconciliation definition of "there has to be awareness of the past, an acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour" (2015, p. 6-7), and its largely symbolic outcomes.

In support of the failure of symbolic gestures of admission, Nelson discusses her work on Africville in Nova Scotia, where she contends that symbolic gestures of acknowledgement often have the effect of reshaping the story to fit the dominant ideology (2000, 228). Stephen Harper's national apology to Indigenous Peoples focused on nation-building and according to Woolford directed "attention away from past harms and towards a future in which we live under a common (still largely European) nation" (2013, p. 69). The consequence is that the intergenerational effects of racist policies towards marginalized groups are not validated. Again, the TRC has been criticized for being "heavy on truth and light on reconciliation" (Llewellyn, 2013, p. 187) and

forensically weak as an investigative body (Nagy, 2013 as cited in James, 2014, p. 41). Woolford also argues that other National redress activities beginning with the 1996 *Statement of Regret* by the Federal government for the residential school abuses which included a pledge of \$350 million for the national Aboriginal Healing Foundation did little to create meaningful systemic change in the country (2013, p. 67-68).

While, Woolford showcases the inherent problems with the TRC, there is a deeper concern that the TRC will strengthen the colonial system that enacted such anti-Indigenous agendas. Eisenberg shares “the calls to action do little to disassemble the colonial international order. They might even be interpreted as having the unintentional effect of reaffirming that order” (2018, p. 28). This is further argued by Turner who agrees that most governments have taken a mainstream approach to reconciliation that focuses on relationship building and local-level healing (2013, p. 140) at the expense of a genuine shift in systemic structures that established the past racist acts. Miles acknowledges that this is ultimately asking “Indigenous People to reconcile with colonialism, rather than to dismantle it” (2018, p. 298). The City of Vancouver, utilizing the TRC’s Calls to Action as a part of its reconciliation mandate and its colonial dependency, poses a significant challenge for future reconciliation.

Looking specifically at the province of British Columbia, James explores the concept of reparation displacement and memory politics. Through an analysis of several historical injustices in the province, including racism and violence against First Nations, the Japanese Internment, the Chinese Head Tax and the Komogata Maru incident, James suggests that despite municipal and provincial governments being explicitly involved in the denial of rights, contemporary understandings of responsibility are “systematically channeled away from the provincial political community and towards its Canadian federal counterpart instead” (2009, p. 364). James highlights evidence of the specific impact this has had on British Columbia’s Indigenous populations through an analysis of the province’s *New Relationship* policy, “a historic but largely failed attempt to pursue reconciliation with First Nations” (2009, p. 366). Through a process of reparation displacement, James argues that the policy’s failure to identify the historical underpinnings of the current strained relationship that made a new one advisable, ultimately led to its failure (James, 2009, p. 366). This further strengthens an argument against the City’s efforts to foster a new way forward using a policy, from a colonial body in the TRC, to respond to the damaged relationship with Indigenous Peoples. A second

concern regarding the public's perception of these activities, is one that creates more division, whereby non-Indigenous people feel that money is being wasted with little outcome. This impacts stereotypes and prejudices against Indigenous Peoples that are damaging and run deep. The BC Treaty Commission is another example of this.

As stated, reparation displacement acts as a means to obscure relationships and delay due process. To be sure, the establishment of the BC Treaty Commission was primarily concerned with "righting historical injustices and arriving at a more equitable sharing of colonial costs and burdens" (Egan, 2012, p. 414). Through the process of memory politics and reparation displacement, whereby historical injustices enacted by the Province were not a part of the narrative explaining why the BC Treaty Commission was formed, the public's impression that treaty making was merely further government handouts to BC's First Nations was solidified (James, 2009). James concludes that reparation displacement is an "obstacle hindering BC's reconciliation processes" (2009, p. 365).

3.4. Literature Conclusion

Indigenous People face incredible challenges when trying to establish themselves in urban spaces as described above. Their rights and aspirations to be successful and contributing members of a city are challenged by the cultural norms of cities that reject the idea that Indigenous Peoples belong in cities. This narrative has been established since contact and has been steadfastly maintained through the federal legislation of the Indian Act, which influenced all levels of government. This is in addition to advanced marginality and the consequences of increased marginalization. Finding opportunities to reconcile the City's colonial origins with its goal to better support its urban Indigenous Peoples and local First Nations will be paramount to the success of a reconciliation framework.

Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1. Overview

To understand how the City of Vancouver established reconciliation as a policy priority, I gathered and analyzed information regarding reconciliation activities the City of Vancouver executed prior to and after the establishment of the Framework. A number of different methods were used to retrieve this information. By reviewing City documents including council minutes, reports and presentations prior to 2013, I learned about the role of the City prior to developing the Framework. This included initiatives such as the Year of Reconciliation and the City's partnership with Reconciliation Canada, which preceded the City of Reconciliation declaration. The review of these documents guided my understanding of the attention placed on reconciliation in the City and policies that supported this goal. I also gained an understanding of the movement towards reconciliation as a policy priority and subsequent actions that led to the drafting of the Framework. This understanding included learning about the roles of stakeholder groups mentioned by the City as a part of their unveiling of the Framework. For example, while Reconciliation Canada helped execute the City's successful *Walk for Reconciliation* during the year of reconciliation, their direct involvement in the Framework after 2013 was minimal. Thus, the role of Reconciliation Canada within a municipal framework was limited and was not pursued as a key component to my research. Conversely, the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee provided consistent support to staff and council on issues pertaining to urban Indigenous Peoples in the city and will be discussed in more detail in this Chapter 5.

After my data review, I then completed semi-structured interviews with nine individuals connected to the Framework. These interviews gave me a more detailed understanding of how the City of Vancouver has activated their efforts on reconciliation since the drafting of the Framework.

4.2. Historical Document Review and Analysis

To understand how the City of Vancouver had changed in its activities on reconciliation since the drafting of the Framework, I gathered and analyzed City of

Vancouver agendas, reports and minutes regarding the role the City of Vancouver played prior to and after the establishment of the Framework. I also reviewed each agenda, and all the minutes from the City of Vancouver's Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee (formerly Urban Aboriginal Peoples Advisory Committee), which held its inaugural meeting on June 13th, 2012.

To better understand the context of reconciliation discussions by the City of Vancouver, I also analyzed key documents including the British Columbia Municipalities report *Pathways to Reconciliation*; the Truth and Reconciliation Final Report, including the 94 Calls to Action; the United Nations Declaration of Rights for Indigenous Peoples; and protocol agreements signed with each title holding First Nation. Lastly, I researched provincial and municipal website content related to policies and activities on reconciliation that would help provide a further foundation regarding the City's reconciliation policy.

To address both objectives, I created a narrative based on municipal documents to understand the trajectory of reconciliation over the course of its tenure as a topic at the City. Sources for the first objective included the aforementioned city council minutes, presentations, and reports. Other data sources included the minutes from the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee (UIPAC), relevant minutes from the Vancouver Parks Board and Vancouver Public Library who are represented on the City's Interdepartmental Reconciliation working group. Based on my initial research, I put a stop-date at the year 2000 and found the first mention of 'reconciliation' in the city council minute archives in 2005. As such, the year 2005 was used as the start-date for my municipal document analysis. Next I reviewed the 2011 Urban Indigenous Peoples Study to gain a strong understanding of how urban Indigenous Peoples experienced the City. These documents were reviewed, analyzed and coded in NVivo. Through NVivo, I looked for patterns between various materials to answer general questions pertaining to this objective. For example, was there a documented progression from the City's initial discussions on reconciliation in 2005; council minutes in 2012 (the year of reconciliation activities); and 2014 (the City's declaration)?

As a part of their efforts, the City has also acknowledged a need to align its work with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's (TRC) *Final Report*, which produced 94 Calls to Actions for reconciliation (2015). The City has stated that twenty-seven of the

ninety-four Calls to Action were city focused and requiring action by the municipality to support their reconciliation goal (City of Vancouver, 2014). The TRC's Calls to Action itself were not analyzed as a part of my document review but mentions of the TRC were coded during my document analysis and also during my qualitative interviews.

4.3. Qualitative Interviews

To gain a better understanding as to how reconciliation became a policy priority for the City of Vancouver, it was invaluable for me to interview those involved with the recommendation and advocacy for reconciliation. These folks would also support my interest in learning any Insights stemming from the Framework's activity. I reached out to interview key City of Vancouver staff and members of the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee. Further, I sought to interview staff from each of the Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam First Nations who were involved in the drafting of the Framework or engaged with the City on reconciliation.

Qualitative interviews were used to for three main objectives. One, interviews provided supplement knowledge pulled from my historical content analysis in terms of forming a strong narrative regarding the City's history with reconciliation initiatives. Two, interviews provided valuable commentary regarding the City's current policy goal of being a City of Reconciliation from a relevant and diverse group of participants. Three, the interviews established a strong understanding of how the Framework for Reconciliation was developed. As a part of this third component, the commentary also provided clarity regarding if the Framework represented a model of collaborative governance, including any learnings or insights.

The sampling strategy for these target groups was a non-random purposive sampling strategy. To best understand how reconciliation was prioritized and the Framework developed for example, I needed to speak with individuals who were involved in the development process. I chose nine stakeholders as my sample because based on my initial research, I understood that the number of key individuals involved in the development and facilitation of the Framework to be less than 15. Further, in an article by Hennink, Kaiser and Marconi (2016) on interview saturation, it was found that nine interviews were the average number needed to get to saturation in health-based

research. Based on this empirical study, I felt confident that nine individuals was a sufficient number to address my specific query.

In total, I interviewed nine individuals in the Spring of 2020 for approximately one-hour each. Due to the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, I changed my interviews from in-person to over the phone to ensure the health and safety of myself and my interviewees. In my interviews with key city staff, I learned that no specific individual from Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh or Squamish First Nation was involved in the drafting of the Framework. Instead, individuals were identified by city staff as being actively engaged with ongoing reconciliation. The following section provides a brief summary of interviewees.

4.3.1. Interview Profiles

Table 4-1 Interviewee Profiles

Ginger Gosnell Meyers	Former Aboriginal Social Planner for the City of Vancouver, author of the Framework for Reconciliation. Current Indigenous Fellow, Decolonization and Urban Indigenous Planning with Simon Fraser University.
Spencer Lindsay	Indigenous Social Planner for the City of Vancouver.
Kamala Todd	Former Social Planner at the City of Vancouver for over 20 years, developed <i>Storyscapes</i> for the City of Vancouver and other art based, Indigenous focused initiatives at the City.
Andrea Reimer	Councillor for the City of Vancouver 2008-2018. Current adjunct professor at the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University.
Joe Kwan	Manger of Member Services, Squamish First Nation.
Jennifer Campo	Member of the Squamish First Nation. Former employee in the Nation's Emergency Services Department.

	Currently elected as Squamish First Nation's Band Manager.
Wade Grant	Member of the Musqueam First Nation. Previous elected council member for 10 years. Former special advisor to the Premier of British Columbia.
Lillian Howard	Member of the Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nation and is of Nuuchahnulth, Kwakwaka'wakw and Tlingit ancestry. Past Executive Director of the Vancouver Aboriginal Community Policing Centre Society. Founding member and current co-Chair of the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee.
Carleen Thomas	Member of Tsleil-Waututh Nation. Previous elected council member for 16 years and current Special Projects Manager, Treaty Land and Resources at Tsleil-Waututh Nation.

4.4. Positionality

As discussed by Milner, when research involving race is being conducted, there should be an active engagement on the researcher's part, to consider their positionality in shaping the data collection (2007, p. 388). Milner outlines a framework to undertake a consideration of self (Appendix B). As Sandercock allows, researching issues involving or pertaining to Indigenous Peoples is as much about the researcher being self-reflective, unpacking ones' privilege and understanding how ones' perspective may inhibit accessing and interpreting knowledge from Indigenous Peoples (2004, p. 123). Research, access and acquisition of knowledge is ultimately about power.

Upon reviewing Milner's questions and several other scholars and authors focusing on politics of race, race relations and white supremacy (Baldwin, 1963; Coates, 2015; DiAngelo, 2018) I understand my positionality to be the following: I am a person who believes myself to be white and of Welsh heritage. This belief of being white requires further consideration here. James Baldwin and later, Ta-Nehisi Coates argue that before the system of slavery, "the new people were something else before they were white—Catholic, Corsican, Welsh, Mennonite, Jewish" (Coates, 2015, p. 7) and only organized under an identity of a white race to govern black bodies. Coates believes

that “race is the child of racism, not the father” (2015, p. 7). Baldwin has argued the enormous advantages racism has provided for those who believe themselves to be white, most notably, they have received political, economic and social supremacy in the Western world. However, Baldwin notes that this has come at an enormous cost to people who believe themselves to be white:

...they are, in effect, still trapped in a history which they do not understand; and until they understand it, they cannot be released from it. They have had to believe for many years, and for innumerable reasons, that black men are inferior to white men. (1963).

I benefit directly from systems of governance, education, information systems, ways of being that were established under a white supremacist or colonized world view. This distorts everything I read, understand and interpret regarding Indigenous experiences. I come to this research with significant privilege and positional power.

