Governance as If Our Lives Depended On It:
The Natural World - More than One Voice at the Cabinet Table

A Thesis Submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Science

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Abstract

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This research explores how the value of sustaining the natural world could become foundational to senior level policy decisions in Canada and how Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples could play a key role in such a paradigm shift. It is a trans-disciplinary study that draws on scholarship in Indigenous Studies, Sustainability Studies and Public Policy and existing report recommendations and policy documents that highlight both historical and recent governance trends in the area of sustainability. These sources help to describe both the challenges and the art of the possible in achieving a policy paradigm shift in Canada. The focal point is a series of conversations with seventeen highly experienced Indigenous and non-indigenous policy leaders from across Canada and across traditional territories. The findings reveal that many participants strongly agreed that a paradigm shift should occur and that both Indigenous and western worldviews are needed to realize it, with none disagreeing. They also point to significant changes that are needed to move from paradigms where shorter-term economic development decisions take precedence over environmental concerns to understanding that a healthy economy and society are dependent upon the natural world. To this end, they provide recommendations such as embedding the *Right to a Clean Environment* in federal legislation and learning from consensus and culturally based governance models in the North West Territories, Nunavut and New Zealand. They suggest mandating education and awareness programs for civil servants and elected officials on Indigenous -Canada relations and sustaining the natural world upon which Canada is situated and upon which treaties are based. They emphasize that a culture shift requires more Indigenous Peoples in senior leadership roles and to be more meaningfully involved in policy processes. Overall, the conclusion finds that a paradigm shift requires positive relationships between parliamentary governments and Indigenous

peoples that enable both Knowledge Systems to come together to put the natural world at the foundation of senior-level policy decisions. Qualities such as respect, listening, trust, reciprocity, responsibility and connectedness with the natural world are highlighted through real-world examples that show that, although it may take time, a paradigm shift is possible and may have already begun. Next steps suggest new approaches for building relationships into the policy cycle.

Key Words: Governance, Policy, Sustainability, Indigenous Knowledges, Natural World

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these teachers, knowledge holders, policy practitioners, friends and family and many more as well as the places that I have lived, worked and called home.

Miigwech-Nia:wen-Ayhay-Nakoormik-Mahsi Cho-Thank you

For our morning star and for all who come next…

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**Williams, 2004*

***Ermine, 2007*

Glossary of Terms

Indigenous Knowledges: The terms 'Indigenous Knowledges' (IK) and 'natural world' are featured throughout the paper. For the purposes of this research, I draw upon the description of Indigenous Knowledges offered by David Newhouse that IK arises from: *"a long intimate relationship with a particular environment, is based upon careful, long-term observation and testing of hypothesis, is tested on a regular basis through use and practice, is modified according to changing environmental conditions and research and is rooted in Indigenous understandings of the nature of the universe"* (Newhouse in Widdowson & Howard, 2013, p. 398). Put another way, Manulani Meyer describes IK as: *"knowledge through experience, individual or collective, and a way of being via site- specific familiarity through years, generations and lifetimes"* and adds that: *"An Indigenous worldview thus begins with the idea that relationships are not nouns, they are verbs. Relationship as a verb infers the intentional quality of connection that is experienced and remembered"* (Meyer, Holographic Epistemology, 2013).

The Natural World: The term natural world refers to the United Nations description of the term eco-system that refers to all plants, animals and organisms in a particular area and their interrelationships with each other and with their dynamic environments that include water, soil, earth, weather, sun, moon, climate and atmosphere, recognizing that human beings are a part of these natural systems (United Nations, *UN Water,* n.d.) *adapted here to include the sun and the moon.*

Policy Cycles: References to policy cycles refers to the process of policy making that includes, but is not limited to: the identification of an issue, policy analysis and identification of policy instruments to address that issue, decision-making including consultations and senior level decision-making, implementation and evaluation. Each phase can involve but is not limited to: public discourse, department and expert analysis, Cabinet level discourse and decision-making, stakeholder engagement and community-based consultation (Chapman, McClellan & Tezuka, 2016).

Policy Instruments/Tools: Refers to the means by which policies are activated including, but not limited to: legislation, regulation, government programs (which can include subsidies and incentives), revenue streams, cabinet directives, codes of practice and binding and non-binding agreements (McRobert & Geoff, 2008).

Policy Paradigm Shifts: Several concepts are drawn from the policy literature on paradigm shifts, principally, Hall's (1993) three orders of paradigm shift that include a first level that involves adjusting existing policy instruments and a second level that involves bringing in new policy instruments but still keeping the overarching policy goal. (Note that Hall (1993) refers to first order shifts as changing the "settings" or "levels" of existing policies whereas I describe this as "adjusting" existing policies. For the purposes of this study, the use of the term *policy settings* refers to the actual places that policies occur such as specific jurisdictions or at different levels of government). A third order paradigm shift involves what Hall (1993) describes as a dramatic departure from policy goals based on a new ideological or theoretical framework or paradigm.

Mainstream Values: Values that are based on shorter-term economic outcomes and wealth accumulation, as measured by, for example, quarterly profits for individuals and firms; or by a jurisdiction's GDP. The health of people and the natural world are lesser priorities or are viewed as externalities (Industry Canada 2011; Brennan and Mothler 2010; Partridge, 1999; Walsh and Gram 1980; Holdsworth 2010 as cited in Gray 2013 pp 15-17).

Sustainable Values: Values that are based on environmental, social and economic outcomes, in equal measure, for whole communities of people, both for the short and the long-term. The health of the natural world and the health of human-beings are viewed as integral to the value of sustainability. (WCED, 1987; Agenda 21, 1992, Carson in Bocking 2004; Hessing, Howlett & Summerville 2005; Holthaus 2008, Schumacher 1974; Suzuki, 2010 cited in Gray pp 15-17, 2013)

Preface

The Pathway to Here - Locating Myself in the Research

Kathy Absolon enlikens the research journey to finding your way in the woods: *"look back so you know where you are… recognize your path home"* (Absolon, 2011 p. 76). She emphasizes that when we look back to see where we came from, we can also say *where we are coming from,* as we locate who we are and where we are going in our research (Absolon, 2011). I am a non-indigenous former government policy analyst born and raised on Treaty One Anishnaabeg, Nehiyawak and Red River Metis territory in Manitoba and now living as a student, teacher and community member on Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg territory in Ontario. My research journey began in the mid-nineteen nineties when, after looking for a job as a young mom with three little kids at home, I was accepted to the Manitoba Legislative Internship Program. But it also began well before that. That first step into the Manitoba Legislature was only possible because of Metis leader, Louis Riel, forming the first provincial government in Manitoba in 1870 and without whom there would have been no Manitoba legislature to walk into (Charlebois, 1978). It was only possible because of the Anishinaabeg and Nehiyawak who looked after that land for thousands of years before and signed Treaty 1 with the Government of Canada in 1871, with Miskookenew (Chief Henry Prince) saying, *"The land cannot speak for itself. We have to speak for it. And we want to know fully how you are going to treat our children"* (Craft, A. 2014, p.16). Being accepted to the internship program was a privilege afforded to me because of my families' settlement on these Indigenous lands that carries responsibilities for the Treaties signed there.

In situating myself, I start with my francophone great, great grandparents who were born in the 1850s and lived in St. Boniface, Manitoba during the time of Louis Riel. They travelled between Manitoba and Woonsocket, Rhode Island until my great, great grandfather died in a construction accident leaving his wife to raise their ten kids on her own back in Winnipeg. My great grandmother helped her mother raise the children and then raised five of her own with her Ontario-English railway worker husband. My

own grandmother, born in 1909, recalled this history and how her dad took her to the Labour Hall in Winnipeg to hear J.S. Woodsworth speak, the founder of the CCF, now the NDP. She remembered how their tiny home was a place where workers from the 1919 strike and veterans, home from WWI, stayed. She talked about how her dad lost a leg, and subsequently his sight, in a rail yard accident in Winnipeg at a time when there was no such thing as public health care, workers compensation or the Canada Pension Plan. And so, like her own mother, my great grandmother managed her family without a husband's income and my grandmother left school at grade 8 to help support them. My grandmother was not one to talk politics but she shared these stories when she was in her 90s emphasizing how important it was to her that, when they were NDP MPs in the House of Commons the 1960s, Stanley Knowles and Tommy Douglas made sure that pensions and public health care would be available to everyone. My other maternal great grandparents came from a subset of the Fraser clan from Aberdeenshire, Scotland, who settled in downtown Winnipeg in 1905. My grandfather was a steady kind man who voted Conservative but encouraged my grandmother to vote and act according to her beliefs. And so, the maternal side of the family became firmly rooted in Manitoba soil along with its more recent political history of both conservatism and social change.

My grandfather on my father's side was an Englishman who ran away from a harsh home life at the age of 13 and changed his last name to Gray. Together with his wife, who was from Bath, England, they settled on the lands of the Mississaugas of the Credit, Anishnaabeg, Chippewa, Haudenosaunee and the Wendat, in an apartment on Yonge street in Toronto in the 1920s. My father told me a little about his early years and about his best friend who was Jewish. Because of this relationship, he enlisted in WWII. His years overseas led him to working for equality and peace throughout his life and, particularly, for the right of people to express their beliefs and cultures. He became a community development worker and in his volunteer time he helped to start programs in Winnipeg's inner city such as Rossbrook House, a 24 hour drop-in centre for Indigenous children and youth where, amongst many cultural activities, they

would learn their dances and make regalia throughout the year leading up to Rossbrook's annual pow-wow. My mother was an artist and art teacher who felt closest to children, animals and trees. She volunteered her time for peace organizations, like the Voice of Women, and getting more women elected to the Manitoba Legislature. She listened intently to the voices of northern community members on CBC radio during the Berger Inquiry, ordered the full report and advocated for Indigenous issues. My parents' commitment to peace, community and connection to nature and, with this, respect for the history of the land that we lived on and engagement with peoples whose ancestors were there long before us, was part of my childhood. I was taken to peace marches, pow-wows, friendship centre events, countless meetings, out to deliver pamphlets at election time and out to walk by the river in all seasons. And so my research journey was made possible by all those that came before me. It led me on a path from Legislative Intern to, probably not surprisingly, becoming a researcher for the NDP Caucus to being a policy analyst for the Cabinet Policy Secretariat when they won government in 1999 to becoming an executive director of a new branch of government and then being asked by an international NGO to work with sub national governments from around the world on climate action.

My academic journey has been influenced by this path and it reflects a life-long interest in relationships between people and place. As a Geography student, my Honours Thesis explored differing perceptions of territory between First Nations and Europeans in the context of Treaty 1 and the new self-government agreements being piloted in Manitoba at the time. I learned about how the concept of territory for First Nations encompassed family, community, language, culture, way of life, livelihood and the idea of 'home' and how, for Europeans, territory was seen in more abstract terms based on resource extraction for economic gain and settlement away from one's 'home' of origin, and how these perceptions would have influenced negotiations and interpretations of Treaty 1 from each side. I interviewed both the Manitoba non-indigenous Conservative Cabinet Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, who talked about how First Nations were not a provincial responsibility, and the Nehiyawak NDP Critic for that

portfolio, who talked about the Treaty responsibilities carried by all of us. (Gray, Honours Thesis, 2006) Many years later, I found myself still writing on these themes but, this time, informed by the experiences I had in policy making at the Manitoba Legislature and internationally.

Over a sixteen year period, I worked with dedicated elected leaders and public servants, communities, businesses, farmers, academics and an array of organizations in Manitoba and around the world on policies such as water protection legislation and programs to restore lakes and rivers, sustainable forestry and agriculture policies, environmental legislation, climate policies and programs, disaster assistance programs and land planning protocols with First Nations, amongst other areas. In each case, we would look for the economic, social and environmental benefits of these policies, seeking the balance between them so often talked about in sustainable development discourse (WCED, 1987). At the same time, there could be pressures from some economic development interests who promised to create jobs, or to take them away if their proposals were not approved, but whose proposals would also mean more phosphorus and nitrogen going into waterways, less protection for forests and wetlands, more emissions going into the air and less community input going into decisions. Finding that balance could be challenging. And, despite the good work going on in my home province and around the world, the overall trajectory of environmental indicators, such as water quality, greenhouse gas emissions and the health of eco-systems was getting worse not better (UNEP, 2005). Deep down, I felt something was missing.

As policies were discussed around board room tables, I felt that the missing piece was a relationship with the places we were talking about, unless we were working directly with the people who lived in them. I sensed the missing pieces in policy could be found within Indigenous worldviews that were deeply rooted in connection to place as home, as family. This, in particular, reflected my experience working with Indigenous elected and senior officials and First Nations community members including work with former Manitoba Cabinet Minister, and former Opaskwayak Cree Nation Chief, Oscar Lathlin.

In the early 2000s, Oscar had been tasked with transforming the department of Natural Resources by combining it with the Environment Department. Through that process, he initiated Manitoba's first Aboriginal Relations Branch, Aboriginal Resource Council, co-management agreements for fisheries and forestry and land planning protocols with Indigenous communities on the east side of Lake Winnipeg with myself and the Nehiyawak head of the Aboriginal Relations Branch as co-negotiators. As a result, policy-making included the involvement of Elders, meetings that started in prayer and gratitude for the gifts of the earth and the work we were doing together and were focused on benefits that could be derived from sustaining land, culture and community.

For me, this shifted not only the policies that were made but how they were made. I remember rushing to land planning protocol meetings with a mind full of what the media were covering that day, the last-minute notes we prepared for question period, issues from inside or outside of government that needed to be resolved, treasury board and legislation deadlines and the general progress of multiple policy initiatives. When I came flying into the meeting room, the representatives from First Nations on the east side of Lake Winnipeg were having coffee and joking around. I apologized for being late. They weren't worried. I sat down and the Elder began the opening prayer. He said it in English and, when his nephew was there in his place, he said a prayer in Anishinaabemowin. In both cases, the words always centered around our coming together to do good work for the people and for the land. It relaxed me, connected me to everyone around the table and the places they were from and focused me on the depth of the task at hand.

We met over five years and the direction from the Minister and Cabinet was both simple and complex; that we develop land planning protocols that gave communities first say over development in their traditional territories made up of a vast area of largely undeveloped boreal forest. This didn't mean no economic development. Communities wanted and needed economic development. It meant that communities would create their own land plans that established how and where development would

occur on their traditional territories instead of having industry and governments make those decisions for them. Sustaining the land and economic and social benefits for local people were foundational principles of the protocol we were creating around that. The process came to be called *Wabanong Nakaygum Okimawin (East Side of the Lake Governance).* The policy idea arose out of a report commissioned under the previous government, entitled *Consultation on Sustainable Development Implementation* that recommended wide area planning along with other recommendations that we accepted. The process started by organizing big Round Tables of industry, environmental, academic and Indigenous representatives but the Minister saw the need to put community input first and foremost. Over time, the process evolved to include a Secretariat of mostly Indigenous peoples that organized 80 community meetings across the east side, an Elders Council that advised the Minister on this and other issues, a Committee of 6 Cabinet Ministers that received updates and provided direction on the initiative and that met with a Council of Chiefs a couple of times a year.

There were pressures from both major environmental groups, like the Natural Resources Defense Council that wanted the whole area protected from development, and from mining and forestry who wanted expanded development opportunities but who also engaged positively in the process. The major development pressure came from Manitoba Hydro that wanted to build a Bi-pole transmission line that would bi-sect the area. They held workshops in communities, offering prizes for people to show up and promising, what would have been, short term jobs and minimal economic benefits. Some communities wanted to protect their territories and seek a UNESCO World Heritage Site designation while others wanted a road and more development. In the end, the Premier directed that he and his Cabinet Ministers would visit the communities and hear from people first hand. I remember how, in one community, a Chief told the Premier it was the first time they'd been asked directly what they wanted in this way and, also, that what Hydro was promising amounted to nickels. Based on hearing what communities wanted, policy decisions became clearer. Still, difficult debates followed as some officials

supported an east side Bi-pole line and some weren't favorable to communities having first say over development. In the end, Manitoba Hydro took an alternate route for the Bi-pole line and the communities that wanted a UNESCO World Heritage site were supported with funding, staff and resources. These were decisions, as will be noted later, that remain controversial but listening to communities is something that the former Premier, Gary Doer, stands by (G. Doer, 2021). A protocol, modified from the one we'd worked on, was signed and legislation was brought in to support traditional land plans with many communities supporting it but some that did not. In 2018, the Pimachiowin Aki UNESCO World Heritage Site was officially designated. While the need for long-term sustainable economic development surely remains, communities now have a greater say.

I relate this story in part because it echoes many of the themes that emerged throughout this research and also because it illustrates why this research draws on both literature and the lived experiences of policy practitioners. This was confirmed for me when, halfway through this research, a journal article popped up in my inbox that was a policy analysis of the east side process. Policy scholars, Wellstead and Rayner (2009) provided a thorough review of government documents on the process along with interviews with one or two people that had preliminary involvement. The scholars used it as a case study to build on previous literature describing policy layering noting that the east side process started with a broad report under the previous government, was then refined to a multi-stakeholder process and then refined again to an initiative focused on the involvement of Indigenous peoples in a particular geographic area.

> Initially, the province responded with a number of initiatives that resulted in the layering of new policies on old. In spite of this, land use policy has proceeded following a conversion effect in a more integrated fashion and produced an unusually successful example of the involvement of Aboriginal people in land-use planning, prompting a reconsideration of the generally negative evaluation of policy change through layering in the historical institutionalist literature. (A.Wellstead & J. Rayner, 2009)

This shed a different light on the process for me. It documented a linear and planned policy pathway from initial report to final legislation. However, it wouldn't have occurred to us that we were

undertaking a process of policy layering. We did not read the historical institutionalist literature and the research was framed far more neatly than it actually happened. It would have been impossible for outside scholars to capture the myriad of interactions and relationships, a small sample of which I related from my own perspective, that shaped the policy process. For example, there was no mention of the Premier's and Cabinet Minister's visits to communities or how these visits shaped the decisions that were taken. For me, this affirmed the value of drawing on both academic analysis and the lived experiences of those involved in policy making in my own research. This was the approach I took when I came to Trent University to join, what was at the time, a first of its kind Masters of Sustainability Studies program.

The Master's program allowed me to explore why western policy decisions can sometimes be disconnected from the people and places they are made about and explore how, at the same time, when policy processes do engage communities who call those places home, and integrate care for the natural world, they can have long-term positive effects for both. I learned from the literature and from the experiences of Indigenous Knowledge Holders as well as senior level policy practitioners from Canada, the U.S. and Europe and found that elements of successful sustainable policy making had many parallels with principles and actions associated with long-standing protocols and practices found within Indigenous Knowledges (IK). Rather than simply seeking a better balance between social, economic and environmental considerations envisioned in the concept of sustainable development (WCED, 1987), one of the main findings concluded that the natural world must become foundational to policy decisions *in order to achieve* more sustainable economic and social outcomes. The research further concluded that Indigenous Knowledges, along with the people that hold these Knowledges, are critical to such a transition in decision-making (Gray, 2013). These concepts are the basis for the following research, this time with a focus on how they could be applied to governance in Canada.

This research continues to be inspired by connection to place and, for the last ten years, I have been exploring my relationship to this place as a newcomer to Michi Saagiig territory and as a human

being living beside, and with, a thriving wetland eco-system, learning about its plants, birds and animals, their interconnections and how they change through the seasons. This heightens my awareness that the life that I enjoy here is dependent on both the surrounding environment and on the conveniences that our modern 'mainstream' economy has given me. I drive a car that, paradoxically, gives me the freedom to live in the country and to be closer to the natural world. For home heating, we use deadfall wood from the land and nearby but still rely on fuel oil to supplement it. I buy local and organic goods from farms in the area but also get groceries from the supermarket that are often wrapped in plastic and come from farther away. During the pandemic, I have had the privilege of working from home thanks to a computer that is made from materials that are mined and processed all over the world, leaving a trail of environmental and social issues behind them. And so, this pathway is also made possible by the goods produced in our current economic system that allowed me to conduct this research. I recognize that while I talk about such disconnects in this paper, I am also situated within them. We are all in the midst of grappling with these contradictions, from a personal to a global scale.

While this research focuses on the government sphere of decision-making, it is influenced by how I make decisions in my own life as well. What has helped me to make more sustainable decisions in my own life has been connecting to the place where I live by learning from the peoples whose ancestors were here for thousands of years before me. Amongst the teachings received from Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee teachers has been a practice of daily gratitude that, for me, involves being thankful for all that sustains this place, myself, my family, and all life, along with all the good people who have supported this journey. The more I learn from these teachers, the more grateful I am and the more my decisions are connected to that which sustains us. As part of my responsibilities going forward, this research is intended to make a small contribution to ongoing efforts across the country to move us into deeper connections with that which sustains us in the decisions we make, learning from the peoples who were here before: finding our way back to the meaning of home.

Part 1: Overview of the Research

Reflecting the Eastern Direction - Feeling and Vision

Introduction: Developing the Vision for the Research Question

When we think about what our lives truly depend on it is the land, water, plants, trees, animals, birds, fish, insects, and organisms that sustain all that we eat, drink, use, create, and enjoy, that top the list. Add to this, positive relationships with other human beings and therein lies the sustenance of life. From this perspective, governance should be about how we make decisions for the well-being of human communities founded upon the best knowledge of how to sustain these entities and relationships upon which our lives depend. This research explores how government decisions at senior levels of policy making in Canada can serve to strengthen relationships to the lands that we live on, and all we depend on, learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples whose governance principles and practices are founded upon sustaining the natural world. It is about learning how western approaches to policy-making can better serve the natural world of which we are all a part. It is about learning how this, in turn, can strengthen our economy, our social relationships, and our health and well-being, both for the short and long-term.

During my years working in government, there were countless examples of the multiple economic and social benefits that could come from putting waterways, wetlands, forests, air, and climate first in decision-making. Climate and clean air policies were accompanied by economic opportunities in green buildings, renewable energy, and clean transportation technologies along with financial savings from energy efficiency for homes and businesses. Making wetlands and forests priorities simultaneously supported water retention in both drought and flood years, buffering farm income and the need for disaster assistance. Cleaner lakes and waterways could support high quality drinking water, thriving fisheries, and a sustained tourism industry. My move from policy work to academic research was

motivated by a drive to find out how these approaches to sustainability could become more the norm in policy making and how to overcome obstacles in making it so. The following provides a summary of my Masters research, upon which the research question for this study is based.

My Master's thesis explored the challenge of achieving sustainable outcomes, such as promoting greener forms of economic development and protecting ecosystems when there are inconsistent values at play in policy processes. Two approaches to policy-making were described based on the literature on neo-classical economics and sustainable development respectively. A *mainstream approach* was described as one where the dominant values guiding decision making are based on shorter-term economic outcomes, as measured by quarterly profits for individuals and firms, or by a jurisdiction's GDP, and in which the health of people and the natural world are lesser priorities or are viewed as externalities (Industry Canada, 2011; Brennan & Mothler, 2010; Partridge, 1999; Walsh & Gram, 1980; Holdsworth, 2010, as cited in Gray, 2013, pp. 15-17). A *sustainable approach* was described as one which values environmental, social, and economic outcomes, in equal measure, for whole communities of people, both for the short and the long-term and in which the natural world and the health of human-beings are viewed as integral to the value of sustainability. (WCED, 1987; Agenda 21, 1992; Carson, as cited in Bocking, 2004; Hessing, Howlett & Summerville, 2005; Holthaus, 2008, Schumacher, 1974; Suzuki, 2010, as cited in Gray, 2013, pp.2013).

The MA research further explored parallels between contemporary descriptions of sustainability and long-held concepts and practices found within Indigenous Knowledges, looking to these as missing pieces in the sustainable values conversation. In particular, Indigenous scholars such as Newhouse (2013), Battiste (2013), Simpson (2011), and McGregor (2004) describe how relationships with the natural world were, and are, foundational to decision-making. Concepts, such as the 5 'Rs': relationships of respect, relationality, reciprocity, and responsibility, focused on the restoration of the natural world,

were described by Professor Dan Longboat (Roronhiakewen) as he proposed that the following questions be applied to policy processes today:

Is there respect, equity and empowerment in the very nature of the relationship in how we are communicating with one another? Has there been investment in helping to ensure that we have the best possible information that is predicated on mutual benefit? Has the community been fully engaged in this decision-making process? …. If we are going to have a relationship, it needs to be an equitable relationship and it needs to be also a caring and empowering relationship. The way I look at it is this really enables meaningful long lasting, mutually beneficial, sustaining relationships and fundamentally a collection of minds coming together to focus on the good, for the continuation of All Life. - Prof. Dan Longboat (Gray, 2013, p.52, revised by Prof. Longboat, April 8th, 2021)

There were parallels between the words of Indigenous Knowledge Holders and scholars and senior policy-makers from Canada, Europe, and the United States, particularly in their emphasis on the importance of relationships. In describing elements of what they believed were "successful" sustainable policies, common themes emerged that formed guidance for policy-makers. These included ensuring that policies are focused on long-term tangible and relatable environmental, social, and economic benefits for diverse groups of people; extensive collaboration, especially with affected communities; clear and transparent communication including listening and 'speaking people's language'; working across party lines, and, where needed, putting sustainable policies into law. Participants cited policies that had included these elements such as a "million solar roofs" program in California that supported job growth in a down economy, recycling and sustainable development legislation that made Wales a national and global leader in implementing sustainability, engaging families in a "no child left inside" nature education program in Connecticut that spread across the United States and improved water protection legislation and land planning in Manitoba(Gray, 2013).

You try to structure things where people can be heard. 90% of success in life is other people want to be heard just as much as you want to be heard. … fundamentally it's just about listening to people. -Terry Tamminen, Former Cabinet Secretary, California (Gray, 2013, p. 123)

It was the engagement of people who actually understood and lived in the area that made it successful.-Paul Vogt, Former Cabinet Secretary Manitoba (Gray, 2013, p. 117)

All my major initiatives I sought all party support for- and I think that's critical. Something as big as sustainability has to rise above the normal adversarial nature of politics. -Jane Davidson, Former Minister of Environment and Sustainability, Wales (Gray, 2013, p. 118)

There were also common beliefs about the powerful influence that some vested industry interests could have on governments in terms of delaying, limiting, or stopping sustainable policies, particularly in an economic downturn, with most citing this as the most significant obstacle in the policy processes they described.

It was grudging acceptance that there would be a price on carbon and the best way to do it was a cap and trade system. But meanwhile they were lobbying just as hard to prevent it from ever happening or at least significantly delay it. -Terry Tamminen (Gray, 2013, p. 138)

The process was good but the process was sort of high jacked a bit by a single interest group who's interest was not in coming to an agreement with government… we got through it and we got close and I say close because we had to compromise on too many things at the end of the day. - Dwight Williamson, Former Deputy Minister, Water Stewardship, Manitoba (Gray, 2013, p. 136)

You can often underestimate how conservative government itself can be based on existing interests…there are relations that are based on things as they are and existing interests and now you are trying to shift everyone over. Even your own departments are looking to deliver programs and support stakeholder relations that are very entrenched. - Paul Vogt (Gray, 2013, p. 135)

The research then revealed a common belief that sustainable development, as a concept, must evolve so that, rather than balancing economic, social and environmental considerations, the environment must play a foundational role in policy making with economic and social benefits arising from our positive relationships with the natural world.

The three parallel and equal pillars approach of sustainable development: economic, social, environmental, has had perverse effects where it was used as an argument to say 'we have done enough now on environment and need to rebalance with economic growth' in its old mantra. Environment is the foundation, the horizontal pillar on which the two others are built. - Luc Bas, Former Sustainability Advisor to the E.U. (Gray, 2013, p. 146)

At the front end, we need a different philosophy or a different intellectual way of viewing all this. So we need to have developed a slightly different paradigm to guide decision-making and that paradigm needs to be able to say in that place no, in that place yes, this thing not ever. Then we need all of the things that come with participatory democracy- people engaged in decision making. - Dwight Williamson, Former Deputy Minister of Water Stewardship, Manitoba (Gray, 2013, p. 157)

It is really all about thinking very differently about the world …We didn't get to dictate nature, that it had its own set of wonders that we had to understand and, in fact, to behave in a way that was in concert with nature as opposed to be able to directly manage it…it is one of the most important things for us to

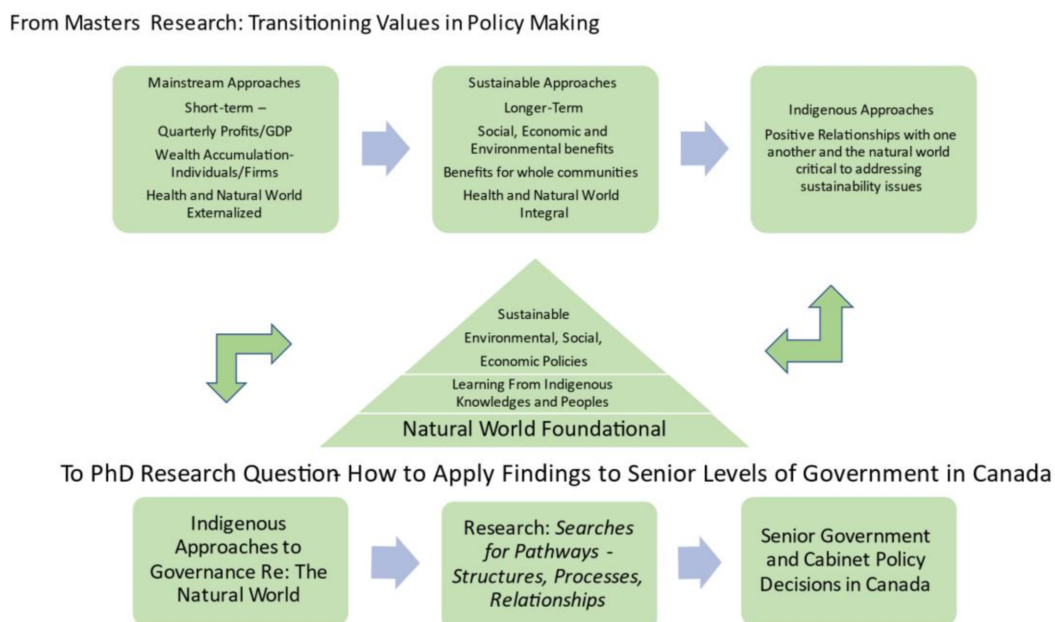
actively engage in is to return to that level of understanding. - Gina McCarthy, Former Head of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (Gray, 2013, p. 160)

Again, there were parallels between what policy makers believed to be a necessary shift in policy processes and Indigenous Knowledge concepts that can help to inform, as Prof. Dan Longboat put it, *"a deeper understanding of what it means to be a human being living within the natural world and our connection and responsibility to and our sacred relationship with it… By utilizing Indigenous Knowledge and by understanding the principles that are embedded within it, it provides a much deeper, richer and broader, and more effective and efficient resolve to the particular issues we are dealing with. And I think that's really what's missing"* Professor Dan Longboat (Gray, 2013, p. 53, revised by Prof. Longboat, April 8th, 2021).

The research concluded that sustaining the natural world should become a foundational value in decision making and that parallels between Indigenous Knowledge concepts and sustainable policy making could guide policy makers in making more sustainable decisions more often. The vision for the PhD research was to explore how these key findings could be applied in practice in Canada .This research pathway is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Pathway from Masters to PhD Research



The findings in my Master's Thesis were re-enforced by the closing statement of the U.N. Rio plus 20 Conference released just as I completed my research in 2012. Political leaders from around the world acknowledged that sustainable development, the concept heralded 20 years earlier as the answer to the social and environmental consequences of unlimited economic growth, had not garnered its intended outcomes in the face of growing global environmental degradation. In response, the closing statement, entitled *"The Future We Want"*, called for a global transition to a green economy, more democratic and inclusive processes singling out, in particular, youth, women and Indigenous peoples, and for policy-makers to *take "integrated and holistic approaches to guide humanity to live in harmony with nature"* (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012, Clauses 39-40).

It's been almost 10 years since my research concluded and that statement was made and values associated with sustainable development have increasingly become part of government and business

policies around the world. Using the energy sector as one example, the beginnings of a green transition has included the world's two highest emitters of greenhouse gas emissions, China and the U.S. respectively, becoming leaders in renewable energy production. In 2016, China became the world leader in renewable energy investment, committing $360 billion to the sector and to the creation of 13 million jobs (The Climate Group, 2017), and the US had double the number of jobs in solar power and energy efficiency over oil, coal, and gas in that country combined (US Department of Energy, 2017). In Canada, by 2018, the energy efficiency sector grew to employ 436,000 Canadians, more than twice the total number for oil and gas combined, generating $82.6 billion with continued growth projected for future years (Government of Canada, Natural Resources Canada, 2019). There has been growth in many policy areas associated with a green economy and eco-system protection from low carbon transportation to sustainable and organic agriculture to protected areas and habitat. As such, it seems as though a shift towards putting the environment at the foundation of policy making, with accompanying social and economic benefits, has begun in earnest. However, despite growth in sustainable policies across sectors and undertaken by governments around the world, these have emerged alongside policies aimed at continued extensive and extractive resource use based on shorter-term economic growth outcomes resulting in serious environmental, social and economic consequences. These trends are discussed in detail in Part 2 of the thesis, demonstrating how the dominance of mainstream approaches to policy persists even as evidence of the economic, social and environmental costs continue to grow; thus the rationale for this study.

Chapter 1

The Research Question

This thesis gathers additional information on how to transform western approaches to policy-making to better sustain the natural world. The purpose of the research is to learn from experienced policy practitioners, scholars, and Traditional Knowledge Holders about how the value of sustaining the natural world could become foundational to senior level policy decisions in Canada and how Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples could play a key role in such a paradigm shift. Throughout the study, the following questions are explored:

- How can the value of sustaining the natural world become foundational in Cabinet and senior level economic, social, and environmental policy decisions in Canada?
- How can Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples play a key role in this paradigm shift?
- What do experienced Indigenous and non-indigenous policy practitioners, scholars, and Traditional Knowledge Holders think is necessary for such a shift to occur or do they believe such a shift is necessary?
- What kinds of structures, processes, and relationships support, or could support, such a paradigm shift in federal and provincial governments in Canada?

It is hoped that the results of this study can be useful in serving policy practitioners in bringing the natural world more to the fore in policy decisions, led by and with Indigenous Knowledge Holders, scholars, and policy practitioners. The research is also intended for Indigenous and non-Indigenous students and youth who will be future decision-makers in western government spaces in addition to their own communities. Further, it is hoped that the research can serve as a basis for other researchers to explore similar policy changes, broadening the scope to include other governments, jurisdictions, and a greater number and array of policy practitioners.

A related goal of the research is to identify pathways for ethical space (Ermine, 2007) between Indigenous governance protocols and practices and policy decisions at senior levels of federal and provincial governments. As such, it is also hoped that the research can make a small contribution to the complimentary processes of reconciliation and ecological restoration in Canada. David Newhouse points

out that western public institutions should be the ones to spearhead reconciliation efforts (Newhouse, 2016) and, recognizing that Indigenous Knowledges are based on and require the protection of ecological environments (Battiste, 2013; McGregor, 2014*)*, there is a synergistic relationship between the two. As western institutions learn from Indigenous Knowledges about how to restore and sustain ecosystems, they are simultaneously learning how to respect Indigenous cultures and the lands and waters upon which they are based.

This is a qualitative trans-disciplinary study that comes out of the academic disciplines of Indigenous Studies and Sustainability Studies and from lived experience as a policy practitioner. The focus of the study is to learn from those with senior level experience in policy-making through one to one conversations, supported by literature, texts, and oral sources in the fields of Indigenous Studies, Sustainability Studies, and Public Policy. While there are exhaustive bodies of research in each of these areas respectively, this is not a critical analysis or comprehensive review of the literature nor would that be possible in a single thesis. Instead, recognizing the enormous breadth of work in each of these fields, the study looks at the intersections between them, drawing on key concepts that inform the research question. In particular, the idea of policy paradigm shift is used to frame the discussion around how policy-making that prioritizes shorter-term approaches to economic development and that has environmental, health, and economic consequences can shift to putting the value of sustaining the natural world at the foundation of policy decisions, informed by Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples and building on incremental policy shifts in the areas of environment, health, sustainability, and reconciliation.

Organization of the Research

The study is divided into four parts. In this section, the main elements of the thesis are introduced and a “circular” approach to theory building is described. This begins with describing the

vision that led to the research question (Williams, 2004). Starting with story allows readers to “see” more of the researcher, creating greater transparency in terms of where the researcher is coming from (Absolon 2011; Kovach, 2010). Accordingly, this section opened with my previous experience and research that led to the vision for this research, the research question itself and its purpose and goals. This section also includes chapter summaries and descriptions of the methodology and methods, as would be expected in a dissertation. At the same time, these descriptions also serve as reference points for the reader when, in the final chapters, the research comes “full circle” back to the original vision, to describe a new theory for policy-making.

The second part of the study, *Governance as if Our Lives Depended on It,* opens by describing the ongoing need for a paradigm shift, looking to evidence from government agencies and scholarly research that documents the rising environmental, social, and economic costs of issues such as climate change and exposure to pollutants and the persistence of old approaches to economic development. Policy paradigm shift is described as a framework for looking at how changes to parliamentary structures, processes, and relationships might lead to a new paradigm for policy-making in Canada.

Chapters 2-4 draw on literature and oral sources to describe Indigenous Knowledges related to governance, western parliamentary processes, and examples of paradigm shifts in policy-making. Chapter 2 provides the basis for the importance placed on Indigenous Knowledges in informing a paradigm shift in Canadian government policy-making consistent with sustainability goals. It draws on a large and diverse area of Indigenous written and oral scholarship that is helping to translate traditional governance models, where the natural world is foundational to decision-making, into contemporary contexts. This scholarship includes literature by Marie Battiste, Edward Benton-Benai, John Borrows, Rick Monture, David Newhouse, Tom Porter, Dale Turner and Leanne Simpson, as well as oral sources including Gidigaa Migizii (Elder Doug Williams) and Professor Dan Longboat among others. Together, they describe how Indigenous governance principles are deeply grounded in place, based on traditional and

contemporary Indigenous Knowledges of plant science, medicine, fish and wildlife behaviour and habitat, weather patterns, seasonal changes, and geographic features and their interactions with humans on a mental, physical, and spiritual level at every stage of life. These Knowledges have evolved over hundreds and thousands of years through observation, practice, and experience. Early governance protocols and agreements are described, such as the "Dish with One Spoon" or *Gdoo-naaganinaa*, that were based on these Knowledges and that were the foundation for subsequent Treaties with the Crown. These early agreements provide a deeper understanding of decisions affecting the lands and waters upon which Canada is situated and protocols that could be applied to governance today. The chapter also contrasts various Indigenous and western worldviews of land and territory and concludes by noting that, compared to Indigenous governance principles and practices that have evolved over centuries and millennia, Canada's history of policy practice in the area of sustainability extends back only 50 years. There is much to learn.

Chapter 3 draws on the work of policy scholars such as Hall, Auld, Doern, Stoney, Aucoin, Forsey, Pal, Skogstad, Wood, Thomas, Howlett, Hessing, Summerville, and McRobert, among others, to provide a brief description of parliamentary structures and processes and to further frame the idea of policy paradigm shift as including elements such as evidence, shifts in public values, inclusion, and broader discourse and debate in decision-making. Recognizing that there are a multitude of important inputs that feed into the policy cycle (Chapman, McClellan & Tezuka, 2016), the focus is on senior-level decision-making. This is because ultimate responsibility for policy decisions resides with Cabinet Ministers and the Prime Minister or Premiers, with senior civil servants following a close second. It is at these levels that policy direction is given and final policy decisions are made, giving these individuals significant power over policy paradigms (Doern and Aucoin 1971; Thomas 2000; McRobert and Geoff 2008; Auld, Doern & Stoney 2015). The Chapter explores an ongoing problem in current policy paradigms of disconnects between sustainable development and economic development policy decisions. It draws on illustrative

examples, particularly in the time-period from 2015-2020, of environment, sustainability, and reconciliation policies on the one hand and major resource development decisions that appear to run counter to these policies on the other. These examples underscore the on-going rationale for a paradigm shift that addresses these disconnects. At the same time, there are descriptions of new policy instruments that are bringing environmental and reconciliation goals together and that hint at the beginnings of a paradigm shift.