At the same time, my work in anti-oppression over the last 15 years including my current role as Executive Director of the North Shore Restorative Justice Society, has provided me a strong landscape to recognize the challenges facing Indigenous Peoples. While I have engaged with decolonization at a personal level, I am not claiming to use a decolonized lens as a part of this research. My opinion is that by operationalizing my efforts through a colonial institution such as Simon Fraser University, I am strongly constrained in this practice. As discussed by Harris, “the systems of domination that work against so many and can contaminate what is known and how it is known about people and communities of color” (1993, p. 1791).

Blum thinks we should ask something different of ourselves as people who believe ourselves to be white when we are engaging in research involving race, “suppose we shift from the question, ‘How can I divest myself of White privilege in my own life?’ to the quite different question, ‘What can I do to make my society more racially just?’” (2008, p. 318). Transforming our focus from individual white privilege to addressing the proliferation of structural white supremacy may facilitate that shift. Again, there is a focus on power and the systems of power that were set up to marginalize certain races including Indigenous Peoples.

To further address the limits of my positionality, I utilized Indigenous academics in informing my research and employed themes in my literature review that attempted to

deepen considerations on reconciliation processes. For example, reparation displacement focuses on institutional accountability for wrongdoings and Harvey's discussions on creating just cities too focuses on systems level oppression as the epicentre of marginalization. Taken together, my intention with my literature review was to inform research on reconciliation using a lens that acknowledged the problematic activity of an institution attempting to liberate Indigenous Peoples from a trauma that that same institution initially created. As a part of this, I carefully considered the documents I utilized as foundational texts for my research. Rather than utilizing the TRC as a foundational document of analysis, I studied its origins. As discussed in Chapter 2, the TRC was spurred into existence only after a class action lawsuit. A further review of academic literature on the TRC provided commentary that it represented a weak effort to meaningfully address the challenges facing Indigenous Peoples.

To conclude, I considered my interviewees and acknowledged that all but one self-identified as Indigenous, with the one remaining identifying as a racialized person. This reflects my understanding of decentering myself as well as the blinders that exist for those who believe themselves to be white. Allowing those most impacted to share their experiences and commentary expresses information in ways that non-Indigenous folks cannot provide. It also removes my efforts to decolonize, which will be a life-long journey, from taking away from the sharing by Indigenous interviewees.

Chapter 5. The Framework for Reconciliation

Approved by city council on October 28, 2014, the Framework for Reconciliation the Framework sought to formalize reconciliation in the City of Vancouver. As stated in the inaugural staff report dated September 18, 2014:

The proposed framework supports better understanding of matters of cultural significance and priorities of First Nation and urban Aboriginal communities. Deepening this understanding will no doubt strengthen and continue to improve relationships between the City and the Aboriginal communities. Having strong relationships will support the City to make thoughtful decisions, as well as any necessary adjustments to normal processes where necessary. Conducting work in a different way will be considered as a way to achieve positive outcomes for all.

The first of its kind by any municipality in Canada, the Framework was the result of the desire for the City to further the activities from the Year of Reconciliation (June, 2013 to June, 2014) and become the first City of Reconciliation. The stated purpose of the Framework was to provide concrete direction to achieve a goal of reconciliation through three different categories of action: strengthening relations, effective decision-making and cultural competency. Below is a table listing the description for each category of action:

Table 5-1 Framework for Reconciliation

Category of Action	Description
Strengthening Relations	Strengthening our relationships starts with acknowledging the history of residential schools and the impact of harm from the loss of land and culture. Continuing to build and strengthen relationships with Reconciliation Canada, the three Host First Nations of Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh, as well as with urban Aboriginal community is critical. Above all it is important to recognize the history, heritage and protocols of the three Host First Nations, their presence, and achievements with respect.
Cultural Competency	All City staff should have an opportunity to learn and work with local First Nation and urban Aboriginal communities. Staff should strive to create opportunities for Aboriginal Vancouverites to engage in partnerships with the City, supporting learning opportunities for both.

Effective Decision-making	Our work with First Nations requires a unique approach and understanding of our goals. Achieving mutual respect, strong relationships and economic empowerment requires flexibility, thoughtfulness and a principled and transparent approach in our work together.
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Note: Framework for Reconciliation. City of Vancouver Staff Report September 18, 2014 Retrieved on January 15, 2020 from <https://council.vancouver.ca/20141028/documents/rr1.pdf>

The overall goal of the Framework was to build an inclusive city by formally inviting reconciliation learnings and education into City operations. To infuse understandings of the history of not only residential schools but also the lands that the city operated on. This infusion was expressed by Mayor Robertson as fundamental to achieving reconciliation.

The City of Vancouver recognizes that reconciliation with the Aboriginal communities is more than a priority. By building Aboriginal inclusion into its operations, the City ensures that not only Aboriginal Peoples have a voice, but that staff gain a greater cultural understanding of the community. Our belief is by collaborating with a common purpose, and ensuring efforts from the inside out, together we will pave a new way of living and working together for present and future generations. Council’s long-term vision of building a City of Reconciliation is an inclusive approach to engage all citizens to share our histories, cultures and understanding, to include our children and future generations for a shared tomorrow. (City of Vancouver, 2014)

Three significant actions implemented with the Framework were the establishment of the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee, the development of a Memorandum of Understanding with the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council and the City’s formal acknowledgement that it existed on the unceded territories of the Squamish, Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations. Council requested staff to draft a four-year workplan and provide a formal report every two years on activities and progress (City of Vancouver, 2014). Of note was that there was no financial guarantee that came with the Framework.

5.1. Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish Nations

The three First Nations that are recognized as having territorial rights on land that the City of Vancouver are x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam), Səlílwətaʔ/Selilwiltulh (Tsleil-Waututh) Nation and Skwxwú7mesh Úxwumixw (Squamish) Nation. Each of these First

Nations has a strong history to the lands as the original inhabitants of the area. They comprise the three First Nations referenced in the City of Vancouver's Framework for Reconciliation and a brief summary of their history is found below.

5.1.1. Musqueam Nation

Musqueam Nation is comprised of over 1300 members with traditional territories that cross over what is now known as Vancouver, North Vancouver, South Vancouver, Burrard Inlet, New Westminister, Burnaby and Richmond (Musqueam, 2020). The land that has been designated to the Musqueam people lies south of Marine drive near the mouth of the Fraser River and is named Musqueam Indian Reserve (Musqueam, 2020). This represents approximately 0.2% of their original territory (Tailfeathers, 2017).

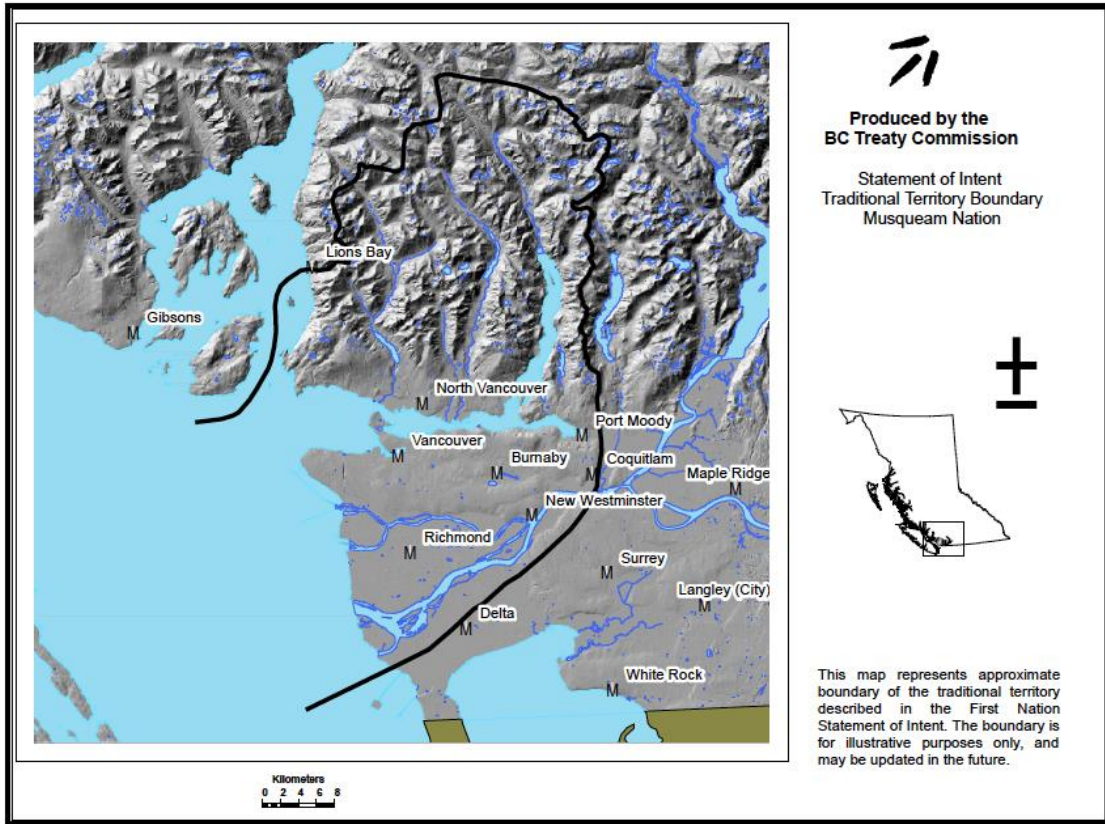


Figure 1 Musqueam Territory

Map: Statement of Intent Traditional Territory Boundary Musqueam Nation (BC Treaty Commission n.d.).

5.1.2. Tsleil-Waututh Nation

With over 500 residents residing on reserve in what is now known as Deep Cove, specifically the Burrard Inlet. Oral history confirms that Tsleil-Waututh people used to number over 10,000 and that most were decimated after European contact through disease, residential schools and assimilation tactics (Tsleil-Waututh, 2020). Prior to that, Tsleil-Waututh People moved around the area depending on the season and subsisted on food and goods from the land and waters. The stewards of Burrard Inlet, the Nation formed the Sacred Trust in 2011 to oppose the Kinder Morgan pipeline and preserve the natural waterways that is integral to Tsleil-Waututh cultural and survival.

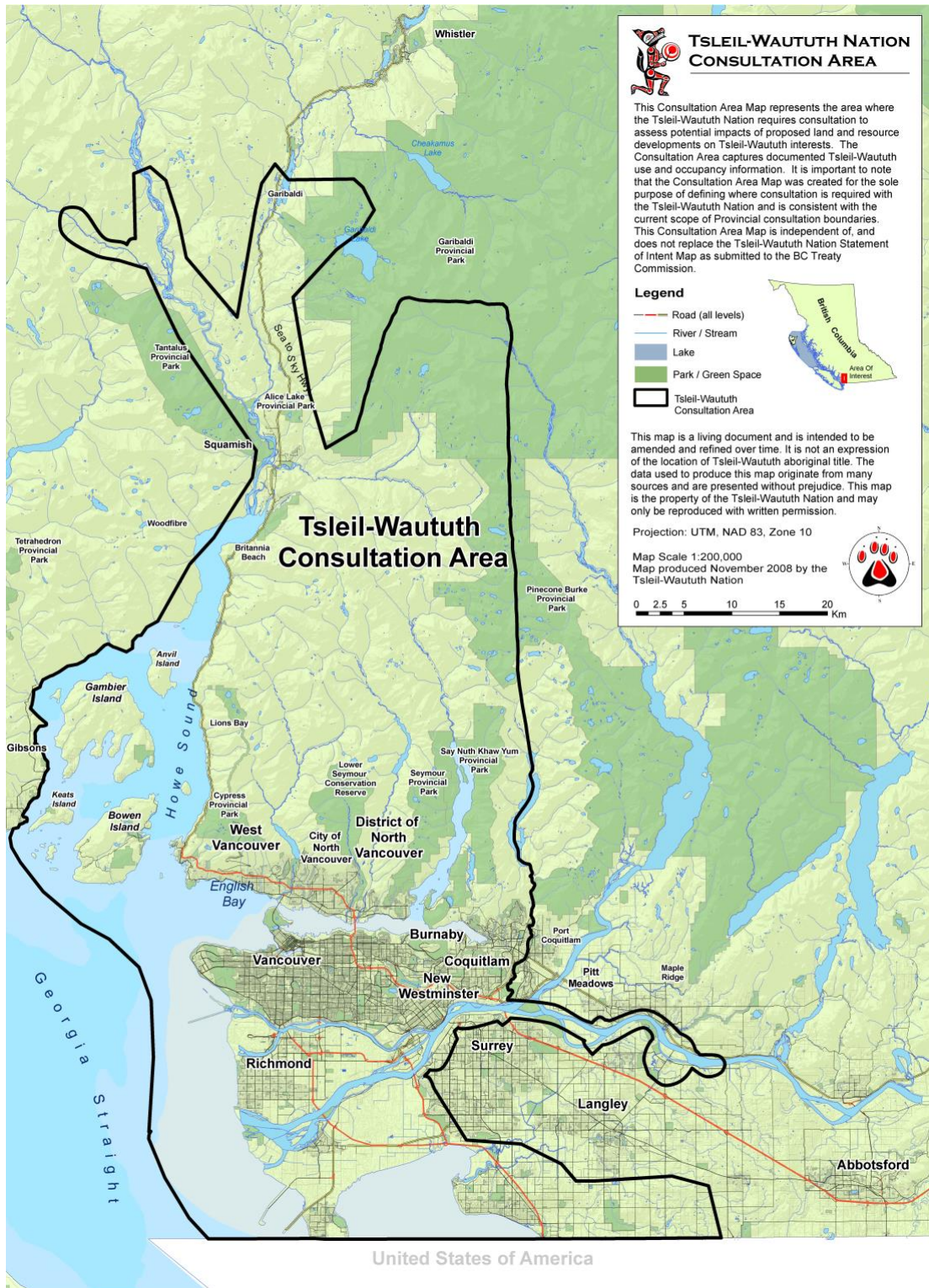


Figure 2 Tsleil-Waututh Territory

Map: Traditional Territory Boundary Tsleil-Waututh Nation (Tsleil-Waututh Nation, n.d.)

5.1.3. Squamish Nation

Squamish Nations Peoples come from the Coast Salish community and have occupied territories on what is now known as Greater Vancouver, Gibson's Landing and Squamish River watershed. 16 tribes amalgamated on July 23, 1923 after contact with Europeans. Today, they have over 4,000 members with over 60% of them living on reserve. There are nine main communities for Squamish Nation stretching from what is known as North Vancouver and all the way up to Squamish (Squamish Nation, 2020).

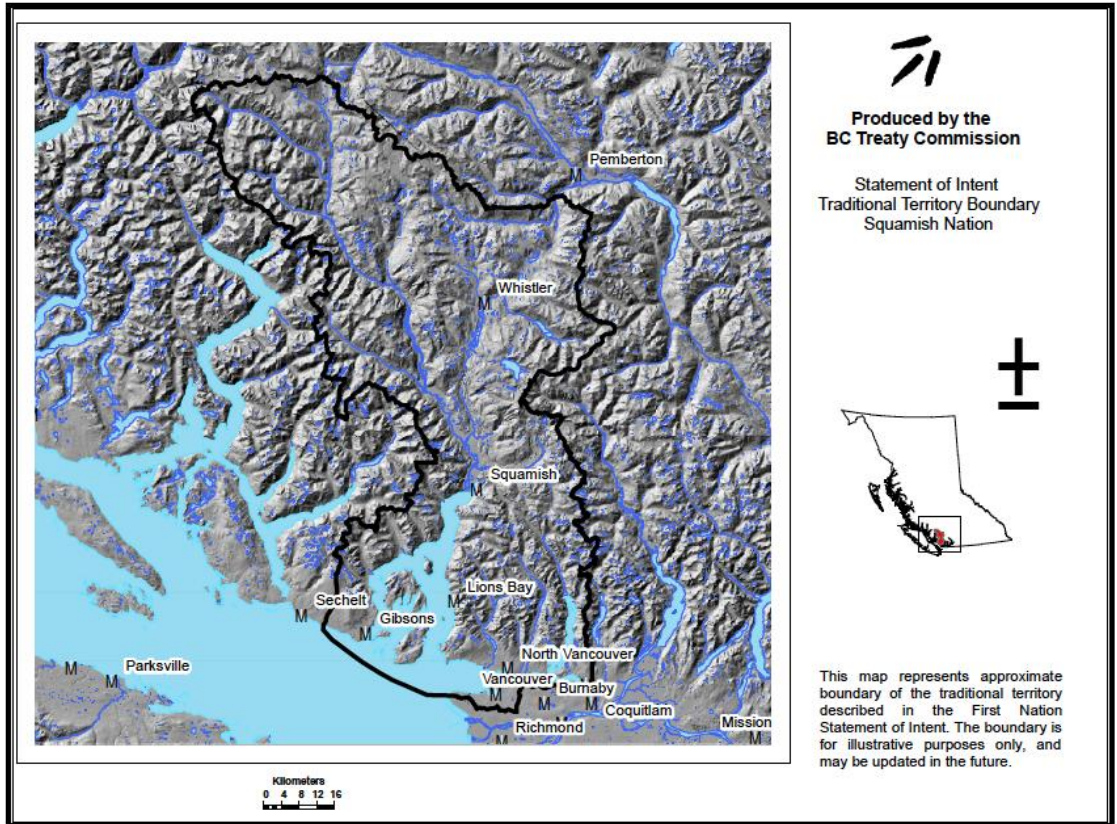


Figure 3 Squamish Territory

Map: Statement of Intent Traditional Territory Boundary Squamish Nation (BC Treaty Commission n.d.)

5.2. Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee

The City of Vancouver operates under the Vancouver Charter, a provincial statute. Under Section 159, it deems that “The Council may set up committees as it sees fit and may refer any matter to a committee for report” (City of Vancouver, 1953-55-159). The Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee (UIPAC)- formerly Urban Aboriginal Peoples Advisory Committee- was established in June of 2012 and is the only Indigenous centred advisory committee in the City of Vancouver’s committee system (City of Vancouver, 2012). The mandate of the UIPAC is the following: provide consultation to the City’s urban Indigenous communities, facilitate decision making on relevant municipal matters including community services and planning, act as an advisory body to the City of Vancouver regarding issues of concern to urban Indigenous communities (City of Vancouver, 2012). With that said, nowhere in the mandate for the UIPAC does it state that council has an obligation to agree or to or initiate any of the UIPAC recommendations. This suggests that, while the recommendations of the UIPAC may be considered, council has no legal responsibility to address their feedback or concerns.

Since its inception, the UIPAC is responsible for two significant motions to council relevant to reconciliation. The UIPAC was successful with its recommendation to council that the City recognize the UN Declaration of Indigenous Rights (Vancouver, Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee, 2013) in light of the Idle No More movement. This declaration helped to set in motion, a greater focus on the experiences of Indigenous Peoples and First Nations in and around the City. Further, the UIPAC has been credited for putting pressure on mayor and council to adopt additional reconciliation measures once the Year of Reconciliation had completed. The City of Reconciliation and subsequent Framework for Reconciliation were the outcomes of UIPAC’s efforts following the Year of Reconciliation.

5.3. Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council

Incorporated in 2009, the Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council seeks to represent the needs of over 70,000 urban Indigenous Peoples in the Metro Vancouver area (MVAEC, 2020). The structure for MVAEC includes a council made up of CEO’s, Executive Directors (past and present) of Indigenous organizations and agencies in

Metro Vancouver. The council is charged with electing a volunteer Board of Directors to execute the activities of the organization. The Mission statement from the MVAEC website acknowledges

MVAEC is a unified voice of Aboriginal Organizations, who strategically plan, advocate and positively influence outcomes that strengthen the service delivery and policies that impact our Metro Vancouver Urban Aboriginal Community (MVAEC, 2020).

Further to this mission, MVAEC has a series of goals that guide their work:

- Through strong sectoral representation and broad-based coalition-building, strategically plan and effectively advocate on behalf of urban Aboriginal people in Metro Vancouver;
- Engage the urban off-reserve Aboriginal community and solicit their input through forums, events, surveys, and other means;
- Promote positive cross-cultural dialogue and relationship-building;
- Form collaborative partnerships with diverse stakeholders to influence policy, and enhance resources and services to improve and increase positive outcomes for urban Aboriginal people in the region; and
- Promote, strengthen, and advocate for resource equity and sustainability for urban Aboriginal organizations.

As a part of its reconciliation activities, The City of Vancouver entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with MVAEC in 2016 to increase the City's engagement with the urban Indigenous community (City of Vancouver, 2017). The focus of engagement was primarily on providing housing for off-reserve Indigenous Peoples as well as supporting Indigenous-focused service agencies dealing with the opioid crisis (City of Vancouver, 2017). An outcome of this MOU was a commitment to build 700 units of housing for Indigenous Peoples in the City to support MVAEC's 10-year Housing and Wellness Strategy (City of Vancouver, 2017). MVAEC also received \$100,000 from the City in 2019 to support culturally appropriate healing initiatives for urban Indigenous Peoples affected by the opioid crisis (City of Vancouver, 2019b). Other engagement supports that were funded by the City of Vancouver between 2017- 2019 include:

- \$292,500 to create an Early Learning and Childcare Planner position from January 2019 to March 2021;
- \$60,000 to support the Urban Indigenous Coalition; and

- \$25,000 to support the Missing and Murdered Women and Girls Community hearings.

The strengthened relationship with MVAEC was a way to formalize the City's involvement in supporting urban Indigenous Peoples needs directly. Prior to the MOU, the City's capacity to support Indigenous Peoples was more focused on strengthening relationship with Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish First Nations. MVAEC provided an important inroad to the unique experiences of urban Indigenous Peoples, many whose traditional territories were located hundreds of kilometres away from the City of Vancouver. The MOU was in addition to, and to further enhance the efforts of the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee.

Chapter 6. Research Findings

...our population pre-contact were in the tens of thousands. And, you know, a couple of waves of small pox swept through British Columbia and decimated our population to like a handful. By all rights, we should be extinct. But for some reason, we survived... And it is incumbent upon me, from teachings from my grandparents that I need to be that voice. - Interviewee

The goal of my research was to understand why the City of Vancouver had taken an active interest in reconciliation, utilizing the *Framework for Reconciliation* as a case study. An additional goal was to understand whether there were lessons for other municipalities looking to develop a reconciliation policy. To begin to answer these questions, I used a mixed methodology which consisted of a content review and key information interviews. The content review provided the important historical, social and political context for how reconciliation became a policy priority in the City of Vancouver. My semi-structured interviews with city planners, representatives from the urban Indigenous community and staff from the title holding First Nations provided additional context and also a strong analysis of whether the framework represented a model for collaborative governance on issues pertaining to reconciliation. Indeed, these interviews highlighted not only how the Framework had impacted relations between the City, First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples but also provided broader commentary on the absolute necessity to rectify the historical violence of colonization as a part of a reconciliation process. This rectification included resolving the dispossession of Indigenous Peoples from their traditional territories by governments including municipalities. The field of planning was specifically addressed by interviewees as representing a microcosm of colonial attitudes and values. This part of my findings became some of the richest commentary I gathered and has been integrated into my research findings as well as my analysis which will offer insights shared by interviewees for other municipalities wishing to execute a reconciliation policy.

My research confirmed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work, specifically the Calls to Action, as being a main catalyst for the City of Vancouver to take on reconciliation as a policy priority. The City was further encouraged to engage with reconciliation by the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee (UIPAC), chaired at

the time by Lillian Howard. Prior to the release of the Calls to Action and the establishment of the UIPAC, the City had actively begun reconciliation efforts but not in a formalized policy manner. Over the last two decades the City of Vancouver had been developing different initiatives to support its growing urban Indigenous community as well as strengthening its relationships with the local First Nations. These initiatives occurred, in large part, due to the tireless efforts by a small number of Indigenous planners and Indigenous staff at the City. These staff bravely demanded that the City respect and acknowledge the original rights and title holders of the lands of what is now known as the City of Vancouver. These demands had the effect of growing a stronger recognition of Indigenous presence at city hall. Prior to 2010, there were considerable barriers facing Indigenous staff at the City and the many programs, initiatives and relationships staff were able to establish starting in the early 2000's should be recognized as the true beginnings of the City's reconciliation process.

The Framework for Reconciliation was the first of its kind in the entire history of Canada's municipal policymaking and should be celebrated for its ambitious goal. Any commentary or insights learned from the Framework should be regarded as feedback for the City of Vancouver municipality as a whole and not an analysis of the capabilities of the Framework's authors. With that noted, the leadership of Mayor Robertson and Council created a groundswell of support for formal reconciliation activities to be implemented across City departments. As shared by one interviewee expressing their appreciation:

It took a lot of courage to move that [reconciliation] work forward because I don't know what the rest of their council was like or how much work it had to take to put it on the table to have a discussion, do the work, you know, hire people to do that kind of work... It might sound like we [First Nations] are passing the buck or something. But, you know, for me, it's all about timing and who the people are at the table and how ready and capable they are to do this. To further this kind of work that needs to happen.

It is with this understanding that I frame the next two chapters. Chapter 6 outlines the interviewee responses as well as information stemming from my content review. The research findings are categorized into internal and external municipal impacts that the Framework enabled. Chapter 7 will provide an analysis of the impacts shared.

6.1. External Municipal Impacts

The Framework set the stage for formalized avenues of engagement with the urban Indigenous community as well as the three title holding First Nations. While there was a great number of positive impacts, there was a consistent tension reported by many interviewees regarding the City's activities that did not acknowledge the Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish First Nations as the true rights and title holders of the land. For these interviewees, this lack of acknowledgement directly inhibited a reconciliation goal. The following sections have been categorized into three main themes:

- It comes back to the land
- The federal is the municipal
- Where the rubber hits the road

6.1.1. It comes back to the land

In the face of growing conflicts over lands, resources, and economic development, the scope of reconciliation must extend beyond residential schools to encompass all aspects of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal relations and connections to the land (TRC, Executive Summary, p. 190).