Chapter 4 explores the art of the possible in which real-world examples of paradigm shifts are described to help contemplate future shifts as posited in the research question. The move from private to public health care in Canada is used as an example of a significant values shift at senior-levels of decision making that includes many of the elements of paradigm shift described in the literature. From there, there is a discussion of the evolution of environmental and sustainability policies in Canada that have brought the natural world more to the fore in policy-making but have not yet led to a paradigm shift. This is followed by an overview of report recommendations, scholarly literature and initiatives to advance the restoration of relationships with Indigenous Peoples that speak to the study's emphasis on learning from Indigenous Knowledges. The Chapter closes with real-world examples of initiatives, from co-management to social enterprises, focused on restoring relationships both with Indigenous peoples and with the natural world, some of which are referred to by participants in the following chapters. All of these examples suggest that a foundation for a paradigm shift may already be being built.

In the third part of the study, *The Natural World: More than One Voice at the Cabinet Table,* Chapters 5-6 describe the lived experience of policy practitioners through interviews and story-telling conversations. These chapters speak directly to the purpose of the study which is to learn from experienced policy practitioners, Knowledge Holders and scholars. They contain extensive notes from conversations with 17 participants. Their roles have included National Chief, Premier, Deputy Premier, Elder, Cabinet Minister, local Chief, MP, MLA, Deputy Minister, Opposition Leader, Senior Advisor and

senior scholarship on policy and governance respectively. Based on descriptions of their careers, they collectively represent over 250 years of policy experience in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, British Columbia, Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, federal offices in Ottawa and national work across Canada and, in the case of two participants, Washington D.C.. The participant group includes 10 who identified themselves by their Indigenous nation and 6 who were non-indigenous and 1 whose identity wasn't made known. 9 identified themselves as women and 8 as men. Based on their lived experiences, they provide real-world policy examples that they feel demonstrate opportunities for change in parliamentary governments that inform the research question. They also provided specific recommendations for how future value shifts could occur at senior levels of federal and provincial decision-making in Canada.

Chapter 7 is comprised of seven findings. Consistent with the research question, the findings start with support for the idea that a paradigm shift that puts the value of sustaining the natural world at the foundation of policy decisions should occur. However, participants also identified significant challenges in shifting the way the economy is viewed and in the hierarchical nature of decision-making in parliamentary systems, noting that change will take time. At the same time, participants gave examples of, and recommendations for, changes that could support a paradigm shift. These included parliamentary structures such as Cabinet Committees that have strong Indigenous representation; the use of policy instruments, such as environmental and co-management legislation and; policy processes that include a sustainability lens and an Indigenous lens and that are focused on the people and places most affected by the policies. There was importance placed on broader changes that include the need for more wide-spread education and awareness on Indigenous histories and worldviews and sustainability issues and on having more Indigenous voices at senior-level decision-making tables. Overall, it was respectful relationships, both inside and outside of parliamentary structures and with both Indigenous Peoples and the natural world, that stood out across participant conversations as being necessary to support transformative change.

In Part 4, Chapters 8 and 9 discuss the key findings and conclusion of the research. Next steps are also described, situating the findings within a broader policy landscape. Chapter 8 links the findings back to the literature, texts, and oral sources from Part 2 of the thesis. Patterns are drawn between the findings and elements of paradigm shift that include: the presentation of new evidence, shifts in pubic values, new policy instruments, learning from other policy settings, greater inclusion leading to new ideas, and broader discourse and debate at decision-making tables. However, the conclusion finds that while these are all considered to be important elements of paradigm shift they are still not enough. The findings, supported by the literature, suggest that the added elements needed are respectful relationships created through ethical spaces of trust, listening, kindness, and empathy that, in turn, allow for two-eyed seeing to inform policy making regarding the natural world. The Chapter offers an illustrative example of a new way of looking at the policy cycle where relationship building with Indigenous peoples and the natural world are elevated to being important pre-requisites for policy decisions.

Chapter 9 situates the findings within ongoing efforts across Canada on ecosystem protection and reconciliation and within an emerging policy landscape that includes: new evidence of links between the health of eco-systems and Indigenous Knowledges and practices, shifting national and international discourse on economic development with a focus on net-zero emissions and a green economy, and precedent setting legal and government decisions in support of eco-system health and Treaty Rights. The Chapter closes with a vision for how the findings could make a contribution to this emerging landscape in practice.

Research Methodology and Methods

The research is a qualitative, trans-disciplinary study that fits within the western philosophical framework of a Transformative Worldview, used to describe research that *"needs to be intertwined with*

politics and a political change agenda" and that *"contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life"* (Creswell, 2014, p. 35). This study explores how a transformative paradigm shift can take place at senior levels of provincial and federal governments in Canada by learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples such that the natural world has a higher value in decision-making.

Throughout this exploration the Indigenous methodology of two-eyed seeing is employed to bring Indigenous and western worldviews together. Two-eyed seeing is described as a trans-disciplinary approach by Elders Albert and Murdena Marshall that involves: "learning to see from one eye with the strength of Indigenous Knowledges and ways of knowing and the other eye with the strength of western knowledges and ways of knowing and using both eyes together for the benefit of all" (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012). There are synergies between Indigenous and western qualitative methodologies and methods that allow two-eyed seeing to be woven into the research. For example, the research question reflects descriptions of qualitative research as *"an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem"* (Creswell, 2014, p. 28) and asks the researcher to consider, amongst other questions, how the research will improve policy or decision making (Creswell, 2014). Similarly, Margaret Kovach notes that *"Indigenous frameworks have the potential to improve policy and practice within Indigenous contexts"* (Kovach, 2009, p.13). In addition, Merten (2009) notes that transformative research "*focuses on culturally appropriate strategies to facilitate understandings that will create sustainable social change"* (p.10). Scholar Willie Ermine's (2007) concept of Ethical Space is used to facilitate cross-cultural understandings throughout the research:

> *The space is initially conceptualized by the unwavering construction of difference and diversity between human communities. These are the differences that highlight uniqueness because each entity is molded from a distinct history, knowledge tradition, philosophy, and social and political reality. With the calculated disconnection through the contrasting of their identities, and the subsequent creation of two solitudes with each claiming their own distinct and autonomous view of the world, a theoretical space between them is opened.* (p. 194)

Ermine's concept of Ethical Space arose in the context of Supreme Court decisions that compel Canadian governments to interact with Indigenous Peoples, their rights, and their laws in decision-making processes. In his article, *The Ethical Space of Engagement*, Ermine (2007) starts by defining ethics "*as the capacity to know what harms or enhances the well-being of sentient creatures"* and *"our capacity and our integrity to stand up for cherished notions of good, responsibility, duty, obligations, etc."* (p. 195). One of the primary rules of engagement within ethical space is the recognition of the diversity of worldviews within it. From there, cooperation and engagement in dialogue are seen to open up possibilities for Indigenous and western worldviews to come together to create *"new currents of thought that overrun old ways of thinking*" (Ermine, 2007, p. 203). This research explores how ethical spaces can be opened up for exchanges between Indigenous and Western approaches to governance related to relationships with the natural world and what the qualities of such spaces might look like.

Within the framework of a transformative worldview and two-eyed seeing, source selection included both Indigenous scholarship on governance and western scholarship on policy processes. Similarly, participant selection was based on reaching out to both Indigenous and non-indigenous policy practitioners. In choosing this approach, there were no assumptions that Indigenous scholarship or the contribution of Indigenous participants would represent one common set of beliefs or that non-indigenous scholarship and non-indigenous participants would represent another common set of beliefs. Rather, consistent with Ethical Space, the approach was intended to recognize that *"each entity is molded from a distinct history, knowledge tradition, philosophy, and social and political reality"* (Ermine 2007, p. 194) that, when brought together, may lead to new understandings that inform the research question.

The research follows a process of theory-building through Inductive Qualitative Inquiry in which process-related issues are explored including how a particular phenomenon has evolved over time and what a group of actors think and feel about that phenomenon (Quy Nguyen Huy, 2012). The thesis builds

a theory for transformative change through analysis of previous research, texts, and participant data that informs the identification of codes and themes that make up the findings. The findings from participant conversations, in particular, are central to the theory that is presented, supported by the literature (Thomas, 2006, as cited in Darabi & Murray, 2013).

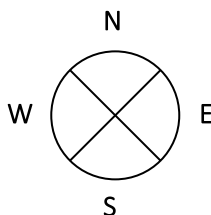
The process of Inductive Qualitative Inquiry in this study follows a circular path, rather than a linear one. In keeping with a two-eyed seeing approach, the stages of theory building are represented through Elder Dr. Shirley William's presentation of the *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel* (Williams, 2004). Scholar, Jennifer Dockstator (2014) noted that *"The Medicine Circle is available for everyone, just as the sun shines equally for everyone"* (p. 279). She suggests that whether it is reading written works, being in nature, or spending time with Elders, *"one may become sufficiently aware of how one may begin making changes in one's everyday living relatively quickly. If more and more individuals start their own learning journeys, making changes for themselves, change on a larger scale, although not a certainty, is likely"* (Dockstator, 2014, p. 279).

Jennifer Dockstator spent decades learning from Elders about their Medicine Wheel Teachings, and while her teachers note, as above, that the Medicine Circle is available for everyone, I was mindful of being a beginner learner and wanted to take great care in bringing a Medicine Wheel approach to the research. As Elder Williams was familiar with me and with my learning journey, I felt comfortable in asking her permission to adapt the *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel* as illustrated in Figure 1, which she gave. (Elder S. Williams, personal communication, Peterborough, November, 2020) As such, the research process followed the *Learning Medicine Wheel* along a theory building path that has taken me through the phases of *feeling, watching, doing, and thinking* (Williams, 2004).

Figure 2

The Research Pathway

Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel



Process of Theory Building- Inductive Inquiry and Indigenous Methodologies and Methods

Adapted From *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel Teachings (2004) Elder Shirley I. Williams*

Description of the Research Pathway in Figure 2:

- The Eastern Direction-*Zhayaawin/Feeling*: The study began in the east starting with my lived experiences growing up in Manitoba and in the realm of policy making; experiences that led to feelings of responsibility to explore how to improve policy processes to better sustain the natural world. These feelings were the motivation which led me to coming to Michi Sagiig territory to do my Masters Research. The findings of the MA research created the vision for this research to see how governance might be transformed in Canada such that the natural world becomes foundational to decision-making. This process is described in detail in the Preface and in this opening section.
- The Southern Direction- *Gnawaabjigen/Watching:* This phase has included ten years of learning on Michi Sagiig Territory at Trent University, in community and on the land; listening to and observing Elders and Traditional Knowledge Holders and researching articles, journals, reports, and other texts to learn more about policy, the natural world and Indigenous, and non-

indigenous approaches to governance. This process of reading, watching and learning is reflected in Part 2 of the Thesis (Chapters 2, 3 and 4).

- The Western Direction-*Zhichigewin/Doing:* This phase encompasses the interactive process of relationship building to engage with policy practitioners before, during, and after the interview and story-telling process. These conversations are at the heart of this research and are reflected in Part 3 of the thesis in Chapters 5 and 6.
- The Northern Direction-*Mokwendamowin/Thinking:* This phase involved the analysis and thinking required to bring the words from participants into a set of Findings that are related back to the research question(s). This is described in Chapters 7.
- In Part 4 of the thesis, the thinking and analysis continues in order to weave all of the previous research phases together to support the Findings and to present a theory about new approaches to policy-making that place greater value on the natural world. This is described in Chapter 8.
- Chapter 8 closes by moving from the Northern Direction back to the East, "coming full circle", as it presents a model for how to apply the findings to the research question. Chapter 9 describes a new vision for how the research could be of use, based on the findings, situating this within an emerging policy landscape.

(Adapted from S. Williams 2004, *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel*)

Figure 2 also shows that the Indigenous methodologies of two-eyed seeing (Marshall, Marshall & Bartlett, 2021) and ethical space (Ermine, 2007) and the methods of locating oneself in the research (Absolon, 2011), relational accountability and a holistic account that includes spiritual, mental, emotional, and physical ways of knowing and remembering (Meyer, 2013) are central to guiding the research pathway. Locating yourself in the research is the first step in building relationships with both participants and readers (Absolon, 2011). Saying who you are, where you come from, and being transparent about where the research is going is an important part of relational accountability (Wilson, 2008). Relational accountability also includes Indigenous peoples approving of the research, ensuring research is not intrusive and that participants feel safe. It includes deep listening and reflective, and self-reflective, non-judgmental approaches (Atkinson, 2001, as cited in Wilson, 2008, pp. 59-60). Manulani Meyer (2013) notes that no matter how thorough research methodologies and methods may be, it is impossible to fully translate the words, experiences, and interactions between researcher and participants on all of these realms all at once. Instead, she says what matters is the quality of

relationships developed through the research process and the quality of relationships that arise out of the research. These methods also support the research being of use, guided by participant recommendations (Meyer, 2013). Echoing the importance of locating one-self in the research (Absolon, 2011), Creswell describes the qualitative research process as interpretive, acknowledging the subjectivity of the researcher in the choices made about the research design, the selection of interview questions, the identification of codes and themes and how all of this is ultimately interpreted into findings. From there, he emphasizes that *"the researcher keeps a focus on learning the meaning that the participants hold about the problem or issue"* (Creswell, 2014, p. 215) and that the key idea behind qualitative research is to learn about the problem or issue from participants. He also describes qualitative researchers as attempting to provide a holistic account of a problem by drawing on many perspectives and identifying many factors involved in an issue (Creswell 2014, p. 215).

Methods

In keeping with relational accountability (Wilson, 2008; Absolon, 2011) approval of the research and its involvement of participants was passed through both Trent University Research Ethics Board and PhD Indigenous Council Ethics processes. The dissertation starts by locating myself within the research as the preface provides a description of my family background, my previous professional and academic work, and my motivations for the research. References to my positionality are included in various places throughout the thesis and, in particular, in participant-researcher conversations and the concluding vision for next steps. The use of methods is further described through the process of data collection for Part 2 and Part 3 of the study.

Data Collection for Part 2: Governance as if Our Lives Depended On it

The second part of the study looks to the literature and oral sources to describe Indigenous Knowledge systems as related to governance, western parliamentary processes, and examples of paradigm shifts in policy-making. The process for the selection of these sources included whether they

could provide insights into creating ethical space by utilizing two-eyed seeing. In other words, source selection was based on whether they describe Indigenous and western contexts for governance protocols and practice, particularly as related to the natural world, whether they provided meaningful examples of policy paradigm shifts that have taken place and that could inform future value shifts in governance, and whether they provided insights and recommendations in keeping with a transformative worldview of governance in Canada that brings the natural world and Indigenous worldviews into the fore of decision-making. Sources were selected in order inform each element of the research question and provide linkages between them. Both academic literature and Tier 1 grey literature including book chapters, journals, think tank publications, and government reports are used. Tier 2 Literature in the form of articles and government websites are also used (Adams, Smart, & Huff, 2016), particularly to set the current policy context for the research in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. More specifically the literature, oral sources, and texts selected for Part 2 were based on one or more of the following criteria:

- A focus on Indigenous approaches to governance, including historic Treaty making, and their relationships to contemporary governance in Canada specifically related to land, territory, and the natural world.
- A focus on the evolution of western governance and senior level policy making processes in Canada, in particular, those related to the intersection of human health and well-being, environment, and economic development decisions.
- Existing report recommendations for Canadian governments, and in particular, recommendations and commitments from the RCAP, UNDRIP and TRC that address the inclusion of Indigenous peoples and Indigenous worldviews in western policy making processes.
- Descriptions of policy paradigms shifts and examples of policies and processes that represent paradigm shifts in policy making in Canada, in particular, those that represent significant value shifts.
- Key words for search criteria included: Indigenous governance and the natural world, treaty agreements, parliamentary processes, policy paradigms and paradigm shifts, health policy in Canada, environmental and sustainability policy in Canada, energy policy in Canada, Indigenous policies in Canada

Data Collection for Part 3: The Natural World - More Than One Voice at the Cabinet Table

In the third part of the study the central research questions are explored through one to one semi-structured interviews and story-telling conversations (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009; Kovach, 2009) with a

group of 17 participants. Participants were chosen based on those who have had senior level experience in policy making both inside and outside of government institutions and who met the following selection criteria:

1. Individuals who are former or current elected representatives and senior government officials who have had many years of lived experience working in provincial or federal governments on policies related to sustainability and/or bringing Indigenous perspectives to western government policy processes. The purpose was to learn from the lived experiences of those who have first-hand knowledge of policy processes from within government institutions.
2. Individuals who are political leaders, community leaders, and scholars who have had direct interaction with government policy processes, including experience in engaging with elected and senior officials and providing input into specific policies. They have experience with government policy changes related to sustainability and/or the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledges and voices in decision-making and offer perspectives from outside of government institutions.

The choice of method reflected a two-eyed seeing approach as both western and Indigenous research scholars have placed importance on conversation and story-telling as a means of knowledge generation. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) describe qualitative interviews as conversations that generate knowledge through story-telling. *"In the classical philosophical position of Socrates, conversations are a primary way of producing knowledge about the true, the good, and the beautiful… Stories are a powerful means of making sense of our social reality and our own lives. Research interviews give access to the manifold local narratives embodied in story-telling and they may themselves be reported in narrative form"* (pp. 54-55). Joanne Archibald notes that, *"native people have always been asked for their comments on, and contributions to, established agenda topics rather than simply being requested to tell their own story"* (Archibald, 2008, p. 17).

The method was in keeping with what was described in Wilson (2008) as relational accountability. In the letter of invitation and opening conversations, I started by locating myself by relating some of my own policy and academic background to participants in order to be as clear as possible about my positionality and motives for the research and to develop, or further, a relationship with participants. I positioned myself as both an insider, as someone with lived experience in senior levels of policy-making,

and also, as an outsider, as a non-indigenous person who had worked in western governments, and now in western academic institutions, living, working, and learning on Indigenous lands. In the letter of invitation and in opening conversations, I describe my sense of responsibility to do this research arising from this positionality. Although there were questions to guide us, conversations were interactive and followed the lead of participants so they could tell their own stories and so that we could get to know each other. Opening questions set the tone for this approach by asking participants general questions about their connections to the natural world and what was important to them about the work that they do. In response many participants shared personal stories about their connections to the natural world, about their cultural and belief systems and how they came to be in their policy roles. In keeping with relational accountability, it was also important to recognize the unique position that many participants hold, or have held, that involve both confidential information and being in the public eye. It was important that they were made to feel as safe as possible in sharing their stories and, in keeping with recommendations from the PhD Indigenous Council, they were also given the option to remain anonymous. In their research with senior policy makers, Doern and Acoin acknowledge these unique circumstances and suggest, for example, that “the survey method is inappropriate at the higher echelons of policy making” (p. 30). Face-to-face focus groups might also have limited either the opportunities for participants to express their views or the number willing to participate. As two participants chose to remain anonymous, it is clear that some may have felt more hesitant to share their experiences in either a written survey or in a face-to-face focus group.

Initial contact was made with participants who met the criteria either by phone or email, and a letter of invitation, where I described my background and the research project. Taking a relational approach, I started with those who were accessible and may be willing to participate and where I had knowledge of the community (Euroac Project, European Science Foundation, 2010; Atkinson, 2001, as cited in Wilson, 2008). This meant contacting people that met the selection criteria and with whom I’d

had some connection, either through my own experience or through introduction to them by someone known to both myself and the participant. As such, I started by retracing my steps back to the Eastern direction of my learning journey and contacted policy practitioners in my home province of Manitoba. I then contacted individuals who were referred to me, or whom I met, through Trent University and my time on Michi Saagig territory during the second southern phase of my learning journey. I also contacted a number of people who met the criteria but with whom I had no connection. In all, I contacted 27 potential participants that included sitting and former provincial and federal politicians, senior government officials, community and political leaders, and policy and governance scholars. Of these, 17 responded that they were favorable to having further conversations, 9 did not respond and 1 participant chose not to proceed. This placed a limitation on the research in terms of having a broader number and array of political, policy, and academic perspectives but it also presents opportunities for future research with a wider group of policy practitioners.

Once participants agreed to a conversation, we spoke by phone or in person, however all conversations were by phone following the pandemic. I asked participants about their preferred protocol and offered tobacco to Indigenous participants where I was already familiar with the protocols that they followed. During the pandemic, with the participant's permission, I laid tobacco down on the land where I live in thanks for that person's participation. When asked about their preferences between audio recording and note-taking, note-taking was a safer and less intrusive method for some (Atkinson, 2001, as cited in Wilson, 2008), particularly to retain anonymity for two participants. This method was used for recording all conversations for consistency. Although notes were typed and not hand written, research has shown that simultaneous note-taking can focus the researcher's attention on, and help to internalize, descriptions of the lived experience of the participant and, also, to identify important quotes in the moment and provide an instant resource for reflection following the interview (Roller M., n.d.). This reflected my experience with simultaneous note-taking. At the same time, this method had

limitations compared with audio recording that captures every word and pause. As such, I sent participants my notes, including descriptions of the policies that they referenced, and offered additional in-person meetings, prior to the pandemic, or phone conversations to review the notes for accuracy and to add anything more they wished to say. The invitation letter and consent form also noted that additional time that would be required for participants to review the notes so that they were prepared for this extra commitment. Some participants approved the notes as they were, others provided minor edits and in a couple of cases, there were follow up conversations where two participants elaborated on their original answers. Although this made the process longer for participants, it gave them additional time to reflect on the questions and their answers and for us to continue our research relationship. In one interview, however, audio recording would have saved this busy individual and staff the time it took to review the notes. **Our conversations were guided by the following questions:**

How would you describe your connections to or experiences with the natural world?

How did you come to be involved in policy making? What is most important to you about the work that you do?

In the context of 'sustainability', or relationships to the natural world, can you describe an experience where you believe the policy process worked well? What do you believe made it successful? Can you describe an experience where it did not work well? What were the biggest obstacles?

Given that Indigenous approaches to governance across nations are founded on relationships with the natural world (Williams (2018) Borrows (2010) Meyer (2013), McGregor (2004), Monture (2014) Simpson (2011)), what do you see as opportunities for federal, provincial and territorial policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledge holders, leaders and scholars? How can these opportunities begin to support a shift such that relationships with the natural world and Indigenous Ways of Knowing become more central to Cabinet policy decisions? Or do you believe such a shift is necessary or important?

What do you believe is necessary for such a shift to occur in practice? For example, in government processes and structures? Are there one or two changes that you think could be implemented in the short-term? What is needed for the longer term?

In what ways do you think this research could be of benefit to others? Do you have suggestions for communicating the findings of this research?

The majority of the dialogue that took place between myself and the participants from the approved conversation notes is contained in Chapters 5 and 6. In taking a holistic approach, (Meyer, 2013; Kovach,

2009; Wilson, 2008) I also include background on the participant, how we met, and any other reflections that might help to convey the spirit of the conversation and my relationship to the participant. Once the findings from our conversations were written up, I sent all participants a summary of the findings.

The Findings

In Chapter 7, the findings are based on a thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017; Nowell, Norris et al., 2017) of the conversation notes contained in Chapters 5 and 6. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) note that descriptions of interviews can be reported in the form of dialogues, and because so much of the dialogue is reported in Chapters 5 and 6, the reader can readily trace the themes identified in Chapter 7 back to the data in the preceding chapters (Nowell et al., 2017). In addition, I provide additional background on specific policies or practices named by participants to further contextualize our discussions. The decisions I made in identifying codes and themes were based on the following steps:

1. An analysis of the answers provided by all participants to each conversation question in order to identify important code words and phrases that could be related back to the research question(s) (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009; Clarke & Braun, 2017).

2. Identification of words and concepts across the conversations to uncover patterns in meaning (Clarke & Braun, 2017) that either informed the research question(s) directly or that offered new but important considerations related to the research overall (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009). Most of what participants had to say helped to inform the research question(s) and all voices were considered to be important. While commonalities across the conversations, described using language such as 'the majority of participants' (more than half) or 'many' participants (three or more) are highlighted, the findings encompass individual examples and recommendations whether or not these were common in other conversations. Therefore the findings are primarily documented on a qualitative over a quantitative basis. Rather than assigning a numeric value to responses, specific references to the actual responses of participants are included in each finding so that the reader can easily trace the basis for the finding back to the data.
3. Organizing codes and themes into findings that respond to each part of the research question. This included identifying:
    a) Whether participants thought there is a need for a paradigm shift that puts the value of sustaining the natural world at the foundation of senior-level decisions, with Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples playing a key role in such a shift.

b) What kinds of structures, processes, and relationships participants felt did or did not work well in policy-making and what kinds could support a paradigm shift. These findings were separated into two areas:
   - Those that were focused on changes *within* parliamentary structures.
   - Those that focused on relationships between federal and provincial governments, Indigenous Peoples, and the natural world *both inside and outside of* parliamentary structures.

c) How participants felt the research could be of use.

In Part 4 of the study, in Chapter 8, patterns are identified between the findings and the discussion in Part 2 with a focus on whether and how elements of paradigm shift identified in the literature matched those in the findings. The conclusion elevates the importance of building respectful relationships as a pathway to paradigm shift in senior level policy decisions. This is illustrated through a new approach to the policy cycle in which building relationships become part of policy development.

Part 2- Governance as if Our Lives Depended On It: Learning from the Literature, Oral Sources, and Policy Documents

Reflecting the Southern Direction

In the final analysis, the survival of Native America is fundamentally about the collective survival of all human beings. The question of who gets to determine the destiny of the land, and of the people who live on it- those with money or those who pray on the land- is a question that is alive throughout society.

Winona LaDuke (1999 p.5)

Introduction: The Ongoing Need for A Paradigm Shift

It has now been a decade and a half since the highly respected Stern Report warned that the costs of climate change would rise to be in the trillions of dollars worldwide if actions to significantly reduce greenhouse gas emissions were not taken (Stern, 2006). Yet, as predicted, costs continued to rise since that time. Between 1998 and 2017, the costs of climate related disasters rose over 150% or $2.25 trillion compared the previous 20-year period (McCarthy, 2018). In Canada, between 2011- 2014, the costs of forest fires in the west and north, ice storms in the east, and flooding on the prairies amounted to $4.1 billon, causing Canada's Public Safety agency to declare natural disasters as Canada's biggest public safety risk (Stone, L., 2013). Canada's Parliamentary Budget Officer attributed the increased frequency of extreme weather events, and particularly flooding on the prairies, to climate change, unregulated drainage of wetlands, over development and lack of planning in flood prone areas (Parliamentary Budget Officer, 2016). By 2020, the Insurance Bureau of Canada reported that severe weather resulted in $2.4 billion in insured damages in that year alone (Insurance Bureau of Canada, 2021), not including disaster assistance and not including the costs of raging forest fires on the west coast that brought smoke to the skies of Ontario. That year was surpassed, in 2021, by British Columbia's record breaking heat wave and forest fire season bringing with it associated air quality and health impacts. While reviewing this Chapter, friends and family reported that the heat wave extended into

Manitoba causing extreme drought conditions and more forest fires while I reported that tornadoes had caused extensive damage an hour away from where we live in Ontario.

It has also been about a decade and a half since the *Millennium Eco-system Report,* the first comprehensive report on the earth's ecosystems, warned of the rising global economic, health, and social costs of continued environmental pollution and degradation (UNEP, 2005). David Boyd provides evidence of how policy paradigms based on what I called mainstream, and what he calls outdated, economic values have continued since that time resulting in environmental and health impacts that amount to an estimated $100 billion in annual costs to the Canadian economy (Boyd, 2015, p. 100). He cites research that links pesticide exposure to Parkinson's disease, environmental pollutants to various forms of cancer, lead and mercury exposure to impaired neurological development in Inuit children, chemicals in consumer products that are linked to autism in children and in utero exposure to organophosphates in farm chemicals that is also linked to decreased cognitive function in children. *"There are at least 46 active ingredients used in more than one thousand pesticide products, that continue to be registered for sale and use in Canada despite being prohibited in other western industrialized countries because of health and environmental concerns"* (Boyd, 2015, pp. 145-146). He notes that many of these are rated by the World Health Organization as extremely or highly hazardous to human health and he lists food products sold in Canada, including most fruits, vegetables, meats, milk and eggs that have higher maximum pesticide residue limits than the EU with many higher than the U.S. and Australia (Boyd, 2015). As such, Boyd lays out a case for a new era of policy making that has, at its foundation, the right to a healthy environment enshrined in Canada's Constitution noting that this right is recognized in 100 national constitutions and has been correlated with a more rapid reduction of emissions in industrialized countries (Boyd, 2015).

Boyd also highlights precedents of past public health and environmental policy achievements that include drinking water treatment, wastewater treatment, food safety and cleaner fuels that could be expanded and enhanced (Boyd, 2015). He points out how good environmental policy has been linked to improved health and economic outcomes noting that Scandinavian countries, that are ranked the highest for environmental policy, also outperform Canada on economic competitiveness and innovation, according to the Conference Board of Canada (Boyd, 2015). Further, he cites studies by the Canadian Medical Association that show that Canadians make strong linkages between the health of the environment and public health with most favoring stronger environmental protection (Boyd 2015). He underscores the urgency for a paradigm shift saying that, *"researchers have discovered that exposure to some chemicals can have trans-generational health effects meaning that your grandmother's exposure to certain chemicals could increase your vulnerability to certain diseases or that your exposure could harm your grandchildren"* (Boyd, 2015, p. 5). Finally, he points out that environmental rights and responsibilities are the cornerstones of Indigenous Laws and should be incorporated into Canada's legal system (Boyd, 2015, pp. 104-105).

Canadians need to recognize, understand and respect the intimate connections between our health and the eco-systems we inhabit. The air we breathe, the water we drink, and the food we eat all depend on the natural ecological functions from pollination and genetic diversity in food crops to the carbon cycles that are integral to all life on earth. Our mental health and our happiness depend on access to green spaces. Our ability to recover from illnesses often depends on medicines or treatments derived from, or inspired by, the natural world. (Boyd, 2015, p. 299)

Policy Paradigm Shifts

In his book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions,* Thomas Kuhn describes how paradigm shifts are necessary to bring about scientific breakthroughs and under what conditions these can occur. *"The functions of a paradigm are to supply puzzles for scientists to solve and to provide the tools for their solution. A crisis in science arises when confidence is lost in the ability of the paradigm to solve particularly worrying puzzles called 'anomalies'. …. scientific revolutions involve a revision to existing*

scientific belief or practice" (T. Kuhn, as cited in Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2011). Kuhn's theories can be adapted from the scientific realm to the policy realm as changes often occur at the point when the beliefs and practices that go into policy making no longer match growing evidence and/or changes in the public's values and beliefs that are seen to be required to address current problems. A sustainable development policy paradigm in which mainstream, or outdated, economic goals continue to dominate policy decisions, despite evidence of the environmental, social, and economic costs, presents just such an anomaly. Peter Hall (1993) writes that:

A policy paradigm can be threatened by the appearance of anomalies, namely by developments that are not fully comprehensible, even as puzzles, within the terms of the paradigm. As these accumulate, ad hoc attempts are generally made to stretch the terms of the paradigm to cover them, but this gradually undermines the intellectual coherence and precision of the original paradigm. Efforts to deal with such anomalies may also entail experiments to adjust existing lines of policy, but if the paradigm is genuinely incapable of dealing with anomalous developments, these experiments will result in policy failures that gradually undermine the authority of the existing paradigm and its advocates even further. (pp. 279-280)

In choosing a framework to help describe a policy paradigm shift, I submit that there is no single theory that can fully describe and define how policy processes work. They are dynamic human reactions to issues depending on the evidence presented, the timing of the issue related to other priorities, the number of people impacted, who is impacted, the political party mandate and ideology, the policy traditions of various departments, how centralized decision-making is, the political risk of doing nothing versus doing something, the degree of influence of interest groups, media attention, the individual personalities of elected officials, bureaucrats and public actors and so on. With this proviso in mind, common patterns have been described by policy scholars to help frame how policy paradigm shifts occur. This starts with descriptions of the policy cycle that commonly includes: identification of an issue, policy analysis and identification of policy instruments, decision-making including senior level decisions and public consultations, implementation, and evaluation (Chapman, McClellan, & Tezuka, 2016).

As issues arise within the cycle, Hall theorized that there are three different levels of response that occur in policy-making based both on historical experience and the presentation of new evidence. In

his *Three Orders of Shifts in Policy,* a first order shift involves adjusting existing policy instruments and a second order shift involves changing the policy instrument itself. However, whether a government responds to an issue by adjusting existing policy instruments or by bringing in new ones, the overarching policy goals remain the same. Hall finds that a third-order shift: *"constitutes a dramatic departure in policy goals based on a new ideological or theoretical framework or paradigm"* (Hall, 1993, p. 80). Coleman, Skogstand and Atkinson (1996) argue something of a middle ground between first and second order incremental changes and a third order institutional upheaval of ideas. They suggest that a paradigm shift can result from the cumulative effect of first and second order changes in policies over time that arise, in part, out of "*a distribution of power that allows actors to understand the consequences of public policies and visualize policy alternatives"* (Pierson, 1993, as cited in Coleman, Skogstand, and Atkinson, 1996, pp. 274-275). Matthew Wood builds on these theories pointing to the additional importance of value shifts in discourse that occur through back and forth policy debates at senior levels of government. He notes that debates are not just a rationale dialogue about new evidence or issues, but can challenge a tendency to avoid dealing with policy inconsistencies for *"fear of cognitive dissonance"* (Wood, 2015, p. 14).

While this research looks at what Hall might consider to be a radical third order change, that is a new policy goal where the value of sustaining the natural world is foundational to decision-making, the following Chapters look at how policy shifts that have evolved over decades, and indeed over centuries, have often been founded on a series of incremental changes. These have occurred through the presentation of new evidence, shifts in public values, learning from tried and tested policies in other policy settings (other jurisdictions or levels of government) and a greater distribution of power that includes more voices, perspectives and Knowledges at decision-making tables which, in turn, bring a greater range of discourse and debate to policy discussions. Albert and Murdena Marshall might describe this as *"the gift of multiple perspectives"* (Bartlett, Marshall ,& Marshall, 2012). And so, the combination

of evidence, public values, learning from other settings, policy instruments and greater inclusion in decision-making, and the multiple perspectives that this brings, are all important incremental elements of paradigm shifts in Canada.

We also know that policy paradigms can shift quickly in a crisis appearing at first as radical third order changes. But rapid paradigm shifts are more successful if they are built on top of a strong policy foundation. The COVID 19 pandemic, starting in 2020, sharpened this realization as Canada's public health care policies, decades in the making, became the foundation for the pandemic response. It is hard to imagine how much worse the outcomes would have been in Canada without a coordinated and publicly funded hospital and health care system already in place. From this foundation, paradigm shifts in policy were possible as the crisis required rapid responses based on evidence and advice from public health officials. Federal and provincial governments shifted quickly to unearth billions of dollars for: additional capacity in the hospital system; raising the wages of, and the value placed on, essential health care and service workers; helping businesses retool to provide needed supplies and equipment, or just to survive, and, for a short time, providing people with a basic guaranteed income, as restrictions, including lock-downs, were put in place. These policies were supported across party lines and across jurisdictions. Decisions were taken because people's lives depended on them. But the pandemic also brought to light the places where policy foundations were weak. Underfunding in long-term care, public health, environmental protection and on-reserve health, housing and water services revealed serious vulnerabilities. As these issues arose, attempts to shore up these weaknesses in the midst of the crisis were not enough. The elderly, those with underlying health conditions, such as cancers and respiratory illnesses, and those with less access to clean water and adequate housing, were left more vulnerable with many becoming seriously ill or losing their lives to the disease (Dally-Starna, 2020).In the midst of the pandemic's third wave, and now entering its fourth, complex and difficult decisions are being made to balance short term economic growth with human health and well-being, the results of which will be

analyzed for years to come, but it is clearer than ever that you can't have the first one without the other. It is a stark reminder that, *"the political system is predominantly oriented towards an authoritative allocation of values in a society"* (D. Easton, as cited in Taylor 2009, preface p. xx).

There is ample evidence for a paradigm shift in values that prioritizes the importance of looking after human health and well-being and all that sustains us. The following chapter describes how sustaining the natural world is a central value within many Indigenous governance systems: values that were carried into Treaty Agreements with the Crown and that can provide a foundation for senior level decision-making today.

Chapter 2: Learning from Our Different Governance Traditions

Shifting our perspectives to recognize that the Indigenous-West encounter is about thought worlds may also remind us that frameworks or paradigms are required to reconcile these solitudes.

(W. Ermine, 2007, p. 201)

Introduction

There is growing recognition of synergies between values and goals associated with sustainability and tenets in Indigenous Knowledge systems or Traditional Knowledges (TK) that are founded on relationships with the natural world.

Aboriginal peoples in Canada have been active participants in international sustainable development discussions. TK is therefore not just an academic exercise; it can be and has been utilized as a powerful tool in the establishment of Aboriginal influence in environmental governance and resource management regimes. (D. McGregor, 2014, p. 344)

While there is a body of literature that describes intersections between sustainable development and Indigenous Knowledges, with some cited in my previous research including work by Battiste, McGregor, Simpson and Atleo (Gray, 2013), research also shows that there are challenges in bringing

Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples to the forefront of western government policy decisions in practice. Scholars point out that TK is often taken as one small part of a development approval or planning process, leaving Indigenous Peoples and their Knowledges on the periphery of policy-making and far away from senior level decisions.

> *Aboriginal peoples are reluctant to fully engage in such processes as prior experiences have demonstrated the need to protect their knowledge from inappropriate use. Canadian governments are constrained and limited in their ability to fully engage on Aboriginal terms due to the need to adhere to existing government bureaucratic and political processes.* (McGregor, 2014, p. 343)

McGregor concludes that, "…*environmental governance processes need to include Aboriginal peoples in key decision -making roles"* (McGregor, 2014, p. 350). Research on consultation processes also raise concerns about a lack of inclusion of Indigenous Knowledges in decision-making and point out that inclusion, according to Indigenous participants, requires cultural understandings that cannot be read in reports or on maps but requires the Knowledge Holders themselves to be part of decision-making processes (B.Boyd, S. Lorefice, J. Winter, 2017). As Ellis (2005) points out; *"Policies that promote the inclusion of TK need to adapt "conventional environmental decision-making to Aboriginal ways of knowing and doing, rather than the conventional converse"* (Black & McBean, 2016, p.75). The questions for this research, therefore, involve looking at how Indigenous Peoples and their Knowledges can play an integral role in informing and shaping senior level western policy decisions in a way that respectfully acknowledges that there are limits to what Knowledge can or should be shared with policy-makers and limits to how that Knowledge should be used. The chapter starts by conveying some of my own learning journey in the *Chanie Wenjack School of Indigenous Studies* as someone with a government policy background learning about Indigenous ways of knowing. It then looks to examples of Indigenous scholarship and the words of Traditional Knowledge holders to describe how Indigenous approaches to governance can inform senior-level federal and provincial government decisions.

Examples of Indigenous Governance Principles and Protocols

Through the PhD program at Trent University, I have had the opportunity to learn about the depth and breadth Indigenous Scholarship that is helping to translate traditional governance models, where the natural world is foundational to decision-making, into contemporary contexts. The program, the first of its kind in Canada, ensures that students also have opportunities to learn from Anishinaabe and Haudenosaunee Elders and Knowledge Holders both inside the classroom and on the land. The following describes, to the best of my ability, some of what I have learned over that time, reflecting what is appropriate for me to convey as a new and non-indigenous learner with the understanding that it is not my place to reference teachings or ceremony in detail and that any misunderstandings of the interpretation of the information below are my own.