As Discussed in Chapter 1, as a part of the unveiling of the Framework for Reconciliation, The City of Vancouver confirmed on June 25th, 2014 that the city operated on the unceded territories of the Squamish, Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations (City of Vancouver, 2014). As stated by the City these lands were “never ceded through treaty, war, or surrender”, adding that there currently existed “millennia-old protocols for welcome, blessing, and acknowledgement on their territories” (City of Vancouver, 2014). In my interviews, reconciliation was inextricably linked to the land as was the necessity of recognizing hereditary ownership of the Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh and Musqueam First Nations.

The city had to start recognizing, because of the tremendous amount of hard work that the Nations have done to have it recognized whether that be through negotiation with the different levels of government, like the provincial government, the federal government or going through the court system. And I can name a number of court decisions that still recognize the Aboriginal rights and title holders of this land being the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh... the City of Vancouver of didn't have to be a part of that but because the city was formed and set up on our territories, I think it was incumbent on them as good neighbours...in forming new and better relationships and understanding that the Nations are going to be here. We are going to fight for who we are. We are becoming more prominent in taking some of our lands back, whether it be through treaties or through negotiation. We are going to be a tremendous player in the shaping of this City, as we should have been when the City was formed in 1886.

In the following paragraphs, I will underscore the many ways land embodies cultural access and survival for the three First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples in the City of Vancouver. I have organized these ideas into two main value points:

- Land as a living witness
- Land as the site of self-determination

Land as a Living Witness

The rich history of the land occupied by what is now known as the City of Vancouver acts as a living witness for the First Nations who have occupied the area for over a millennia. The Brockton Point families in Stanley Park, the seasonal gathering of food at different locations, the relationships between First Nations formed through canoe paddles and other protocols are all embedded in the land the City operates on. It holds the collective stories of ancestors and sustains cultural knowledge in a myriad of ways. Indeed, some interviewees shared recent memories of their relations living on reserve sites before being dispossessed of them:

...especially in places like Stanley Park, where up until 100 years ago people were still living in there. My relations. So, it's not that far, far away. Because people always talk about things like, well, it was so long ago. It actually wasn't that long ago because my grandfather would go down and visit his relatives in Stanley Park, those types of things. So, you know, it wasn't really something that was ever forgotten.

Another interviewee shared their relation to historical reserve sites:

...my grandmother was one of the ones who got kicked out of Stanley Park, she was born there...I do think they need to do something because of that...give us Stanley Park back.

The City's activities both historically and currently act in sharp contrast to the ways Indigenous Peoples understand and engage with the land. Even in their efforts to practice good relations, the City has often created more turmoil due to their lack of understanding, unwillingness to learn, or refusal to allow First Nations to lead planning processes. One Indigenous planner who had been with the City for over two decades reflects on how the nonexistent relationship with local First Nations in the 1980's led to a culturally ignorant incident:

One of the biggest hurts that I had been informed about from people from the Nations was the fact that Stanley Park and in particular, the totem pole site was like this major, popular tourist site that people would come to and there was nothing there to reflect the rights and title holders. Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish Peoples. It was all poles from other territories, which was, you know, all the implications for protocol around, you know, having northern coast nations poles on Coast Salish territories.

The planner was referring to an incident where the City, having removed the Squamish Nation Brockton Point families from the area by force, installed several Haida Nation totem poles on the site. This sanitized version of First Nations is an example of municipal colonialism (Stanger-Ross, 2008, p. 544) whereby the original Indigenous occupants were removed to make way for settler development (in this case a park) and that experience was felt deeply amongst many interviewees:

...dialogue is a really important way to kind of get to some of these understandings and then also to really acknowledge Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Nations as the rights and title holders of these lands and who have been deprived so many opportunities to have a voice and have a say, to be recognized on their land.

So, while First Nations had experienced so much negativity on these lands, there was still a recognition that these lands symbolized sovereignty and self-determination. The Framework was seen as an opportunity for First Nations to establish more boldly their right to self-determination, which I will turn to next.

As the Site for Self-determination

In his work Dangeli (2015) uses Stanley Park as a reference point to honour the deep history of the space for Indigenous people. The Framework's inclusion of honouring the hereditary rights of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh Peoples as the original caretakers of the land, creates the possibility of a new way forward.

...then what I think is just monumentally huge and important and incredible was a formal acknowledgement of Vancouver being on unceded territories of the three nations. So to me, that was really the point when things started to really shift. And, you know, as much as I know, it takes a long time to change the colonial culture of municipal government. It has had a big impact.

Interestingly, the response to the City's decision to publicly acknowledge the unceded territories it operated on was generally positive; however, there was tension in this proclamation. Dangeli confirms that the protocols accompanying such acknowledgements, through performances, blessings or other traditional offerings, is an assertion of sovereignty and hereditary rights to land and waterways (2015, p. 75). Dangeli would caution the City's efforts to formalize this acknowledgement for it "being used to counter the authority of protocol as it currently exists and is enacted within the three host Nations, in their Nation-to-Nation relationships, as well as in the work of Northwest Coast First Nations dance artists" (2015, p. 84). Building on the concerns around the acknowledgement is the general concern of the City's assertion of governance. Shared by one Indigenous planner:

Vancouver has this charter. It has all of these bylaws and regulations and ways of doing things that are built upon this assumption that it is the government of these lands and it is not the government of these lands, but it has been set up that way. And it has imposed itself, as you know, as the caretakers and decision makers of these lands. So in order to, if there is ever any hope of trying to disrupt that, of trying to decolonize that or trying to indigenize that or in any way change that, because it's not like it's not just simply saying, oh, yeah, we need to think about Indigenous people, at least from my perspective. It's actually about dismantling that system because that system is extremely harmful, violent, oppressive and perpetuates inequality, perpetuates colonial relations where non-Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish assert authority to shape these lands and make decisions for these lands... so you know, to acknowledge if we're going to acknowledge that they are unceded Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish territory, then that means we acknowledge them as sovereign nations. And that means we acknowledge their right to their own self-determined governance systems and ways of doing things. And we'll

never get to that point if we're just going to say, oh, yeah, here, some Indigenous people here. But business as usual. So it can't be business as usual.

To be a facilitator of Memorandums of Understanding and of a protocol agreement with First Nations purports that the City has the authority to formalize processes on this land, which many Indigenous interviewees acknowledged the City does not. The confirmation of who is the lead facilitator may form the crux of the journey towards reconciliation. On one hand, there is endorsement by both of the City of Vancouver as well as First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples that the City exists on unceded lands. On the other hand, the Framework is seen by the three title holding First Nations as an opportunity to move beyond the symbolic gestures and acknowledgements of the land.

Lip service has to start being embedded into different ways of doing things, and that's I think the reconciliation framework was intended to start and may have only started in small ways, but gradually, gradually over time. It's that attitudes are changing and people are beginning to start to see - not everybody- but a lot of people are beginning to start to see the limits of their own authority or their own knowledge of these lands.

One interviewee shared an example from 2012 regarding the *čəsnaʔəm* village site where the City showed reconciliation through direct action. While before the Framework for Reconciliation was drafted, the example showcases the prioritization of the mayor to meaningfully support the original rights and title holders of the land the City operated on.

I look at a great example in 2012 when the provincial government granted a permit for a development down in Marpole, which is a traditional village site of ours. We knew that they were going to find human remains there and they did. And the city of Vancouver worked with us to help us stop that development from being developed. The mayor came down and stood with us at the protest to ensure that, you know, our histories are connected to the city and our connection to this land is now Vancouver's history too. Vancouver's history doesn't just stop at 1886.

Another example of this is the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee's (UIPAC) involvement in City developments.

The UIPAC's opportunity to provide feedback to city staff on a number of design and development plans showcases the Frameworks impact to influence city departments who recognized a stronger need to engage with the Indigenous Peoples on projects.

Many of the commentary and feedback shared by the UIPAC were embedded into development plans and urban form designs as outlined in table 6-1.

Table 6-1 Summary of UIPAC involvement in City of Vancouver developments

Development:	UIPAC Involvement:	Update 2020:
Marpole Midden Development	June 2012 UIAPC motion to draft letter to prevent condo development on Marpole Midden which is a Musqueam sacred burial site	Musqueam Nation purchased a portion of the land back from developers which contained a sacred burial site;
Canada's 150 Birthday Celebrations	June 2016 UIPAC provided feedback on the celebrations and recommended that the celebrations be changed to 'Canada 150+' to acknowledge the history of Indigenous occupation;	Due to the input from UIPAC the celebrations were renamed 150+ in the City of Vancouver to honour the "history that predates colonization" and further "set the mark for what we hope to achieve in all cities and communities across Canada, and Present Vancouver with the opportunity to be its best, as a City of Reconciliation that reflects and recognizes Indigenous peoples and cultures" (UIPAC, March 2016 minutes). ;
Northeast False Creek Project	<p>May 2017 staff sought the Committee's feedback, including opportunities in park design for Urban Aboriginals, and responded to questions.</p> <p>In discussion, suggestions included the following: • build a longhouse similar to Crab Park for celebrations; • consider adding native plant species in the park; • include plaques outlining First Nations history and art along walkways; • build a carving shed that is open to the public; and • consider concession stands that serve First Nations cuisine.</p> <p>The Chair suggested staff attend an upcoming working session to continue the discussion on opportunities in the park design and it was agreed to schedule the session on June 8, 2017.</p> <p>The Chair reminded staff and Committee members to advise guests.</p>	2017 Northeast False Creek Indigenous Engagement working group was formed; May 2018 UIPACT Committee members thanked staff for their hard work on this project and noted it will be a huge asset to the community and agreed the proposed development is on the correct path to show strong ties to Indigenous culture and history. 2019 report expressed guiding principles (identity, community, nature, destination) for the project based on meetings with the UIAPC and First Nations; project still pending;

<p>Chronology of Milestones in Planning</p>	<p>September 2017 City staff provided a presentation on the document, noting there are gaps, particularly pertaining to Indigenous milestones and events, and requested the Committee's ideas and assistance on filling gaps pertaining to Indigenous milestones and events. The Committee offered suggestions, including contacting the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh, that the criteria for determining a milestone might be different for Indigenous events, and that there needs to be some balance to ensure that the included events are not just all old events and/or conflict.</p>	<p>Chronology of Milestones now include Indigenous notations of: 2016: City adopts Truth and Reconciliation; 2018: City returns portion of village and burial site to Musqueam Nation; Indigenous values incorporated in planning and design; City acts on Indigenous, Black and Chinese community interests to heal historical wounds; 2019: Squamish Nation proposed 6,000 unit development by Burrard bridge; http://chronology.vancouverplanning.ca/</p>
<p>Millennium Line Broadway Extension</p>	<p>July 2017 Committee received presentation and provided feedback</p>	<p><i>Support Reconciliation</i> was established as a system-wide principle as a part of the station design and urban integration principles; https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/millennium-line-broadway-extension-principles-and-strategies.pdf</p>
<p>Gastown Complete Streets Project</p>	<p>January 2018 Committee recommended presenting staff (from Engineering services) speak to Arbutus Greenway team for advice on how to incorporate Indigenous heritage recognition into project</p>	<p>No update as project still in Phase 1 of timeline, where staff are speaking to relevant stakeholders and residents regarding their vision for the project; https://vancouver.ca/streets-transportation/gastown-complete-streets.aspx</p>
<p>Arbutus Greenway</p>	<p>May 2018 Committee members also noted that opportunities to learn from First Nations along the way as well as more Indigenous names for the various segments would be appropriate.</p>	<p>Still in design phase; September 2017 Committee members shared in discussion, Committee members expressed appreciation for staff's work on this project and agreed that it was on the right track. Committee members also noted that opportunities to learn from First Nations along the way, as well as more Indigenous names for the various segments, would be appropriate</p>

Even still, the UIPAC still relies on planners to bring opportunities for engagement and feedback to their committee. Should a planner choose not to engage, there are currently no repercussions.

Ultimately self-determination and sovereignty remain the elephant in the room for governments attempting to working collaboratively with First Nations. As shared by Sandercock “inclusive planning practices cannot shift the effects of (post)colonial structures and relations of power on indigenous nations without a fundamental recognition of rights” (Sandercock, 2004, p. 120). Otherwise, the outcome, coined “internal colonization” creates a status of Indigenous interests and feedback being processed through a colonial lens, apparatus and institution that is largely unchanged from when it colonized Indigenous Peoples in the first place (Sandercock, 2004, p. 12). A planning policy of reconciliation cannot offer more than a symbolic suggestion of relationship building, obscuring opportunities for real change and autonomy for Indigenous Peoples. Any goals attached to a framework for reconciliation should explicitly express limits to its impact.

Similarly, interviewees expressed the opportunities their traditional territories hold for the benefit of their people to live, thrive and express their cultural values.

We are becoming more prominent in taking some of our lands back, whether it be through treaties or through negotiation. We are going to be a tremendous player in shaping up this city as we have been when the city was formed in 1886. So progressively the attitudes and understandings of the local nations has come a long way since when my mother was chief in 1986.

Though beyond the scope of this research, the MST Development Corporation, a partnership of Tsleil-Waututh, Squamish and Musqueam First Nations, is the largest land holder in what is known as the City of Vancouver. Their capacity to significantly alter the urban landscape of the City will be an integral part of city building in the decades to come. As discussed in the next section, while the federal and provincial government preside over Indigenous issues as a whole, the municipality intersects in crucially important ways.

6.1.2. The Municipal in the Federal System

One of the more nuanced offerings shared by interviewees was regarding the affairs of Indigenous Peoples not being within the scope of municipal mandates. On a number of occasions, it was given as evidence for the historical tension that occurred when Indigenous focused staff members began asking for Indigenous Peoples to be consulted on City developments. For one interviewee explaining why municipal departments historically did not engage with the local First Nations, it was obviously a very frustrating time:

When I first started [in the late 80's], I said, OK, so what are our relationships with the local First Nations? And everybody said, well, what do you mean? They're federal, their treaty. They're on reserve. Why would we have any relationship with them? We don't go there. Most people didn't know who the local First Nations were.

The same interviewee also described the City of Vancouver's website in the early 2000's, that the page discussing local First Nations was linked to information about Haida people and nothing to do with the local Coast Salish communities. The historical narrative shared in previous chapters about the culture of the City towards First Nations helps to explain why it took until a Framework promoting reconciliation to begin a formal relationship building process. Another example shared by one interviewee about earlier attitudes from city planning staff:

And, you know, people [city planners] were like, oh, we're doing a project on the Fraser River. Was there anybody we should be talking to from the Aboriginal community? And I was saying, well, yeah, you should be talking to Musqueam because they're on there on the river. And the planners never did. There was no engagement. And in fact, at that time, the attitude was, well, we held a public meeting or we held an open house or we held a charette and nobody came. So that was that was the thinking at that time was, you know, we put the word out there and we know we regularly win awards for how good we are at public engagement and Indigenous people don't come. Well, that's on them.

Indeed, what was offered by interview participants is that while federal and provincial jurisdiction, the site of action on Indigenous issues happens at the city level. Ultimately, the City sees the consequences of not only national historical racism towards Indigenous Peoples, but the consequences of their own poor planning practices and historical disengagement from this distinct population. The Framework brought to light the

embedded culture of avoidance on First Nations issues which has inhibited or delayed some of the progress the Framework was hoping to achieve.

It is argued that urban reconciliation must be embedded in the context of multi-level governing. As shared by Cardinal (2006):

Future policy development should work to define the roles and responsibilities of the three levels of government regarding urban Aboriginal people. Municipal, provincial, and federal governments all are critical players in the quality of life of urban Aboriginal people, but serious confusion exists around each level of government's roles and responsibilities which often leaves urban Aboriginal people ill-covered in terms of cultural, social, and economic services

Beyond collaborative governance, clearly defined multi-level governing could provide the much needed coordination of services and supports that Indigenous populations currently receive through federal and provincial means. Greater involvement would provide the City of Vancouver equal footing to advocate for the needs of its urban Indigenous population, potentially creating better execution of services across governments.

6.1.3. Where the rubber hits the road

The Framework has enlivened a conversation about colonization, anti-Indigenous experiences in the City of Vancouver and the ways the City perpetuates this problematic rhetoric within city hall walls. Indigenous Peoples are getting more platforms to share their grievances and demand meaningful action. As shared by one interviewee:

...reconciliation isn't for us; we didn't do anything wrong. You know...where we are in a kind of social structure or governance structure. It's not our doing. It was forced upon us. We're forced into these positions. And now people are beginning to hear what the true truth is about our history and understanding that Canada isn't as peaceful or brotherly love kind of country that, you know, its reputation is out there on the world stage.

This is an extension of the "truth telling" component shared in previous sections, one that links the sharing of the history (through the cultural competency training) with the present-day challenges for urban Indigenous Peoples and First Nations. There was a solidarity expressed by interviewees, whether they identified as city staff, staff from First Nations or Indigenous stakeholder groups regarding the desperate need to amplify, heed

to and respect Indigenous voices. One interviewee reflected on her work providing cultural competency training:

...just those types of things like a little bit of the historical context, but also layering with the contemporary like bringing us into the present, not treating us and telling us as the indigenous group that no longer exists as a quote unquote, Indigenous group.

Interviewees also shared concerns about the overrepresentation of Indigenous men in the justice system, the loss of cultural traditions such as drumming and singing, and the breakdown of family structures. There was a curiosity about how reconciliation could *truly* address those real and ongoing systemic issues. The Framework created a groundswell of advocacy best summarized by the fact that reconciliation cannot just be about “healing from the past” when the past is still being experienced in the present.

The Framework also had some significant internal impacts which I will turn to next.

6.2. Internal Municipal Impacts

The Framework was established and written, at least initially, to have a strong internal focus. The idea being that City of Vancouver staff needed to have a clear understanding and point of reference about the history of Indigenous Peoples, and the history of the land they conduct their daily business on. The Framework broadly impacted internal municipal processes in several positive ways and have been categorized into the following sections:

- Reconciliation from within first
- Relationships first
- Reconciliation through an equity lens

6.2.1. Reconciliation from within first

One of the greatest underpinnings of the Framework was the explicit decision to prioritize educating City of Vancouver staff. The *cultural competency* tier was intended to formalize Indigenous awareness training throughout city departments in order to infuse

an indigenized lens as a necessary part of all city activities and planning initiatives whether through built design, service provision or artistic endeavours. This education was presented as a series of trainings offered to staff at lunchtime but also as professional development offerings and its value was shared by one Indigenous planner:

That was a really important tool for staff, because if staff did not understand the history and legacy of residential schools, if staff did not understand the history of colonization, they would not have been able to work effectively in identifying all the initiatives and policy changes that they're working on today with MST [Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh] or with the urban community.

Taught by survivors of residential schools, the training sessions created greater understanding and awareness regarding not only the history of the land the City of Vancouver occupies but how the residential school experience has created a legacy of trauma for Indigenous Peoples that still challenges them today.

As mentioned above, the cultural competency component of the framework was meant to embed an Indigenous lens into all aspects of the City's work, so it became part of any municipal decision-making process, in any department.

...it was really about ensuring that staff had a strong lens so that when they were working on something, they would ask themselves, how does MST [Musqueam, Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh First Nations] fit into this? How does the urban indigenous community fit into this? Where can we identify space for their leadership and their voice and their reflection? But it didn't come naturally. It required a heavy internal approach.

The heavy internal approach refers to the deeply entrenched colonial administration of the City that contradicted an indigenized approach utilizing Indigenous knowledge and understanding. The training provided an opportunity for non-Indigenous individuals to connect some of the City's basic Indigenous-focused activities (such as territorial land acknowledgements) with the greater systemic challenges that have prevented true relationship building. Shared by one interviewee, who provided some of the cultural competency training:

It doesn't matter if it is relevant to your job. You need to know this. And because you didn't even get it in the school system- it just touches on the surface of things. It doesn't become real, it doesn't become relevant because in the history books, or school books [because] they are talking about other Indigenous people somewhere like the Haida or the Plains Cree or the Metis. They don't get to learn 'well, who is Tsleil-Waututh? They are in my backyard. How come I don't know about them?' And I

think part of what policy or the framework would be important would be to fill in that context for non-Indigenous people, because as far as non-Indigenous people go, it's a great relationship between Indigenous peoples and the government of Canada, therefore the provinces, therefore the municipalities. So it's just really building that awareness and helping everybody start from taking that first step of how can we work together... It's not on Indigenous Peoples to bring about reconciliation because like my sister says, we've done nothing wrong...

The interviewee reflects on the pervasive ignorance of non-Indigenous people who believe that a positive relationship exists between them and Indigenous Peoples. As a consequence of this, the interviewee further highlights that the responsibility to learn must be focused on non-Indigenous individuals and their ignorance regarding the real history of the land.

Over the course of two years from 2016 to 2018, over 1,000 key City staff received cultural competency training (City of Vancouver, 2019b). Crucial to the training as shared by a trainer was a call to action for staff keep educating themselves:

What I do remember was the engineering department, which I thought was really cool. You know, I hope that it laid the foundation for these people in this department to come to understand that they don't know. And what if they don't know? It's okay. They don't know. But it's their responsibility to find out more, right? In trying to make their job relevant to what the rights and interests of Indigenous peoples are in this city they call Vancouver...

The response from city staff after the trainings was mixed. As shared by one interviewee:

Some departments understood that right away and created many new initiatives and many enhancements or drastic policy changes, and they would bring on staff, Indigenous staff to help them with their work. Other departments felt that a reconciliation lens would pull apart their current work in a way that they weren't comfortable with, like it would directly impact years of work.

What's more, is the potentially difficult personal reflection required as a part of this learning. For staff who were new to learning about colonization, residential schools and the trauma experienced by Indigenous Peoples, communications between Indigenous and non-Indigenous staff were impacted after the training was completed. When an Indigenous focused query arose after the training, there was discord for some folks who were struggling to come to terms with the new insights. As one interviewee shared, the

trainings asked individuals to confront their privilege and participation in the perpetuation of anti-Indigenous racism, which was often deeply uncomfortable:

...the detour is how do I skip the messy internal reflection? How do I skip the step and hide away? How I get to the next stage.

And in focusing on urban planning, there was a further challenge of colonial practices that erased Indigenous history and the violence perpetrated on First Nations.

And I think often with you know, if you look at like best practice, you look, I think back to planning and school. It is about, in a sense, skipping the mistakes and getting to the start. But you can't skip the hard relationship work. You can't skip the let's look at the damage that has been caused by planning.

Despite, the challenging nature of the training, the focus on the internal education of City of Vancouver staff is highlighted as one of the most important and effective outcomes of the Framework's activities. Rivaling the knowledge building within the city was the impact relationship building had between the City and the three title holding First Nations.

6.2.2. Relationships First

Referring back to the City of Vancouver's staff report introducing the Framework was the observation that "having strong relationships will support the City to make thoughtful decisions, as well as any necessary adjustments to normal processes where necessary. Conducting work in a different way will be considered as a way to achieve positive outcomes for all" (City of Vancouver, 2014, p. 4). Strengthening relationships was the single most discussed subject in all of the interviews and showcased the greatest opportunity to create true reconciliation from all perspectives. As shared by interviewees, this relationship forward agenda looked different for the urban Indigenous community than it did for the three title holding First Nations.

The Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee helped to establish a direct line of communication to city staff regarding the unique needs of urban Indigenous Peoples, many of whom were far removed from their reserve communities both geographically and sometimes personally. As shared by one interviewee, the value of a direct line of communication via the UIPAC was significant:

It is important to have in terms of changing policy with the City and relationships with the Indigenous community. Before the previous council adopted the electing of the Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee, there was absolutely no relationship with the urban Indigenous community. We couldn't we couldn't get in the door at all.

The leadership of Mayor Robertson was cited as an integral component to the lasting relationships between city staff and the urban Indigenous community. These established relationships are currently being strained as I will discuss in Chapter 7, but nonetheless have helped to maintain a focus on the urban Indigenous experience of the City. While different from urban Indigenous Peoples, strengthening relations with Tsleil-Waututh, Musqueam and Squamish First Nations have also been prioritized in the Framework and I will turn to a discussion on this group next.

Perhaps one of the most significant activities established as a part of the Framework for Reconciliation were the annual government to government meetings between the City of Vancouver and each of the Chief and Council from Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations. Prior to the drafting of the Framework, no such meeting had ever been convened or prioritized by the City. Meeting with each First Nation separately and in a formalized government to government manner, created the much-needed relationship building that had been lacking previously. The premise of these meetings, which were set up as dinners with each First Nation, was meant to focus solely on relationship building.

OK, so then so then the other big part of this is the government to government meetings that happen regularly in theory between Chief and council and mayor and counsel of each nation, and then also the intergovernmental regular meetings that are between Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh staff and City of Vancouver staff. Those are also huge. That's a huge shift in the way of doing things where there's a recognition of needing to have ongoing relationships.

The annual meetings not only acknowledged the assembly of bodies at the government to government level, showcasing respect for the First Nations, it also acknowledged a broader need to consider the humanity in the work of the City. That the First Nations who live around the city are profoundly attached to the land and the history of the land. That history which is fraught with violence and negativity at the hands of government forces, which many Indigenous individuals and communities are still struggling to heal from, will not abate from an annual dinner alone. Planning has the

ability to shape the City to fit the needs of its community and the sentiments shared in my interviews focused on the need to expand this aspect of relationship building.

So any kind of reconciliation frameworks or policies that governments, doesn't matter which government, puts together- its work that they have to do. And in building that relationship- because we've been here, we've been waiting. We've been willing to work with governments to create a more equitable relationship.