I start with a story of a warm fall day in October when our Indigenous Knowledge class walked through the Black Oak Savannah near Alderville First Nation where language, stories, science, medicine, philosophy, art, community and sense of belonging, and more, are simultaneously revitalized as the land is restored. A gathering place was created, with guidance from Elders, that includes signs in Nishnaabemowin such as *yeshi-mooniwan* (gathering place) and *gittigan* (garden) where traditional foods are grown alongside a newly dug pond: a magnet for turtles, frogs, snakes and herons. Along the trails through the Savannah on that beautiful fall day, Knowledge Holder, Rick Beaver talked about the food and medicinal benefits provided by plants and also what was loved by insects and animals, like ironweed for butterflies. He talked about how Indian Grass is processed like wild rice and used in porridges. He showed us, and we ate, the super sweet Clammy Groundcherry. He talked about Balsam Poplar and the resin off the bud as a healer. He talked about Round Headed Bush Clover, with its brown tuft on top, as a nitrogen fixer for the soil and also as a medicine. He talked about plants like New Jersey Tea which he said is the sole host plant for the caterpillar of the Mottled Duskywing Butterfly and that it grows only after a fire. He talked about the Prairie Willow that has medicine in the bark that can be made in a tea that acts like aspirin and also can treat arthritis. He talked about the Stag Horn Sumac and how the

branches were hollow and used for pipes and that the red tufts are full of vitamin C. He bent down and showed us the rare low-growing prairie buttercup. (Beaver, Alderville First Nation, personal communication, Oct. 4th, 2016) These are a small fraction of all the plants he told us about in that short two hour walk. He could look at plants from many feet away and not only know their English and Nishnaabemowin names, but also their biological make-up, medicinal properties that apply to many serious ailments, including cancers, that are prevalent today, relationships to the plants and animals around them, their ecological requirements and the stories and ceremonies that celebrate and pass on knowledge about them to others in the community and more. He carries this array of knowledge for almost every plant, tree and bush on the 100 acres of land that make up the Savannah. Although he has a biology background as well, he carries far more knowledge than could ever be contained within single degrees in biology, pharmacology, medicine, environmental science, community development, linguistics, or cultural studies and far more than could ever be learned in a classroom setting. Instead, he carries multidisciplinary knowledge that integrates all of these areas, and more, based on an ever-deepening relationship experienced through restoring, and caring for, 100 acres of land. This is just one example of the depth and breadth of knowledge from one Knowledge Holder, from the few notes that I took, in just one afternoon. I came to appreciate that the land and those who have a deep knowledge of, and relationship to and with it, make up their own inter-disciplinary universities. I started to think about the vast amount of knowledge *that is missing* in western academia, and in policy decisions, in the absence of learning from Indigenous Knowledges. As we finished our walk, Rick expressed gratitude for the land, saying he loves each and every one of the plants on it. He advised us to, *"care for it, love it, then some of the things that have happened will be less likely to happen in the future"* (Beaver, Alderville First Nation, personal communication, October, 2016) To me, he had expressed a fundamental ethic of sustainability. When I spoke with Rick to tell him about my research and to ask his permission to include this story in it, he added to it saying, *"Economy is the source of our nourishment. It is the child of the*

environment and we are still all dependent on a healthy environment to sustain our economies" (Beaver, Alderville First Nation, personal communication, April 6th, 2021).

Both the written scholarship and the oral teachings referenced in this Chapter describe governance principles and protocols that arise from a rich oral history of Creation Stories and traditional teachings that were, and are, enacted through language, song, ceremony and daily interactions with the human and non-human world. They describe how these created frameworks for nation-to-nation agreements, including Wampum Belts and Treaties, in the past, that are still considered living agreements today. There is great consistency across Indigenous scholarship about how traditional teachings are the foundation for ethics and governance. Often these originate with Creation stories that reiterate that, as humans, we were the last created and we are the most dependent. Therefore, all that came before us; the sky, wind, weather and seasons, land and water, plants and trees, fish and insects, birds and animals and the interactions between these entities, teach us about how to live in the world. (Benton-Benai, 1988; Porter, 2008; Simpson, 2011; Borrows 2010) "*The Anishinabek will listen to the Creator and the earth through ceremonies, or they will elect to understand the Earth's requirements by observing her interactions with wind, water, fire and other beings to which she relates"* (Borrows, 2010, p.243). Human beings were seen as life-long learners of the land and not the private owners of the land.

Based on this understanding, teachings are steeped in ethical guidelines for decision-making that support positive interpersonal, community and nation-to-nation relationships between humans and with the natural world. These can be found, for example, within the Seven Grandfather-Grandmother teachings in Anishinaabeg tradition and within the Haudenosaunee teachings of the Peacemaker. These teachings have become available in written form thanks to knowledge holders such as Anishinaabe spiritual teacher Edward Benton-Banai and Mohawk spiritual teacher, Tom Porter. In *The Mishomis Book*, Benton-Banai describes the Seven Grandfather Teachings starting with the story of a time long ago when the Anishinaabe people were weak and prone to disease. A little boy was chosen to visit seven

spirit grandfathers, and, amongst many other instructions, he was given a bundle of gifts to give to the Anishinaabeg to keep them strong and healthy. These gifts were: love, courage, wisdom, truth, honesty, humility and respect (Benton-Benai, 1988, pp. 60-66).

Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg Elder Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) describes how these gifts are enacted in relation to the concept of *Naakgonige*, the art of making decisions. He says that Naakgonige means *"to carefully deliberate...and to consider the impacts of decisions on all aspects of life and our relationships"* and *"warns to be careful or mindful*" (Simpson, 2011, pp. 56-57). This, in turn, is guided by the Seven Grandfather teachings that he describes as often being taught by Grandmothers. In summary, these include Honesty or *Gwekwaadiziwiin*, *"to make a change in life and redirect towards the good"*, Truth or *Debwewin*, *"speaking from the heart",* Humility or *Dbadendiziwin*, "*overcoming the human drive to be selfish, liking yourself, you don't worry about your place with the group and not imposing yourself on other people"* and Respect or *Mnaadendiwin*, *"understanding something to the point you've looked at it a long time. You looked at it twice. You want to give it honour*" along with love, courage and wisdom, which he describes as *"a whole lot of IK"* (Elder Gidigaa Migizi, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg, personal communication, March, 2017, approved April 9th, 2021). Based on these principles he talks about how, in practice, conflicts were traditionally addressed through meetings of leaders and families to try to solve issues through spiritual ways, gift giving, discussion and coming to some understanding with the ultimate goal of 'getting along'. *"Anishinaabeg had a basic understanding that in order to survive in this harsh climate there had to be sharing"* (Elder Gidigaa Migizi, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg, personal communication, April, 2018, approved April 9th, 2021). He said that, at the time of the Treaties, people could not understand the European idea that you could own land for yourself. *"Land is a living giving entity. Settlers seemed to feel they had a divine right to the land"* (Elder Gidigaa Migizi, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg, personal communication, April, 2018, approved April 9th, 2021).

In Tom Porter's book, *And Grandma Says*, he describes the journey of the Peacemaker and his Great Law of Peace. Porter tells the story of how, approximately 1400 years ago, The Peacemaker brought a message of peace, the power (meaning the strength to live) and righteousness along with compassion, to the five warring nations of the Haudenosaunee resulting in them laying down their weapons, underneath a White Pine Tree, and joining together in a Confederacy (Porter, 2008). The Peacemaker's teachings to the new Confederacy were meant to ensure peaceful forms of governance thereafter. These included the creation of a matrilineal society where women chose Chiefs, and could remove them as well, recognizing their connection to Mother Earth in their role as life givers. He also re-established the clan system to ensure that power would be diffused amongst various groups within each nation, each with their own set of responsibilities and, especially, so that the different clans could support one another during times of grief (Porter, 2008). Scholar, Susan Hill, describes how decisions were based on balance and consensus over a majority rules approach and that teachings emphasized the *"use of mind over physical force to resolve disputes"* (Hill, as cited in Simpson, 2008, p. 26). Similarly, Leanne Simpson and Elder Gidigaa Migizi note that; *"Leadership in the Nishnaabeg nation is, and within our own clans, was, diffused, shared and emergent arising out of need. It ensured egalitarian social organization to a greater degree than the hierarchy"* (Simpson, 2011, p. 121-122). Further, they describe a leader as *"the one to go first to face the future"* and *"one who leads with reluctance and out of a sense of responsibility"* (Simpson, 2011, p. 121). Leanne Simpson points out that *"Nishnaabeg custom required decision makers to consider the impact of their decisions on all the plant and animal nations, in addition to the next seven generations*" (Simpson, 2011, as cited in Gray, 2013, p.112).

In a similar way, Prof. Dan Longboat talks about how the Peacemaker instructed Chiefs to make decisions based on understanding the consequences, especially on how they would affect the welfare of the people that are here now, the earth and all of creation and the coming generations (Longboat,

personal communication, June, 2018). In my previous research he described in detail three specific areas that leaders must consider in decision-making and they bear repeating:

The Peace- How is the decision they are going to make going to impact on peace-on people's ability to get along together, their health, welfare and well-being, but larger than that, does it maintain a people' ability to exemplify a Good Mind? Does it support people's ability to exemplify all those essential good qualities of what it means to be a human being? Or does the decision have a negative impact on the Peace, resulting in human suffering and degradation? Our Mother the Earth- What will be the impact on the Mother Earth and then on all of Creation (the Natural World)? What impact will the decision have on the continuation of all of Creation and its ability to sustain and perpetuate Life? The Coming Generations- What impact will there be on the well-being of coming generations? People have this discussion around the seven generations. It really comes out of the idea of "coming generations". The decision makers are supposed to have, at the fore front of their minds, the welfare of the coming generations. They are supposed to cast their minds forward as far as they can to see what the impacts may be. (Longboat, as cited in Gray, 2013, p. 54, Revised by Prof. Longboat, April 8th, 2021)

He also described how decision-making reflected a long-held understanding that, *"Degraded environments reflect degraded states of human existence. Pristine environments create opportunity for optimal human health and well being"* (Prof. Dan Longboat, personal communication, April, 2018) (Revised by Prof. Longboat, April, 8th 2021). These are governance principles that can be seen to reflect, much more deeply, contemporary principles of sustainability as outlined in Chapter One.

Learning from the Treaties: Foundations for Agreements with Each other and the Natural World

The Dish with One Spoon Treaty or *Gdoo-naaganinaa* is one expression of how the principles of sustaining creation and good relations, with both present and future generations, were foundational to good governance. Some scholars describe this Agreement as governing distinct areas used by the Haudenosaunee and the Anishinaabeg (Gdigaa Migizi-Williams, 2018) while others have found evidence of similar wampum agreements governing traditional territories stretching from Ontario to Ohio (Hill, 2014; Corbiere, 2014; Duhamel, 2018). Scholars and Knowledge Holders point out that these agreements came about only after concerns arose about the sustainability of food supplies as Haudenosaunee tribes entered into the hunting grounds of the Anishinaabe. (Gidigaa Migizi-Williams, 2018). These agreements

were meant to govern the overlapping of territories between nations to ensure that resources were used in such a way as to sustain all present and future generations including plant and animal populations. As such it can be an important model for sustainable decision making today.

> *The dish with one spoon wampum belt is probably the most significant in terms of the Native people in this land… The old people say this represents the first treaty made in North America...Of particular importance in this age of environmental degradation is the fact that the dish with one spoon is also a covenant with nature...Here's the great dish and inside the dish are all the plants, the animals, the birds, the fish, the bushes, the trees, everything you need to be healthy and therefore, happy.* (Rick Hill, as cited in Barb Nahwegahbow Windspeaker, 2014)

Rick Hill highlighted the importance of the protocols governing this Treaty including: taking only what you need for sustenance and to heal, to not let things go to waste, to share, leaving something for everyone, including future generations; and to leave the bowl clean (Hill, as cited in Windspeaker, 2014). Karen Duhamel also emphasizes that the Dish with One Spoon Agreement was a covenant of mutual responsibility to take care of the land and its living entities and that it was to last as long as people lived on earth (Duhamel, 2018).

Indigenous scholars have highlighted the importance of how these early teachings and agreements informed subsequent nation to nation agreements, following European arrival, emphasizing that these are not stuck in time but are ongoing for all time. Scholar, Rick Monture describes how Haudenosaunee governance principles, such as those within the Dish with One Spoon Treaty, influenced early agreements between them and Europeans. *"Because social, spiritual and political thought among the Haudenosaunee is so deeply embedded with symbols found in the natural world, they view many elements of human society as organic and, like objects within nature, subject to cycles and growth, death and renewal"* (Monture, 2014, p. 19). Treaties were seen as ongoing relationships based on equal but separate nations such as was agreed to in the Guswentha Wampum Belt between the Haudenosaunee and the Dutch in the 1600s. The Belt contains two parallel lines of beads representing the two separate

rivers of the Haudenosaunee and the European nations with the agreement that, though they share the territory, each nation rows its own vessel according to their separate ways. He stresses that there are three beads between the "rivers" of the Guswentha representing peace, respect and friendship in accordance with Great Law of Peace's principles of respect, reciprocity and renewal which he says are at the heart of political relationships. (Turner, 2006, p. 48*) "Because they share the same space they are inextricably entwined in a relationship of interdependence"* (Turner, 2006, p. 54). Rick Monture re-iterates that these were considered *"sacred binding agreements"* derived from the Peacemaker's message of goodness (Monture, 2014, p.10) that, again, invokes the principle of sustaining the shared lands upon which they live.

This understanding of Treaty making was carried into talks on the Royal Proclamation, through the Niagara Treaty in 1764. Many mark this as the most significant Treaty upon which relations between First Nations and Canada continue to be based. The Niagara Treaty was the culmination of talks between First Nations and the British on the Royal Proclamation of 1763. The Proclamation was drafted by the British following the Seven Years War between France and Britain, a global power struggle over which nation would have control over trade networks. In North America, The Royal Proclamation aimed to secure long-term support from First Nations, and particularly those nations that had allied themselves with France during the Seven Years War, to prevent ongoing conflict with them. It declared that no settlement could take place west of a line running south from what is now Quebec without direct consent from the British Crown which, in turn, required consent from First Nation Tribes. The Proclamation was discussed through the Treaty of Niagara where it is estimated that over 2000 gathered representing twenty-four or more First Nations to confirm the agreement and to negotiate 84 separate Wampum agreements including the Covenant Chain that would bind all together in an unbroken Chain of peace and friendship (D. Brown & W. Wicken, 2018). First Nations saw the Treaty as necessary to curb British and other settler encroachment onto their traditional territories without their consent as well as

to secure restitution for their losses during the war. Indigenous historians highlight how the Niagara Treaty was a continuation of earlier Treaty relationships, based on respect for sovereignty and shared responsibilities to sustain the land in a spirit of peace and friendship. This included the exchange of the Guswentha Belt, re-iterating its principles of individual sovereignty and mutual peace.

At the heart of the Treaty of Niagara (as with most Treaties) is a relationship with the sovereign grounded in ties of kinship. The dynamic created when the Crown and First Nations peoples became family entrenches the need for trust, honest communication, and honour. If familial love is woven into a Treaty relationship it allows for disagreement without disrespect. (P. Cote, N. Tidridge, 2018, p. 25)

Many view the Royal Proclamation and the Niagara Treaty as marking the true founding of Canada (RCAP, 1996) with references to its importance in Canada's Constitution, repatriated in 1982. Calls for renewal of the Proclamation are found in both the report from the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Government of Canada, RCAP, 1996) and the Truth and Reconciliation Report (TRC 2015). The underlying principles for governance and treaty making, as described in the first part of this Chapter, can provide a foundation for what sustainable governance in Canada could look like into the future. Indigenous understandings of the Treaties also underscore how vastly different perceptions of governance were between First Nations and Europeans with regard to the natural world; differences that persist to the present day. The next part of the discussion provides some historical examples of these differences drawing parallels between past perceptions of land and territory and the discussion of mainstream and sustainable approaches to policy-making today. (See Chapter One)

Understanding Our Differences - Western Perceptions of Governance and Land

There is no doubt that our governance traditions arise from very different perspectives. While Indigenous governance principles are based on relationships with the natural world as the source of sustenance, the British parliamentary system arose out of securing rights to private ownership over land as a source of wealth accumulation: a heritage upon which Canada's parliamentary system is based. Dating back some 800 years, it evolved out of shifting economic and political powers over land between

the monarchy, the church and the baronial class. In the early 1200s, King John claimed ownership over all lands in Britain and demanded ever increasing taxes from the tenants who were the barons of estates. The barons collected taxes from the people that lived on the land in order to fund the king's military exploits and the lifestyle of the monarchy. The King also exercised exclusive control over ever expanding "Royal Forests" across England designated for his sole hunting purposes. Strict laws and punishments were put in place for refusal to pay arbitrary increases in taxes and for any citizen that entered the Royal Forests to harvest food and collect firewood for sustenance (U.K. Parliament, n.d.).

The Magna Carta, the result of an uprising of barons against the monarchy, limited the exclusive ownership of land by the monarchy and guaranteed the right of 'free men' to own land and have the right to a fair trial before one's peers. From there, the King's decisions then had to pass through a Council of Barons and churchmen, the precursor to modern day parliaments, with representatives from county 'shires' added over time (UK Parliament, n.d.). But land and territory were still controlled by a small ruling class, most of whom did not derive their sustenance directly from the land but rather from the labour of those who lived on it. Free men referred to those having land holdings under a Lord and those who inherited such from these upper classes. And so, for centuries, the Charter mostly benefitted the elite. However, the Forest Charter that accompanied the Magna Carta granted citizens free access to Royal Forests for their own sustenance creating the beginnings of the idea of a shared commons that remains an important tenet in British perceptions of land today (Moore C., 2015).

With the exception of the Forest Charter, ownership over land as a means of political power and economic wealth for the monarchy, churchmen, barons and the upper classes of British society was a conceptual basis for colonial expansion into lands for which they had no historical, cultural or spiritual ties. This concept of territory is exemplified by Rupertsland: an area that encompassed the watersheds of all the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay extending from northern Quebec west to Alberta and from the United States boundary north to Hudson's Bay: a total of 3.9 million square kilometers, much of what is

now Canada. This vast expanse of land was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by King Charles II in 1670 on the basis that no other Christian king or state had claimed ownership of this territory (Smith, 2006; Foot & McIntosh, 2019). The Hudson's Bay Charter made its investors *"true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors of all lands, countries and territoryes upon the Coastes and confines of the seas otherwise known as Rupertsland"* (Royal Charter for Incorporating the Hudson's Bay, 1670). It was named after the King's cousin Rupert, who was made its first Governor (Royal Charter for Incorporating the Hudson's Bay, 1670). The Charter gave the Hudson's Bay Company jurisdiction over a vast territory named for, and governed by, a man who had never set foot there or negotiated with the people who lived there. The purpose was to accumulate wealth from the land for company investors back in Britain via the fur-trade. That approach to land was little changed when it was subsequently bought by the Government of Canada in 1870 and rapidly settled by Europeans. My home province of Manitoba was at the centre of what was then Rupertsland and was once home to many of the 60 million, or more, bison that lived across Turtle Island at the time Charter's signing. Over centuries, bison had shaped the tall grass prairie ecosystem that supported diverse plant, bird and animal habitats and provided bountiful food, clothing, shelter and more for First Nations Peoples. By the early 1800s most of the bison had been exterminated and a century later most of the tall grass prairie was drained or ploughed under for European settlement (Huck, 2007).

These examples help to illustrate the historical differences between British and Indigenous perspectives of governance, land and territory. The British view of territory as a distant political or economic entity from which to derive wealth and power, contrasts, for example, with John Borrows description of territory from a traditional Anishnaabeg perspective. Using the term "aen-danee-yauk-kummikuak" he notes that territory carries the meaning, *"the nature of the lands character from which all derive sustenance"* adding that the term for boundary *is "ani-ishkawaek -kummikuak"* which means *"the place along the way of the lands end according to her character"* (Borrows, 2010, p.244).

Relationship to place, then, is embedded within the very meaning of territory. Historians point out that Wampum Belts from the Treaty of Niagara carry these traditional perspectives of territory and the stories of what was agreed to there. These understandings were passed on though generations and carried into negotiations on subsequent treaties that stretched as far west as Alberta. Karen Duhamel notes that, *"From the First Nations' point of view, the Treaties granted Europeans access to the territory; settlers had the right to use some of the territory within the context of the Creator's laws"* (K. Duhamel, 2018, p. 14). However, from the fur trade of the 1600s onward, the British concept of Kingship and Lordship over territories began to shape policy-making in what is now Canada.

By the 1800s, the British motivation for Treaties with Indigenous Peoples moved from Nation to Nation military and trade alliances, as reflected in the Treaty of Niagara, to securing ownership of lands for settlement and wealth accumulation. British Treaty negotiators began to add the English words *'surrender'* or '*cede'* when referring to the traditional territories under discussion with Indigenous leaders, terms disputed by oral and written accounts to this day. By 1867, the Fathers of Confederation sought to enshrine this foreign concept of territory within the name of the country itself by proposing that it be called *The Kingdom of Canada* (Forsey, 2012). Out of concern that this name would offend the Americans after the civil war, they opted instead for *The Dominion of Canada* referencing Psalm 72 of the bible: *"He shall have dominion also from sea to sea and from the river unto the ends of the earth"* (Forsey, 2012, p. 8).

As Dale Turner points out, from a First Nations perspective, nation-to-nation agreements and sovereignty for First Nations, as articulated in the Treaties, did not become subordinate in 1867 somehow granting such divine rights to the Canadian State (Taylor, 2014). Instead, the Treaties were agreements about how the use of the land could take place (Duhamel, 2018). *"The seven sacred principles of Anishinaabe law, for instance, are centered on relationships — between nations, between individuals, and, most importantly, with the land. At the time the Treaties were signed, as now, First*

Nations did not consider land to be a static entity to be bought or sold. It could not be distributed, parceled out, and held individually in the sense of ownership"(Duhamel, 2018, p. 12). Aimee Craft (2018) writes that: "*according to Indigenous laws, Treaties are jointly negotiated agreements between nations that confirm promises to live in relationships of sharing. They are grounded in respect, renewal, and reciprocity"* (p.35). Based on aforementioned descriptions of territory and early Treaties, it seems clear that First Nations understood that they were agreeing to share lands with newcomers in exchange for certain protections but it is almost impossible to believe that they would surrender land to foreign ownership when their governance systems were founded on relationships with lands within their traditional territories. From the British, and subsequently the Canadian, perspective they were securing rights to ownership of land as they had always done.

The Canadian government expanded the concept of dominion over lands to include dominion over those who had the closest relationship to them. Treaty relationships, that were once built on a Nation-to-Nation relationship from the 1600s to the Royal Proclamation in 1763 and the Treaty of Niagara in 1764, degenerated into a period described by David Newhouse as the "Long Assault" in which he includes *The Gradual Civilization Act* which sanctioned forced assimilation in 1857, followed by the Indian Act and residential schools and broken Treaty agreements and up to the withdrawal of the federal government's White Paper in 1969 that was widely criticized as another assimilative policy (Newhouse, 2016). Each of these government policies attempted to sever Indigenous Peoples' connections to the natural world upon which their cultures and governance systems are based. The reserve system limited access to traditional territories that were hunting, fishing and gathering grounds and sources of food and sustenance. The Indian Act gave non-Indigenous Cabinet Ministers complete control over the political and economic activities of Indigenous Peoples including changing Clan based governance systems to western based Band Council systems (Indian Act, 1985). Indian Agents, sanctioned by the Minister, enforced the Indian Act and controlled the mobility of community members by requiring passes for

individuals to leave reserve lands and setting curfews for their return up until the 1950s. The residential schools system forcibly removed children from their families and lands and punished them for practicing their culture or for speaking their languages that carried centuries of scientific, social and historical knowledge of living sustainably on the land (TRC, 2015). Nation to nation Treaty agreements were further eroded by the federal governments' transfer of jurisdiction over natural resources to the provinces in 1930 through the *Natural Resources Transfer Act*. Provinces, in turn, placed strict regulations on hunting, fishing and gathering, arresting those that contravened them. Elder Gidigaa Migizi describes how his relatives and ancestors were starving due to new restrictions placed on hunting and fishing at traditional times of year and how provincial Game Wardens were posted near their communities to try to catch them in the act of harvesting food 'out of season' (Williams, 2018). All of these issues have been documented and described in detail in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (Government of Canada, RCAP, 1996) and the Truth and Reconciliation Report (2015) amongst others. In short, in the first 100 years of its existence, and through policies reminiscent of the medieval days before the Magna Carta and the Forest Charter, Canada lost, deliberately and systematically, the opportunity to learn from vast Indigenous experience in governance based on sustaining the natural world upon which we depend.

Extending back over 400 years, from the fur trade of the 1600s to forestry and agricultural expansion in the 1800s to oil and gas development today, Canada' governance heritage reflects a long-held perspective of viewing lands as a means of shorter-term wealth accumulation for those of a higher economic standing. Canada's governance traditions with regard to the natural world align more closely with descriptions of main-stream approaches to the economy and decision-making discussed (See Chapter 1). Impacts on the natural world in policy making, along with corresponding impacts on human health and well-being, were not formally considered in decision-making until the establishment of the first Environment Ministries in the 1970s, giving a voice to the environment at the Cabinet table. The

consideration of the worldviews of Indigenous Peoples in development decisions did not begin until the Berger Inquiry in the 1970s that was based on extensive consultation with First Nation, Inuit and Metis communities, including in their own languages, on the McKenzie Valley Pipeline proposal. It led to a 10-year moratorium on oil and gas pipeline development, processes to settle Indigenous land claims as well as co-management arrangements for the Mackenzie Valley watershed. (Kennedy-Dalseg & Abel, 2015) The enactment of Section 35 of the Constitution to uphold Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in 1982 was another major shift. Despite these turning points over the last 50 years, as will be discussed in the following chapters, it should come as no surprise that taking a sustainable approach to policy-making is still challenging. Compared to centuries of governance based on a "mainstream" approach to the natural world, Canada has been at it a very short time.

This Chapter highlighted how scholars and Knowledge Holders described Indigenous governance systems that evolved over millennia based on sharing and sustaining the natural world so all could thrive including the coming generations. They highlighted how Treaties were undertaken in a spirit of peace, respect and good relations with opportunities for renewal as time went on. Today, we might describe this as a sustainable approach to decision-making that carries centuries of experience behind it. Understanding historical differences in perceptions of, and connections to, land and territory helps to set the context within which policy-decisions are made today and for how decisions can be informed by Indigenous governance principles and traditions that were the basis for treaty agreements to share and sustain the natural world upon which we depend.

Chapter 3: A Snapshot of Canada's Parliamentary System: Incremental Shifts and Challenges in Current Policy Paradigms

We are apt to think of government as something static; as a machine that was built and finished long ago. Actually, since our democratic government is really only the sum of ourselves, it grows and changes as we do.

(Eugene A. & Forsey, 2012, p. 47)

Introduction

The previous Chapter discussed Indigenous governance traditions that were founded on relationships with the natural world and that were the basis for understandings of how decisions would be made to share land in the Royal Proclamation and the Niagara Treaty and subsequent Treaties thereafter. This was contrasted with the origins of Canada's parliamentary system dating back to the Magna Carta that was based on securing private property outside of the monarchy for Britain's upper classes, along with rights to a fair trial, and the accompanying Forest Charter, an early idea of the Commons, that granted access for all people to what were then Royal Forests. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples places the Royal Proclamation on par with the Magna Carta in importance (Government of Canada, RCAP, 1996) and, together with the Niagara Treaty, they reflect the governance heritage of Canada. Despite their different origins and orientations, opportunities for ethical space between these traditions can be found. Indigenous approaches to governance emphasize renewal and evolving with changing circumstances over time. Western parliamentary systems have evolved to include a greater diversity of peoples and ideas in policy discourse, such as bringing the ethos of a shared commons into contemporary times through environmental and sustainability policies. The discussion

starts by looking at on-going challenges in policy making in contemporary times but continues with a discussion of the evolving 'art of the possible' in Chapter 4.

This Chapter starts by describing the basic structure of Canada's parliamentary system, highlighting the role of Cabinet and senior level decision-makers as the focal point of the research question. It explores the ongoing problem of inconsistency between longer term sustainability policies and shorter-term economic development policies. This is illustrated by examples of current laws and policies aimed at sustainability goals alongside those aimed at expanded resource extraction in Canada, particularly in the period between 2015 and 2020. It draws on key elements of policy paradigm shifts described by Hall (1993), Coleman, Skogstand and Atkinson (1996), and Wood (2015) including evidence, public values, policy adjustments, new policy instruments, inclusion, ideas and discourse. This sets the stage for Chapter 4 that looks at how, despite the challenges, policy paradigm shifts in values have occurred, and are occurring in western parliamentary systems building the foundation for ethical space and for bringing the natural world more to the fore in policy making.

A Snapshot of Canada's Parliamentary System

Peter Hall's foundational research on policy paradigms shows that, *"old paradigms end only when the supporters of a new paradigm secure positions of authority over policymaking and are able to rearrange the organization and standard operating procedures of the policy process so as to institutionalize the new paradigm"* (Hall, 1993, pp. 280-281). In western parliamentary systems this can be a slow process. The inclusion of a broader spectrum of people able to "secure positions of authority" in parliamentary systems has taken several hundred years. The Council of Barons and Churchmen that long ago populated the first upper house of parliament in the 1200s in Britain, known today as the House of Lords or, in Canada, as the Senate, eventually expanded to include a Lower House made up of nobles, bishops and county representatives. But voting rights were only extended to poorer men in the late

1800s and not to women until 1918. For only 100 of the last 800 years since the Magna Carta, have all citizens been allowed to engage in the British parliamentary system's three main structures of government: an elected Parliament, an Executive or Cabinet responsible to that parliament and a separate judiciary (Spicker, 2014).

Canada follows Britain's parliamentary system with a parliament, headed by a Cabinet answerable to parliament, accompanied by a separate judiciary to uphold legislation and the Constitution. Canada's federal Parliament, Supreme Court and Federal Court of Appeal are replicated across the country with provincial legislatures and court systems (Forsey, 2012). In Canada it has taken a century's worth of persistence to achieve a greater distribution of power to include more voices and perspectives in these structures (Coleman, Skogstand, & Atkinson, 1996). For example, while women fought for, and received, the right to vote in 1918 and won subsequent legal victories, from being recognized as persons to property rights, gender equality was not formally included in the Constitution until 1982. Status Indigenous Peoples did not get the right to vote federally until 1960 and formal recognition of Treaty and inherent Aboriginal rights did not come until Section 35 of the repatriated Constitution. This, and subsequent changes, were built on the tireless work of First Nations, such as the Nisga'a, who persisted through the court system for close to a century to compel the Crown to honour agreements and First Nations title (K. Lochead, as cited in Campbell, Pal, & Howlett 2004).

But however long it has taken, greater inclusion in policy development has corresponded with broadening values of equity. These are encapsulated in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms created to secure democratic rights, rights to freedom of speech, thought, expression, peaceful assembly, rights to equality and not to be discriminated against on the basis of race, gender or disability, along with the recognition of inherent Aboriginal and Treaty and inherent rights (Forsey, 2012). Following the Charter, over time, more women ran for elected office and entered the civil service and today have prominent senior official and Cabinet roles. The work to tackle issues, from gender equity to child care to domestic

violence, is ongoing however there are more women's voices at the table to move these issues up the priority list and a gender lens is now applied to Cabinet level policy decisions (B. McGregor, 2019). Section 35, and the Berger Inquiry before it, opened the door for legal consultation requirements with Indigenous Peoples, Treaty Land Entitlement processes and settlements, modern day Treaties, self-government agreements and acknowledgement of government- to- government relationships. Canada's parliamentary system has obviously come a long way from its hierarchical foundations in England 800 years ago, influenced by hard-won value shifts towards inclusion in decision-making. But, just like in the days of old, past traditions within government institutions can still favour particular groups that have vested economic or political interests in maintaining the status quo. As such, significant policy changes are still often slow in coming. They may start with the presentation of evidence and shifts in public discourse but, as Hall points out, they also require a paradigm shift in values from senior decision-makers in order to achieve the, sometimes, herculean task of overcoming historical traditions within government systems. It is for this reason that the focus of the research is on senior levels of government.

The policy cycle, of course, involves many stages and actors. While these vary from issue to issue, these stages are commonly understood to include: identification of an issue, policy analysis and identification of policy instruments, decision-making processes including consultations, implementation and evaluation (Chapman, McClellan, & Tezuka, 2016). Anyone who has worked for or with parliamentary governments will be familiar with how these cycles govern parliamentary processes throughout the year. A Throne Speech contains the government's agenda for addressing issues through various policy instruments and is often delivered in the late fall. A Budget follows, containing the government's proposed changes to expenditures and revenues, and is often delivered in the late winter or early spring. Each session of parliament or the legislature revolves around preparation, pronouncement and implementation of the government's policy agenda as well as addressing issues that arise from day to day. While each phase can involve many actors through public discourse, department

and expert analysis, stakeholder engagement and community-based consultation, it is ultimately up to who is sitting at senior decision-making tables, and who is influencing them, that determines how the policy cycle will unfold. Richard Simeon (2006), who conducted some of the earliest policy research with senior government officials in the 1970s, points out that: *"To understand the operation of the system, therefore, we must focus on the decision-makers"* (p.17).

And so, it is the constellation of people and offices that surround the Cabinet that hold the most sway in determining which way policy decisions in the area of sustainability will go. This includes the Prime Minister, or Premier, Cabinet Ministers and their offices and the policy advisors therein, Treasury Board, Privy Council, headed by the senior official for the whole of the civil service, Cabinet Committees and senior civil servants, such as Deputy Ministers. In addition to their political power, the role of Cabinet Ministers in policy determinations is also set by law. *"There is both a legal and a political dimension to the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. The statutes that create departments call for a minister to be put in charge. Ministers are meant to have the final word on policy and on administrative matters that may have political significance''* (Thomas P., 2000). Policy-making in the area of sustainability has been found to be increasingly concentrated in the central agencies of government (Auld, Doern, & Stoney, 2015). *"At both the federal level and the provincial level, the Cabinet exercises executive authority (carrying out legally authorized powers and duties) and controls the legislative and policy agenda by introducing legislation and programs it is interested in promoting. Cabinet is almost always composed exclusively of elected members of the party in power in Parliament or the provincial legislature. In sum, Cabinet has enormous power"* (McRobert & Geoff, 2008 p. 7).

Building on previous theories of policy paradigm shift, Matthew Wood submits that changes in policy-making occurs, not only on the basis of new issues and evidence that runs counter to existing policy goals, but also in the back and forth discourse and debate that occurs amongst political actors at these senior levels. *"Several studies have more systematically emphasized the importance of processes of*

discursive conflict or contestation of political ideas, or what we might call the 'battle of ideas' in policymaking" (Wood, 2015, p.8). And so, it's not just the inclusion of a broader spectrum of people in senior government roles that determines whether and how a policy paradigm shift will occur, but the greater range of values and ideas they bring to decision making debates. With the "gift of multiple perspectives" brought to the table (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012), there is a greater chance of challenging the status quo. Elements of policy paradigms such as evidence, inclusion, ideas and discourse, can be illustrated by looking at the intersection of sustainable development policy decisions, the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledges and peoples in policy making and energy development policy decisions in Canada today, particularly in the time period between 2015 and 2020. These examples provide insight into the ongoing challenges of putting the natural world at the foundation of senior-level decision-making but, also, further rational for why such a change is needed. Despite the challenges, the discussion includes examples that signal the beginnings of a paradigm shift.

Policy Paradigms in Canada - Incremental Shifts and Ongoing Challenges

In the parliamentary policy cycle, policy instruments have framed government response to sustainability issues in Canada through legislation and regulations, legally binding and non-legally binding directives which include guidelines, codes of practice and voluntary agreements (McRobert & Geoff, 2008) incentives and subsidies, revenue streams and awareness programs. Through the use of all of these instruments, governments in Canada have played a key role in laying the groundwork for a paradigm shift such as was envisioned in the U.N Statement, *The Future We Want* (2012) with policies aimed at supporting a green economy and improved environmental protection across many Ministries. Over the last two decades, and more, policies including renewable energy incentives, regulating the phasing out of coal -fired power (and, in the case of Ontario eliminating it), stronger building codes, vehicle efficiency standards, public transit investments, water and habitat protection laws, environmental farm plans, protected areas and sustainability curriculum can be found in virtually every

jurisdiction across the country, implemented or maintained by provincial and federal Cabinets of all political stripes (Council of the Federation, 2007; Boyd, 2015).

These and other policies have been accompanied by over arching sustainable development and environmental legislation across the country. In the past twenty-five years provinces, such as Manitoba, have passed Sustainable Development Acts and the *Right to a Clean Environment* has been legislated in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Nunavut and in Ontario, through its *Bill of Environmental Rights*. In Quebec, there is both a Sustainable Development Act and the *Right to a Clean Environment* embedded within Quebec's Charter of Rights (Boyd, 2015). The Federal *Sustainable Development Act* was passed in 2008 and its reporting requirements still result in a compendium of recent federal policies in the areas of climate change, water protection, wildlife protection, environmental assessment and promotion of a green economy in departments across government including Agriculture, Industry, Natural Resources, National Defense, Justice and Treasury Board as well as Environment and Climate Change (Environment and Climate Change Canada, 2018). In addition, governments are increasingly referencing, not only the importance of Indigenous Peoples and their Knowledges within these policy frameworks, but also their laws. For example, Section 2 e) of Nova Scotia's *Sustainable Goals Act* (2019) includes the Mi'kmaq concept of Netukulimk alongside references to sustainable development and a circular and inclusive economy:

Netukulimk" means, as defined by the Mi'kmaq, the use of the natural bounty provided by the Creator for the self-support and well-being of the individual and the community by achieving adequate standards of community nutrition and economic well-being without jeopardizing the integrity, diversity or productivity of the environment. (Sustainable Development Goals Act, Nova Scotia Legislature, 2019)

Policies at the federal level between 2015 and 2020 provide illustrative examples of the beginnings of a paradigm shift in values that bring sustainability policies together with recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their Knowledges in the policy process. For example, in 2015, the federal government committed to implementing the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation

Commission Report which included a call for adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples also known as the UNDRIP (TRC, 2015). This includes the recognition that Indigenous Knowledges, cultures and practices contribute to sustainable development and environmental management and the upholding of Indigenous relationships to lands and waters.

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories, waters and coastal seas and other resources and to uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard. (Article 25, UNDRIP, 2007).

In 2015, the federal government also signed on to the Paris Accord, an international commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to limit global temperature rises to 1.5 degrees, and subsequently introduced a *Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change* (Government of Canada, 2016). This was followed, in 2018, by new environmental assessment legislation based on a report entitled, *Building Common Ground.* Based on public consultations across Canada, the report recommended assessing development proposals within a sustainability framework that includes environmental, social, economic, health and cultural considerations and highlighted participant feedback that recommended that Indigenous Knowledges be considered equally in decision-making. (Expert Advisory Panel, Government of Canada, 2017). The *Impact Assessment Act* that followed includes scoping development projects based on considering *"the interconnectedness and interdependence of human-ecological systems"* and documenting the project's *"contribution to sustainability and inclusion of traditional and community based Indigenous Knowledges"* (Practitioners Guide to Federal Impact Assessments under the Impacts Assessment Act, Government of Canada, 2020).

This approach to legislation was echoed again in the fall of 2020 when the federal government introduced new climate legislation, *Bill C-12*, outlining reporting requirements on the government's progress towards its stated greenhouse gas emission targets that include reaching net zero emissions by

2050. The Bill was accompanied by a commitment to Indigenous representation on Advisory Committees and the Preamble of the Bill states;

Whereas the Government of Canada is committed to advancing the recognition-of-rights approach reflected in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982 and in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples and to strengthening its collaboration with the Indigenous peoples of Canada with respect to measures for mitigating climate change. (Bill C-12, Parliament of Canada, 2020)

In December 2020, the federal government introduced Bill C-15 to implement the UNDRIP, stemming from a Bill introduced by Opposition member Romeo Saganash, which failed to pass the Senate in 2019, and following on the implementation of the UNDRIP into law in British Columbia in late 2019. The bill passed in 2021 and requires Canadian laws to be consistent with the UNDRIP, such as the aforementioned Article 25, and other clauses in the Bill that make specific linkages between sustainability goals, respect for Indigenous governance systems and the importance of Indigenous Knowledges.

Whereas the implementation of the Declaration can contribute to sustainable development and responding to growing concerns related to climate change and its impacts on Indigenous people…And whereas measures to implement the Declaration in Canada must take into account the diversity of Indigenous peoples and, in particular, the diversity of the identities, cultures, languages, customs, practices, rights and legal traditions of First Nations, Inuit and the Métis and of their institutions and governance structures, their relationships to the land and Indigenous knowledge. (Bill C-15, Parliament of Canada, 2020)

Together, these policies, along with those at the provincial level, signal a significant shift from older mainstream approaches to development to a more sustainable approach that expressly recognizes the inclusion of Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples in decision-making processes related to lands, waters and climate. But while the foundation looks to have been laid for a paradigm shift that moves the natural world more to the fore in decision-making, along with greater Indigenous involvement in policy processes, the persistence of mainstream approaches to economic development have often served to counter- balance these efforts. During the same time period, from 2015-2020, the federal government, along with the governments of Alberta and British Columbia were also approving major oil and gas pipeline developments respectively. These development policies came from governments of all political

stripes; a Liberal government in Ottawa, an NDP and then a Conservative government in Alberta and an NDP government in B.C., all of whom had various climate and environmental policies and Indigenous consultation frameworks in place.

During this time frame, the federal government was faced with a number of oil and gas development decisions. While rejecting the Energy East pipeline, that would have run through Quebec and was cancelled based on objections from that province, and the Northern Gateway Project that would have run through B.C's Great Bear Rainforest, the federal government did commit to proceeding with the TransMountain pipeline that would carry bitumen oil from the Alberta oil sands to the British Columbian coast for export. They subsequently bought the pipeline, at a price tag of $4.5 billion with a commitment to ensure its $7.4 billion dollar expansion, after the parent company, Kinder Morgan, failed to come up with the financing (R. Allan, 2018). More recently, Canada's Parliamentary Budget Officer has pegged those costs at closer $12.6 billion (Parliamentary Budget Office, 2020).

While B.C. opposed the Transmountain pipeline, they approved the Coastal Gas pipeline that would take gas from fracking operations in Alberta west to the B.C. coast. The decision to proceed with the 670 km pipeline went against long standing objections from some We'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs, across whose traditional territory the pipeline would run: along and under important waterways upon which their communities depend. In 2019, the B.C. legislature passed the UNDRIP, and in early 2020 the Coastal Gas company was granted a court injunction to proceed with construction and the RCMP were sent in to remove blockades set up by members of the We'suwet'en along the construction route. This resulted in the arrests of some community members and blockades and protests in support of the We'suwet'en across the country in early 2020 (Abedi M., Global News, 2020).

And so, between 2015 and 2020, the federal government and its provincial counterparts were pursuing a sustainability policy agenda and a reconciliation agenda while also making significant policy

decisions and investments in support of oil and gas expansion. An earlier statement from the Prime Minister's office underscores the competing pressures between 'mainstream' and 'sustainable' approaches to policy still faced by top decisions makers. The statement started with this: *"Canadians value clean air and water, beautiful coasts and wilderness, and refuse to accept that they must be compromised in order to create growth....Climate change is real. It is here. And it cannot be wished or voted away. Canadians know this, and they know we need to transition to a clean energy economy"* (Prime Minister of Canada, 2016). And it ended with this: "*I have said many times that there isn't a country in the world that would find billions of barrels of oil and leave it in the ground while there is a market for it"* (Prime Minister of Canada, 2016).

But even meeting mainstream economic goals through oil extraction and export is an uncertainty. There is no guarantee that there *will* be markets for oil that can match the high costs of these projects due to ongoing fluctuation in oil prices and moves to lower carbon alternatives. In 2010 oil prices were over $100 a barrel, recovering from record lows two years before, but they fell again in 2014 and 2015, resulting in massive lay-offs in Alberta's oil sector. Prices stayed well below $100 per barrel through to the pandemic (MacroTrends Crude Oil Prices-70 Year Trends, 2020) causing increasing numbers of private investors to pull out of the Alberta oil sands and pipeline projects. Low oil prices early in 2020 spared the federal government a decision on an even bigger project in Alberta proposed by Frontier Teck that was to have produced 260,000 barrels of oil per day, mining an area 292 square kms of boreal forest and wetlands, at a cost of over $20 billion (Energy Now, 2020). The company's CEO withdrew their application citing a lack of clarity over federal and provincial climate plans (Teck Resources, February, 2020). However, the move coincided with a drop in oil prices to $45 per barrel, well below the $65 per barrel needed for private sector investment and the $95 per barrel needed to make the project economically feasible (G. Friedman, Financial Post, 2020). Petroleum contributes approximately 5 percent to Canada's overall GDP (Natural Resources Canada, 2020) and, even with green

alternatives, will probably be part of Canada's energy mix for years to come. However, as homes, cars and industries have become more efficient, domestic demand for fossil fuels is projected to fall by 12% by 2030 and by 30% by 2050 (National Energy Regulator, 2020). Given, then, that the expansion of the fossil fuel sector is mostly for export, fluctuating global oil prices along with shifts to low carbon energy make future markets less certain and contribution to GDP is likely to drop as projects become less feasible (Rubin, 2012). As an example, the Parliamentary Budget Officer's report on the TransMountain pipeline cited its $12.6 billion price tag along with future market uncertainty and the federal government's own climate plan, with its net zero carbon emissions target, as significant concerns about the project's feasibility (Parliamentary Budget Office, 2020).

One might then ask why governments continue to invest billions in expanding a sector for which there is evidence of economic uncertainty and environmental impacts and which creates such tension with publicly stated sustainability and reconciliation goals. The examples from five years of policy decisions illustrate the degree to which old environment versus economy arguments are still at play in policy discourse, even when the mainstream economic arguments are harder to make. The persistence of this discourse, despite the economic, social and environmental evidence, helps to understand why those in the upper echelons of decision-making will stick to policies even when they are not delivering their intended improvements (Wood, 2015). Despite fluctuating prices, influential resource industries cite environmental policies, or a lack of clarity about them, as their primary reason for shelving projects. In other cases, governments can be left to buy up stranded assets when companies can't secure private investment, as in the case of Kinder Morgan, or provide support to laid-off workers, such as those working in Alberta's oil sands in Fort McMurray in 2014, when prices go south. Such disconnects in policy-making can be traced to a number of factors.

Canada's governance traditions dating back to 1867, and centuries before, were based on securing control over land for resource extraction (Auld, Doern, & Stoney, 2015). Through the Natural

Resources Transfer Act of 1930, control over forestry, mining, hydro-electric power and agriculture extended this approach to the Provinces. This created fragmented policy decisions between federal and provincial governments with, for example, Alberta supporting oil and gas pipelines on one side of the country and Quebec opposing them on the other, further politicizing resource decisions and underscoring the need for paradigm shift at both the provincial and federal level. This is also combined with institutional separation between Ministries of Environment and Ministries such as Natural Resources and Industry at both levels of government. While the former is intended to be the voice at the table for the natural world, the latter two often make decisions based on past policy precedent that is, in turn, based on past relationships with vested industry interests and, together with Finance, these departments hold greater sway in development decisions (Boyd, 2003; McRobert & Geoff, 2008; Auld et al, 2015; Hessing, Howlett, and Sommerville, 2005). Policy fragmentation and politicization of environmental versus economic concerns, across governments and within parliamentary structures, was described more broadly as a fundamental challenge by the Brundtland Commission. "*The real world of interlocked economic and ecological systems will not change; the policies and institutions must."* (WCED, 1987, p.310) It helps to explain how an economic paradigm associated with old perceptions of land and territory, entrenched in our governance systems for centuries, can still persist in policy discourse, even in the wake of evidence of economic costs, environmental harms, value shifts and policy changes towards sustainability and the beginnings of inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and Knowledges in parliamentary decision-making processes. Despite the progress that has been made, the natural world is still afforded only a small, but perhaps growing, voice at Cabinet tables.

Chapter 4: The Art of the Possible for Paradigm Shift - Finding Opportunities for Ethical Space

*It is argued that the ethical space, at the field of convergence for disparate systems, can become a refuge of possibility in cross-cultural relations and the legal order of society, for the effect of shifting the status quo of an asymmetrical social order to a partnership model between world communities. The new partnership model of the ethical space, in a cooperative spirit between Indigenous peoples and Western institutions, will create new currents of thought that flow in different directions and overrun the old ways of thinking. (*Ermine, 2001, p. 203*)*

From the previous chapter, one might wonder whether a policy paradigm shift that brings the natural world to the fore of policy making is possible within Canada's parliamentary systems. Yet, despite the challenges, significant paradigm shifts in values are not only possible, they are what have shaped social policy in Canada for decades. They have often occurred, not as sudden radical third-order changes, but through incremental changes supported by evidence, shifts in public values and broader inclusion of people, ideas and discourse in senior levels of decision-making over time (Coleman et al., 1996; Wood, 2014). These have led to, for example: old age pensions, workplace health and safety laws, human rights laws, gay marriage rights, publicly funded child care, inclusion programs for persons with disabilities and much more. The following Chapter provides a discussion of how policy paradigm shifts have occurred using the shift from private to public health care as a primary example. Together with changes that have evolved in environmental and sustainability discourse and increasing inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and their Knowledges in policy processes, the foundation for paradigm shift starts to emerge. Add to this, efforts to restore relationships such that ethical space is created between western and Indigenous governance traditions, and it is possible to envision the art of the possible for paradigm shift.

The Example of Health Care

When students wonder if transformative change in government is possible, I ask them what they know about the history of Canada's health care system. They are astounded to learn that there was ever

a time when people had to pay to see a doctor. The public health care system is so embedded within our social structure that the *Canada Health Act* is described as defining national values. “*The principles governing our health care system are symbols of the underlying Canadian values of equity and solidarity”* (Health Canada, 2011).The move from private to public health care is one of the most significant policy paradigm shifts in Canada. The value of human health moved to the forefront in federal and provincial policy making, but it was a long and incremental process and it is still evolving today. Despite evidence and public support, the policy took over 25 years to become law. As such, it serves as a useful example of the art of the possible for change within Canada’s parliamentary system

The history goes back to the 1930s when, under a system of user pay private health care, there was a crisis in infant mortality, maternal mortality and the incidence of communicable disease with rates far higher than in other developed countries (Taylor, 2009, p. 5). At the time, the Canadian Medical Association (CMA) reported that this was because many people could not afford medical care and were going without it, that there were not enough doctors to service peoples’ needs and that the doctors who were providing service were not adequately paid (Taylor, 2009). In 1942, the federal Minister for Health Services, Ian Mackenzie under Prime Minister Mackenzie King, commissioned a report on health insurance which recommended a national health insurance program funded through income taxes, including a comprehensive preventative public health program that embraced the entire population (Taylor, 2009, p. 18). The policy recommendations were turned down by the Minister of Finance and Cabinet who were not willing to take on the prospect of increasing taxes (Taylor, 2009). More special committees were struck and more reports confirmed the need for a national health care system that included preventative public health care, visiting nurses, hospitalization and specialists, dental services and rehabilitation. This evidence was accompanied by surveys that showed that 90% of Canadians supported a national health system funded by income taxes (Taylor, 2009). Federal Finance and Treasury Board departments eventually agreed and developed cost-sharing proposals with the Provinces and a

comprehensive national health insurance program was ready to go by 1946. However, the Premier of Ontario, a political opponent of the federal government, rejected the cost-sharing proposals and it went no further (Taylor, 2009).

In a different policy setting, the Saskatchewan government, under the CCF (the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and precursor to the New Democratic Party) had committed to providing health services to all citizens based on need rather than ability to pay. The party was led by Tommy Douglas who, as a child, almost lost a leg to illness and his family was unable to afford medical care. His leg was saved by a sympathetic surgeon who treated him for free and this experience made him personally committed to a public health care system. With the federal reports already complete, and with broad public support, his government passed the first piece of legislation to publicly fund hospital services through income taxes in 1947 (Taylor, 2009). In the early 1960s, he and his government went on to introduce the more comprehensive, *Medical Care Insurance Act* making it the first universal, publicly funded and administered health system in North America. However, they faced coordinated opposition from insurance companies and the Medical Association who feared loss of revenue and loss of control over health services. There was an unprecedented strike in which doctors withdrew their services in the summer of 1962 (Taylor, 2009). Despite this opposition, they went on to pass the Bill and implemented the system but lost the next election. Federally, another Royal Commission report recommended a comprehensive national public health insurance program but this time there was a working model in Saskatchewan. Though facing the same opposition from insurance companies and the Canadian Medical Association, the federal government still had strong public support for the policy. The first national *Medicare Act* was passed in 1966 under Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson's Liberal minority government with the NDP holding the balance of power that included, now MP, Tommy Douglas. This was twenty-five years after the first federal report recommended it based on the evidence of poor health outcomes in Canada (Taylor, 2009).

The health care story highlights how major policy paradigm shifts are possible within the parliamentary system in Canada. But it also shows that they happen, not as sudden radical changes, but over time and include elements such as the presentation of evidence, public support for a shift in values, leadership that carries a personal commitment to the paradigm shift and a different policy setting to learn from. The incremental natures of such shifts are often the result of delays from institutional obstacles, within powerful offices such as Finance, and/or the influence of political or economic vested interests. At the end of the day Saskatchewan provided a working model of public health care, along with its proponents sitting in the House of Commons, which helped to shift Cabinet level discourse, leading to its adoption across the country. The foundational value underlying this paradigm shift was that many people's lives depended on it.

Today, over 90% of Canadians value the public health care system as a source of pride (Martin et al., 2018) as does the Canadian Medical Association that now attributes universal health care to adding years to the lifespan of Canadians, controlling rates of infectious disease, improving coronary health and stroke prevention, high standards of maternal and infant health, access to family planning and more (Collier, 2010). Yet the system still has not resulted in equity and solidarity for everyone or the range of preventative health care services that were recommended, now, 70 years ago. "*Profound health inequities experienced by Indigenous populations and some vulnerable groups also require coordinated action …To fully achieve the potential of Medicare, action on the social determinants of health and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples must occur in parallel with health system reform"* (Martin et al., 2018, p 1718). This, coupled with increasing concern about environmental health issues (Boyd, 2015), has led to growing discourse on a new vision for health care that meets its original mandate of equity and universal access for all but also links preventative health measures to better environmental protection. Based on public consultations, such a vision was unanimously agreed to by Federal, Provincial Ministers

and Territorial (FPT) Health Ministers over fifteen years ago (Picard, 2013). The vision released from the FPT included the following:

We aspire to a Canada in which every person is as healthy as they can be—physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually; The air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we eat, and the places we live, work and play are safe and healthy—now and for generations to come; Our children reach their full potential, growing up happy, healthy, confident and secure; We keep learning throughout our lives through formal and informal education, relationships with others, and the land; We work to make the world a healthy place for all people, through leadership, collaboration and knowledge; We participate in and influence the decisions that affect our personal and collective health and well-being. (Picard, 2013, pp. 11-12)

David Boyd's recommendations add to this vision, calling for a *National Environmental Health Plan* along with a *Canadian Charter of Environmental Rights and Responsibilities.* He draws on recognition by the Supreme Court for such a right along with recommendations from the Canadian Bar Association, dating back to 1990, to entrench the right to a clean environment in the Canadian Constitution (Boyd, 2015). Is it possible, then, to envision a transition in values on the scale of the (ongoing) shift from private to public health care in Canada? Could such a shift expand upon the value of universal access to health care to encompass universal access to a healthy natural world? The incremental evolution of environmental and sustainability policy in concert with evolving relationships with Indigenous Peoples provide additional insight into the art of the possible for such a paradigm shift.

The Evolution of Environmental and Sustainability Policy

For over fifty years, environmental policy has reflected many incremental shifts in values and ideas since the first Environment Act was passed federally in 1971. Auld et al., (2015) chronicle key ideas that have shaped environmental policy discourse and mandates over successive governments. These have included, starting in 1971 through to the 1980s, the idea of conservation ethics as a continuation and extension of the creation of national and provincial parks in Canada. This was followed by a focus on environmental pollution with policies to address end of pipe clean-up and the remediation of already

polluted lands, air and water. Discourse on limits to growth, which identified the incongruence between limitless economic growth and a clean environment, did not figure strongly in government policies (Auld et al., 2015) but became a precursor to adoption of the idea of sustainable development. In the 1990s and 2000s, as discussed earlier, sustainable development discourse became the more favoured basis for government legislation and processes, loosely defined as balancing economic, social and environmental considerations such that the needs of both present and future generations could be met (WCED, 1989). Science based decision-making was also a key part of environmental policy discourse, particularly in its application to environmental assessment. The idea of the precautionary principle followed, that allows for measures to be taken where assessments show a likelihood of harm to the environment and human health. While featured in government discourse and policies, according to Auld et al., it was a concept that has rarely been applied (2015). More recently, the authors point to climate policy discourse that is focused on transitioning to a low-carbon economy, or, in other words, reducing reliance on a fossil fuels and incenting and supporting renewable energy, energy efficiency, fuel efficient vehicles and other low carbon alternatives. This has been accompanied by the general idea of supporting green industries that offer products, processes and services that have fewer environmental impacts. The idea of Natural Capital followed, put forward by, for example, by the federally appointed National Round Table on Environment and Economy (Auld et al., 2015, pp 23-28). The concept applies economic measures to what are called environmental goods and services such as wetlands providing water filtration services, carbon sequestration, drought and flood mitigation, and factor the assessed value of nature into government decisions.

Over time many of these ideas have informed senior level discourse resulting in policies such as the establishment of new parks and protected areas, environmental assessment legislation, water, fisheries and wildlife protection legislation, pollution mitigation, including, for example, limits on S02 and N0x emissions to curb acid rain, national building codes and vehicle efficiency standards. They have

influenced funding initiatives to promote energy efficiency through home energy audits, environmental farm plans and programs, public transit and green urban infrastructure amongst hundreds of environmental and sustainable laws and policies. Legislation, funding and programs in these areas can be found across federal, provincial and territorial jurisdictions and across most departments of government (Boyd, 2015; Government of Canada 2018; Council of the Federation, 2007). In other words, over a 50 year period, these shifts in discourse have led to policies that have better recognized lands, water and air as a shared commons and better connected government decisions to the natural world.

However, echoing the findings of Hessing et al. (2005), Boyd (2015) and McRobert et al. (2008) amongst other policy scholars, Auld et al. (2015) describe the overall outcomes of this evolution as "sub-optimal" or "Green- lite". They cite a lack of sustained leadership on the part of successive federal governments to achieve stated environmental and sustainability goals and gaps between policy discourse and policy effectiveness citing, for example, Canada's inability to meet its stated green house gas emission targets (Auld et al., 2015). They attribute this to the lesser value that a series of Prime Ministers, Cabinets and other senior decision- makers have placed on environment departments and sustainability policies compared to traditionally served resource extraction interests (Auld et al., 2015). "*The analysis has also shown how the pan-Canadian scope, importance, and power of Canada's natural resources continues to significantly influence, drive, and often weaken overall environmental policy, particularly on the needed steps to develop green industries and alternative green energy sources"*(Doern & Phidd, as cited in Auld et al., 2015, p. 348). And so, while the evolution of ideas and discourse around environmental protection and sustainability has resulted in hundreds of policies over time, historical approaches to energy development and resource extraction, continues to impede progress. Auld et al. (2015) describe this as a pattern of "halted transition".

Yet, Canada's policy history also demonstrates that paradigm shifts in values on the scale of public health care are possible, along with smaller shifts in the environment and sustainability sphere

cited in this Chapter and the last. Perhaps, together, these can be seen as incremental shifts away from historic approaches to development and towards sustaining human health and the natural world as the foundation for Canada's economic and social well-being. In December, 2020, the federal government announced its *Healthy Environment and Healthy Economy Plan* to support the creation of one million jobs and economic recovery from the COVID 19 pandemic including $15 billion in investments in green economic development. In it, they reference ideas such as "*Embracing the Power of Nature to Support Healthier Families and More Resilient Communities"* (Environment and Climate Change Canada, December, 2020) with policies to support tree planting and the conservation of wetlands, grasslands, agricultural lands and peat bogs (Environment and Climate Change Canada, December, 2020).

While this may be just another incremental step, it is an indication that senior level discourse is increasingly connecting the health of the natural world to a healthy economy. But, as the scholarship suggests, beyond the adjustment of existing policy instruments and announcing new ones, more is needed to move beyond incremental or halted steps towards transformative change. If the working models for a more fulsome shift can be found within Indigenous approaches to governance (see Chapter 2), yet Indigenous Peoples have been subjected to injustice, unequal access to services and to the impacts of environmental degradation, is it possible for ethical space to be created to meaningfully and respectfully engage in 'two-eyed seeing' discourse together? This returns the discussion to the importance of restoring relationships between parliamentary governments and Indigenous Peoples.

Finding Opportunities for Ethical Space - Restoring Relationships

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) and the Truth and Reconciliation report (2015) both provide recommendations that are foundational for linking Indigenous governance principles with sustainability in policy making. As a starting point, the RCAP provides principles for the creation of ethical space that can be applied to policy making relationships between parliamentary governments and

First Nations as well as to relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous people more generally.

These include:

Recognition: The principle of mutual recognition calls on non-Aboriginal Canadians to recognize that Aboriginal people are the original inhabitants and caretakers of this land and have distinctive rights and responsibilities flowing from that status. It calls on Aboriginal people to accept that non-Aboriginal people are also of this land now, by birth and by adoption, with strong ties of love and loyalty. It requires both sides to acknowledge and relate to one another as partners, respecting each other's laws and institutions and co-operating for mutual benefit.

Respect: The principle of respect calls on all Canadians to create a climate of positive mutual regard between and among peoples. Respect provides a bulwark against attempts by one partner to dominate or rule over another. Respect for the unique rights and status of First Peoples, and for each Aboriginal person as an individual with a valuable culture and heritage, needs to become part of Canada's national character.

Sharing: The principle of sharing calls for the giving and receiving of benefits in fair measure. It is the basis on which Canada was founded, for if Aboriginal peoples had been unwilling to share what they had and what they knew about the land, many of the newcomers would not have lived to prosper. The principle of sharing is central to the treaties and central to the possibility of real equality among the peoples of Canada in the future.

Responsibility: Responsibility is the hallmark of a mature relationship. Partners in such a relationship must be accountable for the promises they have made, accountable for behaving honourably, and accountable for the impact of their actions on the well-being of the other. Because we do and always will share the land, the best interests of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people will be served if we act with the highest standards of responsibility, honesty and good faith toward one another. (Government of Canada: Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996)

The RCAP made specific recommendations for structural changes at the federal level to enact these principles, such as the dismantling of the Department of Indian Affairs which is in process through two new federal departments, Crown- Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs and Indigenous Services, respectively. The report also proposed a *"House of First Peoples"* to become part of Parliament, together with the House of Commons and the Senate, enacted through legislation and a constitutional amendment that would create this formal body representing Indigenous Peoples (Government of Canada: Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). This has yet to be taken up by the federal government. At this stage a formal space, currently known as *Indigenous Peoples' Space*, has been created on the site of the former U.S. Embassy across from Parliament Hill, for

Indigenous Peoples to meet and gather and dialogue with government officials. In making the announcement the Prime Minister said:

Together, we have taken the first steps in what we know will be a multigenerational journey toward reconciliation. We have a lot of hard work ahead, and it is to all of our benefit that Indigenous Peoples be given a lead role in shaping the future of this country. This new space - located so close to Parliament Hill - will help ensure that the dialogue we have started is sustained and deepened as we move forward together. (Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, 2017)

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (2015) also called for education of all public servants on Indigenous histories, cultures, treaties, constitutional rights and obligations (Recommendation 57, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015) and initial training programs have begun through *The Canada School of Public Service.* But according to the report, *Public Service Action for Reconciliation: Plan, Educate, Engage* (IPAC, 2017) the initiative is seen as a positive step but, to date, covers only a small fraction of the 3.5 million civil servants in Canada (IPAC, 2017). Recommendations 45-47 from the TRC further call for a modern-day Royal Proclamation, as the RCAP did, and a Covenant of Reconciliation (TRC, 2015) as well as the adoption and implementation of the UNDRIP including *"the recognition and integration of Indigenous laws and legal traditions in negotiation and implementation processes involving Treaties, land claims, and other constructive agreements"* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). In response, the federal Department of Justice has outlined principles for renewed relationships, stating that the Crown *"honours historic treaties as frameworks for living together",* recognizes that, *"Indigenous peoples' ancestors owned and governed the lands which now constitute Canada"* and affirms the UNDRIP's call to respect and promote Indigenous inherent rights including those that derive from *"their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories, laws and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources"* (Government of Canada, Department of Justice, n.d.) As discussed earlier**,** the federal government accepted the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation report and has passed the UNDRIP in law. These are more incremental changes that can be seen to be added to the foundation for paradigm shift.

Scholars offer additional direction on what is needed to restore relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Canadian governments. David Newhouse outlines the main principles and actions he believes are required for true reconciliation.

*Broadly speaking, reconciliation has four aspects: an equity component (closing the gap) that focuses on improving the life conditions of Indigenous peoples; a harmony component centered on improving the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples; a restoration component that concerns the renewal and improvement of the nation-to-nation relationship between Canada and Indigenous peoples, as well as the recognition of Indigenous interests and rights to lands, territories and resources; and a critical conversation about Canada. (*Newhouse, 2016*)*

Black and McBean (2016) identify elements that apply specifically to respectfully including diverse Indigenous perspectives in policy processes: the recognition of Indigenous Knowledges, recognition of the inherent right to self-determination, recognition of inclusive and integrative knowledge systems and community-based participatory approaches and recognition of holistic viewpoints. All of this guidance for the restoration of relationships with Indigenous Peoples and respect for Indigenous Knowledges is inherently linked with sustaining the natural world upon which both depend. Marie Battiste (2013) points to the particular importance of recognizing that Indigenous Knowledges require the protection of ecological environments upon which those knowledges are based.

In keeping with the recommendations from the aforementioned reports and scholarship, there has clearly been a growing trend towards engaging with Indigenous Peoples and recognizing Indigenous Knowledges in sustainability, amongst other, policy processes. However, this progress too has been hampered by ongoing disconnects with, in particular, resource development decisions (see Chapter 3). This is combined with concerns amongst many First Nations that Traditional Knowledges are being appropriated simply to tick one of many boxes that are required for resource developments to proceed (McGregor 2014). As such, First Nations are increasingly asserting their own laws and policies. For example, the Tsleil-Waututh people have applied traditional legal principals to development proposals on

their territories including their own environmental assessment of the Trans Mountain Pipeline. Their assessment starts with a series of principles based on their laws, the first of which states:

Tsleil-Waututh has a sacred obligation to protect, defend, and steward the water, land, air, and resources of the territory. Our stewardship obligation is to act with respect for all beings, human and non-human, and for all elements of the natural and spirit worlds. This responsibility is reflected in the principle of reciprocal giving/reciprocity. If respect is shown, collectively, the spirits of those who came before us; the ancestors; our brethren--all creatures that live on the earth with us -will also care for and support us in return. However, if respect is not shown, negative or even disastrous consequences for the Tsleil-Waututh may be expected. [...]. (as cited in Clogg J. et al., 2016, p.13)

More recent research looks at how to move from the idea of inclusion of Indigenous Knowledges in the development of western policy instruments to exploring how the two governance systems can be brought together such that Indigenous Peoples retain control of their Knowledges, have meaningful roles in decision-making and in ways in which western policy makers can learn from Indigenous laws such as those laid out above. Research shows that relationship building is the crucial ingredient here. For example, Deb McGregor highlights *"characteristics of successful traditional knowledge inclusion"* (McGregor, 2014, p. 349) based on her analysis of policy processes undertaken by the Ontario Ministries of Natural Resources (MNR) and Environment (MOE) respectively. In the former case, she found that the MNR sought input from Indigenous communities and representatives to establish their TK policy, but did so only on a one-time basis rather than as an on-going dialogue. She attributes the lack of time spent on relationship -building as contributing to the failure of the process. In the later case, she found that the MOE had already been involved in relationship building with Indigenous communities for many years citing; in particular, work on Great Lakes protection policies. She noted that the MOE's approach was part of an on-going dialogue on multiple collaborative efforts that the Ministry was engaged in and that these were reflected in the policies that were developed. *"The MOE initiative was based on a commitment to cross-cultural dialogue… MOE undertook a relationship building approach that acknowledged the need for First Nations to express their responsibilities in relationship to environmental concerns"* (McGregor, 2014, p. 349). Quoting Kyle White (2013) the article describes such dialogue as *"an*

invitation to become part of a long-term process whereby cross-cultural and cross situational divides are better bridged through mutual respect and learning" (White, 2013, as cited in McGregor, 2014, p. 350).

The North provides examples of how such bridges have been created in broader government processes, adding in the importance of language and culture. For example, Joanne Barnaby (2009) highlights how traditional consensus approaches to governance allow for many voices to have a say in policy and Keven O'Brien (2003) talks about how this works in practice in the Nunavut legislature.

Indigenous peoples following traditional practices, actively consider ways to accommodate others. For them, there are no 'opposition parties', instead there are different perspectives and different ways. Decision-making within most northern Indigenous communities is in the form of consensus. Inherent in the consensus process is respect for the roles of all people, including those of women, young people, and elders. (Barnaby et al., 2009, p.11)

Based on his lived experience, Keven O'Brien writes about how western and Indigenous governance approaches can co-exist and how western parliamentary systems can learn from Indigenous approaches to policy discourse.

Southerners observing our legislature immediately notice two things. First, much of our proceedings take place in Inuktitut. Second, debate is civil. MLAs listen to each other and do not often interrupt. Nunavut MLAs, like politicians everywhere, get angry, upset and critical, but for the most part our proceedings are calm and respectful. Like the frequent use of Inuktitut, this reflects Inuit culture, in which direct confrontation is to be avoided and one listens attentively - and does not interrupt when another is speaking. (O'Brien, Some Thoughts on Consensus Government in Nunavut, 2003)

A number of northern co-governance and co-management arrangements apply such cross-cultural relationships to decision making regarding the natural world. Some of these stem from participatory processes dating back to the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline proposal in the early 1970s. In their research on that process, and on the Mary River Iron Ore development, Sheena Kennedy-Dalseg and Frances Abele (2015) document how participation was enabled through community engagement, communications, including telecommunications, in Indigenous languages throughout the process. The authors also point to the importance of information sharing before the

formal process and receptivity on the part of public institutions in recording and hearing what communities had to say.

Democratic decision making about resource development requires more than just providing communities with the opportunity to speak at local hearings. Multilingual public hearings are important avenues for expression but they are insufficient. Our cases show that the communication of ideas and knowledge that takes place before and alongside the formal review process is equally important; it is in these spaces that valuable conceptual and analytical work is done by citizens. (Kennedy-Dalseg & Abel, 2015, p.229)

In the following chapters, participants cite many examples of how relationships have been built through dialogue on resource decisions resulting in joint governance arrangements. While none are described as perfect, *The Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act,* one of the outcomes of the Berger report and the process described by Abel and Kennedy-Dalseg (2015), is one of them. The Government of the North West Territories describes the Act as an *"integrated, co-managed land and water management regime delivered through a quasi-judicial process"* (MVRMA at a Glance, Govt. of Northwest Territories) in which co-management boards oversee land planning, land and environmental regulations, environmental assessment and environmental monitoring and decisions are made by both western and Indigenous governing bodies.

Other examples cited by participants include: a partnership between the Nipissing First Nation and the Ontario government to address declining walleye stocks, in which the Nipissing First Nation's fisheries laws are being enforced by the Ontario government; a joint-stewardship board between the City of Hamilton and Haudenosaunee Chiefs to protect the Red Hill Valley; a joint process between federal and provincial Ministers and Indigenous Leaders to establish *Canada's Conservation Vision,* that brings Indigenous laws and western laws together to meet Canada's international biodiversity commitments through *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas;* and *Guardians* programs in which community members are trained to conduct environmental monitoring using Indigenous and western laws on the ground in Indigenous Territories. In each case, participants highlight how these agreements

and programs were founded on sustaining the natural world and were arrived at through a process of relationship building that showed equal respect for Indigenous worldviews and western policy making (See Chapters 5 and 6). As an aside, research on Guardians programs has shown they create an estimated $2.50 in cultural, social and economic benefits for every $1 invested (Indigenous Leadership Initiative, n.d.).

There are also international examples that demonstrate how western and Indigenous governance systems are coming together. New Zealand, like Canada, operates under a Westminster parliamentary system but the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples began much earlier, with first the Maori members of Parliament elected in 1868 under a system that designated seats specifically for the Maori, a system that has evolved but remains intact. Maori also became an official language in 1985 and MPs could speak in English or Maori (New Zealand Ministry of Culture and Heritage, n.d.). However, also like Canada, there were breaches of Treaties that undermined Maori governance with respect to lands and waters and there was also a Truth and Reconciliation process as a result. One of the outcomes of that process was the recognition of the Maori's understanding of natural features as living entities that are to be respected and protected. Some of these areas have now received protection through laws passed by the New Zealand parliament.

New Zealand recognized in law what Maori had been insisting all along: The river is a living being. Parliament passed legislation declaring that Te Awa Tupua—the river and all its physical and metaphysical elements—is an indivisible, living whole, and henceforth possesses "all the rights, powers, duties, and liabilities" of a legal person. This is not the only such statute. Based on the Whanganui precedent, 820 square miles of forests, lakes, and rivers—a former national park known as Te Urewera—also gained legal personhood. Soon a mountain, Taranaki, will become the third person. (National Geographic, 2019)

These kinds of cross-cultural approaches are not limited to planning for, and protecting, traditional territories and remote areas. There are examples across the country of initiatives in large urban centres and small communities as well. A series of social enterprises from my home province of

Manitoba provide some examples. Former Energy Director for the Manitoba Government, Shaun Loney and former Chief of Garden Hill First Nation, Darcy Wood, together launched BUILD Manitoba that trains and employs low income residents in downtown Winnipeg to renovate inner city homes to make them more energy and water efficient. The initiative has resulted in lower greenhouse gas emissions and lower energy and water bills for low income home-owners and a dramatic reduction in recidivism on the part of those who spent time in jail prior to joining BUILD (Loney, 2016). They also launched “Aki Energy” where community members of Peguis and Fisher River First Nations were trained and employed in installing and maintaining geothermal systems resulting in reduced reliance on natural gas imports from Alberta, consistent and reliable heat during Manitoba’s cold winters and approximately $1800/year of energy savings for residents (Loney, 2016). The two-eyed seeing approach to these projects is evident in the Meechim Foods initiative established in Garden Hill First Nation. The project set out to address the diabetes epidemic by providing alternatives to expensive and less nutritious food flown in from the south to the Northern Store. Elders contributed to creating a renewed local food system as they recalled how the community used to thrive on gardens and country foods. Today there is a large farm, run by and for the community that provides produce and chickens for their new local market giving community members access to nutritious lower cost healthy food (Loney, 2016). All of these programs were based on achieving environmental and community benefits and were shaped and implemented by Indigenous communities and supported by local organizations and government funding. Loney feels they could be expanded nation-wide with the right policies and government support (Loney, 2016). These examples show that the art of the possible is there for a paradigm shift.

Summary

In the Introduction to this section, the rationale for the research question was discussed introducing the framework of policy paradigm shift. It spoke to previous research and current evidence of an anomaly between sustainability goals and economic development policies in parliamentary

governments in Canada. Chapter 2 highlighted the different traditions found in Indigenous governance systems and western parliamentary systems with respect to lands and territories; the former derived from relationships with the natural world based on physical, emotional, mental and spiritual sustenance and the later derived from ownership over the natural world as a source of wealth accumulation. The discussion underscored the importance the research places on learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples, pointing to examples of Indigenous approaches to governance that could be applied to sustainability policy today. Chapter 3 described how, within Canada's parliamentary system, challenges still persist between historic approaches to shorter term economic development, and energy policy in particular, on the one hand and longer-term sustainable policies on the other. It highlighted how this continues to be a tension within Cabinet and senior-levels of decision-making that play such significant roles in determining policy paradigm shifts. Nevertheless, Chapter 4 provided examples of paradigm shifts in values that have happened within this system over time. The example of the move from private to public health care described how, while this could be seen as a radical third order policy paradigm shift in values (Hall, 1993), it went through many incremental stages, from evidence, to public support, to overcoming institutional and vested interest opposition, to shifts in Cabinet level discourse to becoming law and, finally, being seen as a foundational 'Canadian' value upon which our lives depend today. Environmental and sustainability policies have likewise gone through incremental shifts, achieving many milestones, but are still described as 'green-lite' by Auld, Doern and Stoney (2015) due to ongoing disconnects between economic and environmental policy. Yet the convergence of the evolution of health, environmental and sustainable policies together with new approaches to Indigenous-Canada relations indicate that a shift may have already begun.

The final part of the discussion talked about how further evolution relies on the ability of western policy makers to build relationships with Indigenous Peoples that create ethical space for cross-cultural approaches to governance, bringing new ideas and discourse to senior decision-making tables. Examples

from across Canada, and internationally, show that this too is possible. The research and real word examples cited provide a glimpse into processes that engage language, culture and traditional Knowledge to inform joint governance arrangements that embed two-eyed seeing, western and Indigenous worldviews equally, within them. They speak to relationship building over time that is centered on restoring the well-being of communities and the natural world. Within these examples are echoes from Wampum Belts and Treaties that return us to the agreements upon which Canada is based. Building on Ermine's idea of Ethical Space, David Newhouse describes *"Guswenta Space"* symbolized by the space between the two rows of beads that represent the rivers paddled separately by each culture, as depicted in the Two Row Wampum. He describes the three rows between them as representing kindness, respect and honesty and as ethical guidelines for relationship restoration between Canadians and Indigenous Peoples today. *"We treat each other with kindness, we respect the diversity we represent, and we speak honestly to each other …" (*D. Newhouse, Guswenta Space: An Invitation to Dialogue, 2021) In the next section, experienced policy practitioners and scholars expand on what is needed to realize such spaces in policy practice.

Part 3 - The Natural World - More Than One Voice at the Cabinet Table: Learning From Policy Practitioners Reflecting The Western Direction - Doing

To take process and policy outcomes seriously means taking a unique sequence of events and understanding it from the perspective of the actors……politics as the engagement of living wills, of real persons with interests and passions…. Politics at this level - perhaps the primordial level- demands a narrative voice rather than an exclusively analytical one.

(R. Campbell, L. Pal, & M. Howlett, 2004)

Introduction - Conversations with Policy Practitioners

I am humbled by the contributions made by the seventeen participants who agreed to be part of this research. Between them, they have dedicated anywhere from five to forty years of their lives to public service and to the betterment of their communities. The purpose of these conversations was the purpose of the research overall: to learn from an experienced group of policy practitioners, Knowledge Holders and scholars whether the value of sustaining the natural world could become foundational to senior level policy decisions, how that could occur, and how Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples could play a key role in such a paradigm shift. Notes from our conversations are recorded in this chapter, and in Chapter 6, and took place between the summer of 2019 and the spring of 2021.

The conversations are divided into four groups that alternate between those whose primary experience has been inside western parliamentary settings and those whose primary experience has been outside of them, although many had experience in both worlds. The first group is made up of participants with senior level experience working in a provincial government setting, in this case, in my home province of Manitoba. They are: Amanda Lathlin, current MLA in the Manitoba Legislature, Jean Friesen, former Deputy Premier of Manitoba, and Norm Brandson Former Deputy Minister of Manitoba's Departments of Environment, Conservation and Water Stewardship respectively. Gary Doer, former

Premier of Manitoba, also contributed his comments to the research. The second group is made up of Indigenous Leaders and Elders who have interacted with policy making through their roles outside of parliamentary institutions representing both national organizations and local communities. They are: Perry Bellegarde, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Rosemarie Kuptana, Elder and former Chair of the Inuit Tapiriit Knatami, Laurie Carr, Chief of Hiawatha First Nation, Phyllis Williams, Elder and former Chief of Curve Lake First Nation, and Larry McDermot, Elder and Executive Director of Plenty Canada.

Conversations continue in Chapter 6 with the third group of participants who are those with senior level experience in a federal government setting. The first two conversations are with a federal Cabinet Minister and a senior federal official, both of whom chose to remain anonymous. The next is with Tom Mulcair, former Federal Leader of the NDP and an Opposition Leader in the House of Commons. He was also a Cabinet Minister under the Liberal government of Jean Charest in the National Assembly of Quebec. This is followed by a conversation with Kevin Washburn, former Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs under President Obama and currently the Dean of Law at Iowa University. The fourth group is made up of highly respected scholars who have written and advised on governance and policy processes in Canada. They are: Claudette Commanda, Elder and Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Ottawa, Sheri Longboat, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Environmental Design at Guelph University, Paul Thomas, Professor Emeritus in Political Science at the University of Manitoba, and John Borrows, Professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Victoria.

Almost all conversations included questions that opened by asking if the participant could share their connections to, or experiences with the natural world. Participants were also asked about how they came to be in their roles and what was important to them about their work. They then were asked if they could share what they believed to be both successful and unsuccessful examples of policy making. They were asked whether they believed that the natural world should become foundational to senior level

decisions and whether learning from Indigenous Knowledges could inform such a change. Finally, they were asked for specific changes they might recommend and how they thought this research might be of use. (See Chapter 1). Overall, participants described what they believe works well and does not work well in practice in policy processes using real world examples. They identified what they felt to be the most pressing issues that governments need to address in the area of sustainability and beyond. They provided descriptions of what they believe are working models that could inform the research question and I include brief descriptions of these examples to provide added context for the reader. Many provided recommendations for how to build respectful relationships in policy processes, linking this to a paradigm shift that puts the natural world at a foundation of decision-making.