Reconciliation in action looks like Indigenous Peoples as being a full participant in decision-making processes. In fact, *effective decision* making is one of the themes of the Framework. However, helping to make decisions does not mean there is equity between governments.

Don't say equal, because some people think it means when you say equal, it's almost like 'well, as long as I give you this much money, then we're equal'. But you know what? It's not about money. It's about those decision making tools about things that happen when you talk about development, development economically, socially, culturally.

Equity is further discussed by one interviewee, who remarked that while annual government to government meetings did occur and were positive, there was still a hierarchy in place that still saw First Nations Council below City of Vancouver in terms of decision-making. The interviewer argued that the City Charter would have to change in order for there to be actual equal footing between governments.⁵

Another key offering regarding relationships as a primary mechanism of reconciliation is the challenge to resourcing that relationship. There was an acknowledgement regarding the discrepancy in assets between the City of Vancouver and each of the First Nations. While the City has approximately 7,000 staff, each First Nation has a fraction of that number of staff to participate on projects. In order for Indigenous Peoples to meaningfully engage with the City of Vancouver, they need to

⁵ "The City of Vancouver, including the Vancouver Park Board, is regulated under the Vancouver Charter, a provincial statute. The Charter contains the rules that govern how the City operates, what bylaws City Council can create, and how budgets are set. Under the Charter, City Council has the authority to pass bylaws to regulate such things as noise and land use, buy and sell property, collect certain taxes, approve expenditures, take on debt, give grants, and hire and discharge employees. Other provincial legislation, such as the BC Police Act, determine the responsibilities of other City boards and commissions" (City of Vancouver, 2020).

have the capacity to engage. Relying on each Nation to fund a staff person or persons to respond effectively to ongoing activities with the City of Vancouver was not seen as realistic or fair. The City of Vancouver identified this concern and in their drafting of the Vancouver Plan (City of Vancouver, 2020), the City paid for a liaison from each First Nation to work directly with them. This significant resourcing was highlighted by one interviewee:

That was modeled first through the Drum is Calling festival for Canada 150 plus. Where, it was like, we need to do this in a good way. If we're going to do it good way, working alongside the nations, we need to pay for a coordinator from each of the nations to work directly with us and be kind of our liaison to make sure this all goes forward...

The funding of staff from the three First Nations shows a commitment by the city to an equity process, which I will discuss in the next section.

6.2.3. Reconciliation through an equity lens

So, you know, it's more than just like I said... standing and having us come up to do a traditional welcome and walking off the stage. It's about us having a voice at the table, creating new ideas that that will help form and shape the relationships for my children and our children's children- Interviewee

One way to achieve reconciliation is through an equity policy. Equity is a term being utilized by many organizations and governments to address some of the systemic barriers within its operations. In an April 2019 report to the Standing Committee on City Finance and Services, it was shared that the City was developing an equity framework that would be applied as a “key priority across all City’s strategies and initiatives” including the City of Reconciliation initiatives (City of Vancouver, 2019c, p. 4). An equity lens understands that not everyone is born with the same advantages, so it provides proportionate support to each individual to achieve their best lived experience. Whereas equality provides everyone with the same opportunity without any consideration of their current status. Equity has the opportunity to ensure that individuals who have been historically disenfranchised or actively discriminated against have opportunities to achieve in the same way as those who were not. In advocating for a just city, Fainstein employs equity over equality citing that equity supports those who live below the median

and that it employs a redistributive effect versus providing the same resources to everyone no matter how well off they are (2010, p. 36). In a municipal setting, competing priorities to ensure strong management of city activities can challenge a focus on equity:

If you look at the city's corporate values. What kind things direct senior staff in their decision-making? It's things like financial risk, reputational risk, sustainability, accessibility. A lot of those big core values are based on equality. So, like everyone gets the same shake. You know, everyone gets equal opportunity. Everyone's equal, equal, equal. It's not looking at equity. It's not looking at based on how communities have been treated in the past. We need to look at that. So, the way that that plays out with Indigenous engagement is there's an assumption that like, 'OK, we just want to get a couple Indigenous people around the table. There we go. Check'. But what actually you need is more time.

As was shared by City planners, utilizing an equity lens is a challenge to traditional planning practices. This is also true of individual staff from across departments who struggle to align with such a significant policy as the Framework for Reconciliation. Nevertheless, as First Nations continue to establish legal title to their traditional territories that encompass incorporated cities, planning practices will be forced to change. A commitment to reconciliation should move towards this mode of operation prior to being confronted with a legal obligation. As Sandercock argues, planning that privileges exchange-value of over use-value will have to change if the "voices and desires of Indigenous peoples are to be respected, acknowledge and to count for something" (2004, p. 119).

The idea of respecting Indigenous knowledge also works within the municipality itself. The City of Vancouver has made significant positive steps in hiring several Indigenous planners to support its efforts to infuse more Indigenous expertise into its planning activities. The challenge is how to fully respect their knowledge through-out the municipal process that sees decisions ultimately being made at a level that is void of Indigenous Peoples and perspectives.

...we are so limited by this structure, the fact that us as Indigenous staff can't really do anything unless a non-Indigenous- because I don't think there's ever been an Indigenous council or mayor- Ninety nine percent sure. We can only do things directed by non-Indigenous [persons]. Doesn't really make sense in terms of equity, does it?

The Framework was successful in establishing a mandate for reconciliation whereby staff had to consider reconciliation as a part of their work. This was done

deliberately by the authors and is ongoing with equal amount challenges and successes to date. Other internal impacts included a focused effort to establish formal relationship building and revisioning staff work under an equity lens to add further accountability to those whose voices are not always given due space at the mayor's table.

Chapter 7. Analysis and Discussion

The pursuits outlined in the previous chapter provide evidence that the Framework for Reconciliation has created substantial shifts in the City of Vancouver's operations with the Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish First Nations and urban Indigenous population in the City. Nevertheless, my research showed that while increased collaboration between First Nations and the City was happening, they were still in the early stages of development and thus not a clear example of collaborative governance. Staffing, resources, changing governments, diversity of needs and motivation were some of the challenges offered as inhibitors preventing true collaborative governance. The interviewees confirmed that the rapport between governments had strengthened significantly since the Framework was established. They also confirmed that the Framework, as a formalized policy of reconciliation, created a clear directive for city staff to be proactive in engaging with Indigenous Peoples genuinely and consistently as a part of their position and professional mandate.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, The Framework was the first in Canada that activated reconciliation as a policy goal at the municipal level. This fact alone is a significant achievement for the City. With that said, the development and subsequent execution of the Framework illustrated a number of insights that have been realized by the Framework's authors, collaborators and facilitators. In the following sections, I have consolidated the insights shared by interviewees, from staff reports on the Framework, Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee minutes and personal considerations.

7.1. Insights from Municipal Reconciliation Frameworks

Once I had established the status of the Framework in creating opportunities for collaborative governance, my final sub-question of: *are there lessons for other cities* became much more significant to my research. After six years of activation, there is still much work to be done to become a true City of Reconciliation. Hence, I concluded that the outcomes from my research were not specific lessons, rather, they were insights that would benefit any city wishing to pursue a reconciliation strategy. Indeed, the City of Vancouver may wish to utilize some of these insights to strengthen their current reconciliation activities. However, these insights should not be seen as a blueprint for

success, nor a guarantee for other municipalities that wish to consider reconciliation as a policy priority. Indeed, colonial institutions often try to amalgamate Indigenous experiences into one homogenous understanding, which is problematic. Rather, these insights are shared to encourage critical reflection and humility for non-Indigenous staff and municipalities wishing to move towards reconciliation within their government activities.

To commence, the City's efforts to build relationships with First Nations and urban Indigenous Peoples must exist within a framework that extends beyond reconciliation. I have organized my commentary into the following categories:

- Reckoning instead of reconciliation
- Commit to shifting colonial processes
- Commit to taking the time, over time
- Diversity of needs
- Making policy public

Each of these categories represent the main feedback reported by interviewees and depict a deep internal focus. The need for an internal focus was already established by the authors of the policy via the *cultural competency* strain of the Framework. What has been recognized by all interviewees is that an internal focus needs to extend beyond training and look further to all civic processes and governance systems that are rooted in a colonial practice. A colonial practice, that by its very existence threatens the safety and well-being of Indigenous Peoples.

7.1.1. Reckoning instead of reconciliation

This past year has seen an unprecedented shift in our lives. The COVID-19 global pandemic, the public murder of George Floyd by police and subsequent protests against anti-black racism have prompted individuals to consider their complicity in systemic racism. Indeed, for decades Indigenous Peoples have been calling for justice for the ongoing disenfranchisement they experience in what we know as Canada. There appears to be little space for contrition these days, and governments at every level need to focus on actively considering the ways their institutions maintain and perpetuate violence against marginalized populations. To that end, it would appear that while

reconciliation was an accepted goal for all interviewees I spoke with, for many it was deemed not sufficient to create the change that “meaningfully supports the rights and aspirations of Indigenous People in Vancouver” (City of Vancouver, 2014).

Reconciliation is passive, hopeful and too reliant on non-Indigenous individuals to make significant changes to their way of being in order to achieve a “new way forward”. Generally, the success of reconciliation rests on a larger change of systems and systemic processes.

In his opening remarks on becoming a City of Reconciliation, Mayor Robertson shared “conducting work in a different way will be considered as a way to achieve positive outcomes for all” (City of Vancouver, 2014). I suggest there is an opportunity for a reckoning, a complete reshaping of the City’s mechanics and the historical centering of white experiences and the values they attribute to various aspects of city planning including, land-use management and private property. As shared in Chapter 6, the challenge is that while problems facing cities including anti-Indigenous racism, violence, unemployment, housing are not typically caused by cities, they are the contested space that is responsible for dealing with them. The good news is that cities are also the arenas where key players including government, non-profit, activists and others can work together to address these challenges meaningfully through working *with* instead of *on* folks most at risk to the challenges (Klodawsky, Siltanen and Andrew, 2017, p. 5). The requisite here, is the focus on working *with*. As has been shared in Chapter 6.2.3., the tokenistic way Indigenous Peoples are often used in municipal processes is now a known point and deserves to be criticized.

When it comes to enhancing a true “new relationship based on mutual respect and support”, a reckoning will include decolonization. Decolonization is defined within the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls Interim Report as:

A decolonizing approach aims to resist and undo the forces of colonialism and to re-establish Indigenous Nationhood. It is rooted in Indigenous values, philosophies, and knowledge systems. It is a way of doing things differently that challenges the colonial influence we live under by making space for marginalized Indigenous perspectives (2017, p. 22).

The opportunity for the City of Vancouver to decolonize itself, through policy and process can be a solution that leads to the ultimate goal of being a City of Reconciliation.

Reconciliation asks and decolonization demands. In terms of planning, one suggestion by Blum is to utilize questions that draw out a decolonized worldview from planners who come from a colonized planning background. For example, “what can I do to make my society more racially just?” (2008, 319), is recommended as a way to lead a planning process centering on the needs of historically marginalized individuals rather than one that focuses on fiscal bottom lines and efficiency.

7.1.2. Commit to shifting colonial processes

Focusing on a justice lens is additionally beneficial because it extends beyond a notion of collaborative governance, and into an analysis of how cities engage with Indigenous Peoples and First Nations. Throughout my interviews, the theme of changing the way First Nations, urban Indigenous Peoples and city planners met was a regular occurrence. Inviting Indigenous Peoples to a roundtable or charette is no longer sufficient. In fact, it represents another example of the City’s inclination to avoid working with Indigenous Peoples. Nor is it appropriate for non-Indigenous planners or city staff in general to survey Indigenous staff for approval on a project. As shared by one interviewee:

But if something isn't really feeling right and it's often the Indigenous planners who are put in the position of like, you know, they [non-Indigenous staff] always say, here's the policy, is it good?

This approval request places significant pressure on Indigenous staff to police the municipality’s Indigenous mandate. The Framework is meant to infuse an Indigenous lens in all departments, arguably to avoid this problematic situation. It would appear there is more to be done to ensure that “Indigenous consultation” is not another tick box for city staff. A justice lens, within a colonial institution such as the City of Vancouver, would help to ensure that the intention around engagement with Indigenous Peoples stems from an equity lens. One example of bringing justice into a historically colonial institution is participatory budgeting (Fainstein, 2010, p.171)⁶.

⁶ Participatory budgeting is a process of redistributing “city resources in favour of the city’s vulnerable social groups” (Novy and Mayer, 2009, p. 117). This was used in Brazil in the late 1980’s as a new wave of politics swept through the country. Maricato shares that for the first time, cities were included in the Federal Constitution, though it took 13 years for there to be a legal provision that dealt with the social function of property in an

Another aspect of shifting of colonial processes focuses on furthering effective decision-making. While the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee is a municipal committee and advises on issues pertaining to the urban Indigenous community, as shared in previous sections, they exercise very little decision-making. Further still, the requirements for city departments to engage with Indigenous Peoples does not command them to act on the feedback in any capacity. This is similar to the provincial and federal mandate of “duty to consult” (Government of Canada, 2019). Methods of accountability woven into policy will help increase the trust needed to form a sustained relationship.