Chapter 5: The Lived Experience of Policy-Making

Provincial Perspectives from Manitoba

Amanda Lathlin - Member of the Legislative Assembly, Manitoba

Background: When Amanda Lathlin picked up the phone from her office in Opaskwayak Cree Nation it was a full circle moment. I introduced myself and shared a little about my time working for her father, Oscar Lathlin, when he was a Cabinet Minister for the Department of Conservation in the early 2000s. I talked about the changes he made to the department and about the research I was doing now. Amanda ran for election in her father's former seat in 2015 and she became the first Indigenous woman MLA elected in Manitoba, joining the government of the day. She was elected again in 2016, this time becoming part of the Official Opposition when the government was defeated. Prior to that, she had worked for the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, for the University College of the North and had served as a band councilor in Opaskwayak Cree Nation. In that first phone call, Amanda agreed to be part of the research and we spoke again by phone to her office on August 12th, 2019, just as the writ was being dropped for another Provincial election. She was running for a third term and, in September, 2019, she won her seat, returning to the Legislature to represent the riding of The Pas-Kameesak.

Our Conversation

Our conversation took place just before Amanda headed out to visit communities in the riding. We went through the consent form and talked about how the research looks at Indigenous worldviews on governance and how the natural world can become more foundational to Cabinet decisions. She

began by saying *"this makes sense in every way in terms of where reconciliation is going, in terms of education, environment and real consultation"* (Lathlin, personal communication, August, 2019). We continued our conversation, generally following the guiding questions. I asked her how she would describe her connections to, or experiences with, the natural world. Instead of talking about her own connections, she talked about the importance of connecting youth to land-based education. *"One thing that I find that is making a trend is land based education. The high school is introducing that and land-based education is really capturing the students that may not have interest in, for example, mathematics. It's keeping them in school with that empowerment of learning from Elders and it's like a natural resources course…It's in our own backyard"* (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019).

I asked her how she came to do policy work and she related her experience working for the, then, department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Canada. "*I was an Additions to Reserve Lands (ATR) policy analyst. We used to get teased about how big that policy was. It was the size of two bricks. We would meet with First Nations and it could be a lengthy process and could take a minimum of two years. As an ATR analyst, I broke it down into 12 steps. It helped our First Nations people see the light at the end of the tunnel that eventually would lead to reserve status. They could see the actual steps instead of being intimidated by that big, big policy. In August, 2007, I became a Health Policy Analyst looking at federal and provincial jurisdiction for First Nations. So you saw that you only had quality care off- reserve. The goal is to wipe out that jurisdiction line and to have everyone to work together*" (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019). After serving as a Band Councilor in her community, Amanda became an MLA in 2015. *"I was the first First Nations Woman to be elected"* (Ibid).

I asked her why doing policy work is important to her. She said; *"Helping people… meeting people… listening. Part of this job is just listening. Sometimes it would take years to change a policy. Sometimes a lot of our people, like people with disabilities, are cut off right when they need it. Sometimes they, the policies, are just backwards. A lot of people are disconnected and don't know what the effects*

are of the legislation they are pushing and the aftermath of the effects on people. As a legislator and a First Nations woman, I like to put in my input when I can when it comes to committee and debate and votes. I'm always emphasizing the fact, that even though we are partisan, there are times we should just tear down that wall and work together when it affects Manitobans" (Ibid). She gave an example of a debate over funding for a development within a city park while, at the same time, the government was making cuts to emergency rooms and other health care services. She also talked about the importance of having Indigenous voices and culture represented in decision-making processes, using a suicide prevention program as an example. "*I attended a workshop to put in an Indigenous cultural component. Talk to Chief and Council. Talk to Elders. Apply Jordan's principle… Consultation is key in order to have Indigenous influence in policy making. Real consultation"* (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019).

I asked her if she could describe a policy process she believed worked well. She emphasized the importance of having Indigenous people at the table and, also, having structures in place to facilitate that. She said, *"When we were in government, we had an Indigenous Issues Committee. They would meet on a weekly or bi-weekly basis with all the Cabinet Ministers and the Minister for Aboriginal and Northern Affairs would chair it. You could hear all range of issues affecting Indigenous peoples and game plans were made to go ahead. The Critic for Aboriginal and Northern Affairs and the Minister spoke more because of this on Indigenous issues. Now that Committee does not exist and we do not speak except for Treaty Land Entitlement. We don't talk to each other. There was actual input from Indigenous people, Indigenous staff, Ministers who were Aboriginal, input from Communities. It worked well because we had Indigenous input. Now, I would call it phantom consultation. They say it happens but communities say 'no it didn't'. They only talk to the Grand Chiefs not the grassroots… In terms of Indigenous Knowledge, like my late father had, an Elders Committee. We need that First Nations Knowledge Holders Committee. More powerful than that is engagement. Whether it's an Aboriginal woman from northern Manitoba, a foster parent, you need people who are living it"* (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019). She gave

an example of an issue that had recently come up where she said Conservation officers went after the Chief and others in her community for fishing in their traditional lands, saying, *"they were ignorant and rude about Treaty Rights…Conservation officers should learn about our Treaty Rights…Education is key. It should be compulsory. That is one of the TRC recommendations. MLAs should be educated. Representation, participation, education should be required in order for western societies to pick up and understand"* (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019).

I asked her whether she believed changes were needed to bring Indigenous worldviews and relationships with the natural world to the fore in government decision-making. She said, *"As a First Nation person if I see these practices within the government at a higher level, it would show there is finally respect. We would be looked upon as equal partners. We are still not considered even the same as a founding nation. The Indigenous component within policy making would make a smoother road to being recognized. It's not necessarily a constitutional reform. It's getting respect. Having more aboriginal politicians… now we have an Indigenous component. We both met up long ago and now we are meeting up again in 2019 to work together in a much different way. So those relationships are changing. For example, Lake Winnipeg and algae blooms…First Nations are needed even more with environmental issues and social and economic issues. Traditionally Indigenous people worked with the land, lived with the land untouched, preserved, respected and loved…By bringing those things back with the current way we are driving economic development and making sure our land is safe, meaning creating healthy generations. Bringing IK back to Cabinet level decisions will keep our land for future generations and push us forward in terms of progressing as human beings. If you listen to us, we will be around much longer. We'll teach you"* (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019).

As we wrapped up our conversation, I asked Amanda how she thought the research might be useful to others. She said; *"The information can be used for us legislators. We can always be having discussions with this in mind and this in spirit. This should be used as manifesto when governments,*

including Indigenous governments, work on environment, social [and] economic issues. You can use it in all aspects - education and health. This is perfect for the era that we are in right now but really useful for legislators, and top brass; Deputy Ministers, ADMs and First Nations governments " (Lathlin, personal communication, Aug., 2019).

Gary Doer, Former Premier of Manitoba

Background: The next conversation I had, from a provincial perspective, was with the person who had brought Amanda's father, Oscar, into provincial politics. Gary Doer was the Premier of Manitoba from 1999-2009, NDP Opposition Leader from 1988 to 1999, a Cabinet Minister from 1986-1988 and, most recently, Canada's Ambassador to the United States from 2009-2016. I knew him for 13 years during my time as a researcher and policy analyst at the Manitoba Legislature. Throughout that time we had many policy conversations where I received his direction on water, climate, land planning and other sustainability issues. Amongst these, was the issue of a proposed Bi-pole hydro line running down the East Side of Lake Winnipeg where the government was engaged in land planning protocol discussions with First Nations communities, something I discussed in the preface of this work. There was controversy as Manitoba Hydro wanted to build the Bi-pole line through the area but some First Nations opposed it in favour of working towards a UNESCO World Heritage designation. In the preface, I noted that, when he was Premier, Gary Doer had directed that he and his Cabinet colleagues would visit communities to hear from people firsthand what they wanted. I relate this here because, long after our conversation for this research was over, the issue emerged again in the media with the current Manitoba government challenging Manitoba Hydro's alternate route that went west toward Saskatchewan instead of down the east side. On April 1st, 2021, Gary wrote an op-ed piece in the Globe and Mail in response. He said; "*The question of where to run the new transmission line generated intense public debate. Respected Hydro engineers preferred the shortest route, through the east side of Lake Winnipeg. We disagreed. Four First Nations on the immediate east side of the lake were opposed to a transmission line and had an alternative vision for a UNESCO World Heritage Site designation for the boreal forest, where their people had lived for thousands of years. I listened and embraced their vision for their lands"* (Gary Doer, April 1st, 2021) He added that the alternate route chosen for the Bi-pole line resulted in Manitoba exporting hydro power to Saskatchewan, displacing fossil fuel based power there (Ibid). In 2019, I had sent him an email explaining my research and, as his schedule was very full, he offered to contribute quotes. We spoke by phone to his home in Manitoba on October 16th, 2019 but given his schedule, after catching up for a few minutes, I asked him specifically about his experience in bringing Indigenous Peoples into Caucus and Cabinet. I was therefore glad that the article noted above was sent to me as it provides the reader with a fuller sense of his approach to governance, sustainability and Indigenous input and I use the above quote with his permission.

Our Conversation

In talking about the contributions made by Indigenous Cabinet and caucus members, Gary highlighted the contribution made by Oscar Lathlin. He noted, in particular, Oscar's commitment to

education, based on his prior role as Chief of Opaskwayak Cree Nation. He mentioned as an example, Oscar's work on the Kelowna Accord in 2005 which was a $5 billion agreement with the federal government intended to help close the gap on health, education and other issues facing Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The Accord included funds to increase high school graduation rates for Indigenous students, an important area for Oscar. Unfortunately, it did not come to pass before a federal election and a new federal government that year. Gary offered the following quotes.

"From a leadership perspective for me, at a provincial government level, there's two parts of inclusion that are required. One is finding and recruiting good people from Indigenous communities and then have them, not in minor roles, but in major roles in Cabinet. And two is to look at the strength of the public education system with all the expertise that is at the provincial level. We need to get a whole new vision of education and training that is results based and not based on the 120 year old Indian Act" (Doer, personal communication, Oct. 16th, 2019. Then, he referenced the difference in education funding between The Pas and Opaskwayak Cree Nation. Geographically, these two northern Manitoba communities are divided by the Saskatchewan River. He said, *"Why do we have, on one side of the river, a provincial education system with much higher funding and higher graduation rates and, on the other side of the river, lower funding and lower graduation rates. We have to have a kind heart and a hard head to address these issues and get things done"* (Doer, personal communication, Oct. 16th, 2019).

Jean Friesen, Former Deputy Premier of Manitoba

Background: Jean was an elected Member of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly from 1990 - 2003 and served as an Opposition MLA and later as Deputy Premier and Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and Cooperative Development respectively. She is a History Professor, teaching Aboriginal and Colonial History at the University of Manitoba and is the editor and author of books on Treaty Relationships including, *"Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects"* and *"Magnificent Gifts: The Treaties of Canada with Indians of the Northwest, 1869-76."* I had known Jean during my time at the Manitoba Legislature but had not connected with her since those days. Several months before our more formal conversation, we ran into each other in Toronto at a production of the play, *"Cottagers and Indians"*, by Drew Hayden Taylor about conflicts over wild rice in the region in where I live now. We met sometime later to catch up and I told her about the research I was doing. Given both her significant

legislative and academic experience, I sent Jean the interview request and we spoke formally on October 25th, 2019, by phone. We generally followed the guiding questions in our conversation.

Our Conversation:

Our conversation opened by talking about relationships with the natural world. Jean talked about her connections to nature dating back to her childhood in Sheffield, England. She recalled being a Guide and a Guide leader, hiking in the moors and "doing all the right environmental things" (Friesen, personal communication, Oct., 2019). She described a "working class ethos" that accompanied the idea of the Commons in England and the '*Freedom to Roam*', meaning the ability to walk across private lands. "*There's a song I later learned about a mass walk held in the moors out at Manchester in the 1930s. Literally thousands of people walked across the moors to ensure there was free passage because the land owners were trying to close them off and it was a crucial moment for public access to wild lands. It actually had an influence when I had to make decisions in government. It was crucial in my thinking"* (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). Jean talked about how some of her strongest connections with nature stemmed from when she moved to Canada and lived in Saks Harbour. "*I was interested in Indigenous issues and then went into the High Arctic, Saks Harbour on Banks Island. And that was nature. It was on an island that had about 100 Inuit people. They had dog teams and we had a dog team"* (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). Jean said that her then husband would go with the hunters on the trap line and her job was to help prepare the food for the week long-journey and gather ice for water. *"A plane came once a month to deliver food. We didn't live off the land as many of the trappers did. We had caribou and some fish. It was a feeling of freedom… They have since been quite instrumental in documenting climate change and the melting ice. I remember sitting in Berlin and their community documentary came on"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019).

I asked Jean how she became involved in politics and her teaching career and what was important to her about her work. She said, "*I was a single mother at that time and needed the flexibility of time and went into teaching. In terms of politics, it was accidental. I did run in Ontario in Ottawa just because they were having difficulty finding candidates. My father had run for the Labour Party in 1945 [in England]. He didn't get elected but we always had a lot of interest in politics in the house. My great grandfather was a trade union leader and became mayor of one of the big cities and that sense of public service was important and my other grandfather was a union man. My parents were both active. In Wolseley [an electoral riding in Winnipeg] in 1990, nobody wanted to run because they thought the other candidate would win, but I got elected"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019).

Jean returned to talking about her experiences in the North. She said; "*Being in Saks Harbour changed my perspective on my research 360 degrees. I was in the middle of the PhD research and I was writing on a missionary who went to Prince Rupert and was writing about Christian Imperial ideas and it was all from the Imperial Centre, which is the Anglican evangelical perspective. And then I got to Saks Harbour and once our stove went out and I was standing outside with the dogs. I had all my research notes. I began to question my thesis and to realize that what matters was not the Imperial Center but why did the Tsimshian let him stay and accept some his messages. Some did and some didn't"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019. She said she began to focus more on the values and perspectives of the Tsimshian community and how, while they accepted some of the 'material trappings' of his message, such as a sawmill and a canning factory, they retained their potlatch systems and the missionary adapted his Christianity to their values such as being adopted into an Indigenous family before being ordained. "*Materially they became very similar to European communities but if you look at the potlatch systems, the ability to distribute wealth is very important to establish law. What I got out of the North experience and research was this innate sense of the superiority of Europeans that was a characteristic of Europeans and European Christianity in the 19th and much of the 20th century. That people who might otherwise be seen*

as good and kind, both in their own times and later, could believe with such certainty that it was absolutely right to want to change the lives of people and communities and to do it at such great cost to children and families. I see some of the parallels in language between the holocaust and attitudes to Indigenous Peoples at that time such as identifying peoples as 'problems'" (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

In reflecting on what was important to her about her work she said, "*What my focus was on was on the relationship with Indigenous people…. Maintain that relationship of mutual obligation that I believe is at the heart of the Treaties*. *That comes from my Treaty work; trying to get across the idea that Treaties were a continual mutual obligation. The role of government was to create and maintain that relationship. We were really fortunate to have Oscar (Lathlin), Eric (Robinson) and Elijah (Harper). I sat next to Oscar for all my time in the legislature and worked with Eric on issues in the North. I valued working with Eric as Minister of Northern Affairs [and] having Oscar as the Minister of the Environment was an important step. He had to, first of all, create a new department. He did it in a very careful way. He took a lot of time to bring people together to form [a department of] Natural Resources and the Environment. It is relatively recent that the general public has come to see the environment as the issue of our times. As a new government we were keen to have environmental considerations as a significant part of decision making. In Manitoba, the economic role of Hydro in the provincial economy and its place in both the north and south of the province made it essential and inevitable that environmental issues would always be significant. I tried to follow through on relationships and to be an ally. It was so amazing for me to be able to work with Oscar and Eric and to put it in practice in a personal way and a political way"* (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). When I asked Jean about any examples she might have regarding sustainability and the policies she was involved in that she believed did or did not work well, she said, "*On sustainability, going back to the moors, it is that sense of public access to public lands, but you respect the land. You don't walk off trails. There was an issue on North Portage about a part of it*

being closed down so that the walkway from the Bay to Eatons would be closed down. It brought back who owns the right to roam and the ability to use (walkways) and have access for everyone. But the other one was a municipality that wanted to close off access to the beach. It was practical from their perspective but that was something I opposed. No man has a right to own water front. All should have access to lakes and waterways. Part of the responsibility of the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs was to review development and land use planning in the province. That sense of the importance of the right of access for all to lakes and waterways was important to me and was one I encouraged across the province" (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

I asked her about learning from Indigenous Knowledges and putting the natural world at the foundation of decision-making at Cabinet and other senior levels of government. Jean emphasized that the process must begin long before that point in terms of engaging the public. She said; "*It's Cabinet that signs off on things, but my big thing would be public education. You cannot move without the support of the public. It has to be a strong element of public support for what you are going to do. It's not possible to move much beyond that. You need people with you. Creating those relationships, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, are the kind of relationships that need to be made. It's not just general public education. Not just winning based on promises. It's all the public education that goes into making that happen"* (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). Jean referred to a process undertaken by the party to develop the platform prior to the 1999 election. Community meetings were held across the Province on different issues and input from those meetings was fed into the election platform. Jean and then, MLA, Gord Mackintosh were co-chairs of the platform committee. *"Something I point to is where we invited people to come and talk to us. And those were the policies that we followed. It came from a couple years of work both inside the party and outside the party. If you haven't done it before government, you have much greater difficulty in government. I think the years that we spent in Opposition were crucial to the kind of government we could be"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019). She noted that she felt that Gary Doer had

worked hard to build relationships and said, "*You have the relationships, the policies and then Cabinet makes decisions on the how, the where, the how much and how soon- but the fundamental decisions go on long before"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019).

Jean also emphasized the importance of learning from her caucus colleagues, referencing a Chapter she wrote for the book *Manitoba Politics and Government Issues, Institutions, Traditions* that highlighted the diversity of the caucus including Indigenous leaders, business people, environmentalists and church ministers. "*I talked about how important the melding of a caucus is. We had strong environmentalists in caucus and they were important in examining legislation and trying to push the agenda. When you've got a lot of MLAs you have grass roots representation from right across the province. I thought I was in sync with the general thinking but in caucus there were the most amazing opinions around the table that I would never have thought of. To be able to get those opinions from all around the table on the issue of the day was really valuable"* (Friesen, Interview, Oct. 19th, 2019).

I asked Jean how she though the research could be useful and she suggested "*to integrate it at some point with global youth and global Indigenous attitudes [and] with examples and experiences from countries that have been successful, such as New Zealand, that have been successful in water protection"* (Friesen, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). She also referenced the Sami.

Norm Brandson, Former Deputy Minister, Manitoba

Background: Several months after my interviews with Amanda Lathlin and Jean Friesen, both women sent me an editorial from the Winnipeg Free Press about Amanda's late father Oscar Lathlin, written by former Deputy Minister, Norm Brandson. Norm had been part of the Manitoba public service for 32 years, serving 15 years in the role of Deputy Minister for the Departments of Environment, Conservation and Water Stewardship respectively and is currently on the board of the Forum for Leadership on Water (FLOW). Norm began his article by recalling Oscar's early directives to the department of Conservation. This included greater consideration of the environment in resource decisions and that *"the department would begin to integrate traditional Indigenous environmental knowledge and culture into the department's activities. This would include greater Indigenous participation as both employees and clients*

of the department." (Brandson, Winnipeg Free Press, June 29th, 2020) He highlighted how, in just four years, Oscar had set up an Aboriginal Relations Branch to coordinate departmental response to natural resource and environmental issues and liaise with communities, an Aboriginal Resource Council to provide external advice on resource and environmental issues, an apprenticeship program to bring Indigenous Peoples into the department, a *Certificate of Indigenous Relations Program* to raise staff awareness of Indigenous culture and the east side broad area planning process with Indigenous communities(Brandson, Winnipeg Free Press, June 29th, 2020). Norm closed the article recommending that these early transformations be revived and expanding saying, "*the relationship of Indigenous people to their environment is increasingly seen as a perspective that, far from being an anachronism, is essential if we are to stem the tide of environmental destruction. For all of these reasons, it would only seem prudent to take steps to incorporate that perspective — and the people who understand it best — into the inner workings of our government."* (Brandson, Winnipeg Free Press, June 29th, 2020) It was another full circle moment in the research as I had worked with Norm from 2000-2006 in his capacity as Deputy Minister of Conservation and then Water Stewardship, and his words took me back to many of those initiatives. I followed up with him and our conversation took place by phone to his home in Winnipeg on September 4, 2020.

Our Conversation

We started by talking about Norm's connections to the natural world. Norm focused on the fifty years he had spent at a cottage near Bisset, Manitoba on the east side of Lake Winnipeg, an area he was drawn to as a young canoeist in his university years. I got the sense that this was a tangible link to his environmental policy work as he started talking about his early career. He recalled that, in the 1970s, "environment" was not a separate department but a branch of government and that the employees that worked in the branch were all young and had a strong environmental ethic. *"We were attracted to those jobs because of our sense of the importance of the environment. It was at a time when environmental issues were just becoming important on the public agenda. We felt a sense of mission. I stayed with that unit until it became a separate department in the late '80s. I became the Deputy six months after it was formed and through to the rest of its entire existence and through to when it merged to form the Department of Conservation in late 1999. My entire career was really on environmental issues, and then, of course, Water Stewardship"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

Norm talked about the challenges he experienced over his career. He said, *"It was quite frustrating at the time. I never was involved in a decision in government that suffered from a shortage of economists… Virtually every issue we dealt with, the lens of the economy was very much to the fore. It wasn't that environment wasn't important but it was certainly second place. To me it was always a false dichotomy as one is so dependent on the other. To ignore the environment in favour of the economy is very short-sighted. Now we are reaping the whirlwind of that"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

He elaborated on this concern, talking about his observations of climate change and policy responses to it. *"The preeminent issue of our time is climate change. I've concluded from what I've read and the copious literature that is out there, that we are literally looking at a 3-5 degree increase in global temperatures before the end of this century. The physical effect of that is incalculable. Our concentration on economic issues to the detriment of the environment is going to be evident quite soon…. Recently, we talked about a flood event in South Eastern Manitoba and we talked about a 1 in 1000 year event based on the statistics that we base our hydrology events on. It won't be any longer. It may be a 1 in 100 or a 1 in 50 year event. That's the kind of changes we are having now and it will accelerate. I keep coming back to climate change and the kind of adjustments we are going to have to make. The federal government has finally recognized we are going to have to do something about mitigation, but we are doing very little to prepare for those changes, adaptation and so on"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).Norm related these comments back to the research question. *"Indigenous peoples and their thinking and philosophies ought to be having a very strong influence on mitigation and adaptation to climate change…We are going to have to shift to an economic paradigm that isn't based on growth-it's killing us. That paradigm shift is going to have to face all this resistance from powerful vested interests that have incredible resources behind them. Those that have it don't want to give it up; wealth and power are the same things…. Some of the things that have happened through the current pandemic at least give*

us some hope that we can make some very radical changes in very short order but it seems to require a crisis of gigantic proportions and eventually, perhaps, climate change will be that mode of force behind that complete change of our economic interrelations in society" (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

I asked Norm about policy processes he believed to be successful. He used the example of the Keeyask Hydro development in Northern Manitoba noting that it was probably an odd example given the reputation of hydro development, but, that, for him, the process was an example of change as he felt that community interests had been brought to the fore in development planning. He said, "*As a matter of environmental policy, Traditional Indigenous Knowledge was a fundamental part of the environmental assessment process and I was part of assisting Split Lake in putting forward their Traditional Knowledge along with the standard western science approach. That's an example of where the goal posts moved from most of my time in government. For the first 20 years there was no such policy with respect to hydro developments and with relation to environmental impacts on First Nations. That was one area where economics and environment and social justice seemed to come together in a much more integrated fashion with respect to Northern Hydro Development"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

I asked Norm if he had an experience that he felt did not work as well and he described the example of a potato processing plant development in southern Manitoba. He said, "*Governments still deal first with economic development and the private sector. Starting in the late 80s through the mid- 90s we were approached by two different companies to establish potato processing plants. The companies had all sorts of demands. They wanted to sign up producers to feed the plant and from the province they wanted guarantees that these producers had access to water. Potatoes require a tremendous amount of irrigation. That was one part. The companies leaned on the province for all sorts of concessions; to build the treatment plant for the waste; you'd build the roads into the plant. With the companies in question, it was always a case of 'we want these things and if we don't get them we can always go to Alberta or*

somewhere else'. There was always this implied threat that, 'give us what we want or we will go somewhere else.' (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020). Norm talked about how, based on his own research, Alberta had neither the water nor the producers that would meet the company's needs. But yet, he said, "*the irrigation water was forthcoming, the infrastructure including waste water treatment was granted"* (Ibid). He noted that industries that come on the basis of such threats "*are not worth having"* (Ibid). *"Better off having companies who want to be here for very sound sustainable reasons"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

Norm related his concerns about this development to increasing pressures on Lake Winnipeg, which, over thirty years, had experienced toxic algae blooms due to an overloading of nutrients. We'd worked together in the early 2000s on policies to protect the lake from human sources of nutrients including drafting new Water Protection Legislation. I felt dismayed when Norm talked about the lake's current status. "*Lake Winnipeg is getting worse annually. It's so tragic. There are a lot of good people that are doing good work and yet the issue hasn't really budged an inch in terms of what's happening in Lake Winnipeg. It's one of those wicked problems"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020). He talked about how he co-authored a Clean Environment Commission report on the Lake, shortly after those early policies were brought in, but that the recommendations, and the previous work we had done, have not been carried out in recent years. "*It's not happening. It has this tremendous impact on recreation but also on the aquatic habitat, the fisheries, the communities that draw their water from it. Lake Winnipeg is becoming a very large slough. The solution is on the landscape and that's the difficulty. We'd have to re-engineer our water management system in agro-Manitoba and some of the practices of large scale farming in southern Manitoba. All the key actors of this current government, they are all southern Manitoba people. They seem to encourage practices that are only going to make it worse. Winnipeg is still haggling with the province and the federal government in terms of funding- nutrient*

removal still hasn't been installed in the north end sewage treatment plant….There simply isn't the will or the resources to implement them" (Brandson,   personal communication, Sept., 2020).

We returned to Norm's comment about his belief in the importance of Indigenous Peoples and philosophies in addressing these kinds of issues. Norm elaborated on his experience with Oscar Lathlin. He said, "*I remember the first day I sat down with Oscar when he and I were appointed to put together Conservation. The first thing I said to Oscar is, 'I'm a white guy and I grew up in a white neighbourhood and did so when Aboriginal people were seen to be largely invisible. My knowledge of these issues is largely missing. I hope you will be patient with me and teach me.' Of course, you know Oscar. That's exactly what he did. He is a very generous man. I did learn a lot and what I did come to appreciate was a largely environmental culture that I had never experienced. I came to value it very highly and that was re-enforced when I was working with Split Lake. In my mind, there is no doubt that that ethic should be incorporated into our decision- making processes in government and that's what Oscar and I tried to do with Conservation. I think we were succeeding"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

Norm noted that many of the efforts he undertook with Oscar were rolled back by the current government, except for sensitivity training, but felt that Manitoba was still in a position to set an example. *"In Manitoba, very soon, 20 percent of the population is going to be Indigenous. We still fall short of complete inclusion in Manitoba yet there is an opportunity to be an example to the country. One of our two party leaders is an Indigenous person. We have more Indigenous MLAs than any other province of Canada. Thinking back to our time, as an example, Oscar had the idea that it's not just a case of including elements of the culture, it's the people themselves; bringing people into the organization with the view to having inclusion in the senior counsels of government. …because of this demographic pressure, there is going to have to be inclusion in the senior counsels in government."* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept. 2020).In terms of recommending specific changes, Norm again recalled his experience with the Department of Conservation. "*If one of your objectives is to bring to the senior*

counsels of government a cultural and social perspective of the Indigenous community, you have to structure a path for it to happen. Going back to Conservation, we began a program of apprenticeship which recruited aboriginal people to the department, assigned mentors and set out a career path towards senior levels of government. That kind of specific initiative is needed. There are no Indigenous Ministers who are in the present Cabinet or senior managers. I'm not talking affirmative action- but in a spiritual sense I'm talking about affirmative action." (Brandson, Interview, Sept. 4th, 2020)

He concluded our conversation by re-iterating his belief in the importance of Indigenous Peoples and Knowledges, including the role of Elders, in senior level decision-making, noting again, as an example, the imperative of addressing climate change. He said, "*The biggest difference I noticed in my conversations with Oscar was that environment came first. The way the system seems to work now, you'd think that we'd concluded that the environment depends on a healthy economy. With Oscar it was the exact opposite. The environment was the foundation. Industry often says if you put the environment first, you'll shut down the economy. It's the notion that it [the environment] has to come first because it's the foundation. If you erode the foundation, everything you build on top of it will come crashing down. It's kind of the house of cards we've been building for years. That's the biggest difference I remember from my time in government and conversations with Oscar. It was just a given. Environment's first. That's the foundation. If you screw that up all this other stuff doesn't matter at all….* He added*, "I think we have to do much more to fully engage Indigenous people in talking about climate change. I'm fixated on this as the principle issue of our times. The perspective is one we would really benefit from in terms of how we are going to adapt to climate change; a much stronger sense of looking into the future. Economics has become a quarter by quarter exercise. But the Indigenous outlook is an intergenerational one, looking much further into the future. Another aspect of Indigenous cultures is the place that Elders have and what a wise use of knowledge and experience that Indigenous communities employ"* (Brandson, personal communication, Sept., 2020).

Perspectives from Indigenous Leaders and Elders

Perry Bellegarde- National Chief, Assembly of First Nations

Background: National Chief Perry Bellegarde has worked for 35 years for First Nations people including as Tribal Chief for the Touchwood- Fife Hills-Qu'Appelle Tribal Council in Saskatchewan, as Chief for the Federation of Saskatchewan Indians, as Councilor and Chief of his own community of Little Black Bear First Nation and as National Chief for the Assembly of First Nations starting in 2014 and up to the time of our interview. He has been recognized with numerous awards including the Confederation Medal, the Saskatchewan Medal and twice with the Queens Jubilee Medal. Professor Dan Longboat suggested I ask him to participate and made an introduction. I followed up with the formal letter of invitation and we spoke by phone on March 16th, 2021.

Our Conversation

At the beginning of our conversation, I talked a little about my background and how the research explores how the natural world can become foundational to policy decisions, learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples, as described in the letter of invitation. The National Chief began by saying that these things are linked to ceremony and that they are all connected. "*I always try to educate people about our worldview. We are all related. We are all connected. We are all family. Every morning we give thanks to the Creator and we acknowledge what she has given us; mother earth, father sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, the four directions, the four-legged ones, the winged ones, the crawlers, the four grandmother spirits that look after the water …That's how we are all connected as the two leggeds. We are talking about all my relatives. We are talking about family. When you do that every morning, if the public and private sectors can embrace that worldview, you are going to get sustainable policy and a sustainable worldview for seven generations…We are all connected. We all are family*" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He then related his own story. He said he was born at the Fort Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital noting that, in those days, there were hospitals just for Indians. He grew up on Little Black Bear First Nation. *"We had to live off the land to survive so we'd have to hunt and gather berries… We hunted deer, ducks and rabbits, so we had to live in harmony. That's how we grew up. Gathering duck eggs, you gather some, you don't take all. We had no running water. You had to haul*

water from the slough and in winter we had to melt snow on the stove" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He talked about how, when he went to university, at what is now First Nations University, they incorporated traditional knowledge into the academic institution and it was there that he got exposed to the Elders. He went on to get his Business Administration degree and began working for First Nations organizations. *"In 1986, I got elected to the TFHQ (Touchwood-File Hills-Qu'Appelle) Tribal Council as an Assistant Tribal Chief and did that for two years and became Tribal Chief from 1988-1998 and then became Chief of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations for five and a half years until 2003"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He said that then he took a little break but sat on Council for Little Black Bear First Nation. *"In 2010, I became Chief of Little Black Bear for 2 years and then Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations Chief again in 2012 until 2014 and then ran for National Chief in 2014 and was elected by the Chiefs. I worked for 35 years for First Nations people. I've been at every level"* (Ibid). He continued, "…*I didn't really start getting exposed to ceremony 'til 1986-87… at Maple Creek in the Cypress Hills. That's where they have the Women's Healing Lodge. That was one of the bands I was serving. They are one of the reserves that are part of the Tribal Council. It's a special place. It's isolated. I had a strong connection to the Elders. They kept their Cree language. They kept their sweat lodge ceremonies. They kept all their dances…They kept all their ways. That's where I went to my first Sundance (and where I have gone ever since). That's where you learn about the worldview of how everything is connected. It's the Elders' Knowledge. It's oral teachings... they were experts on Treaty. We agreed to share the land and resources to the depth of a plough, nothing underneath. Even the Treaty relationship with the Crown was a covenant with God (with Creator) and all the beings around…. In 1876, Indians were given the Indian Act and we still have it to this day"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).

He asked me to draw a diagram on a piece of paper illustrating this pathway, starting with a circle at the top with the word Creator in it, then another circle below it with the word People in it, then

below that Little Black Bear First Nation (1 reserve), then the Agency they belong to (5 reserves), then the Touchwood- File Hills- Qu'Appelle Tribal Council (16 reserves), then the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (74 reserves) and the Assembly of First Nations in a circle at the bottom (634 reserves). Then he asked me to draw a dotted line from the Little Black Bear First Nation circle and write the words Cree- Assiniboine- Saulteaux- Treaty 4. He said, *"Our nationhood, our language, our Treaty, those are the constants. We can pull out of those agencies at anytime. We can't pull out of the Treaty"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He added, *"AFN is at the bottom, it's not at the top. In Cree, the word for a helper or a servant is oskâpêwis. In leadership that's all it is you are, a helper or a servant of the people. That's all leadership is. It's all linked to ceremony. I had the good fortune to learn from Elders. The words are not mine, they are the Elders'"* (Ibid) I asked the National Chief if he had an example of Indigenous worldviews coming together with western policy making. He said the first was getting the land back at Fort Qu'Appelle. *"We collectively own it and (it was) a first in Canada"* (Ibid). He then talked about the transformation of the Fort Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital and how they worked with surrounding communities to bring both western and Indigenous Knowledges into the new hospital. "*We transferred that to First Nations control based on that we would build a new hospital and we built a new hospital. We incorporated our traditional healing into the hospital. Western medicine and traditional medicine are blended. You have a choice. You can choose one or the other or a combination of both. The sweat lodge is part of the hospital. Traditional medicines are part of the hospital. I signed that transfer back in the 1990s. There's an example. It incorporates traditional knowledge as part of our health system"* (Ibid).

I asked him if he saw opportunities for senior level decision-makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledges to bring the natural world to the fore of policy making.

He said*, "Of course. There's a huge opportunity and it should happen"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). Then he outlined some of the challenges. *"You have 338*

Members of Parliament, 30 plus DMS, PMO, Treasury Board, Clerk of Privy Council, Finance and Justice" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He highlighted the last five in particular. *"You better influence those entities and have all those on side and educated. It's a system you are trying to change. Is it needed? Of course it's needed to incorporate Indigenous worldviews to bring a diversity of opinions, of views, of dialogue and you are going to get better legislation*" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).

I asked him if there were things that he felt would make this possible. He said, *"Start respecting that there are other orders of government besides just two. Encourage everyone to embrace the concept of self-determination for First Nations peoples…basically that there's a separate jurisdiction. We are dealing with colonization and we are dealing with genocide. We have the inherent right to self-determination and self-government and start making space for that. You also have Indigenous Law, Natural Law and Creator's Law. You have to start with recognition that there is another jurisdiction*" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He added that, "*You've got to have First Nations people around decision- making tables in places of authority and influence; in federal governments, in provincial governments, as CEOS, as Presidents of Universities, on the Supreme Court and bring about change from within, and, at the same time, moving beyond the Indian Act, going back to your nationhood, going back to the Treaties and the spirit and intent of them*" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).. He then highlighted all of the recommendations that have been made already; *"The Hawthorn Report, The Penner Report, RCAP, TRC Calls to Action, MMIWG (Missing an Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls) recommendations that still have to be implemented"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).. He then talked about how important it is for people to understand history, asking me to make another drawing connecting the following historical events:

The Doctrine of Discovery and the concept of Terra Nullius (meaning 'nobody's land') to justify colonization.

1867- Section 91 Part-24 of the BNA Act giving the Federal government responsibility for Indians and Indian lands.

The 1870s and the Treaty making processes, noting Sir John A. MacDonald's Treaty negotiator, Alexander Morris' Treaty book that documented how " it's all about creating a family….peaceful co-existence and mutual respect…"

The 1876 Indian Act combined with Residential Schools and the resulting intergenerational trauma

1905- Saskatchewan becoming a Province

1930- The Natural Resources Transfer Act transferring control over resources to the Provinces without First Nations' agreement.

1951- Indian Act amendments up until which it was illegal for Indians to get a lawyer and at which time the pass system was ended that had prevented First Nations or Indian people from leaving their reserve without a pass from the Indian Agent

1960 Indians got the Right to Vote

1982- Section 35 of the repatriated Constitution recognizing Aboriginal Treaty and inherent rights

UNDRIP

He said, *"All have an impact on Indians. How did the Crown gain title to this land? Title is assumed. They used the Doctrine of Discovery. Then the Royal Proclamation (where land could only be settled through the Crown) If we didn't have the right to self- determination how could we enter into international agreements with the Crown? …It's all about land and resources in this country and who controls them…We feel that to this day. How do we fix it back to our worldview, our ceremony, other governments recognizing the UNDRIP and Treaty? We need all governments and all parties to influence the policies we are talking about it, to put them through a First Nations lens, a Treaty lens…. You could have a reconciliation unit in all 30 departments, but it takes political will*" (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).

I asked him if and how he saw this research being of use. He said it could be of use if it is used to influence policy makers and to educate people, including education on the historical timeline that he provided and the importance of continuing to invest in Indigenous communities and languages. He

pointed out that while Canada is ranked 6 in the world for quality of life for non-indigenous people that number falls to 63 rd for Indigenous communities. His office later sent the updated Human Development Index numbers, prepared at the request of the AFN, that ranked Canada 12th for non-Indigenous populations and 42nd for off-reserve Indigenous populations and 78th for on-reserve Indigenous populations. (Source: Indigenous Services Canada, *Application of the United Nations Human Development Index to Registered Indians in Canada, 2006-2016)* He said that continued investments are needed to close the gap. *"That gap represents poverty, youth suicide, children in foster care, incarceration…. Keep investing in housing and water"* (Ibid) and he added the importance of investing in Indigenous languages and cultures in the education system alongside western curriculum. *"The [Indigenous] Languages Act (C91) is so important…languages retention and revitalization is so important"* (Ibid). He spoke about the importance of K-12 western education but also that, "*You need two systems of education. Equally important are languages, ceremonies and customs to know who you are as a Cree person, Algonquin, Dene…Youth need to walk in balance and walk in both worlds"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021). He also noted that it is important to get businesses to focus on the 3 "Ps" (people, planet, profit) by putting the planet first. *"Get to CEOs to put their business focus on the planet"* (Ibid). At the end of the conversation, we talked about leadership in the upcoming generation and how inspiring it is. He closed the discussion by bringing it full circle back to the Treaties and relationships with Creation. He said, *"Get these young people standing up for the planet…our old people say 'as long as the sun shines, the river flows and the grass grows' and, also, 'for generations now and those yet unborn'. Going back to his opening words he said, "Little Black Bear used his pipe and called on all those things to witness the Treaty"* (Perry Bellegarde, personal communication, March 16th, 2021).

Elder Rosemarie Kuptana - Former Chair of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami

Background: Ms. Kuptana was the Chair of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami and was a leader in negotiating the Inherent Right of Self-Government for Inuit in Canada's Constitutional talks on the Charlottetown Accord,

as well as negotiating changes to the *Migratory Birds Convention Act* (1995). She was the President of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and a leader in bringing Inuit voices and observations to international climate change negotiations and discussions. She was the President of the first Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Television Northern Canada leading up to the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN). She has received many awards for her work including the Order of Canada and Indspire's Award for Public Service. I met Ms. Kuptana in 2019 when she visited a class that I was teaching as part of the visiting Elders program. She inspired the students with her stories about creating the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and emphasized the importance of language and communication and her own experiences of leadership and interacting with government. Subsequently, my Committee recommended her as a participant for this research. We spoke by phone to her home in Nova Scotia on October 20th, 2020 and had a follow-up conversation on Oct. 27th, 2020.

Our Conversation

I provided an overview of the research as outlined in the invitation letter to her and in response, she said; "*One really valuable way of interaction between cultures and peoples is to share their knowledge. On climate change, we worked with scientists, wildlife experts and biologists but we also took those scientists out on the land so they could see how we observed and acquired our knowledge. All these issues are interconnected…oil and gas…climate change…Effects in one part of the world will have an impact on another part of the world. It's really important for people to interact with Indigenous science. Our science is based on the world around us. We have to co-exist on this planet. People have to start working together so there is an understanding of Indigenous Knowledge"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).

I asked her how she would describe her connections to, or experiences with, the natural world. She said, "*I am a part of the natural world. I'm part of the life force of the natural world…, I believe that all humans are part of the natural world but have become very disconnected with it because life has become too easy. We often see a disconnection between the world around us, what we eat, how it's prepared and how other cultures operate and rely on the earth's resources. We had to depend on caribou, musk ox, rabbit, arctic hare, geese, fish and whales. Our lives revolved around the seasons. We followed the animals"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020). In our second conversation, she

added to this saying; *"I was born in an igloo in 1954 in Prince of Wales Straight. I was birthed by my grandmother and a great big polar bear walked by but didn't attack us as I was born. My father came back home and had seal and so they ate seal. The Inuit moved out on to the sea ice because it was much warmer because there was a constant flow of water under you. I grew up observing the natural world around me. ….I've seen the seasons because I was a nomadic child so I had this deep relationship with the land and the environment and we followed the seasons and the animals and when you make decisions about the world around us, you have to take into consideration those things that make the world happen"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020).

From there, Ms. Kuptana described her perspective of government policy processes. *"Life has become too complicated. I see that disconnection between governments and peoples especially in the case of Inuit where governments in Ottawa, Winnipeg and Edmonton make decisions for Indigenous peoples. What works in Kanesatake may not work in Pond Inlet. There needs to be greater effort on the part of the government to involve Indigenous Peoples. At this time the climate is probably one of the biggest and most challenging issues challenging mankind whereas other people would see it as an opportunity. Because Inuit are principally pragmatic, I would want to see Inuit people involved in any economic measures*" (Ibid). Here, Ms. Kuptana referenced, in particular, port infrastructure and security. *"Sometime in the next 20 years the Northwest passage will be ice free. Inuit can contribute to the narrative of what is happening. You've got China that is very interested in the Arctic. They are interested in the vast resources in the arctic such as oil and gas, natural gas, methane gas and rare minerals. And all these resources translate into trillions of dollars. I am hoping Inuit can get on that decision- making [at a high] level because it's going to be a serious issue. It's going to cut out two more weeks of China's transport time than it does now"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).

I asked her how she became involved in the leadership roles she undertook and what was most important to her about her work. She said, "*All of the work that I've done, especially human rights and climate change, stems from my own experience having encountered colonization that directly impacted my family. My father's geese were taken away because they were hunted out of season. Our food was taken away. I was sent off to residential school. These experiences have helped to shape my work. That was never my primary interest. I wanted to be a scientist but all the colonization impacts I experienced really have helped to shape my work when I was younger. I was very angry because I was forced to speak English, forced to eat foreign food and forced to value different traditions from what I had learned. It was like growing up in an orphanage. It was those negative experiences that I was angry about that helped shape my work; the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, The Aboriginal Peoples Network. I wanted people to discuss issues in their own understanding. That's really what has shaped me"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).

I then asked her if, in the context the work she had done on policy making, there were any experiences that she thought worked well and what made them work well. She said, "*There are two negotiation processes that I identify as successful and useful processes. First what needs to be done is to negotiate the principles and then we can deal with the details. One was the Migratory Birds Convention Act of 1995 where Indigenous Peoples were equal partners at the table and we managed to change the Migratory Birds Convention so the goose spring hunt became legal for everyone and then there are clauses that deal with economic uses for the byproducts of the birds. So, we had a big part in that. The process was that there was the government side from the Ministerial level on down and Inuit leaders and we managed to negotiate the changes that we wanted to see, by virtue of an interpretation document of all the clauses so it's clearly understood by government and Indigenous Peoples what this means. Inuit were there as equal partners. The other process was the Charlottetown process with respect to the Constitutional discussions. We had that same kind of process. Inuit were there as equal partners. There*

was a statement by [another politician] that 'we will invite those Indigenous Peoples where it affects their lives.' I put my hand up and said 'what part of the Constitution doesn't apply to Inuit?' It was complex and it worked. Inuit came very close to having the inherent right to self-government explicitly recognized in the Canadian constitution. The Inuit drafted the piece that was negotiated by all parties… I think what made the Inuit successful in those negotiations is we did a lot of work in the Inuit communities. We tried to knock on every door. Inuit were very well informed of the negotiation process and the substantive discussion that was taking place; what the inherent right of self-government means. We held town halls in the Inuit communities. I think that's why we had such a high percentage of people voting yes for the Charlottetown Accord because they understood what it would mean. I think I was the youngest person there too and the only woman. It was a bit intimidating... Women always had a voice but people just need to listen" (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).

We talked about how Indigenous approaches to governance across nations are so often founded on relationships with the natural world and I asked whether she saw opportunities for federal and provincial policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledge holders, leaders and scholars. She said, *"That's what has to start showing up in these connections and how we govern ourselves. We somehow have divorced ourselves from the planet. We are a part of the eco-system. We are destroying the planet bit by bit. I think it's really important to understand the need for the inclusion of what people call Traditional Knowledge or traditional science. I think that's one way of shifting the way these government Peoples operate and think because there are better ways of managing our environment" (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).*

The next question related to whether she saw opportunities that could support a shift such that relationships with the natural world and Indigenous Ways of Knowing become more central to Cabinet policy decisions and what she believes is necessary for such a shift to occur. Her initial response started

with relationships between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Canada. *"I see this as a larger part of Indigenous Peoples and settler relations. There seems to be such a lack of understanding and prejudice. For instance, the ongoing lobster tensions we are seeing in Nova Scotia. I would blame the federal government because they didn't do a good job of explaining what the Marshall agreement meant."* [Reference to Supreme Court of Canada cases, Marshall 1, 2 and 3 recognizing Indigenous fishing rights]. *You've got an agreement between Indigenous Peoples and the federal government but not the non-indigenous people. If we had more co-management relationships we would be far better ahead. But institutional racism cannot be addressed overnight. The health-care system: You look at the Arctic and we still have third world conditions and third world diseases. We can send a man up to the moon but we can't fix a housing problem that's been there for 50 years. Its' institutionalized racism and that's one of the biggest barriers to development of relationships between Indigenous Peoples in Canada and other people. I think that for others to understand the impacts of colonization. People are always telling me get over it, residential school, but you can't just get over it. There should be some kind of analysis done on the impact of colonization. That's really where the deterioration of Indigenous lives began at contact. The laws are fundamentally racist meaning that they are not part of our culture. Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples have to be involved at the very highest levels of government decision -making. We are the ones with most at stake. If governments are going to develop adaptation strategies for Indigenous Peoples in Northern Canada, Inuit have to be involved; real partnerships that are respectful, that are more than meaningful, that make room to understand that Indigenous Peoples were here before the French and English made Canada [otherwise] not only is this an insult to our intellect, it's an insult to our humanity"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 20th, 2020).

In our follow up conversation on October 27th, 2020, Ms. Kuptana elaborated on her earlier response. Returning to the policy discussion, she said that government people must ask, *"Why did I make this decision? Is it a good decision? How did I make this decision? When you are making a policy for*

people you don't even know, how will this policy decision affect this group? And that's because we are, as Canadians and governments, we are ignorant of the fact that there are so many Indigenous Peoples in this country that have fundamental human rights that need to be respected. They can't just write it off with one stroke of a pen, meaning one policy works for all. Well it doesn't. In recognition of Section 35, I'm wondering why the Indian Act was not repealed as well as Section 88 which gives provinces certain rights and jurisdiction over Indigenous issues. You are dealing with old laws that should have been repealed in the repatriation of the Constitutions and especially the Charter… In Canada we are a third order of government including land management and water restoration, all the things that government would do" (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020). She then noted the rising population of Indigenous Peoples in Canada, estimating the number at close to 2 million, and the rising numbers of those of voting age (Ibid). *"I really think that policy making must start by writing memos to their senior level Cabinet Ministers. We have to stop looking at this from a reductionist point of view which is very destructive to our way, our planet and our way of life. We have to look at decisions from a holistic fashion. If I make this decision, what impact does it have?... In our culture we don't participate in things that harm human beings and the earth. We don't gossip about other human beings and the earth. Our words are so powerful. That is what we have been taught. In Inuit culture there are very few language interactions. It's a way of knowing what the other person is thinking and feeling and I think that all goes back to the connection with being a part of the eco-system"* (Ibid).

She added that; *"Everything that we do and say in this world is felt by the non-seeing world. And that's what I was taught. I was really enchanted to have been connected to the last shamans in our world and they showed me some things… There's so much we don't understand in this world because we've been taught in certain ways but there are other ways of knowing and some of those are much more superior"* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020). Ms. Kuptana talked about how shamans were important in Inuit forms of governance as they had *"certain gifts we didn't have"* (Ibid) but

how ceremonial ways of doing things were completely disintegrated by the “church and state” and her mother became a devout Christian. She said, *“I never did, because I went to residential school but my mother had no choice otherwise her family allowance would be taken away”* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020). She related personal stories about how traditional teachings had helped both her and her mother recover from illness and accident respectively. She closed this part of the discussion by saying, *“If you look at the teachings in all different religions, the fundamental message that they teach is love and so it is that in Inuit society. You love your family, you allow your children to be children for as long as you can. In each major religion, love is the key”* (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020).

I asked how she thought this research could be useful and she said; *“It would be useful to a whole host of departments and processes because of the extent of nature and with respect to how successful aboriginal and government relations work; what has been most successful and what hasn’t worked… we are kind of the forgotten tribe when Constitutional discussions take place… If we didn’t poison North America, we could still drink from our rivers. That’s the stark reality but it doesn’t mean we can’t change it. It’s up to us co-existing and making this planet better for everyone. Imagine if we used all that negative energy fighting against one another and transferred it into something positive, how much further we would be ahead*” (R. Kuptana, personal communication, Oct. 27th, 2020).

Chief Laurie Carr, Hiawatha First Nation

Background: Laurie Carr is the Chief of Hiawatha First Nation located on Michi Saagiig territory in Ontario. She previously served on Council from 2003-2010 both as a Counselor and Chief and returned to her role as Chief in recent years. She worked for over six years for the Chiefs of Ontario, the political organization for 133 First Nations in Ontario, including as a Health Benefits Navigator for Southern Ontario. I had met her a few times before when I heard her speak at various events on the importance of relationships to water and subsequently invited her to speak to the class I was instructing at Trent University. She spoke to the students about relationships to land, governance and engagement with First Nations communities. Based on her experience and her words connecting the natural world and governance, I asked if she would be willing to be interviewed. I sent her the invitation to the research prior and we planned to

meet at her office. The COVID pandemic hit Ontario around that time and so we arranged to speak by phone at a later date instead. We spoke on March 30th, 2020 and we generally followed the guiding questions in our conversation.

Our Conversation

We began with my asking Chief Carr if she could describe her experiences with, and connections to, the natural world. She talked about how she has certain places in nature where she grounds herself, saying; *"I have a tree that I sit by and I go out there and do my prayers and lay my tobacco around that tree and lay my sacred items around that tree. There are times that I go to the cemetery and I talk with my ancestors and ask for guidance. It's sitting on the grass and grounding myself. I'll sit by the water. Yesterday I went for a walk in the woods. It gives me comfort…peace. When I ask for help from my ancestors and from the Creator, that's where I go. Part of that role for me is to protect the lands and waters and that's where all the connectedness comes from"* (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020).

I asked her about how she became involved in policy-making and what is important to her about her work. *"The way I became involved is, initially, that somebody asked me to run for Chief and I said I don't think so. They said, 'you can do this, it's knowing your community, its common sense, its caring about your community, you can do this'. I ran and was in 4 years the first time and now 3 years. I took a 6 year break and was in the policy area for the Chiefs of Ontario, in Health. Why I became involved and wanted to come back? I believe it is in my blood. It's a crazy beautiful job. It's what I love doing. It's not even work, it's what I love doing. My mom was a Paudash and on her side they were the Hereditary Chiefs, before the Indian Act. And my dad was an elected chief for 18 years. I want to do well for our people. I want all good things for our citizens and our community. I'm just grateful and honoured to be their Chief. Part of it is in my blood and part of it is because I care. It is where I am meant to be. Right*

now, we don't know what tomorrow will bring but it's relying on all those people around you to help you make the best decisions that you can. I am double honoured for my community to want me back; I want to do my best for my people" (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020).

When I asked Chief Carr if she had examples of policy processes that worked well and ones that did not work well, she described her experience working as a non-insured Health Benefits Navigator with the Chiefs of Ontario for First Nations and her experience with federal policies. *"My role was to help our communities, our people, liaison with Health Canada"* (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020). She said that there were times when the government was just interpreting a policy in a certain way that was not actually in the policy. She gave an example of a man who had an electric wheelchair which he paid for. Because their First Nation was on an island, and the only way to the mainland was a ferry, the man and his wife needed a manual wheel chair that could be folded into the car but they were denied funding. "*I called and asked why she was denied and they said that they already had a wheelchair. I said they paid for that themselves and the person said we don't pay for wheelchairs so they can get on their boat. I explained it was not just a boat and they needed to get to the mainland. I read through the policy. I went higher up and explained that they'd never paid for one and it doesn't say that you won't pay because they have one that they paid for. It was just an interpretation of their own policy…We all have a story to our natural surroundings. We were put here. It's not like we chose this. For example, we lived in the larger traditional territory of the Michi Saagiig People not this little 1100 hectare area of Hiawatha. You chose to put our First Nations in these areas and now you are saying that now these are our natural surroundings and you don't want to help with that. You put them in a natural surrounding where they flood every year. That you have to help with. You make policies around our health but you have no idea what it's like to live where we live. You make a policy where you've never stepped outside Ottawa or Toronto and make a policy about people that you've never been to their community where they live-*

about people you don't even know and you are making policies about them" (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020).

When I asked her whether she saw opportunities for provincial and federal officials to learn from Indigenous Knowledges and whether these could support the natural world becoming more central to Cabinet policy decisions, she said yes and added; "*I think a lot of it will come back to health. It's all related to our health and well-being. First of all, they need to be willing to learn. We are very adaptable, Jane, if you think of our First Nations across Canada. We've been through wars. We've been through pandemics. When we knew something was coming, we went back up to our traditional territory further north and we adapted to our natural surroundings. Everything comes from the lands and water and that's why it's so important to protect it. What's happening right now is a prime example. Nobody is caring about a pipeline right now. Nobody is caring about going on vacations. Nobody is caring about getting that business that affects the environment. People are just caring about surviving. Everything you need comes from the land, food, water. If you have poisoned the land you won't be able to have food. What happens if a pandemic happens and there is no water and food? This is why we fight so hard to protect the lands and waters. It brings us back to our health and well-being. I've been making cedar tea. We've learned to adopt the traditional medicines with the western medicines. Why can't they learn to use traditional medicines? There's plenty of opportunity to use both of our knowledges to make Mother Earth a better place. To heal her. That's the piece government officials and businesses really need to think about. If this happens again, how are you going to survive if people can't grow food on the land? If the animals can't drink the water? It brings me back to four weeks ago, when our First Nations peoples were blocking railroads and we were seen as the horrible people standing up for the rights of water and land and now this country is shut-down [due to the pandemic]and we are not horrible people for protecting it. We just wanted to protect lands and waters and wanted to wake you up and say this needs to happen now. This just blows me away"* (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020).

We then talked about what she felt was needed for such changes to occur in the policy process. She said, "*I understand that we need policy. But I think when it comes to the higher-level laws; they really need to do that jointly with First Nations. They'll come out with things like the Child Welfare bill and say it was done collaboratively but no it wasn't and we said what wouldn't work. They didn't include that. That's not working collaboratively. There needs to be true joint partnerships on creating legislation, policy, bills that affect our people. They need to do that in a true relationship and a true partnership. Putting something out in the Gazette is not true partnership. That's what they need to do and it will bring about better relationships and working with us 100 per cent of the way and not pretending they are. And it has to be every step of the way, not just at the end. I have heard this said many times at our Chiefs meetings - nothing about us without us. Lands and waters. It's all we have that gives us our health; mental, emotional, physical and spiritual. That's what gives us our life and our well-being"* (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020) We closed the conversation with my asking her how she felt the research could be useful to others. She said that it could be useful for "*all of us, but in some parts it would be really beneficial to get that to government. I'll do my part to help pass it on and share it with who I can"* (Carr, personal communication, March 30th, 2020).

Phyllis Williams- Elder and Former Chief, Curve Lake First Nation

Background: Phyllis Williams served as Chief of Curve Lake First Nation, located on Michi Saagiig Territory in Ontario, as well as on Council for a total of 16 years. She also worked providing Economic Development, Health and Family Services for the community. Her background includes work in the Friendship Centre movement and, through that, she was involved in policy development with the Ontario government on *Ontario's Indigenous Healing Wellness Strategy* which led to the creation of Indigenous Health Access Centres. She currently works for Hiawatha First Nation and is considered an Elder in her Curve Lake community and beyond. I had heard Phyllis speak a number of times during the years that she was the Chief of Curve Lake First Nation and, in those talks, she would frequently highlight the importance of protecting water as our source of life, women's role in looking after the water as well as other teachings from her community. I knew of her as a leader with many years of experience and service to her community. We sat down in her office in the Health and Social Services building at Hiawatha First Nation where she now works on February 11, 2020.

Our Conversation

Our conversation began with Phyllis reflecting on the previous day's news about the Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs opposition to a natural gas pipeline through their territory in Northern B.C. and the blockades of rail lines that had popped up across the country in support of them. I talked about the purpose of the research as exploring the idea of putting the natural world at the foundation of decision-making informed by Indigenous Knowledges. She said, *"If we are truly respectful of traditional knowledge keepers to what their wisdom is, which carry messages to protect the water, the earth, the climate, what else could we do to convince the government of the day to take a serious approach, to get more aggressive and start listening."* She noted that it isn't just Indigenous youth that are speaking out. "*It's youth around the world. People can get angry and put the blame on the railroad blockages, but they are the ones that have paid attention to the knowledge keepers, it seems. It's part of their being"* (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020).

I turned to the guiding questions asking if she could describe her own connections to the natural world. She said; *"I live and breathe the Creator's gifts and the protection of mother nature; our land, our waters. Like many of us, we receive those rich teachings and guidance of the Knowledge Keepers and some of us live it day to day. We experience and appreciate the vast beauty and have respect... I live between the main road and Buckhorn Lake, with trees and nature surrounding my home. I have the view of the lake and often see the water fowl, birds, vegetation and wildlife. It's a reminder of the richness of Mother Nature and the Creators blessing to enrich our lives. We must be very conscious of making sure we are doing the right things to protect those lands and animals for future generations. We don't just go cut a tree down. Think carefully why this living and spiritual object should be taken. Why cut it? What is the purpose? We use what has already felled or about to fall down, and we give thanks for the sacrifice that tree has provided. In the evening we see the beaver or a muskrat and it becomes a conversation- this is like our clock. Every night around 8:00 pm they start to settle down and go to their habitat. We have loons*

and ducks that can teach us about caring for one another; caring for their babies and watch and guide them to grow and survive on their own. We watch a lot of nature and even by watching we are learning as they are looking after their homes and their little ones. Our teachings are also shared with my girls and my grandkids and great grandkids." She told a story of her great grandson being really excited to see her the night before, and they made a cardboard box car together. *"I still play! Children can learn so much, they are like a sponge. When you have the opportunity to create with a child, it becomes a memorable experience. These are special times to be able to share the knowledge and experiences you have had*" (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020).

We then talked about how she came to be involved in political life and what was important to her about her work. She talked about working in Economic Development for Curve Lake, working in Indigenous Studies at Trent University, working in the Friendship Centre movement in Toronto and being on Council for 16 years.

"*My goal was to contribute what I have come to learn and to make Curve Lake better…I was deliberate in my career path. I wanted to help Indigenous people*" (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020). Later, she took on the role of Health & Family Services Manager at Curve Lake, a role that included Seniors Services, the Child Care Centre and the Health Centre and the Family Health Team Clinic liaison. She said that people asked her to run for Chief but she did not pursue it, but people put her name on the nomination board anyway and she had a certain amount of time to withdraw her name. She said she was torn as she loved her job and was making good change but she also was reminded of her ability to do much more for the community. She consulted with her family who told her to let her name stand and she became Chief, holding that position for seven years. She credits Elsie Knott as the first woman Chief in Canada, and her grandmother, for inspiring her to make a place in politics (Williams, personal communication, Feb. 2020).

In recalling a policy process she felt worked well in her various roles she said*; "With the Friendship Centres, Sylvia Maracle had a way to get a meeting with movers and shakers; ones with authority and decision makers. She wouldn't stop until she had people listening. Sylvia was persistent, respectful, and vocal"* (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020). She noted the meetings she referred to led to her being a part of Ontario's *Indigenous Healing Wellness Strategy* which involved four Ministries and all the Indigenous organizations in Ontario. She talked about how policy development came out of everyone meeting together and having those *"heart to heart sometimes very difficult discussions on what needs to change in Ontario"* (Ibid). From those discussions, Indigenous Health Access Centres came into being across the Province along with healing lodges.

In talking about policy processes overall she noted that; *"Sometimes those policy development pieces are slow moving because there is a whole process of engagement that has to happen in the community. Sometimes it depends on the topic and you will get people out to participate and sometimes it would take one to one calls*"(Williams, Feb. 11th, 2020). She noted that affiliations and good relationships with political organizations, such as the Union of Ontario Indians (Anishinabek Nation) were important. She highlighted that policy development was about *"collaboration and interaction"* (Ibid). As an example, she talked about how Curve Lake First Nation was also part of the Peterborough Sustainability initiative and how, from there, she convinced her council to develop positions that would look at Environment and Climate Change that would report to a committee of Council and then she delegated two council members to work on this portfolio (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020).

More generally, she said; *"It's our way, or responsibility, to start those connections to other parts of the area. Engagement and collectivity of expertise by the players and having the mix of not only the technicians but inclusive of the leadership, is really important to take those initiatives and concerns to the government. Government has the upper authority, decision making, policy making, and law making.*

Messaging and articulating matters with the government is where you need to be clear, concise, and mindful of your goal in order to change mindsets and let's face it sometimes depending on topic, ignorance or neglect" (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020). This led into a conversation about policy processes that she felt did not work so well. She gave examples where First Nations laws are caught between federal and provincial laws. She noted, for example, that First Nation policing can't enforce community by-laws if federal laws are not applicable to them and provincial laws only apply if there are funding arrangements with the First Nation.

We talked about the idea of bringing Indigenous Knowledges to senior level decision making bodies such as Cabinets. She said, *"Sometimes it'll be heard but there are times they'd rather not hear. I was reflecting on Duty to Consult and engagement and developers who just go ahead with major projects anyway and for those that do come to the table and accommodate with many meetings and do it in such a way to build in plans to protect the earth, it's those players who are respectful and transparent we most like to work with. It's not the ones that cause disturbance and feel they don't need to engage and simply don't understand the Indigenous Peoples and the relationship to the land and its resources. It isn't always the government. It's sometimes the developers, sometimes other tribes or nations…. Therein lays the problem. We need to do better at relationship building and causing those bigger meetings to happen, to have those various perspectives and understandings to occur: events and planning where we can review history, relationships, and talk about who we are as peoples. That's what we need to bring people together"* (Ibid).

I then asked whether there were specific changes in government processes that she felt could be implemented and she started her answer by outlining some of the challenges she experienced as Chief of her community. She said, *"The biggest hurdle that we have to fix or change is ever changing Ministers overseeing portfolios or files that they may not have any experience with. Every time we get someone who is educated and resourceful, who is engaged, often the players will change. So, we are continually*

teaching and giving guidance of our history and continuing the default of education responsibility to government players. And that is very frustrating and quite exhausting. Ministers [and] technical expertise move on and they lose that history and knowledge piece. Another challenge is to chase to have them commit to the time to sit with them and to be able to have them hear you and put actions to their words. Or you are competing with other Chiefs and organizations to be able to get to the table and master the negotiation and lobby. It's those connections that you've already had that help. It's who you know and the successes you can bring about for positive change. We had not so much luck with the provincial side. They do their diligence to come visit once or twice a year but Ministers and officials change. Education and re-education…it takes a lot of time on the part of First Nations leaders. If First Nation leaders utilize the political organizations in a good way, it's the Grand Chiefs with their policy people who can take concerns forward" (Phyllis Williams, personal communication, Feb. 11th, 2020).

Our conversation moved briefly to the specific issue of the need for water treatment for Curve Lake. She said; "*As much as people don't understand what is required to be done over a long period of time, the hurdles of government policies, protocols, processes, authorities… First Nations are subject to follow much of these criteria. Curve Lake has undergone many of the mentioned hurdles and the ever - changing technicians and specialists who work on the files. Curve Lake has needed a Water Treatment Plant for many years. Each local MP carries this file for our First Nation. The two I have worked with have been very focused and vocal in representation, however Government policies and major funding are always the biggest obstacles. Curve Lake has tried different avenues to achieve a good water source, but with the various studies that have been done, we can't seem to accomplish good quality and quantity water for the community. Dug wells and septic beds on our peninsula land base is concerning with infrastructure, housing and economic development ventures growing. This also places pressures on the lakes that surround us. The local public and supporters share our concerns, many times advocating for us. Curve Lake will continue to have water as a main political priority because we see it as a human right and*

a growing issue for sustainability and wellness. Curve Lake continues to be a boil water advisory community in the eyes of the government and has been placed on their priority list. So we continue to work in partnership to accomplish the greater goal" (Williams, Feb. 11th, 2020).

We closed our conversation with my asking how she felt this research may be useful to others. She said, "*I would expect our federal and provincial political leaders to take an interest. Much can be learned from being reminded of where we started; in the teachings of the Knowledge Keepers, knowing Canada's true history of Indigenous Peoples, relationship to the land, waters and resources, then reflect upon 'where is reconciliation now? Can we together make a better place for our children and their future?'"* (Williams, Feb. 11th, 2020).

Elder Larry McDermot, Executive Director, Plenty Canada

Background: Elder Larry McDermot is Algonquin and he is the Executive Director of Plenty Canada. He is a member of the International Indigenous Forum for Biodiversity, UNESCO (and was present at the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro). He is on the Advisory Committee for Ontario Species at Risk, is a member of the Canadian Environmental Network and was a Commissioner for the Ontario Human Rights Commission. He served as a three time Mayor in the Lanark Highlands and was the Chair of the Rural Forum with the Canadian Federation of Municipalities. He has a Honourary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Guelph and studied under Elder William Commanda (grandfather of Claudette Commanda also interviewed for this paper) (Plenty Canada n.d.) I previously met Larry at a sustainable development forum held in Peterborough in March, 2019, where he spoke about Indigenous Knowledges and the Sustainable Development Goals. I also knew of him as a valued colleague of Prof. Dan Longboat and I asked him if he might contribute to this research and he agreed. We met in person for our first conversation at the Black Oak Savannah, near Alderville First Nation in Ontario on Oct. 19th, 2019. The event was a celebration event for mnoomin, wild rice, on a beautiful sunny fall day. Larry was demonstrating wild rice harvesting for participants. We sat on chairs a little ways away and had a conversation about the research and research questions but did not follow the guiding questions in any order. We met briefly again in person on Oct. 24th at Plenty Canada near Lanark, Ontario where Larry reviewed my notes from our earlier conversation and I learned a little more about the organization that was started in 1976 as a hub for environmental work. Larry showed me the building's new solar panels and talked about how they are working to be off-grid and pointed out medicine and natural trails- such as the William Commanda Trail.

Our Conversation

I started our conversation at the Black Oak Savannah by reviewing the background to my research provided in the Invitation letter to Larry and he began by referring to the treaties saying; *"There were people who understood protocols of Peace and that were based on the Seven Grandfathers historically"* (L. McDermot, Oct. 19th, 2019). He talked about a process that he felt started to get close to bringing treaty principles together with a western policy initiative. The process resulted in *Canada's Conservation Vision, a Report of the National Advisory Panel,* undertaken under the UN Convention on Biodiversity. He noted that the initiative came out of Canada's commitment to the Convention on Biodiversity which flows out of the Earth Summit that took place in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 and that he was there. He also said that it relates to Canada's commitment to having Protected Areas across 17 per cent of the land area as well as Marine Protected Areas. *"It's an area where species can try to recover from our abuse while we figure out how to live on this land. It was probably the first time since 1815, where Canada created ethical space"* (L. McDermot, Oct. 19th, 2019). He described the process that took place in Ottawa with, then, federal Environment Minister Catherine McKenna representing Canada and a representative from each of the Provinces and Territories with Larry as co-chair. He said that governance included both oral Indigenous and western business protocols; *"both Robert's Rules of Order and the Seven Grandfathers together…I did ceremony to start every session and to finish every session. There were drums with honour songs respecting all of Creation and the sharing of Indigenous Law and British Common Law. …The National Advisory panel also had agriculture, mining and forestry representatives. And we came up with "We Rise Together", the wholly Indigenous process"* (L. McDermot, personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). Larry talked about the process as demonstrating, *"leadership in the context of reconciliation where all governments in Canada recognize and embrace Indigenous worldviews that acknowledge that we are one species amongst many and that we can achieve our goals within a framework of reconciliation"* (L. McDermot, personal communication, 2019).

Larry referred me to the *"We Rise Together"* document to provide context to our conversation. The document outlines a process to meet Canada's Biodiversity Target to protect 17% of terrestrial lands and inland waters through *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas* (IPCAS) in which *"Indigenous governments have a primary role in protecting and conserving ecosystems through Indigenous laws, governance, and knowledge systems. Culture and language are the heart and soul of an IPCA"* (Indigenous Circle of Experts, 2018 p.5). They are also seen as a foundation for local Indigenous conservation- based economies. The Initiative highlights the need for a shift in policy making such that science, legislation and policies guide decisions but that Indigenous expertise is part of that guidance. The process of bringing knowledge systems together is to be grounded in "ethical space" described in the document as *"creating a place for knowledge systems to interact with mutual respect, kindness, generosity"* adding *that "all knowledge systems are equal; no single system has more weight or legitimacy than another"* (Indigenous Circle of Experts, 2018, p. 7). It was noted that these were fundamental principles of engagement going back to the time of the Treaties. The initiative is seen as part of the Truth and Reconciliation process in Canada and one that is seen to benefit Indigenous communities and all Canadians through greater biodiversity, healthier ecosystems and cleaner air and water which in turn improves human health (Ibid).

Larry talked about his perspective on the bigger picture. He said; *"The old game is over. We have to bring the two Knowledge systems together because we need both world views to make the paradigm shift necessary*" (L. McDermot, personal communication, 2019). He said this was predicted long ago. *"Prophecy said that there would come a time when dominant society would realize that the only way out of the mess created by greed and disrespect for creative processes and the destruction of the natural world would be a thirst for Indigenous ways of knowing"* (L. McDermot, personal communication, 2019). He noted that this was reflected in The Earth Summit where the importance of Indigenous Knowledges was recognized. He highlighted Target 18 of the AICHI targets that came about in 2010 out of the

Biological Diversity Convention that Canada is obligated to. *"It is about respecting and including Indigenous ways of knowing and Indigenous Peoples in achieving the goals which are linked to the Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Desertification as well"* (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

Our conversation returned to the early treaties, including the Niagara Treaty and, before that, the Dish with One Spoon Wampum and Treaties prior to European contact. Larry said; *"What happened in a nutshell is Europeans came along and thought they were superior, including their religion of Christianity. There were some Europeans that had complete respect for Indigenous way of knowing, but the kings, they were from a form of governance that was hierarchical. Governance by kings and queens was very vertical and even though they weren't here, they dismissed Indigenous ways. Even Champlain dismissed the placing of tobacco until he almost lost his life and started to follow more Indigenous ways"* (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). When we talked about the question of changes in western parliamentary systems in Canada, he said*; "To me it comes down to governance first. I think the Canadian parliamentary system is dysfunctional. It's primitive. This first past the post system where less than 40 percent can dictate what happens for the other 60%. Everybody's voice is important. When you consider Indigenous governance systems that were more consensus based, you take the time to come to good decisions"* (Ibid) He noted that in current western systems, *"a lot of time and resources are wasted on competition between parties and those parties are controlled by a very small hierarchy of people that then manipulate information and policy for the party. There are circumstances where it works but too many where it doesn't"* (Ibid).

Reflecting again on the *The Pathways on Biodiversity* process, he talked about how the federal and provincial government representatives there accepted the parallel processes of western and Indigenous approaches to governance. He said that, for example, participants told him how much they enjoyed opening in ceremony. *"It connected them to a power that was beyond mind and body. One*

person said, 'I feel like the ceremonies united our minds and hearts.' They are practiced because they work. They bring the four directions and the four sources of intelligence to play. If you don't understand that everything is connected, if you don't have empathy for all of creation, you are making decisions that are abusive and you don't even know it. We operate collectively. We all have collective rights. To suggest that everything works on individualism is dysfunctional" (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019). Larry believes that the process was a model for policy making in the way that it brought the federal government, the provinces and Indigenous Peoples together. *"They saw the wisdom in the previous Treaties. Your word is law in Common Law and before the Creator in Indigenous Law. There was a vision created and now those of us who share the land, we have the opportunity to look at those words and see that we need to support the continuation of life and that we have a responsibility to look after the natural world. When we don't exercise those responsibilities, we are harming our children and generations to follow"* (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

He talked about recently hearing Danika Little Child and the frustration that laws are passed but policy doesn't change, particularly at the provincial level. *"Although Canada is a signatory to these international Treaties and Conventions, provinces are responsible for the lands under the Constitution but they have become divorced from Canadian commitments much less commitments made in 1764. As a Human Rights Commissioner, knowing how deficient our education system is, in that we have leadership that doesn't have a clue about the cross- cultural agreements that were made during Treaty processes"* (L. McDermot, Oct. 19th, 2019).

Larry talked about the Dish with One Spoon Treaty and *The Edge of the Forest* ceremonies as a foundation for First Nations understandings leading into the Niagara Treaty on the Royal Proclamation. He said it was, *"diplomacy; dialogue that resulted in binding treaties that were all about sustainability. They were very sophisticated. What were the processes in their communities, based on the long transfer of knowledge all anchored in an understanding of Natural Law, in preparing those representatives that*

had sophisticated knowledge? Oral tradition predates the Proclamation and we know what was expected and that there were concerns about forests being cut, the amount fish being taken. These were early sustainability agreements long before Gro Harlem Bruntland" (L. McDermot, Oct. 19th, 2019). In talking about the history of the Niagara Treaty as recorded by British representatives he said, *"I don't think Canada had the capacity to understand the contribution by 2000-3000 Indigenous representatives who were much more democratically chosen. They were operating in a circle, meaning what came out of the mouths of those representatives represented a much larger body of people. We are learning through our young people, working with Elders, who can now research and analyze what our ancestors communicated which leads to a huge repository of knowledge for living appropriately on this land. We would not have needed an Earth Summit if we had those oral histories"* (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

I asked him more about the *Dish with One Spoon Treaty* as I had just been to a talk on the subject in Toronto, led by Alan Corbiere and Rick Hill. We talked about how wide spread these Treaties appeared to be, with some historians, such as Alan Corbiere saying this type of agreement went as far west as the Mississippi River and East to the Atlantic Ocean. (Corbiere, personal communication, Sept., 2019; Windspeaker (2014)) He said, *"That's hugely important. It's a prototype for multi-lateral agreements on the land. The fact we are having the discussion, means we are at a crossroads where we choose life or greed and power. Climate change is an affirmation of that natural law and the four sacred elements. The prophecies said; it will be the water, the air, the fire and the earth itself that will purify the earth and will correct our abuse. There is no way around it. This idea someone can be a billionaire… capitalist interests are divorced from empathy. People who live in big cities will continue to be disconnected… unless they find a way to connect. We have urgency therefore we need to slow down. It's about slowing it down and getting it right…We have songs to share our love for species. If we are hunting, we have songs to celebrate the deer. I feel like the term conservation is incomplete. We traditionally practice abundance.*

That's about practicing those relationships; having empathy and being connected with all that is around us. We have to spend more time. We have to learn how to celebrate and appreciate all of creation. Science needs to have that understanding. Science was stuck in patriarchy and has dismissed emotional understanding and emotional and spiritual comprehension. It is good at separating things but it failed to understand the interconnectedness. We should be investing in our youth learning about those interconnections and conservation should be led by people who are closest to the land. Where Indigenous people are leading conservation is where there are more species. When the world learns to live in gratitude and reciprocity every day it will lift the veil on what we need to do" (L. McDermot personal communication, Oct. 19th, 2019).

Chapter 6: Learning from The Lived Experience of Policy-Making Continued

Federal Experiences - Ottawa and Washington, D.C.

Sitting Member of Parliament (MP) and Federal Cabinet Minister

Background: For the purposes of the published text of this interview, the MP chose to remain anonymous. We spoke for 30 minutes in her office before she had to leave for another meeting and this gave us the opportunity to cover many of the main guiding questions.

Our Conversation

We started by talking about her connections to the natural world. She said, *"For us as children it was our garden. Here it is the forest behind our house, the sounds, the silence, the smells… a place to lose yourself and to find yourself. That relationship has changed over time."* (MP personal communication, March 5th, 2020). I asked her how she became involved in policy making and what was most important to her about that work. She said; *"Imagine a relay. Researchers getting their ideas to people, then the people on the front lines of the work trying to provide the support and then imagine the activists and their advocacy. Everyone's doing their part and I was one of the activists. For the 10 years that [the previous government] was in charge, they would hand women's rights, refugees, climate action, poverty reduction up to the politicians and that's where it would be dropped. I believed that being an activist on the inside, meant you could take the issue and do something with it and fight for it at the table. I saw far too many instances when people were ignored and shut out and not for good reasons and contrary to evidence"* (MP personal communication, March 5th, 2020). She talked about an example, earlier in her life, of cuts to transit service in her hometown and how she joined the fight against that and that they were successful in reversing those cuts. However, she notes that she had too many losses in advocacy, *"more losses than wins"* (Ibid). Therefore, she felt that people needed to be activists on the inside to, as she put

it, *"pick up the baton from those that handed it up from the community"* (MP, personal communication, March 5th, 2020).

We talked about policy making in the context of sustainability, or the natural world, and if she could describe an experience where she believed the policy process worked well. She described her experiences in engaging the community in various issues and how their input directly informed government policy. She noted that, for example, one of the first community meetings she hosted was on climate action and that community engagement on that issue continued to influence policy thereafter. *"That all fed into the Pan Canadian Climate Plan and it kept feeding into the process. In the platform, ideas came directly from the riding, such as [proposals for] electric vehicles and it was the same with food policy, and housing. It works. And some of this stuff is now the law. S3 is a good example. Sex discrimination in the Indian Act is removed now. The Housing Strategy now exists and is implemented. A new benefit is coming in to support affordable housing that you can take with you no matter where you live. Housing is a human right now by law. This also came from the riding"* (MP Interview, March 5th, 2020). She noted that Canada's first national food policy also was influenced by community input. She then noted that one obstacle that could arise was when, despite the good input of community, there was a lack of community support for government policies if they weren't deemed to be perfect or because there was a lack of knowledge about what policies had already been implemented. *"In search of perfect policies in a perfect world, it's disagreements over the details that cause divisions and then those that don't believe in these things can get into power… For progress to be sustainable, you need people in power who care and see these things as a priority. Don't let the search for perfection get in the way of tackling big issues"* (MP, personal communication, March 5th, 2020).

In talking about Indigenous approaches to governance and any opportunities she saw for governments to learn from Indigenous Knowledge holders, leaders and scholars, she described the practice of holding meetings of federal, provincial and territorial (FPT) Ministers who are responsible for

the same department or portfolio area and the changes that she and her counterparts made to include Indigenous approaches to these meetings. She said, *"Absolutely. After 35 years of the Charter and 35 years of Annual meetings by federal, provincial and territorial Ministers responsible for the portfolio, Indigenous leaders and representatives were invited to come to that table. The FPT Co-Chair- Minister insisted that the FPT be surrounded and contained in ceremony… For four days Elders kept a fire burning, there was dance and food and prayers and wisdom. We learned more about how, pre-contact, their communities were led by the women. It was not perfect but there was more harmony. [For]the outcomes of that meeting, we had come up with a common set of indicators in advancing gender equality in the country and task forces to work on issues between meetings. We left hugging, as friends, deciding to partner with each other. That would not have happened had there not been ceremony. It is about a way of doing things… the process. That's an example about how Indigenous Knowledges helped bring harmony and a sense of humility and inspiration to what can be very partisan and divisive conversations"* (MP personal communication, March 5th, 2020).