A note about supporting Indigenous planners and Indigenous staff

Recently, it was made public that a complaint was made to WorkSafe BC against the City of Vancouver by an Indigenous staff person for “creating a culturally unsafe workplace” (City of Vancouver, Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee, 2020). While there are no further details regarding the complaint, it does bring up two important points regarding Indigenous staff working in a municipal setting. First, is the challenge for them to confront stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples and manage colleagues’ expectations of who they are and what they represent. Second, and as a consequence of stereotypes about Indigenous Peoples, is the emotional challenge of having to share their lived experience and to educate non-Indigenous colleagues as an unpaid extension of their job

First when discussing the need for Indigenous staff to be nimble against stereotypes, it was shared by one Indigenous planner:

And sometimes...when you're, you know, a person who identifies as Indigenous, because the various kind of stereotypes, you know, we're angry. We're never satisfied. We're you know, it can be harder just for me to say we should do this differently.

urban setting (2009, p. 203). One example to showcase the impact participatory budgeting had on Porto Alegre, Brazil:

It instituted, in accordance with master plans, penalties for unoccupied or underused buildings. It also introduced new public planning instruments and restructured existing instruments that had been fragmented and disconnected (Maricato, 2009, p. 203).

Being stereotyped by colleagues challenges a reconciliation goal. It confronts the idea that the city is a safe place for Indigenous People to share opinions, be critical of planning process or question status quo operations without risk of reprisal.

Second and as mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, there is a burden placed on Indigenous staff to share their lived experience as a complimentary part of their job. This topic deserves lengthy consideration and thus, I cannot adequately express it in the pages of this thesis but will provide some brief commentary now. Colonial governments, even with best intentions to bring in more Indigenous voices through staffing, can overlook the added burden whereby non-Indigenous staff expect them to represent all living folks who identify as Indigenous. Commonplace is for non-Indigenous staff, who have a mandate to consider reconciliation as a part of their portfolio, to ask an Indigenous staff person to arrange meetings with First Nations or urban Indigenous Peoples, provide feedback, and consultative support to them about how to talk to Indigenous People. This falls under the umbrella of “emotional labour” defined as “racialized labour that involves negotiating both the racial dynamics of the work-place and the tacit feeling rules uniquely applied to racialized employees” (Howard, 2019, p. 218). The request that Indigenous staff leverage their relationships with other Indigenous folks (relationships built through genuine effort that is inherently personal) to the benefit of the City is an example of emotional labour.

...because what I find sometimes is someone [a non-Indigenous city staff person] will be like- I'm doing a project and I know I need to include Indigenous folks, what should I do?...and I try to help coach them through that because, yes, involving them [Indigenous Peoples] and a lot of times it's like gaining access to them. Oh how can I access them, can you share all your contacts. Can you get me a meeting with them? Like get me to them. And it's like, well, I can't just. Yeah. It's not just about opening access.

This is potentially very problematic for the Indigenous staff person, who may feel pressured as an employee to follow the request of their employer at the detriment of their relationship within the Indigenous community. The weight of this burden is significant and may have sustained negative impacts on their emotional health and personal lives.

To be sure, while the City of Vancouver is well resourced, there is also concerns about expectations for Indigenous identifying staff to manage both their own work but

also the work of the entire municipality. Further to this is the critiquing of the Framework itself. Drafted by an Indigenous planner, there is a risk of any critiques of the Framework being lauded as a failing of the planner. This would lend itself to a colonized way of thinking which is to individualize and compartmentalize challenges, shunting ownership to a person rather than an institution. As with all insights from this research, there is an understanding that meaningful change will take time. A commitment to taking the time is just as important as the changes being made.

7.1.3. Commit to taking the time, over time

Relationship building is a foundational component to the Framework for Reconciliation. Again and again interviewees shared that time, as in taking the time to build relationships over time, would provide the best chance at achieving strengthened relationships, and a movement towards true reconciliation. This too was shared by First Nations staff and Indigenous stakeholders I interviewed, who were committed to reconciliation for the mutual benefit of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples.

You know, this is just the basis of the way I work, the way my siblings work, the way we do work here. You know what? I, growing up as a young woman, I sit at his [grandfather's] kitchen table and, you know, that's for all the stories... and he'd say, they're not going anywhere. We're not going anywhere. We need to find a way to coexist. It doesn't mean our ways are better or their ways are better. We must find a way to work together. We gotta find a way to get along. And so that's what we do...Another thing that I learned, you know, Canada's one hundred and fifty plus years old. It's going to take one hundred and fifty plus years to get back to a more equitable relationship.

Time shows commitment to the cause of reconciliation. Further, it shows respect towards Indigenous values, needs and healing. It also defies traditional colonial governance processes that rely on efficiency and prioritizes fiscal goals as paramount to the success of the municipality. Finally, it shows commitment to the deviating journey of rebuilding, renewing and reinforcing good relationships. For non-Indigenous city staff, beginning relationships with First Nations or urban Indigenous Peoples is often a very challenging part of working with the Framework. As shared by one Indigenous planner who is often contacted to help link city staff with Indigenous residents:

And I'm like well, you should build this relationship. You should have more than one Indigenous person around the table if you're having a

focus group. And ideally you know, part of this relationship building thing is ideally go meet with them where they at. Like go to their space. You know, express to them. This is so important. Express to them- what are they benefiting from being involved in your project? That's something that still isn't really thought about so much that I feel like the City of Reconciliation Framework gets us to involvement. It is a big step. And Indigenous folks should feel like the benefit to them is being involved. I think that's where a lot of staff kind of stop their thinking.

The planner cautions here, the risk of tokenizing marginalized populations and worse still, extracting data from Indigenous Peoples without any advantage to that population. To be responsive to a reconciliation agenda, the city should provide evidence that their request to have feedback from Indigenous folks will benefit them in some meaningful way.

Time diverges into a second implication for the Framework. Here time represents the need for non-Indigenous staff to take the time to learn, and often, unlearn the ways colonialization has impacted their perspective on Indigenous Peoples. This deviating journey is personal and requires humility.

I think back to planning and school. It is about, in a sense, skipping the mistakes and getting to the start. But you can't skip the hard relationship work. You can't skip the let's look at the damage that has been caused by planning. I had experienced last week being like, you know, we're setting up an Indigenous engagement framework for a project. And I said, how do we not cause damage? And I was faced with a lot white fragility. Like, what do you mean we're causing damage? We didn't cause -we- we're not causing damage? Please let me know if we're causing damage. I don't think we're causing damage! Are we causing damage? What? I don't think we're causing damage. Oh, my God. Dude, you are taking up this space. You are. You are. You are doing a detour into kind of alleviating yourself from any of that responsibility or hurt or responsibility for that hurt. Just by having that sort of visceral reaction.

It was recommended to reframe how we consider the role of planning in cities.

I think that we should be looking at planning in the sense of how do we minimize harm and how do we address the harm caused. Because I really believe bureaucracy is set up to create distance between people and the institution, which that distance really means is a lack of relationship. How can I institute policies without having to answer to my neighbor who says, you know, that affects me negatively? And that really plays out when trying to do this work is because reconciliation work is directly in conflict with that, because it is about having a relationship.

A commitment to reconciliation over time is subject to the willingness of those who sit in political office. A significant challenge with this reconciliation policy is that it was spearheaded and established by a mayor and council who are no longer in office. There was an acknowledgement by some of those I interviewed that trying to keep the momentum from previous council priorities can be difficult. Mayor Kennedy Stewart is trying to support a policy that was spearheaded by a mostly supportive council and mayor, which may not be the current reality.

...the unfortunate thing for Kennedy is that he doesn't have a cohesive team. It is such a fractured team of different parties- I don't know what you call them. Whereas Gregor and Andrea were part of whatever party they were part of...I can't even imagine you know where he gets to start in that he's there by himself. He doesn't have a coalition...he's got a more diverse council than Gregor and Andrea had.

Regardless, there was a clear suggestion by interviewees that the focus on reconciliation has waned in the last few years. Indeed, in July 2020, there was an article in the Tyee entitled *Vancouver is Failing on 'City of Reconciliation' Claim, says Its Indigenous Committee* (Hyslop, 2020), that summarized such decline. The article outlined the inaction that had occurred over the last few years, especially since the most recent government took office. Unfortunately, there is a steady stream of evidence across Canada, at every level of government, that formal promises to support, engage and protect Indigenous Peoples do not come to fruition. This failure to act is completely demoralizing for a population who have already experienced so much trauma and violence at the hands of government. It deepens the fissures that already exist between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Peoples and the silence screams "we do not care". Reconciliation takes time and will require a commitment of time for staff to unlearn the ways their policies and processes obstruct relationship building with Indigenous Peoples. As shared by one interviewee expressing their frustration with the disconnection they see between policy and action:

...yeah, the past is the past. We gotta move forward but you're not doing the work. You're still allowing those systemic policies to guide and govern a people. And there is a systemic policy for Indian people of Canada called the Indian Act. So even though people are kind of disconnected or they're not engaged with government just because it can be overwhelming or they don't believe that it matters... but they don't understand the impact that some of that legislation has on a select group of people that keeps them under funded, keeps them over represented in all of the social ills, in jails, in hard core drug use, in murder and missing peoples. That's what people

have to get responsible for. Sure. You didn't write those things, but hell, you can help make changes.

There are no shortcuts, and shortcuts if taken, will damage any progress that has been made. Referring back to the Ansell and Gash time, trust and interdependence are the key factors to building a strong, sustained relationship (2007, p. 561).

7.1.4. Diversity of needs

The challenge of reconciliation will always be one of responding effectively to the changing and diverse needs of Indigenous Peoples and First Nations. The City of Vancouver's Framework is to be responsive to Tsleil-Waututh, Musqueam and Squamish First Nations, as well as a hugely diverse urban Indigenous population. Focusing on the First Nations, there appears to be a clearer road forward. The formation of the MST Development Corporation provides an opportunity for conversations around development to happen with some coordination. However, this does not automatically mean that reconciliation will be modeled. Responding effectively to Indigenous Peoples needs becomes even more difficult when looking at the City's urban Indigenous population.

The diversity of the urban Indigenous population cannot be underscored. The UIPAC and Metro Vancouver Aboriginal Executive Council (MVAEC) provide beneficial lines of communication, but interviewees cautioned using a "pan-Indigenous" approach. For example, MVAEC is valuable as it exists to connect with purveyors of services to support urban Indigenous Peoples but as recognized through my interviews, it cannot be assumed that one council body represents such a vast and diverse group of people. Further, MVAEC is a regional body and thus its focus is diluted across Metro Vancouver. This is a sticking point for Indigenous planners as questions of accountability to this population came up often.

Taken together, a framework needs to be flexible enough to support diverse voices and needs from each group, while at the same time formal enough to provide some process to follow to ensure practices are executed consistently.

7.1.5. Making Policy Public

I argue reconciliation is as much about the final product (i.e. a relationship between the City of Vancouver, urban Indigenous Peoples and First Nations based on mutual understanding and respect) as it is about the process towards reconciliation. The City of Vancouver worked for over a year to draft the Framework to move a reconciliation agenda forward, but it was not very well communicated to the broader public. As one interviewee shared:

Earlier, I don't know, we took like a heady policy, wonky approach to defining the three steps of the framework and then for whatever reason, choosing to keep it internally, I think because we were embarrassed by how policy wonky it was...There's got to be language out there - like there's no way we go from traumatic bullshit colonial history to reconciliation. And you need a framework for that. And that needs to be articulated somewhere. Maybe it's not truth, accountability, reconciliation. But look, let's at least talk about that, that this isn't going to be one giant step. What are the steps going to be?

The benefit of sharing articulated stages of a reconciliation process is that it shows a commitment to that process. To do without such a public articulation risks criticism that the process lacks the depth necessary to achieve such a momentous goal.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

If you have come here to help me you are wasting your time, but if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together. – Lilla Watson

This research endeavoured to understand why municipal governments have taken an active interest in reconciliation, focusing on the City of Vancouver and its Framework for Reconciliation. It was clear from my research that the overall sense was that the Framework for Reconciliation provided a positive shift in the relationships with local First Nations and the urban Indigenous community. This was supported through a number of examples outlined in my research findings. However, my study further concluded that a true achievement of reconciliation will only occur if Indigenous jurisdiction over land is a foundational part of a reconciliation framework. This jurisdiction will ensure self-determination over culture, well-being, sustainability and ensure good relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples over time. Ultimately, the Framework created the first important step forward, by formalizing a focus on relationship building between the Tsleil-Waututh, Musqueam and Squamish First Nations and urban Indigenous community which previously had only been developed ad hoc by individual planners.

Relationships provide the backbone to the creation of any reconciliation policy that is equitable, relevant and supports Indigenous People's way of being. To draft policy without that relationship or coordination will result in content and action that may look different from previous failed strategies, or include the right language, but that will ultimately fall flat over the course of time. As discussed in previous sections of this thesis, the New Relationship document, the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women's Report, and now five years after the TRC's Calls to Action were released, the Framework too has been added to the list of Indigenous-focused reports that have not been acted upon in a meaningful way. Indeed, at the time of this writing, the Urban Indigenous Peoples Advisory Committee released an open letter to Mayor Kennedy Stewart, city council and civic departments arguing that efforts to support Indigenous populations and the promotion of reconciliation has stalled.