She added; *"When I started acknowledging the land about five years ago, I realized it was my grounding. When an Elder speaks, when we are about to have a discussion about heavy topics, they bring humanity back into the room. The functioning of meetings and the outcomes of those meetings, benefit from thoughtful Indigenous contributions. And the more those ways of doing business have been infused with traditional ways, the more effective and enduring the outcomes"* (MP personal communication, March 5th, 2020) As she gathered her things for the next meeting, the MP closed by noting the importance of the Indigenous worldview of the *"earth as our Mother and how that immediately puts a gender lens on decision-making"* (Ibid) She said that recognizing the importance of that is one key element that could shift perspectives.

Senior Federal Official

Background: For the purposes of the published text, the participant chose to remain anonymous. This individual came recommended to me as someone who had decades of senior level experience in public policy at both the federal and territorial level, including experience with policies involving Indigenous Peoples. We first spoke by phone on Sept. 16th when I called the Official's office and introduced myself and the background to the research and we went through the guiding questions. We had a follow-up meeting in person in Ottawa on Oct. 24th. We reviewed the initial interview notes and discussed the questions in more detail. Below are notes from both conversations as the Official elaborated on her original answers in our face to face meeting.

Our Conversations

I started by asking her about her connections to, or experiences with, the natural world. She said; *"I grew up largely in the Northwest Territories and part of what is now Nunavut. When we moved to Baker Lake, people were still very connected to the land. You were just surrounded by it; the fact that we are dependent on the land for our basic sustenance and we have a responsibility to keep that land and those resources for future generations. Human beings were not set above the natural world to have dominion over it. We are just one small part of a huge eco-system. I was taught the Inuit, the Dene and Metis teachings around hunting and fishing and respect for the animals that gave their life for us and gratitude ceremonies were part and parcel of that"* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019). She added, "*I've had the opportunity to get into gardening in a big way and you can see how the climate is changing. More recently I'm working on a project to help First Nations to move out from under the Indian Act. I am working with Lil'wat Nation in B.C. and listening to them take back stewardship on their traditional territories. They are salmon people and so the radical up and down of the salmon population really affected them. I'm very touched by all the different peoples and ways in which people are trying to grapple with what's going on right now. Even without the imperative of the impacts of climate change, I've always been dismayed at the extent to which modern peoples have lost touch with nature and really not understanding how critical it is to their day to day lives"* (Senior official, personal communication,

Fall 2019). She also noted the importance of land as a means of healing, referring to projects in the NWT, and the positive impact that it has on people who are severely marginalized.

I asked her about how she became involved in policy-making and what was most important to her about the work she does. "*I became involved by accident. The first part of my career was as a reporter and editor. I took a job with a regional office of Indigenous and Northern Affairs and then became Director of Aboriginal and Territorial Relations"* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019). She went on to describe how she became involved in policy when the federal government had adopted the right to self-government and was making a shift in their thinking and this led her to work on land claims agreements. From there she had subsequent senior level roles in the Department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada and with the Treasury Board Secretariat working on values and ethics policies. She noted that her work included a lot of legislation but that much of it was internal to government. *"What is most important is it's really about connecting the dots. One of the reasons I was intrigued by policy- making was the process of coming to one mind about what the right or best thing to do is under the circumstances. I like to push people's creative boundaries to try and see and accommodate multiple interests in an issue. I enjoy the connections and I like to think I always have a sense of the big picture and helping people to see things from multiple perspectives. Policy making is nothing more than people coming together to agree what to do; coming up with a shared idea. I always figure the greatest success is when they thought it was their own idea"* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

I asked her, in the context of sustainability and relationships to the natural world, if she could describe an experience where she believed the policy process worked well and one where it did not work so well. *"One of the things that has been a very big success was the development of the co-management regime through the Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act. Enacted in 1998, it might not be a sterling example as it came about because of a break down… the Dene and Metis land claim agreement.*

Someone said we have this vast territory that needs some kind of coherence. It was a knitting together of all of those interests; Inuit, Gwich'in, Satu Dene and Metis, Tlicho. Their land claims were settled between 1993 and 2004. There are major land claims negotiations that are ongoing- the Deh Cho, Metis, Akaitcho. When you have a watershed the size of the Mackenzie Valley you needed to have a coherent way of managing that collectively" (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019). She noted that these management processes fall outside of new Environmental Review legislation and outside of the National Energy Board. *"It is its own distinct environmental review process. From the use of water all the way up to major developments. If there is a proposal that straddles more than one of their areas, a valley-wide review process kicks in. It's a legislated co-management regime for all land and water use in the NWT and it works well. It's withstood the test of time. The Harper government tried to get rid of the regional boards by unilaterally getting rid of the boards, but the Tlicho and Gwich'in challenged the constitutionality of that under Section 35. The court granted an injunction and the Liberal government changed it back again in June. The Indigenous Traditional Knowledge is baked right into the assessment through representation on different Boards and Panels. All of the major industries have gone through the process. By the time any of those mines or any of those developments come into effect, they have the social license from the NWT not just because of the Act, but there is a whole way of thinking of development that is baked into the NWT. It's arguable that the decisions of the regional boards result in more sustainable projects, but what it does do is allow the Indigenous Peoples of that region to have a say in allowing that project to go forward and how it will go forward"* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

I asked her about the idea that many Indigenous approaches to governance across nations are founded on relationships with the natural world and what she sees as opportunities for federal and provincial policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledges such that relationships with the natural world become more central to Cabinet policy decisions. She said, "*I think it's imperative that policy makers learn from Indigenous Knowledge Holders. At the federal level, the opportunity has been from a*

federal government that has been very strong on the Indigenous agenda. They have succeeded in raising the level of interest and awareness in the bureaucracy on Indigenous perspectives, some of which is their responsibilities around consultation, and also there is a policy direction, but also a legal liability point of view. One of the concerns is that I've seen a fairly facile approach to it…sometimes approaching Indigenous leaders with a sense of awe or being kind of afraid to reach out or make connections. It's kind of scary to admit you know nothing or that they would raise expectations. There is a lot of work to be done. There are pockets of success. There is just so much that bureaucrats and political leaders need to learn and [they] really have a lot of growing to do" (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

To elaborate on these issues, she referred me to a report that looked at civil service engagement with Indigenous issues and worldviews. The report entitled, *Public Service Action for Reconciliation: Plan, Educate, Engage* (IPAC, 2017) found that "*Most public servants cannot name the specific cultures and languages of the Indigenous Peoples living in their region, are not aware of, or uncertain about, their leadership and governing structures, are unaware of some of the most basic constitutional and legal obligations of their governments for Indigenous Peoples or have little understanding of the reasons underlying those obligations. As a result, non-Indigenous public servants may be open to change, but are not sure where to start and are fearful of making a mistake in case it should lead to personal or public embarrassment"* (IPAC p. 15, 2017). The report described training for government employees, provided by the Canada School of Public Service to integrate Indigenous learning into its management and executive curriculum as 'laudable'. But it noted that there are 3.5 million people working for the civil service and, therefore, a more broad-based approach was recommended where reconciliation is seen as a responsibility of individuals in all public sector organizations and agencies and is part of their professional development and post-secondary qualifications. Quoting one respondent, Mike Degagne, the report highlights three key ideas for public sector leaders to follow. *"Values - include Indigenous values in our organizations; Governance - there should be meaningful indigenous voices in your*

organization; Human Resources - there should be representation of indigenous Peoples in your organization" (IPAC, pp. 20-21, 2017).

I asked her what she believed was needed in government processes and structures and any changes she would recommend. She said, "*Public policy space at the federal level is so contested. I'm not sure it's worth the effort to see a world where Cabinet or parliament is indigenized. Some Ministers and departments were genuinely open to seeking out and listening to Indigenous perspectives and it made a difference. However, it's hard to imagine such a big political shift. It has to happen as a generational approach, educating our children in such a way that when they become leaders, all of this is more familiar. In specific areas, such as designing co-management regimes, having more of those kinds of arrangements and bringing people together around common issues is an area where federal governments and provincial government can come together with Indigenous Peoples "* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

She referred me to another example of co-management, pointing to the Nipissing Fisheries Law on Lake Nipissing and how the Ontario government is enforcing it for the First Nation, saying *"that is really cool"* (Ibid). The initiative between the Nipissing First Nation and the Ontario Government arose from a Memorandum of Understanding to co-manage the fishery based on concerns about declining walleye stocks. The MOU recognizes the Nipissing Constitution and Nipissing laws, which is seen as the first recognition of its kind in Ontario, and involved the Nipissing First Nation and Ontario Natural Resources and Forestry Ministry working cooperatively together from 2015-2020. This has resulted in a gradual rise in the health of the fishery over that time. (Nipissing First Nation 2020, Government of Ontario, 2019)

In talking further about development issues, she said; *"I think where some of the shifts will happen is if you can bring in evidence-based benefits of these new kinds of approaches… and those benefits are significant; from getting social license to improvements in health, culture, language and*

pride. Impact benefits agreements- that happened because Indigenous Peoples were well in control. Now looking at those young people that have become leaders during that time, it is a far healthier, stronger, better educated generation. You can provide evidence and business cases that this is the right thing to do for all kinds of reasons" (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

In terms of how the research could be of benefit to others and any suggestions she had, she said; *"Absolutely. When I think of my federal colleagues that approached the reconciliation agenda the more advice, information and examples that are out there for people, the more the better. People need helpful guidance and empirical evidence for why this can work. There has never been a time like the last four years, and now still, for Indigenous perspectives and voices to be more strongly incorporated into government policy. I've watched over the last four years the development, or lack of development, of the things the federal government said it was going to do and having it all put in mandate letters. But I saw that the preoccupation was primarily around people and rights issues. It would be interesting to go to Fisheries and Oceans, Environment, and Natural Resources and ask, 'where have you started shifting to be more inclusive of Indigenous voices and Indigenous worldviews in your work?' For Bill 69 [the Impact Assessment Act] there is still quite a bit there on Indigenous involvement. It structurally puts in place Indigenous worldviews to be heard. It becomes an integral part of the process. But in Industry, Science, Finance you probably have people who look at you like, 'what are you talking about?' A focal point might be the Oceans Protection Program at Fisheries and Oceans. They are simultaneously responsible for the Accords with different provinces at the same time as leading the Conservation exercises. They've exceeded their ocean conservation commitments and are on-track to meet their targets by 2030.The Arctic Ocean is under moratorium and they've announced an agreement with the Qikiqtani Inuit Association called The Last Ice Area that was spearheaded by World Wildlife Fund- and that is all working directly with Indigenous people, particularly with the Inuit"* (Senior official, personal communication,., Fall 2019). The agreement between the Qikiqtani, an organization of 13 northern communities, Nunavut and Canada

would make this one of the largest marine protected areas in the world, promoting the idea of a "conservation" economy over and extractive one (World Wildlife Fund, 2019).

She also suggested that a future area of research could be looking at whether all Cabinet documents and Treasury Board submissions have a requirement to look at impact on the environment and how effective that has been. At the end of the conversation we talked about the differences she observed with consensus governments in the North and she referred to the legislative process in the NWT. *"For consensus government, the main thing that I find interesting is legislative development. It's far more open and collaborative than any other Westminster system that I've seen. It almost works backwards in a way. It starts with public consultations and a Committee of the Legislative Assembly and then it is drafted and, recently, environmental laws and regulations are drafted directly with Indigenous governments. It goes to the Legislative Committee and then goes on the road again and does a full consultation and then it is put through the House. And Nunavut has a similar system… In your riding you are not voting for a party, you are voting for the person you think will best represent your interests. The 19 ridings in the NWT send these people who very publicly have to figure out what they are going to work together on, establish priorities and pick their Premier and Cabinet to work on them. Then they must come back to the Legislative Assembly to say how they are going to do it. Once they approve, they go ahead and get to work. It can also be very political because everything can be contested"* (Senior official, personal communication, Fall 2019).

Tom Mulcair - Former Federal Leader, Opposition Leader and Cabinet Minister in Quebec's National Assembly

Background: Tom Mulcair was the Federal Leader of the New Democratic Party and an Opposition Leader in the House of Commons from 2011 to 2016. He was the Minister of Sustainable Development, Environment and Parks for three years in Quebec under the Liberal Government of Jean Charest and held a seat in the National Assembly for 13 years. Prior to his political career he was trained as a lawyer and went directly to work as a civil servant for the Quebec government. Currently he teaches in the political science department at the University of Montreal and is a political analyst for local and national news networks. I met Mr. Mulcair when he provided a full-day workshop for Graduate Students at Trent University on February 6th, 2020, followed by a public evening talk. I asked him if I could interview him

for this research and integrate the discussion from the workshop and evening talk into my notes to which he agreed.

In the graduate student workshop, he began by talking about various inputs into governance and the policy-making process. These, he said, include political mandates, public advocacy and science in the development of new legislation and the role of the bureaucracy, noting the level of competence of the bureaucracy is an important factor in policy making. He said that governing is ultimately about priorities. (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020) He also provided an over-view of federal-provincial governance relationships and *"the basic principle of subsidiary- that the level of government closest to the action should deliver it"* (Ibid), noting that this arises out of Sections 91 and 92 of the BNA Act that outline federal-provincial responsibility.*"Health is now one place where Provinces have jurisdiction, but the federal government provides funding to ensure that the principles of the Canada Health Act are kept, accessibility, portability, etc. across the country…today the most classic shared jurisdiction is the Environment"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020). Mr. Mulcair talked about the introduction of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a foundational shift in law-making in Canada. *"For 50 years, the Supreme Court had a 'jurisprudential' approach that leaned towards federal jurisdiction. When he was Justice Minister, Pierre Trudeau brought about the idea of a Just Society- that we share equal freedoms and rights from coast to coast. Eventually this became the Charter of Rights and Freedoms to be enforced by the Supreme Court which characterized the next 50 years of law making. The federal government could refer matters directly to the Supreme Court"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020). He talked about sustainability policies including his work to bring the *Right to a Clean Environment* into the Quebec Charter, the use of a sustainability lens to assess policies in Quebec, the Montreal Protocol to ban CFCs and the U.S. - Canada agreement to limit S02 and N0x emissions to address acid rain through a cap and trade program. He highlighted that these past environmental initiatives were non-partisan, noting, for example, how Brian Mulroney and George Bush Sr. established the program on Acid Rain and how Ronald Reagan looked to NASA to learn about the role of the ozone layer, which led to the Montreal Protocol to ban CFCs. He talked about his concerns about more recent development decisions that have been taken by the government before consultation with First Nations, such as on the Trans Mountain pipeline. (Ibid) He talked about his recommendations for a way forward including bringing the Right to a Clean Environment into the Canadian Bill of Rights. (Ibid) Our follow up conversation, took place by phone to his home in Montreal on February 18th. We generally followed the guiding questions picking up on his earlier talks.

Our Conversation

In describing his connections to the natural world, Mr. Mulcair said, "*I come from a large family of 10 kids. We had a cottage and a farm. Summers were hiking, swimming and nature. I've gone on fishing trips all over the province with my sons. Every week I spend hours taking walks in nature and communing with nature"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020). I asked how he came to be involved in policy making and what was important to him about his work, and particularly his experiences

in the area of sustainability policy. Mr. Mulcair talked about how experiences earlier in his life took him to law school and from there to the legislative branch of the Quebec government and then to political life. *"There was a lot of deep poverty in Montreal and it opened my eyes to issues of inequality"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020). He talked about 40 years of working on legislation, including legislation related to the environment, noting that the issue was not necessarily a lack of legislation, but rather a lack of enforcement. *"We have legislation on endangered species, species at risk, and we just don't do it. We have legislation on pesticides, and we don't enforce it and on water and we don't enforce it. The Charter of Rights gives a tool for communities to take issues to court…On the government side there are two simple things that are crucial. One. Every time a document goes to Cabinet you have a filter, a lens, that says 'does this action respect the Sustainable Development Act?' Quebec has the most forward-looking Sustainable Development Act in the country but this activates all the bureaucracy around Cabinet to make sure they've done the analysis. Two. Tie the annual evaluations and their annual bonus to whether they've respected the law of Sustainable Development"* (Ibid) He noted that*, "It was agreed across party lines in Quebec that every Cabinet document and actions by Ministries had to comply with sustainable development or no bonus"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020).

He elaborated on the use of the Sustainable Development lens. *"It works because the people who have to prepare that are doing it for Cabinet, the highest level of government…if a similar lens were to be applied in Ottawa to everything that came before Cabinet, it would include respecting treaty rights, inherent rights and Charter Rights"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 2020). This picked up on Mr. Mulcair's earlier comments in the workshop that*, "that every single decision should analyze its effects on Indigenous Rights, Sustainability, and a Gender Lens. … The Right to Live in a Clean Environment in the Quebec Charter could be a model for the Canadian Charter but it is very difficult to open up the Constitution, however, it could be included in the Bill of Rights… embed it there"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 6th,2020).

In describing what he felt did not work well, Mr. Mulcair reiterated the issue of enforcement. *"The number one problem I've seen is failure to enforce. It's not so often that we need new legislation, we need to enforce it. In Canada we are just horrible at enforcement. The Americans have a culture of enforcement. In Canada, industry doesn't see it being enforced"* (Mulcair, Interview, Feb. 18th, 2020). He talked about how often, when environmental regulations are proposed, there are threats from industry. As an example, he talked about how when Canada had problems with acid rain, the mining company, Inco, said they would have to shut down. *"Prime Minister Brian Mulroney invited President George Bush Sr. to deal with the issue and, together, they signed a Treaty and put a cap on S02. Inco ended up putting in the scrubbers needed to reduce pollution and found that it actually made the company more efficient"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 18th, 2020). In the earlier workshop, Mr. Mulcair also talked about this as an ongoing pattern of push-back from certain groups but yet there still have been *"sea changes in policies"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 6th, 2020) Using the example of laws around cigarettes he said; *"Lobbyists fought back against the science that showed it caused cancer… in the end, tobacco companies had to pay $100 billion in liability costs"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 6th, 2020). He talked about a similar pattern with environmental policy referring to Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* that showed how pesticides persist in eco-systems and gave the example of the Miramachi River and how the pesticides that were used to kill budworms killed off Atlantic Salmon. *"Rachel Carson raised the alarm and was attacked viciously and called hysterical… it opens your eyes to what we are seeing today on climate change… Japan announced they'll open coal fired plants… Brazil is burning the rainforest"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 6th, 2020). But he added that, *"the big American companies are pulling out of the oil sands. They are being sued. This is just what we went through with the tobacco companies"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 6th, 2020).

In our later conversation, we turned to the question about bringing Indigenous Knowledges to senior level government decisions and putting the natural world at the foundation of decision-making.

He said; *"We can be inspired by it. The techniques that we have today can ravage entire territories. Shale Gas comes from fracking… injecting known carcinogens into the water to send to the west coast to be sent over to China to continue to be burned. They are looking at that and saying 'that is our water, that is our air'… There were 10 First Nations people elected to the Parliament of Canada. In our caucus we had Georgina Jolibois from Saskatchewan and Romeo Saganash. In caucus meetings and around the table, he said, 'look we had rules long before contact with Europeans, including how you are to act as a visitor on our territory.'"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 18th, 2020). In the earlier workshop, Mr. Mulcair discussed the decision of Albert Malouf, whom he said was the first judge in Quebec to set down the idea that First Nations had pre-existing legal systems, a judgement that helped lead the way to the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in the early 1970s which he said is considered to have opened the door for modern day treaties. He said we need to open institutions more to Indigenous Peoples; including educational institutions and that there should be more programs on Indigenous life and Indigenous ways. *"The more we open up our institutional life, the more we will learn in decision-making"* (Mulcair, personal communication, Feb. 18th, 2020).

Kevin Washburn- Former Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of the Interior

Background: Kevin Washburn is a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma and he was appointed by President Obama to serve as Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs at the U.S. Department of the Interior from 2012 to 2016. He is the Dean of the Iowa University Law School and he works with The Conservation Lands Foundation. Given his experience in a senior position in the White House working with Indigenous Tribes and his highly experience in law and engagement with conservation issues, Professor John Borrows, (who is interviewed in Chapter 6), recommended that I speak with him. I sent Professor Washburn the invitation outlining the research I was doing and we spoke by phone to his office in Iowa on October 6th, 2020.

Our Conversation

I started by describing the research I was doing as per the invitation letter and we began our conversation with the opening question about his connections or experiences with the natural world. He

said, "*I'm a bit of a runner. I tend to every other day go out for a run- every other morning. That's the thing that grounds me, helps me deal with stress and helps me plan. I travelled a lot in my life and it was a great way to get to know a place"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020). I asked him about the roles that he has had and what is most important to him about his work. He said, *"One of the themes through my life has been tribal self-governance; helping to ensure that tribal nations have the ability to continue and persist and govern themselves as they always have and more than they had throughout the 20th century… there is a renaissance there. One of the values that moves me has been that"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020).

We then talked about sustainability, or relationships to the natural world, in the policy process and any examples he had of what he felt did or did not work well. We also touched on the third question that speaks to learning from traditional Indigenous governance principles. He said, *"I believe what I believe about tribal self-governance so thoroughly I don't question it. I just do it because I trust that it's the right thing. Same with trying to protect lands by creating national monuments and have tribes be co-managers. I don't question it. I'm doing it for justice reasons. I am quite confident that tribes generally make better decisions about sustainability [but] I don't always look at tribal governments and say that's the perfect way of doing things. I've been very westernized. The U.S. form of government is the one I studied. But when I look at tribal governments, it's just to me the right thing"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020).

He provided some additional context for his perspective. *"Let me say this. My tribe has been intermarrying with Europeans since the 1600s. I don't know what our original values were because we have been, for centuries, integrated with Europeans"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020) He referred to The Trail of Tears, the forced relocation of Indigenous Peoples to Oklahoma in the late 1830s through the *"Indian Removal Act*", signed by President Andrew Jackson. *"[With] The Chickasaw Nation we made the same migration but we characterize it differently. We are the*

unconquered nation… We chose to move to Oklahoma in negotiation with the U.S. government. Because we chose it, wasn't as traumatic. And so, the Cherokees identity is bound up in the Trail of Tears [but] our Tribal National narrative is different because it's one of maintaining our own power, our own autonomy. We went through similar experiences but the definition we give ourselves is a different approach. It's a national tribal identity. But all of that is defined by Andrew Jackson, the U.S. government. That collision produced a different outcome for the Cherokee than it did for us. We have a government that's our own but partially modeled on the American system" (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020). He talked about Indigenous connection to lands and land return in the U.S. he said*, "There was compensation paid. Tribes have generally gotten compensation but not major land backs"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020) He quoted from a recent Supreme Court ruling that found that much of eastern Oklahoma should legally be considered reservation land, saying *"At the end of the Trail of Tears was a promise that the land would be theirs in perpetuity…That promise must be kept"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020) But Professor Washburn also noted that *"The reservation continues, not as ownership of land, but as a demarcation of jurisdiction"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020).

I asked him how he thought Cabinet and other decision-makers could learn from Indigenous Knowledge Holders and leaders such that Indigenous Ways of Knowing become more central to Cabinet policy decisions? He said, *"One of the things that tends to be really strong in democratic institutions is the notion of Tribal consultation. That has improved dramatically. It tends to be stronger in Democratic administrations. The Obama administration improved that dramatically and made that value much stronger in the federal government. The President met with Tribes annually. He invited all tribal leaders to Washington once a year to meet with the President and the Cabinet. It meant every Cabinet Secretary would have to go before 400 or 500 Tribal Leaders and talk about what his or her Agency had done. That had an enormous effect as they wanted to be sure that they had something to brag about when they*

went before these leaders. It was usually 10-12 Cabinet Secretaries. It ensured that every Cabinet Agency was focused on Native American issues. That's not a Native value, that's a good governance value, that you should talk to the people affected by decisions. I have to think that it was in the back of every Cabinet decision-makers mind that 'I have to go before a bunch of Tribal leaders.' It certainly had an impact and frankly they wanted to avoid controversy and to have bragging rights. It had this disciplining effect on other departments and agencies. They don't want it to just be window dressing… It's far more important that the Cabinet Secretaries are meeting with the Tribes and the President was involved watching. There wasn't a ton of major dramatic changes. There were all these important incremental improvements because of this" (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020) He gave an example of a follow-up action as a result of these meetings which was the granting of greater tribal jurisdiction over offenders. "*Joe Biden helped with that legislation by giving tribes the power to solve it themselves or restoring that power"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020) He referred me to a document released by the Executive Office of the President called, *A Renewed Era of Tribal Relations,* which summarized follow-up actions from Departments and Agencies across government taken as a result of the annual meetings with Tribal Leaders. As an example, the Environmental Protection Agency started its section of the report saying that; *"Tribes have repeatedly expressed their concerns for a healthy and resilient natural environment. Tribal leaders, particularly Alaska Native leaders, have shared dire examples of villages and communities facing the impacts of climate change, including significantly diminished wild game and fish, unprecedented erosion, rising sea levels, and thawing permafrost. These events have direct impacts on the livelihood and culture of Tribes."* (Executive Office of the President, p. 30, *A Renewed Era of Federal-Tribal Relations,* 2017) The report gave a long list of follow-up actions including grants for Tribal climate planning including vulnerability assessments and resilience plans, bringing Tribal Knowledges into programs and assessments, getting billions of dollars in settlements from corporations to clean up toxic waste sites in Indian country, including an environmental justice policy in

the EPA's work involving tribal lands, improved air quality regulations affecting Tribal lands, Tribal involvement in the Agency's Ocean, Coastal Waters and Great Lakes policies, enhanced protection of sacred sites and cultural training for Forestry and Agriculture employees about them, encouragement of Tribal management and co-management arrangements of lands, resources and sacred sites amongst other actions to follow up on Tribal concerns. (Ibid, pp. 30-34, 2017)

Beyond the example of Cabinet engagement with Tribal leaders, I asked Professor Washburn if there were other changes that he would recommend. He said, *"One of the challenging things is that Tribes in the US tend to have fairly strong powers over their reservation and the lands they hold in Trust. A lot of their sacred sites are outside those lands and tribes have less say over those lands. As to those lands, they aren't given much more voice than the average citizen. So that's one of the things is how to give Tribes more say over lands that they traditionally had. They have absolute veto on their own reservation but if there's a sacred site two kms off their reservation they don't have a say. How do you frame that? In my dream, we would find a way to give Tribes more control, authority, power and voice over lands outside their reservation. To me it's just justice. We do have to reckon with the facts that Tribal lands were usually taken, not by force, but by lies. So tribes lost those lands through illegitimate means. So at least for the lands that remain sacred to them, we should recognize their voice. It's a matter of justice. It probably services sustainability and climate values but it's a matter of justice"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020). Referencing his work on Conservation, he added, "*I was on a call with the Conservation community and there's something like a million species that will be lost in the next number of years. The Conservation community in the U.S…Natives have not really penetrated that community very much. They should look to those cultures"* (K. Washburn, personal communication, October, 2020).

Perspectives from Policy and Governance Scholars

Elder Claudette Commanda, Professor in Law, Education, Women's Studies, and Aboriginal Studies, University of Ottawa

Background: Elder Claudette Commanda is Algonquin Anishinaabe and a Professor at the University of Ottawa teaching Indigenous related courses in Law, Education, Women's Studies and the Aboriginal Studies Department and she is an Elder in Residence to the Faculty of Law. She has worked for the federal department of Indigenous and Northern Affairs and has been an advisor to several federal departments and serves as the Executive Director for the First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centres. She was the recipient of the Indspire Award for Culture, Heritage and Spirituality. (Indspire n.d.) I met her when she was a visiting Elder at Trent University in the fall of 2019. Her extensive knowledge and background in law and governance led me to asking her if she would be willing to have a conversation about this research and I provided some background. She agreed and we met in an office at Trent University on Oct. 10th, 2019. We generally followed the guiding questions during our conversation but they also blended together as we talked.

Our Conversation

We started with the opening question about her connections to, or experiences with, the natural world. She said, "*I live my life every day as an Anishinaabe, living my life according to the gifts the Creator gave me; respecting our Mother the Earth and all she provides and being kind and generous to people and to the natural world-the animals, the plants, our responsibilities to one another and with one another. I was given the gift of life, was made Anishinaabe and must give according to that order of Creation. As Omamawininni (Algonquin)"* (C. Commanda, personal communication, Oct. 10, 2019).

In talking about how she came to do the work she has done in her career and what is important to her about her work, she started by saying, "*Regardless of the title or the role, for me it's about people. It's about helping people. It's about advancing rights of First Nations people. I didn't go out looking for it. These roles landed on me. But the opportunities came. It was almost like the roles came to me"* (Ibid). She described her roles at the University of Ottawa, starting when she was a student when she met with the President of the University and requested resources to start the first Native Student's Association. This

evolved into an Aboriginal Resource Centre and her being a Councilor there and then going on to becoming a Professor and now her role as Elder in Residence. (Ibid) She told a story about how she came to some of her work. "*This one time, I said oh Creator please bless me with a job where I will advocate and support and fight for the rights for our language and our culture. An Elder heard and said be careful what you pray for … I went on to work for the Department of Indian Affairs and wanted to use my legal skills in that work in specific claims but then I got a call with an offer to be the Executive Director of an organization that is promoting and protecting First Nations languages all across Canada. A couple of days later, my grandfather comes to the Department of Indian Affairs and says that he wanted to stop in at a lodge. The Elder that was presiding that week was the same Elder that said 'be careful what you pray for'. He reminded me of what he said and so I took that job working in an environment where I am who I am as Anishinaabe and who have that understanding of the importance of languages… Our culture, our identity all comes from our language"* (C. Commanda, personal communication, Oct. 10, 2019).

She went on to describe the importance of these roles to her. *"The role that I hold at the University of Ottawa…I have always been attached to Ottawa U and very active as a student and a community member and so the Faculty of Law and the University always called on me for corporate memory, to help them to make the change that was needed. I am Elder in Residence now and ended up providing guidance to faculty. There is more of a need for the faculty. I provide support to students, ensuring that they have access to all student support services. Another contributing factor is, in 2006, my grandfather and I opened the Faculty of Law with ceremony. The new president reached out to me to sit on the Board of Governors. I don't consider myself an Elder but I consider myself a Knowledge Keeper. If others grant me that title I don't take that away. I am a mother, a grandmother and a Knowledge Holder"* (C. Commanda, personal communication, Oct. 10, 2019).

We turned to the question about Indigenous approaches to governance and sustainability and her experiences of processes that she believed worked well or not so well. She described her

involvement in a process where she was asked to be an advisor to the federal department of Indian and Northern Affairs. "*With the transformation at Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, they called upon me as part of an Advisory Committee on the process of transformation. Definitely there's opportunities for sure. The challenge is when people resist opportunities. They resist change. People fear change. They become territorial. Usually those at the lower rung of the ladder, they are the ones that want to hold on to control. With INAC unfortunately it is about controlling Indian people"* (Ibid). She recalled the dynamics in one of the sessions with the department. "*Watch who sits where… On one side there were young people who wanted change. On the other, people who've been there a long time. Those are the ones that come up with every excuse or fear tactics. How do you change it? It's got to come from the top up"* (Ibid).

In talking about changes she believed were needed she recalled other workshop sessions that were a part of the INAC process. "*Many wanted change but there was still resistance. Asked why they didn't want change, they say the institutions can't change. You need to put the right people in the right places. It's all about leadership and vision. And then you have to change policy itself and have a framework. Let's start with the mandate, purpose and intent, then the framework, then the policy. You have to first and foremost ask who is this going to impact and why? Where is it going to impact? Is it going to impact procedures and, if so, how? If it's going to impact First Nations people, First Nations people have to be involved in the decisions. Relationships are about dialogue, negotiation and decision-making powers"* (C. Commanda, personal communication, Oct. 10, 2019).

Elder Commanda returned to the central question about the natural world being foundational in Cabinet and senior level decisions. She said, *"Can I envision a mandate where the natural world is foundational to decision making. Yes I do. It's about the tangible entities and about what you don't see; the natural world and spirit world, and it's an understanding of language. My understanding of the*

natural world? I think of everything as deep below as you can and as high as you can go and everything around and all those loved ones in the spirit world. It is the essence of Creation and we are part of it. When they are creating policy, an example is Indigenous Language Legislation; the right language has to be used in the policy and mandate. We also have to be careful because we have a duty to protect the sacred and it can't be a form of appropriation. We are going to protect the sacred, our knowledge. What is important is how we do things. That it is going to have positive benefits instead of consequences communities have to live with after" (Commanda, personal communication, Oct. 10th, 2019).

Professor Sheri Longboat- Associate Professor, School of Environmental Design and Rural Development, Guelph University

Background: Sheri Longboat is Haudenosaunee Mohawk and a member of the Six Nations of the Grand River. She is Associate Professor at the School of Environmental Design and Rural Development at Guelph University. She has spent twenty years working with Indigenous communities and her research interest is in governance and water and she focuses on intersections between Indigenous Knowledges, traditional governance, water security and contemporary relationships between Indigenous communities and organizations and western government institutions. I first met Sheri in 2014 when she was speaking at the Sacred Water Circle Elder's Conference at Trent University and she spoke about traditional governance and water in contemporary times. I followed up with her in 2019 to let her know about the research I was doing. Our conversation took place on March 2nd, 2020 by phone to her office. As with other interviews and conversations, some of the answers to the questions flowed from one to the other in our conversation covering two or more questions at once.

Our Conversation

At the beginning of the conversation Prof. Longboat talked about what had influenced her own research on water governance. Amongst other works, she referred to the Nobel Prize winning work of Elinor Ostrom and the book, *"Governing the Commons".* (Ostrom wrote about the concept of the "Tragedy of the Commons" and how it happens largely when external forces exert power over resources based on their own self-interest. She argued that common resources could be better managed by those who are closest to those resources, particularly if there are elements in place such as clear boundaries,

collective choices, local autonomy, conflict resolution and relationships with other levels of decision-making. (Wilson, 2016)). We turned to the opening question where Sheri described her connections with the natural world. She said she felt, *"a sense of reverence and a sense of responsibility for my relationship with Creation. I don't feel that I need to be convinced of the importance of the equality of all Creation, I just feel a part of our natural world but yet privileged, or burdened, with having the ability to significantly alter it. That can be in a good way with good relations with it, but when we have no power to protect it, it is something that is heavy in the heart. As Haudenosaunee, it is all about our Original Instructions; how to live in good relations with all of Creation. Until we return to the Great Law, we are just spinning our wheels. It can't be achieved with our current system. How do we do contemporary Indigenous planning? Solutions need to come from those Knowledge Holders and practitioners that still have practices within their lifestyles, have lived the culture. It is living it, not just knowing it. That's where the transformation comes. There are Chiefs and Clan mothers that are living it and still governing in that way and some Chiefs that are fighting to have Indigenous governance recognized"* (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020).

As we talked about her work on policy-making related to sustainability and governance, she described her involvement in the creation of a Joint-Stewardship Board as an example. "*It came about from a highway that involved blasting a hole in the escarpment. There was controversy when it started. There were protests by Indigenous and non-Indigenous"* (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020). She noted here that they drew upon the Albany Treaty with the Haudenosaunee from 1722. *"What came out of that after… was a Confederacy Governance Land Agreement and they signed six agreements for joint stewardship. The agreements were that the most would be got out of protecting the natural environment and that there was joint stewardship to look after the natural environment. For the Haudenosaunee, it was hard to document things. For example, medicine plants are everywhere but the City wanted a map. But rather than argue about who has rights, the values of protecting the Red Hill*

Valley were put up front. It has won awards as a really positive example of how development can occur in a more environmentally sustainable way. In terms of relationship, it was in the best interests of everyone to protect that valley. It wasn't just Indigenous people; it was a lot of non-indigenous people as well. Oren Lyons talks about the basic call to consciousness and the power of the people and the collective mind. What worked was the recognition of what was left and funding was set aside to enable relationships between the communities. We need more Indigenous people in leadership to make changes. Living documents are important and trying to have a respectful discussion and communicating how each group works" (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020). I followed up on Prof. Longboat's example and according to *The Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board*; the Board has equal representation from the Haudenosaunee and the City of Hamilton. Its goal is to, *"foster long-term relationships and to create a plan for the Valley that reflects the best thinking of both peoples"* (Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board n.d.) and the relationship is represented by three strings of wampum signifying mutual respect, trust and friendship between them. (Ibid)

Prof. Longboat also noted the broader example of New Zealand and how their legislature reflects the Indigenous population. "*It is so embedded in the whole nation, in the language of the Maori right on their national web-page… and in cultural values in land use planning"* (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020). We turned to the question of the natural world becoming more foundational to senior level decisions, the role of Indigenous Knowledges, and what she believes would be needed for that shift to occur. "*The institutionalization of appropriate legal instruments, the rights of nature, not just legislation but full implementation across federal and provincial governments and put in agreements of provincial, territorial, national governments. I would look at Indigenous areas and protected areas that are co-managed as models. It's about the outcome of the activity and achieving shared goals…fully holistic governance systems and what checks and balances are put into place… I think there is going to have to be a large economic argument for it to change… I keep coming back to this*

systems approach" (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020). Related to the process of change, she said, "*We had RCAP and now we are waiting to see the long-term impacts of the TRC"* (Ibid). She added that this includes: *"understanding those models where people feel that nature's role is fundamental as a function of looking at other economic alternatives"* (Ibid). Here, she referenced the work of Carol Anne Hilton and the concept of *Indigenomics* as an example. According to the Indigenomics Institute, *"Indigenomics honors the powerful thinking of Indigenous wisdom of local economy, relationships and human values. Indigenomics is about increasing the role and visibility of Indigenous Peoples in the new economy. It is about understanding indigenous ways of being and worldview. Indigenomics draws on ancient principles that have supported indigenous economies for thousands of years, and works to implement them as modern practices"* (Indigenomics Institute n.d.).

We closed the conversation with my asking if she thought the research could be of benefit to others. She said, "*For sure it will have benefits for government and operations and looking at sustainability…I certainly think it does for academics and how others can build upon this, looking at application and effectiveness"* (S. Longboat, personal communication, March 2nd, 2020).

Paul Thomas: Professor Emeritus, University of Manitoba, Political Science Department

Background: Paul Thomas is Professor Emeritus at the University of Manitoba, Political Science Department where he has taught Canadian politics for over 40 years. He is a political commentator and is often called upon to be a guest during televised election night coverage. Early in his career he worked as policy analyst in Federal - Provincial Relations for the Manitoba government and was later an advisor to the Provincial government. He founded the Manitoba Legislative Internship program, in which I got my own start working at the Legislature. My Committee recommended that I reach out to him given his extensive academic expertise and lived experience in parliamentary processes. We spoke by phone to his home in Winnipeg on Oct. 7th, 2019.

Our Conversation

Unlike other interviews where we started with a conversation about connections to the natural world, our conversation immediately gravitated toward the policy process in general and Prof. Thomas' experience with the Manitoba government in particular. Our policy conversation addressed other guiding questions related to policy paradigm shift at the Cabinet and other senior levels of government.

After I described my research, as per the invitation letter to him, Paul Thomas opened the conversation by referencing his work on *"A Report Prepared for the Aboriginal Justice Implementation Commission*" October, 2000. The report provided policy options for the Manitoba government on implementing the recommendations of the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry that was prepared by, then, Manitoba Justice, Murray Sinclair. The options included the creation of an Aboriginal Affairs Committee of Cabinet, a Native Affairs Secretariat attached to Executive Council, an Aboriginal Affairs Secretariat as part of the Federal -Provincial Relations Branch at the Executive Council level, a Deputy Minister's Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, and a Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs with the involvement of all parties. (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019) During my time with the government, the Aboriginal Affairs Committee of Cabinet and the Deputy Minister's Committee were established and active on issues affecting Aboriginal people in the province including and beyond the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry recommendations. The Cabinet Committee was, at one time led by MLA and Cabinet Minister Oscar Lathlin. In my conversation with his daughter, MLA Amanda Lathlin, she highlighted the importance of this Committee while she was in government in subsequent years.

Of his experience with the government at that time he said*, "One of the hallmarks of Gary Doer's leadership was he always saw the political feasibility of what he could do. Most policy making in practice represents some kind of incrementalism that offers a bit more of a realistic process, is evidence based and more long-term thinking. One of the critiques is that it ignores a situation when there has been long-term neglect of a problem. When that happens, to continue to pursue an incremental approach can even*

worsen the problem. In practice governments do a bit of both. They do comprehensive thinking but take steps that are feasible" (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019).