Amidst this critical time and these calls for action, the committee is seeing mounting evidence of a growing discrepancy between the stated values and vision of the city as a City of Reconciliation and the actions of its institutions...For far too long, the City of Vancouver has prided itself in its designation as a City of Reconciliation by referencing past successes - of the 6 notable actions referenced in this year's statement on Indigenous Peoples' Day, 4 were launched or completed by 2014. This is simply not acceptable, and as a committee we have grown tired of symbolic gestures and empty promises...Unfortunately, efforts to foster and deepen relationships through this space have come to a halt, with anti-Indigenous racism on the rise and continued levels of systemic racism being experienced across municipal institutions... While Vancouver aspires to be a "City of Reconciliation," we see much more attention focused on consultations and dialogue, without the corresponding commitments of action and meaningful change... In 2014 the City of Vancouver rose to meet the call of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee - as we mark one year since the release of the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls, and in a year in which societal inequities and injustices have been made so strikingly clear, where is the city's leadership in this critical time? (City of Vancouver, 2020)

The City of Vancouver is a colonial institution trying to reconcile with its colonial past. It remains to be seen if reconciliation is possible without a transformative shift in a municipal system that is largely unchanged in terms of structure since it forcibly removed Indigenous Peoples from its land beginning in 1886. Sandercock warns of the incredibly complicated status we find ourselves in, whereby progress in liberal democracies has been completed with a persisting institutionalized racism (2004, p. 119). This institutional racism compounded by personal prejudices thwarts Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations (not to mention other racialized groups) and the ultimate goal of a reconciled city. Scholars and activists alike agree that we are not in a post-colonial state (Sandercock, 2004, p. 119) and therefore, our dreamy visions of a reconciled nation are at best ignorant and at worst, woefully deceitful. Either way First Nations and Indigenous Peoples will continue to bear the burden of our inaction, unless we course correct quickly. Important to note is that finding a resolution to the challenge of reconciliation in the City is not the responsibility of Indigenous planners or Indigenous identifying city staff to mitigate. As discussed in Chapter 7, the emotional burden they have had to bear during this time of white enlightenment on racial justice issues is significant and has largely gone unrecognized as an added layer to their workload. Indeed, it is the collective responsibility of the municipality on the whole led by mayor and council who have to complete the challenging, personal work required.

It speaks to the very essence of Indigenous Peoples strength and resilience, that they continue to fight for what is rightfully theirs. So, what is true here is the inability for staff as well as mayor and council to ignore the demand for justice both in land-use planning, right to the city and land-sovereignty. The Framework has embedded this proclamation in many forms within the walls of Vancouver's city hall and that will continue to move the City forward in positive ways. There is a saying in restorative justice, which is that "we go slow to go long". Putting that on a reconciliation lens, means taking the time to do things right, to dialogue about the important aspects of reconciliation and prioritize these values over financial summaries. As discussed by one city planner, going slowly is antithetical to the municipal process where everything is generally centred around efficiencies, and budget. But there has to be the will of the current government to continue to prioritize reconciliation. As shared by one interviewee when discussing the recent waning of focus on reconciliation:

it's all there in the Framework...and that's the frustrating part. And if we could carry on, at least Indigenous People would have a voice. Right now, we don't have that...

It is impossible to say if reconciliation can be achieved within a capitalist system. Fainstein argues that "[I]f the discourse surrounding policy making focuses on the justice of the decision rather than simply its contribution to competitiveness, much will have been accomplished" (2004, p. 184). This may be the alternative lens the City needs to utilize in order to achieve reconciliation. Reconciliation in its paired down form, may ultimately be more about justice first, relationships second. This means that First Nations' rights are prioritized and addressed prior to focusing on relationship building or opportunities for collaboration. Indeed, the City of Vancouver's efforts to establish an equity Framework to support its operations could be an effective way to address colonial processes that inhibit reconciliation processes.

8.1. Areas for future research

The scope of this paper was to identify opportunities the City of Vancouver's Framework presented as a way to progress a reconciliation mandate. This was accomplished through a review of the historical, social and political factors that motivated the City's prioritization of reconciliation as a policy. There are many opportunities to further this work and I have proposed a number of opportunities below.

8.1.1. Clarifying Government Roles

As shared in Chapter 6.2.1, Cardinal (2006) confirms that the confusion of roles and responsibilities between each level of government acts as a hindrance to Indigenous Peoples progress in general:

Future policy development should work to define the roles and responsibilities of the three levels of government regarding urban Indigenous people. Municipal, provincial, and federal governments all are critical players in the quality of life of urban Indigenous people, but serious confusion exists around each level of government's roles and responsibilities which often leaves urban Indigenous people ill-covered in terms of cultural, social, and economic services.

Research that looks to clarify the role each level of government plays in responding to Indigenous Peoples and First Nations will help to support service provision that is more responsive to the needs of this population. Canada's Indigenous population is much more urban now than when the original policies that put them under the direction of the federal and provincial government were drafted. There is a need to meaningfully understand the ways that municipal governments can best support urban Indigenous Peoples and First Nations and potentially, whether certain pieces of the Indigenous portfolio should move down from the federal level to the municipal. This downloading would need to include sufficient resourcing.

8.1.2. Decolonized Collaborative Governance

There is great opportunity for the City of Vancouver's execution of the Framework for Reconciliation to be considered a model of collaborative governance. What I understand is hindering it from being a model now, is the commitment to shifting colonial processes that inhibit meaningful relationship building. As previously mentioned, Ansell and Gash allude to the issue of mistrust between historically antagonistic groups (such as Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples) and recognize that "steps need to be taken to mitigate the mistrust present" (2007, p. 554). Future research on collaborative governance with a reconciliation agenda would benefit from looking at specific municipal processes that utilize a decolonized lens or practice when executing activities that promote such an agenda. As shared by Strelein and Tran:

The business of decolonization involves engaging with former colonial laws, policies, and practices in order to create a “space” for Indigenous peoples to express their unique identities, cultures, and ways of knowing (Strelein and Tran, 2013, p. 19).

Decolonization will not happen without a commitment from the city to relinquish their status as the lead party. This refers back to previous offerings about adequately resourcing Indigenous Peoples to meaningfully engage but also to truly commit to dialogue with the goal of providing space where “Indigenous peoples can freely express their political, cultural, and social identity” (Strelein and Tran, 2013, p. 24).

8.1.3. Urban Indigenous People’s unique experience

The Framework for Reconciliation has to support both the needs of First Nations and the diverse, constantly shifting urban Indigenous population. It would appear that the current execution of Framework for Reconciliation activities focuses more on the Musqueam, Tsleil-Waututh and Squamish First Nations. With clearly defined goals represented on each First Nations website, strategic plan and legal action, there appears to be clearer parameters for the City to engage with. The urban Indigenous population on the other hand, is much more difficult to contain as shared by Cardinal:

In urban centres such as Vancouver, half of the Aboriginal population lacks any sort of defined status and will not benefit from land claims and treaty negotiations. (Cardinal, 2006, p. 218)

Reconciliation in a municipal setting would benefit from research that focuses specifically on the unique attributes urban Indigenous populations bring to a reconciliation conversation. I argue their legal status, connection to their Nation (or not) and their ability to build community in the city would reflect a different reconciliation need which deserves specific attention.

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Appendix A.

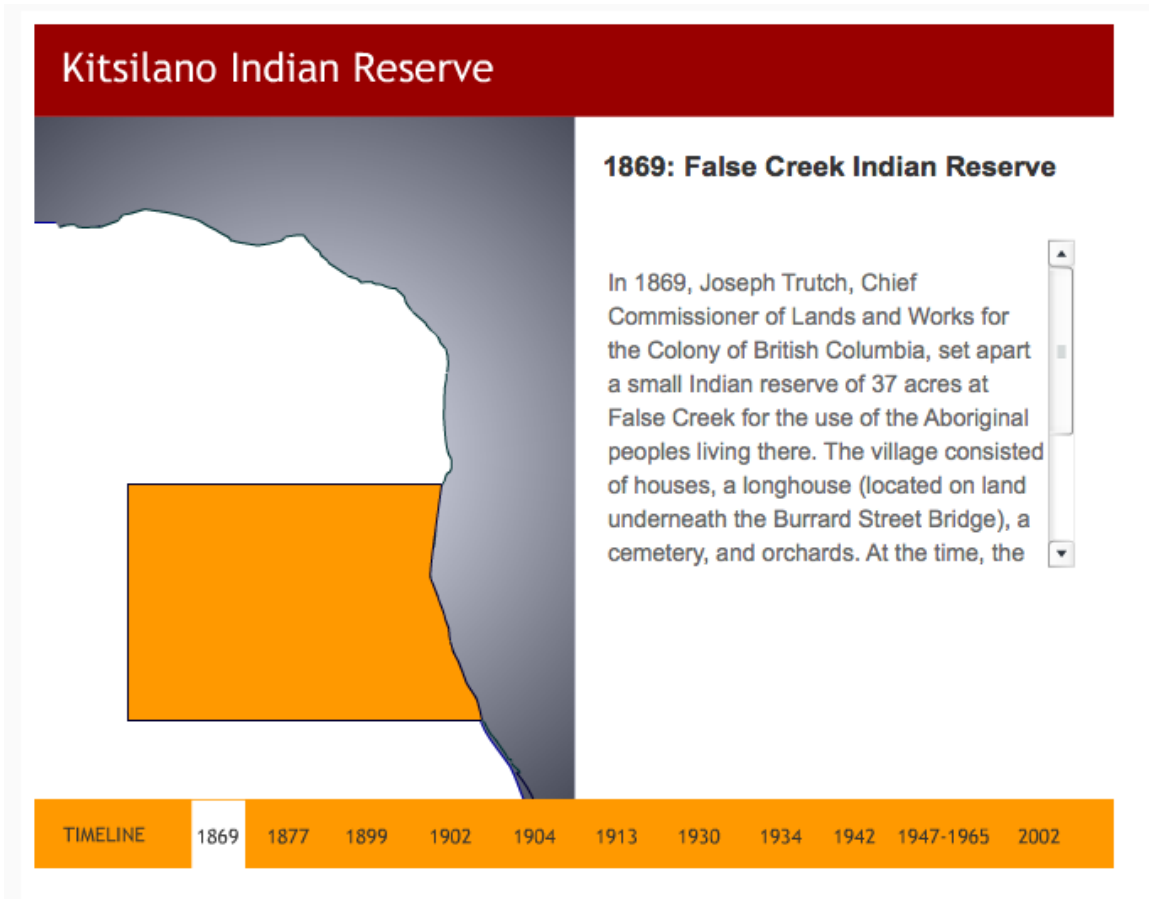


Figure A1. False Creek Indian Reserve (highlighted) in 1869

Kitsilano Indian Reserve



2002: The Kitsilano Indian Reserve No.6

In 1977, the Squamish Nation initiated legal action to reclaim parts of the reserve that had been sold. Following decades in the courts, which also heard counterclaims by the Musqueam and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations to interests in the reserve, in 2002 the Skwxwúmesh secured control over a misshapen fraction (the railway rights-of-way) of the



click image to enlarge/reduce view

TIMELINE 1869 1877 1899 1902 1904 1913 1930 1934 1942 1947-1965 2002

Figure A2. False Creek Indian Reserve (highlighted) in 2002

Appendix B.

Questions for individuals undertaking research on race

Framework Category	Example Questions
Researching Self	<p>What is my racial and cultural heritage? How do I know?</p> <p>In what ways do my racial and cultural backgrounds influence how I experience the world, what I emphasize in my research, and how I evaluate and interpret others and their experiences? How do I know?</p> <p>How do I negotiate and balance my racial and cultural selves in society and in my research? How do I know?</p>
Researching Self in Relation to Others	<p>What are the cultural and racial heritage and the historical landscape of the participants in the study? How do I know? In what ways do my research participants' racial and cultural backgrounds influence how they experience the world? How do I know? What do my participants believe about race and culture in society and education, and how do they and I attend to the tensions inherent in my and their convictions and beliefs about race and culture in the research process? Why? How do I know?</p>
Engaged Reflection and Representation	
Shifting from Self to System	<p>What is the contextual nature of race, racism, and culture in this study? In other words, what do race, racism, and culture mean in the community under study and in the broader community? How do I know? What is known socially, institutionally, and historically about the community and people under study? In other words, what does the research literature reveal about the community and people under study? And in particular, what do people from the indigenous racial and cultural group write about the community and people under study? Why? How do I know? What systemic and organizational barriers and structures shape the community and people's experiences, locally and more broadly? How do I know?</p>

Note: Content from Milner (2007). Race, Culture, and Researcher Positionality: Working through Dangers Seen, Unseen, and Unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, 36(7), 388–400. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X07309471>