Prof. Thomas talked about how, in the early 1990s, he did a lot of work on organizational change, noting that a lot of what goes on inside large organizations can be considered *"strategic improvisation or intelligent improvisation based on feedback."* He said, *"the notion of lens became quite widely used later in the development of policy studies. It conveys a notion that there is a culture in different policy making fields, like a world view, based on different areas of government"* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019). He talked about the importance of developing a more comprehensive approach so that different angles or lenses don't get neglected.

Prof. Thomas said that there are empirical studies that looked at underlying assumptions that influence policy-making and highlight an alignment between lobby groups and the government officials that work with them. *"You can change Cabinet structures, change committees, make rules, for example the costing of policies, Indigenous issues have to go through a Secretariat on Indigenous issues… but whether it actually changes the culture is a question mark. It's more like a gardening project. You plant seeds and cultivate them and hope they will grow; that those values and norms will become part of a shared culture"* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019). For culture to change within government institutions he said*, "the most important single factor is leadership exemplified in the behaviour of leaders in those critical moments when the values they are championing are challenged, the type of people brought in and where they are placed, their values and the authority they are granted, what's laid down in official documents… though it's not a guarantee. All organizations involve politics. How disagreements, conflicts and resource allocation are dealt with tells us more about what an organization espouses than documents do."* (Ibid) Professor Thomas noted that even physical layout can make a difference including how offices are set up to deal with the people being served and that even *"where offices are located can have cultural connotation and consequences."* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019)

Along with leadership, Prof. Thomas highlighted trust as an important factor in culture change. *"Trust is a central value in the culture of successful organizations. Where there are low levels of trust, the things you want to accomplish are that much harder to achieve. If that's [trust] is a norm within communities, then they have something to teach us. There are ways you can emulate behaviour even in large organizations"* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019*).* Prof. Thomas gave an example of a Deputy Minister who sent out an invitation to all regional offices to offer input once a month and described it *as* giving people 'esteem moments'.*"People have to feel they matter…. There's a lot of work being done between hard and soft power (with) power defined mainly in terms of influence. We should always ask the question, 'who do we want to include in our discussions?' We should think hard at the beginning of the process, who you want to have around the table and then rely heavily on communications, consultation and negotiation. It may be, at the end of the day, you have to confront a corporate entity and they have to be penalized."* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019) He added that the literature on instruments of government shows that, *"politicians prefer to move from the least coercive to the most coercive [and] are more reluctant to take on certain groups than others"* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019).

Going back to his earlier comments on organizational change, he noted that there is disproportionate access of corporate elites to government, quoting from political scientist E.E. Schattschneider saying that "*government sings with a distinctly upper-class accent".* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019) He also talked about how literature on public administration refers to the capture theory*, "where parts of government come to identify with those they most interact with, so if they keep peace with industry, it's easier not to have conflict"* (P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019).

In the closing part of our conversation, Prof. Thomas emphasized the importance of how policy processes engage with people. He gave an example of the current government's Red Tape Commission that is aimed at cutting government regulation. *"Supposedly, with the benefits of internet technology, you*

*can stage consultation exercises but it's a very opaque process where self-selected people write into the Minister or the bureaucracy and then they say they've listened to 15,000 Manitobans but people don't know which ones?...More and more people have withdrawn and there aren't as many forums for them to become engaged... it's all a submerged process" (*P. Thomas, pers.comm. Oct. 17th, 2019).

Professor John Borrows, University of Victoria, Faculty of Law

Background: John Borrows is Anishinaabe. He is the Canada Research Chair in Indigenous Law at the University of Victoria Faculty of Law where he co-created the first Indigenous Law Degree program in Canada. He has taught law at the Universities of Toronto, Minnesota, Melbourne, and Waikato, New Zealand and worked in Nunavut contributing to their legal structure**.** I knew of Professor Borrows through his writings on Indigenous Laws and the intersection between them and Canadian law, some of which are referenced in this research. I also knew of his reputation as one of Canada's most highly respected legal scholars with numerous awards for his work, most recently including the Order of Canada. I was interested in learning his perspectives on Indigenous laws in the context of western policy making and, also, in the context of the Province of B.C. where the UNDRIP had been passed but also where there are many development pressures on First Nations territories. I spoke with Professor Borrows via phone call from his office at the University of Victoria on September 14th, 2020. Throughout our conversation he provided examples directly pertaining to the research question which I followed up and summarized to further contextualize our discussion.

Our Conversation

We started by talking about Prof. Borrows' early experiences with the natural world. He said that they were many. "*Where I start is remembering being a young guy in Brampton Ontario; riding my tricycle, seeing turtles, birds, clouds and sky and being attracted to that way of being in the world as a child and growing up on a farm afterwards with the growth and cycles and seasons and animals, both wild and those we were responsible for, and then doing a vision quest when I was of age and having experiences in the desert for a couple of years and then getting used to understanding the west coast. Since that time, I have been back and forth between Ontario and here on the island"* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020).

In talking about how he got involved in studying law and what was important to him about this work, he credited his mother who took him all over the region of Ontario where his family and ancestors were from. "*When I came into law school, I was interested in exploring those relationships.... My Masters was in Genealogy in Law and I looked at my families' relationships, the challenges we faced, how we persevered, the languages, the laws...I was talking to my great uncle and aunt and friends of my grandfather... and spent time visiting around*" (J. Borrows, pers.comm., Sept. 14th,2020). He said that, by name, his family went back to the 1760s, but that the stories his relatives told of, for example, maple sugar, corn and rice, went far back, beyond a specific measure of time. He said that, when the research was finished, it was published and used in the community. (Ibid)

We talked about a common thread across a diversity of Indigenous nations; that governance decisions are often founded on relationships with the natural world. I asked what he saw as opportunities for policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledge holders, leaders and scholars in this regard. He said, "*I think it's a layered opportunity.*" He emphasized that people can learn on their own based on their direct relationships with others or they can learn more formally about Indigenous laws and governance, noting both his experience running Anishinaabe law camps where law students and others learn Anishinaabe laws on the land, and opportunities to learn about Indigenous approaches to governance by observing, for example, governance processes in Nunavut. "*People have lives and friendships so they could learn that individually*... [At] *the Anishinaabe law camps that we have, we sometimes have judges and lawyers...In Iqaluit they use consensus forms of decision making and try to embody Indigenous principles in, for example, hunting legislation, in planning legislation... Or you could do something more formal. [For example] courts might be able to say there is an obligation. So, it's all those layers; kin, clan, friend, university, parliamentary and legal processes*" (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020).

We talked about whether such opportunities could support a shift such that relationships with the natural world and Indigenous ways of knowing become more central to Cabinet policy and senior level decisions and any examples he might have. He talked about several examples in British Columbia that could inform such a shift. He said, *"We have the UNDRIP Act and it is not just a process of meeting with the legislature and giving an accounting of it. It is also a process of meeting with Indigenous Peoples here. It will be a made-in-BC process. In terms of the land-based way of looking at that, my understanding is that they continue to take council and guidance from Elders and the Feast structures and the Chiefs at the head of those. Each Chief has a name that relates to particular animals, territories and trees and watersheds. That process could be an opportunity for the lands and waters to speak through the Chiefs through the broader legislative process. It won't just be with those representative organizations, it will be community by community…. In the treaty process people are brought in for potlatch and feast…One possibility is to look at what the Haida have done such that they recognize a parallel way of operating and find the things that they can agree on"* (J. Borrows, pers.comm., Sept. 14th ,2020).

Following up on these examples, I looked at the Haida Constitution that lays out a Council of the Haida Nation structure made up of elected representatives, a Hereditary Chiefs Council, Village Councils, a House of Assembly-where laws are passed, and supporting secretariats and policy bodies. The Constitution lays out inclusive processes for policy development and decision making (Haida Constitution, 2018). The first mandate and responsibility of the Council that is described in the Constitution is *"to steward the lands and waters of the Haida Territories on behalf of the Haida Nation, and to perpetuate Haida culture and language for future generations"* as well as to *"establish land and ocean resource policies consistent with nature's ability to produce. The policies will be applicable to all users of the territories"* Haida Constitution. Haida Nation, 2018 p.4)

The *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* passed by the British Columbia legislature in 2019 recognizes *Indigenous Governing Bodies*, described as entities authorized to act on

behalf of Indigenous Peoples that hold rights under section 35 of the Constitution. Section 7 of the legislation grants authority for the Crown to enter into agreements and decision-making agreements with Indigenous Governing Bodies (BCLaws, B.C. Government, 2019). The Haida Council structure along with the Haida Constitution, which is founded on laws to look after lands and waters, are the basis for shared decision-making arrangements, as Professor Borrows describes it, in parallel with the Government of British Columbia. I could see how the combination of the Haida Constitution and B.C.'s UNDRIP legislation could give lands, waters and community members a central voice in decision-making.

Professor Borrows referenced a specific example in which Indigenous nations and provincial and federal governments are bringing their laws together. *The Guardian Watchmen Network* is a program designed to provide on the ground environmental stewardship by and for Indigenous communities on their traditional territories in conjunction with provincial and federal regulations and programs. He said, *"It is a contract directly with First Nations who operate with their own authority and there are regulations in place that allow for that work to be done with Indigenous Peoples"* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020). The program supports the enforcement of both Indigenous natural law and western government environmental laws. He referenced the work of the University of Victoria's Environmental Law Centre that had developed an Environmental Laws toolkit together with First Nations. The document describes how the program is mutually beneficial. ***"****With fewer government "boots on the ground" to conduct monitoring and enforcement and with ever increasing environmental challenges, there is a critical need for First Nations, who know the territory best, to conduct monitoring and reporting of environmental infractions"* (Environmental Law Centre, University of Victoria n.d.).

Professor Borrows then described the example of how the Heiltsuk Nation used their laws to deal with the aftermath of an environmental disaster. In 2016, a tug boat accident resulted in a massive diesel spill in coastal waters. The Heiltsuk outlined their own laws in a comprehensive report to deal with the consequences of the spill and to make recommendations for restoration and restitution through a

civil claim against those responsible. The report describes the foundational principles of Heiltsuk law or Ǧviḷás in this way:

"Ǧviḷás encompasses values and beliefs that have been transmitted from one generation to the next, through our oral histories, songs, dances and other teachings and practices. As with any legal system, one of the elements of Ǧviḷás are the consequences that flow in the event of a breach. The opportunity to allow for positive change after a breach is also a principle of Ǧviḷás, as well as being foundational to principles of reconciliation… Incidents such as the Spill, caused by industry operating in our territorial lands and waters will over time, systematically erode Heiltsuk natural capital, causing ecological death by a thousand cuts. This is especially so as industrial development continues to escalate, with the support of government in the pursuit of employment and tax revenues. … Only through the protection of Indigenous communities like the Heiltsuk can the BC coast - and by extension planet Earth - survive. We will keep protecting the coast and contributing to a healthy planet. We believe where Indigenous people live, nature will live and thrive. We have a responsibility as Heiltsuk to ensure our stories and experiences caused by this diesel spill are shared with others." (Heiltsuk Tribal Council (2018), p. 55)

Among many recommendations, the report calls for cultural sensitivity training amongst federal and provincial civil servants and decision makers and for B.C. and Canada to uphold the UNDRIP. Prof. Borrows referred me to his article on the report in which he states; *"The Report creates opportunities to innovatively address problems created by the spill, using Heiltsuk legal principles and processes in ways that can be harmonized with Canadian Law. As so often happens however, when Indigenous Peoples have clear laws, there are few mechanisms to enforce them. This is why the Nation has decided to utilize the Canadian legal system to implement the requirements of their own laws to bring justice and take care of their territory" (*Borrows J., n.d.).

We talked about the issue of the opposition of some Wet'suwe'ten Hereditary Chiefs and Clan Mothers to the Coastal Gas pipeline that had been approved by the Government of British Columbia. Professor Borrows talked about how the Wet'suwe'ten *"are bringing the land into that discussion and practice"* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020). He referred me to a talk he had given on the issue. In it, he provides a summary of the governance structure of the Hereditary Chiefs based on how it was described in the opening statements of the Delgamuukw case that went to the Supreme Court, where Wet'suwe'ten and Gitsxan rights to their traditional territories were recognized. In quoting that

statement, he noted that ownership of land was seen as a marriage between the Chief and the land based on ancestors who had encountered and acknowledged the land hundreds and thousands of years before, with each subsequent Chief accepting responsibility for ensuring that all people have respect for the spirit of the land and all living things. He noted that it was recognized that the land, plants, animals and people all have a spirit and that the wealth derived from the land must be shown respect and that this relationship is the basis for their laws. In terms of governance structure, he noted how each Chief has a House with various responsibilities and the Houses are based on a Clan system. The various houses ensure a diffusion of power and he noted that the governance system *"acts as a parliament, a legislature, a court and an administrative tribunal" (*J. Borrows, March 18th, 2020*)* He said that all this is based on laws derived from relationships with the land evolving over hundreds and thousands of years, until the Indian Act tried to destroy it by replacing it with local band council governments on reserves that were answerable to the federal government. He talked about how, in the Hereditary Governance system, power flows from the land to the people through the Chief and that this is re-iterated through re-telling of histories, performing songs and dances and displaying crests at feasts. (Borrows J., March 18th, 2020) This was another example he gave of land, waters and communities speaking through the Hereditary Chief and Clan governance system to the western governance system. He said; *"We are going to find paths forward that provide for greater understanding but I'm not sure that the capitalist mindset will go away- I think we'll always have a mess of different views and the challenge is to create ways of disagreeing more agreeably."* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020)

At the end of our conversation I asked him in what ways he thought this research could be useful to others. He said, *"Since you've worked in that legislative context maybe you can bring those ideas directly back to friends and other personal relationships… you can't overlook the importance of the personal and relational in making change. [See] if the things you discover could be used for training."* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020) He noted that he has done training modules for Cabinet and for

public administration departments. He added*, "working on the policy instruments themselves that have implications for this… Nuance is sacred. It's not an 'either-or' and sometimes it's 'an and'. It's also important to be protesting, and resistance where that is a necessity"* (J. Borrows, pers.comm. Sept. 14th ,2020.

Following our conversation, Professor Borrows sent me an article on ecological economics recommended by his colleague, Jim Tully. The article entitled, *A Conceptual Framework for Ecological Economics based on Systemic Principles of Life,* re-imagines economic theory by viewing economy as a living organism. As such, according to the article, the economy thrives through integrated and regenerative relationships that provide the 'food and energy' needed to survive with waste serving other living entities. It states that*, "in ecological economics, the economy becomes the servant of nature not the master of nature… all actors are integrated in cooperative networks searching for solutions leading to the enjoyment of life within resilient ecosystems and viable social systems"* (Capra F., Jakobsen, O.D. 2017). This theory of ecological economics sounded very much like the examples of Indigenous governance structures and laws that Professor Borrows had provided in our conversation, underscoring for me how Indigenous governance principles and emerging western thought on economics could have application to western parliamentary decision-making.

Chapter 7: Listen and We'll Teach You - The Findings

We both met up long ago and now we are meeting up again to work together in a much different way…First Nations are needed even more with environmental issues and social and economic issues. Traditionally Indigenous people worked with the land, lived with the land, untouched, preserved, respected and loved... Bringing IK back to Cabinet decisions will keep our land and push us forward in terms of progressing as human beings. If you listen to us, we will be around much longer. We'll teach you.

(Amanda Lathlin, MLA, Manitoba Legislature)

Much can be learned from being reminded of where we started: in the teachings of the Knowledge Keepers, knowing Canada's true history of Indigenous Peoples, relationship to the land, waters and resources, then reflect upon where is reconciliation now? Can we together make a better place for our children and their future?

(Phyllis Williams, Elder and Former Chief, Curve Lake First Nation)

Introduction

This chapter presents the heart of the research. It explores the meaning that experienced policy leaders, scholars, and Knowledge Holders hold about the research questions (Creswell, 2014): *How can the value of sustaining the natural world become foundational in Cabinet and senior- level social, economic and environmental policy decisions in Canada?; What is necessary for such a shift to occur or do participants believe such a shift is necessary?; How can Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples play a key role in this paradigm shift?; What kinds of structures, processes and relationships support, or could support, such a paradigm shift in federal and provincial governments in Canada?* While it is impossible to fully translate the experiences that were shared by participants in answering these questions (Meyer, 2013; Dockstator, 2014), I have, to the best of my ability, brought their words together in a collectivity of findings that I hope convey the spirit of our conversations, honour their insights, and guidance and that can be put to positive use in the ways they suggest.

The Findings

Finding 1: Responses to the natural world as foundational to senior level decision-making- Learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples: *This is needed. We need both worldviews to make the planet better. But it takes time.*

Finding 2*:* Rationale for a Paradigm Shift: *Addressing the false dichotomy of economy before environment and understanding the economy as dependant on the natural world.*

Finding 3: Shifts within Parliamentary Institutions: *Legislation, Education, Representation, Leadership*

Finding 4: Paradigm Shift Part 1: Rebuilding Relationships: *Bringing People Together*

Finding 5: Paradigm Shift Part 2- Giving Voice to the Natural World: *Bringing Worldviews Together*

Finding 6: It's A Layered Opportunity

Finding 7: Being of Use

The chapter is organized into seven findings (see sidebar) with supporting themes for each one. While the findings address each of the research questions, they focus on the question: *what kinds of structures, processes and relationships support, or could support, such a paradigm shift in federal and provincial governments in Canada?* In organizing the findings, I looked at whether key elements of a paradigm shift discussed in the literature were also raised in participant conversations, including: evidence of an anomaly in policy-making, changes in policy instruments, different policy settings and greater inclusion. These elements were discussed throughout participant conversations and are highlighted in Findings 1-3. In addition, and across conversations, participants emphasized the importance of respectful relationships in policy processes and provided examples of what this looks like in practice. This introduced important new elements of paradigm shift that are described in Findings 4-5.

The process of collecting the findings began by returning to the purpose statement which was: *to learn from experienced policy practitioners, scholars and Traditional Knowledge Holders about how the value of sustaining the natural world could become foundational to senior level policy decisions and how Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples could play a key role in such a paradigm shift.* I looked through the conversation notes to learn whether participants thought sustaining the natural world could or should become a foundational value in senior-level policy decisions and, based on their extensive experience, whether

this could be applied to federal and provincial governments in Canada. As such, the first finding discusses whether or not there was general concurrence with this idea. There was. Once having responded to the subject of the research question, or the 'what' part of the question, participants raised concerns about specific issues that provided rationale for *why* they felt such a change was needed, whether or not they felt that a full paradigm shift was possible in the short-term or within current parliamentary processes. This is described in Finding 2. After exploring participant responses to the *what* and *why* aspects of the research question, the next step was to analyze responses to the *how* parts of the research question. In other words, what kinds of structures, processes or relationships were identified that could create pathways between current policy paradigms and paradigm shift in federal and provincial governments and between Indigenous approaches to governance regarding the natural world and senior level policy decisions? Findings were drawn from answers to questions about participants' policy experiences, the examples they gave, their recommendations for change and, also, how they described their relationships with the natural world. Finding 3 discusses participant descriptions of legislative, structural and process changes that could take place *within* government institutions. This finding describes participant recommendations on specific policy instruments, such as legislation and the use of a policy lens, learning from models in different policy settings, such as consensus and cultural approaches in Nunavut and New Zealand, and culture shift through education and awareness of public servants and elected officials. Most of all, participants saw change occurring through greater inclusion and representation of Indigenous Peoples in senior level positions and in policy processes within government, along with leadership that creates opportunities for this to happen. The emphasis that participants placed on having more Indigenous people involved in policy processes informed the next two findings.

The majority of participants described how real transformation comes through relationship building where Indigenous and western worldviews regarding the natural world can be brought together in policy processes. While relationships are referred to throughout the themes, finding 4 highlights the

qualities of relationships that participants described as important in contributing to a paradigm shift. These qualities include, for example, listening, respect, and trust. These descriptions lead into Finding 5 where many participants linked the quality of relationships between western governments and Indigenous Peoples to what they say is needed for restoring relationships to, and reconnecting with, the natural world. They gave examples of policy processes that they described as having valued western and Indigenous worldviews equally. Some participants related these processes back to treaty relationships, such as the *Dish with One Spoon* Treaty, and to descriptions of Inuit and west coast Indigenous governance traditions that are founded on sustaining the natural world. The words they used to describe positive relationships with the natural world included respect, reciprocity, responsibility, connection, gratitude, empathy and love. Some participants described how these qualities are put into practice in their daily lives and in their decision-making roles. The qualities described in Findings 4 and 5 together create a description of what was earlier referred to as creating 'ethical space' (Ermine, 2007) or Guswentha space (Newhouse, 2021) for decision-making that gives voice to the natural world and therefore represent key findings of the research.

Many participants took a holistic approach to paradigm shift that went beyond senior- and Cabinet- level decision making. They describe how relationship building involves multiple layers of activity, from the personal to the professional and across generations, all of which can contribute to a paradigm shift at senior levels of government. Finding 6 is therefore described using John Borrows comment that *"It's a Layered Opportunity"*. Finding 7 is entitled *Being of Use* and summarizes participants' responses to the question of how the research could be useful. Chapter 8 goes on to identify patterns between the findings and the discussion in Part 2 and Chapter 9 envisions next steps for putting the findings to use, situating them within an emerging policy landscape.

Finding 1

Responses to the natural world as foundational to senior level decision-making - Learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples: *This is needed. We need both worldviews to make the planet better. But it takes time.*

In Chapter 1 there was a description of a key finding from my Masters research: that the concept of sustainable development should move from a balance between economic, social and environmental considerations to being founded on the value of sustaining the natural world with economic and social benefits arising out of that approach. As this research explores whether and how that concept could be put into practice in senior levels of government in Canada, it was important to find out whether these experienced participants thought such a paradigm shift could or should happen. I also wanted to know whether participants would see a connection to Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples playing a key role in such a paradigm shift. The answers to these questions were derived from responses to the main research question in the course of our conversations and from answers to the specific question:

Given that Indigenous approaches to governance across nations are founded on relationships with the natural world (Williams (2018) Borrows (2010) Meyer (2013), McGregor (2004), Monture (2014) Simpson (2011)), what do you see as opportunities for federal, provincial and territorial policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledge holders, leaders and scholars? Or do you believe such a shift is necessary or important?

Theme 1 a) This is needed. We need both worldviews to make the planet better.

There was general concurrence from the majority of participants with the idea that sustaining the natural world should be a foundational value in senior level decision-making, with none disagreeing and half stating that view very clearly. Key words and phrases in their responses included: yes, yes I do, absolutely, there is no doubt, of course it is needed, it is needed more than ever, it is imperative, it makes sense in every way, is really important, is essential. (Carr, Commanda, Bellegarde, Kuptana,

Lathlin, Senior Official, MP, Brandson) Claudette Commanda stated, "*can I envision a mandate where the natural world is foundational to decision-making? Yes I do"*. National Chief Bellegarde said, *"there's a huge opportunity and it should happen"* and Norm Brandson, speaking of what he learned from Oscar Lathlin, said: *"Environment's first. That's the foundation. If you screw that up all this other stuff doesn't matter at all…. there is no doubt that that ethic should be incorporated into our decision- making processes in government"*.

Participants readily linked valuing the natural world at senior levels of decision-making with learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples and placed importance on bringing the two knowledge systems together. For some participants, the idea of bringing knowledge systems together was also linked to the process of reconciliation. Key words and phrases included teaching and learning, the need for both worldviews, reconciliation and making the planet/world/ mother nature a better place. (McDermot, Kuptana, Senior Official, Bellegarde, Lathlin, McDermot, Carr, Williams) Larry McDermot said: "*we need both world views to make the paradigm shift necessary"* and Rosemarie Kuptana said: *"it's up to us co-exiting and making this planet better for everyone. Imagine if we used all that negative energy fighting against one another and transferred it into something positive, how much further we would be ahead*". Amanda Lathlin said, "*if you listen to us, we will be around much longer. We'll teach you*" and Laurie Carr said, "*there's plenty of opportunity to use both of our knowledges to make Mother Earth a better place. To heal her".*

Larry McDermot related these questions back to prophesies that he said predicted a time where, because of environmental degradation, there would be a thirst for learning Indigenous Knowledges. He expressed a vision for leadership *"where all governments in Canada recognize and embrace Indigenous worldviews that acknowledge that we are one species amongst many and that we can achieve our goals within a framework of reconciliation"*. Amanda Lathlin and Phyllis Williams also talked about learning

from Indigenous Knowledges in the context of past Indigenous-Canada relationships and reconciliation today with the goal of making Mother Earth a better place.

This makes sense in every way in terms of where reconciliation is going, in terms of education, environment and real consultation… We both met up long ago and now we are meeting up again in 2019 to work together in a much different way. So those relationships are changing. For example, Lake Winnipeg and algae blooms…First Nations are needed even more with environmental issues and social and economic issues. Bringing IK back to Cabinet decisions will keep our land and push us forward in terms of progressing as human beings. If you listen to us, we will be around much longer. We'll teach you. This is perfect for the era that we are in right now but really useful for legislators, and top brass; Deputy Ministers, ADMs and First Nations governments. -Amanda Lathlin

Much can be learned from being reminded of where we started; in the teachings of the Knowledge Keepers, knowing Canada's true history of Indigenous Peoples, relationship to the land, waters and resources. Then reflect upon 'where is reconciliation now? Can we together make a better place for our children and their future? -Phyllis Williams

National Chief Bellegarde's response to the research question started with his description of giving thanks for each aspect of Creation, from sun and sky to land and waters to all animals, plants and insects, each day: "*We are talking about all my relatives. We are talking about family. When you do that every morning, if the public and private sectors can embrace that worldview, you are going to get sustainable policy and a sustainable worldview for seven generations…We are all connected. We all are family*". Later in the conversation he said: "*Is it needed? Of course it's needed to incorporate Indigenous worldviews to bring a diversity of opinions, of views, of dialogue and you are going to get better legislation*" and the Senior Official said that it is *"imperative that policy makers learn from Indigenous Knowledge Holders"*.

Other participants, while not disagreeing with the subject of the research question, spoke to it in different ways. The MP talked about her experience with Indigenous Knowledges and Elders in a Federal, Provincial Territorial meeting and concluded that, *"The more those ways of doing business have been infused with traditional ways, the more effective and enduring the outcomes"* and she noted that the Indigenous view of *"Earth as our Mother… immediately puts a gender lens on decision-making"*. Tom

Mulcair did not say directly that the natural world should be foundational to decision-making and informed by Indigenous Knowledges, however he did say that, “*every single decision should analyze its effects on Indigenous Rights, Sustainability, and a Gender Lens”* and talked about the *Right to Live in a Clean Environment* in the Quebec Charter as a model for Canada. He also said that we can be “inspired” by Indigenous worldviews and “*the more we open up our institutional life, the more we will learn in decision-making”*. Kevin Washburn also did not disagree with subject of the research question, but diverged from the first part of the question regarding the natural world and decision-making. He said that, for him, he believed in Indigenous governance and co-management approaches more for justice than sustainability reasons. *“I just do it because I trust that it’s the right thing. Same with trying to protect lands by creating national monuments and have tribes be co-managers. I don’t question it. I’m doing it for justice reasons”.* Overall, the participants did not disagree with the subject of the research question and many strongly affirmed it.

Theme 1 b) But It Takes Time

I did not find perspectives that were completely divergent from the premise of the research question, in other words where participants disagreed with the idea that the natural world *should* be a foundational value in senior level decision making or disagreed that Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples *should* inform this paradigm shift. However, some participants doubted whether such a shift was possible within parliamentary systems as they are currently structured, or within shorter term timeframes. In other words, a paradigm shift requires significant changes that would take time. These include changes in democratic and institutional processes to be more inclusive, representative and consensus based (McDermot, Thomas) and providing evidence based rationale for such a shift that would also require a shift in the way governments view the economy. (Senior Official, S. Longboat) Some pointed to the need for those involved in western parliamentary processes to learn from Indigenous worldviews across all

departments including departments such as Industry and Finance and central offices such as Treasury Board and Privy Council. (Longboat, Bellegarde, Senior Federal Official) All of this may require taking a longer-term, and even, an intergenerational approach.

In terms of changes to democratic and institutional processes, Larry McDermot described the current parliamentary system as *"dysfunctional"* and *"primitive"* in that it remains hierarchical, as evidenced by the first past the post system "*where less than 40 percent can dictate what happens for the other 60%. Everybody's voice is important".* Along with the need for greater representation in parliamentary processes, he highlights the importance of consensus-based decision-making, noting that this takes time. "*When you consider Indigenous governance systems that were more consensus-based, you take the time to come to good decisions… a lot of time and resources are wasted on competition between parties and those parties are controlled by a very small hierarchy of people that then manipulate information and policy for the party. There are circumstances where it works but too many where it doesn't"*. Paul Thomas' reference to E.E. Schattschneider, that "*government sings with a distinctly upper-class accent",* echoed these observations.

The Senior Federal official, while saying that it is imperative that policy makers learn from Indigenous Knowledge Holders, also reflected on the reality of her experience within the federal government. "*Public policy space at the federal level is so contested. I'm not sure it's worth the effort to see a world where Cabinet or parliament is indigenized. Some Ministers and departments were genuinely open to seeking out and listening to Indigenous perspectives and it made a difference. However, it's hard to imagine such a big political shift"*. During our conversation she noted that departments like Environment and Fisheries were making changes but that departments like Industry and Finance might look at you like *"what are you talking about?"* National Chief Bellegarde was specific about the challenge of system change, also referencing these departments, amongst other senior level offices. *"You have 338 Members of Parliament, 30 plus DMS, PMO, Treasury Board, Clerk of Privy Council, Finance and Justice"*.

He highlighted the last five in particular. *"You better influence those entities and have all those on side and educated. It's a system you are trying to change".*

The Senior Official also brought in the idea that such changes will take time. "*It has to happen as a generational approach, educating our children in such a way that when they become leaders, all of this is more familiar"*. She talked about having business cases and demonstrating evidence based benefits for change noting that these can be significant: "*from getting social license to improvements in health, culture, language and pride",* referring to the example of Indigenous Peoples in the North being in control of Impact Benefit Agreements with developers. This was also an example of an intergenerational approach where she said that, now, there is a *"far healthier, stronger, better educated generation".*

Sheri Longboat's comments were similar to those of Larry McDermot. *"It can't be achieved with our current system…Until we return to the Great Law; we are just spinning our wheels"*. She said that solutions come from Knowledge Holders and practitioners that are living the culture. *"It is living it, not just knowing it. That's where the transformation comes. There are Chiefs and Clan mothers that are living it and still governing in that way and some Chiefs that are fighting to have Indigenous governance recognized"* and, like the Senior Federal Official, she noted that: "*I think there is going to have to be a large economic argument for it to change… I keep coming back to this systems approach"*. Norm Brandson's words were consistent with this sentiment. He said that a paradigm shift seems to "*require a crisis of gigantic proportions and eventually, perhaps, climate change will be that mode of force behind that complete change of our economic interrelations in society"*. He related this to his belief that *"paradigm shift is going to have to face all this resistance from powerful vested interests that have incredible resources behind them''.* At the same, time, he repeated throughout the conversation that much more should be done to fully engage Indigenous cultures and Peoples, also noting the idea of an inter-generational approach. "*Economics has become a quarter-by-quarter exercise. But the Indigenous outlook is an intergenerational one, looking much further into the future"*.

Another, and related, divergence from the research question includes the importance participants placed on a layered and holistic approach that goes beyond senior-level bureaucracy and Cabinet offices. They talked about K-12 education, public engagement, as well as personal relationships at all levels as elements of paradigm shift. This is discussed in Theme 6 drawing on John Borrow's comment that: *"It's A Layered Opportunity"*.

While talking about the ways in which paradigm shift requires substantive change, and perhaps even a crisis, these same participants felt that it should happen and pointed to examples and recommendations for how such changes could occur. Larry McDermot talked about the joint federal, provincial and Indigenous process that led to *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas* and, based on real-world examples, provided recommendations for the creation of ethical space and consensus decision making between western and Indigenous governments and peoples. While the Senior Official said it was hard to imagine such a big political shift she felt that, in areas such as co-management arrangements, provincial and federal governments could come together around common issues. She provided examples of co-management initiatives already in place and pointed to the NWT and Nunavut as models to look to for more consensus- based and representative approaches to governance. "*In your riding you are not voting for a party, you are voting for the person you think will best represent your interests. The 19 ridings in the NWT send these people who very publicly have to figure out what they are going to work together on, establish priorities and pick their Premier and Cabinet to work on them. Then they must come back to the Legislative Assembly to say how they are going to do it."*

Sheri Longboat's comments about the need to learn from those who live the culture and for there to be an economic argument for a paradigm shift were discussed along with her examples of co-management in the Red Hill Valley, which brings Haudenosaunee Knowledges together with western science, and *Indigenomic*s that looks to traditional Indigenous economies to inform contemporary

approaches to economic development. Norm Brandson talked about how, as a Deputy Minister, he learned from an Indigenous Cabinet Minister, Oscar Lathlin, about the environment as the foundation for decision-making and the influence this had on policy processes both inside and outside of government. These examples and recommendations, and many more, make up Findings 3, 4 and 5 where they are described in greater detail. Finding 2 provides further support that participants believe change is needed as they talked about their concerns about existing policy paradigms. Their comments underscored why, overall, they concurred with the need for a paradigm shift whether or not they believed it to be possible within western parliamentary systems as they are now or within a shorter-term timeframe.

Finding 2: Rationale for a Paradigm Shift

Addressing the false dichotomy of economy before environment and understanding the economy as dependent on the natural world.

Although participants were not asked specifically *why* they felt the way they did about the overall research question, as discussed in Finding 1, they raised serious concerns about current policy paradigms. Their comments arose either in response to the overall research question at the beginning of our conversation or came up in the course of our conversations. Their concerns included shorter term economic development proposals, with known environmental impacts, taking precedence over environmental concerns and the influence of some industry interests on decision-making. For example, Norm Brandson talked about an implied threat from an industry to give them what they wanted or they would go elsewhere and more generally, as in Finding 1, about the influence of powerful vested interests. Tom Mulcair talked about a legacy of pushback from industry and science on environmental protection laws and Larry McDermot talked more generally about greed and abuse of the natural world. There was a corresponding view about the need to view the relationship between environment and economy differently: where the interdependence between the two is recognized and the environment is understood as the foundation of economy. In the absence of this understanding, participants related

their concerns over growing environmental degradation, focusing particularly on climate change and degraded water quality, as well as related impacts on human health and well-being (Brandson, Mulcair, McDermot, Senior Official, S. Longboat, Carr, Lathlin, and Kuptana). Their responses also included references to literature and texts on these topics.

Theme 2 a) The False Dichotomy of Economy Over Environment

Norm Brandson talked the most about a frustration he felt throughout his career that he *"was never involved in a decision that suffered from a shortage of economists…Virtually every issue we dealt with, the lens of the economy was very much to the fore".* He qualified his statement by noting that his concern relates to *how* the economy is viewed and valued over the environment. "*It wasn't that environment wasn't important but it was certainly second place. To me it was always a false dichotomy as one is so dependent on the other. To ignore the environment in favour of the economy is very short-sighted. Now we are reaping the whirlwind of that".* Norm related this to his concern about climate change, calling it the pre-eminent issue of our times, and pointed to the increasing frequency of major floods in southern Manitoba. "*I've concluded from what I've read and the copious literature that is out there, that we are literally looking at a 3-5 degree increase in global temperatures before the end of this century. The physical effect of that is incalculable. Our concentration on economic issues to the detriment of the environment is going to be evident quite soon*". He also talked about his experience with a major agricultural corporation's demands for water and infrastructure and their *"implied threat"* that they would go elsewhere if they didn't get what they wanted. He related these concerns to the state of Lake Winnipeg which he described as *"tragic"* saying that the algae blooms on the lake are having a *"tremendous impact"* on aquatic habitat, communities, fisheries, recreation and tourism. Norm felt strongly that "*We are going to have to shift to an economic paradigm that isn't based on growth- it's killing us"* but that, as noted in Finding 1, a paradigm shift would face resistance from "powerful vested interests" that have resources behind them and will not want to give up wealth and power. Paul Thomas

recognized this as part of a long-standing challenge in policy processes when he referenced capture theory *"where parts of government come to identify with those they most interact with, so if they keep peace with industry, it's easier not to have conflict"*.

Tom Mulcair also talked about the power of certain vested interests and described a history of push-back from industry and science on environmental protection. He went back to the time of Rachel Carson, saying that she was attacked and called hysterical for demonstrating the impacts of DDT on wildlife and raising concerns about the impacts of pesticides on human health but he also pointed out that DDT was eventually banned in the United States. He added the example of Sudbury's mining industry pushing back on regulations to limit S02 and N0x emissions to curb acid rain, and yet, once regulations were brought it by Canada and the U.S., the upgrades to their operations made them more efficient and profitable. He described the current state of play saying: *"The techniques that we have today can ravage entire territories. Shale gas comes from fracking… injecting known carcinogens into the water to send to the west coast to be sent over to China to continue to be burned"*. At the same time, he noted that oil companies are pulling out of the Alberta oil sands because they are being sued for their contribution to climate change, comparing this to the tobacco industries' initial denial of cancer causing agents until they were sued for billions of dollars and had to succumb to regulation.

Larry McDermot raised similar concerns about climate change and broader issues of power. *"The fact we are having the discussion, means we are at a crossroads where we choose life or greed and power. Climate change is an affirmation of that natural law and the four sacred elements. The prophecies said, it will be the water, the air, the fire and the Earth itself will purify the earth and will correct our abuse. There is no way around it*". He added that, "*science has dismissed emotional understanding and emotional and spiritual comprehension. It is good at separating things but it failed to understand the interconnectedness".*

Theme 2 b) Understanding the economy as dependent on the natural world.

Participants related their concerns over climate change and water degradation, and decisions that result in environmental degradation more generally, to a loss of connection to the natural world (Senior official, Lathlin, Carr, and Kuptana). The Senior Official talked about her experience with a B.C. First Nation that is grappling with declining salmon stocks due, in part, to climate change. *"Even without the imperative of climate change*, *I've always been dismayed at the extent to which modern peoples have lost touch with nature and really not understanding how critical it is to their day to day lives".* Like Norm Brandson, Amanda Lathlin referenced the issue of algae blooms on Lake Winnipeg when she said, "*First Nations are needed even more with environmental issues and social and economic issues"*. Laurie Carr put her concerns about degradation of the natural world in the context of the blockades in support of the Wet'suwe'ten in early 2020 and in the context of the pandemic. "*Everything you need comes from the land- food and water. If you've poisoned the land you won't be able to have food. What happens if you have a pandemic and you have no water or food? This is why we fight so hard to protect the lands and waters. It brings us back to our health and well-being".*

Rosemarie Kuptana talked about climate change in the North saying: "*At this time the climate is probably one of the biggest and most challenging issues challenging mankind whereas other people would see it as an opportunity. Because Inuit are principally pragmatic, I would want to see Inuit people involved in any economic measures*". Her statement underscored that it was not economic development per se that was the issue for participants but, rather, *how* economic decisions are made. Participants talked about alternative ways to make economic decisions starting with the idea that the economy is interconnected with, and dependent upon, the natural world and not the other way around and they also emphasized the importance of community involvement. Norm Brandson talked about how traditional knowledge and community engagement with Split Lake First Nation was part of a Hydro development proposal in Manitoba bringing environmental, social and economic considerations

together. Sheri Longboat talked about *"understanding those models where people feel that nature's role is fundamental as a function of looking at other economic alternatives"* (S. Longboat, 2020) and referred to the example of Indigenomics which "*draws on ancient principles that have supported indigenous economies for thousands of years, and works to implement them as modern practices"* (Indigenomics Institute n.d.) She also noted the work of economist, Elinor Olstrom,whose nobel prize winning research showed that common resources could be better managed by those who are closest to them (Wilson,2016). Within the *We Rise Together* report that Larry McDermot directed me to, there is reference to local Indigenous economies arising from *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas*. Although not a direct reference, John Borrows referred me to his colleague Jim Tulley in order to provide a resource on ecological economics. The article he sent stated that, *"in ecological economics, the economy becomes the servant of nature not the master of nature… all actors are integrated in cooperative networks searching for solutions leading to the enjoyment of life within resilient ecosystems and viable social systems"* (Capra F., Jakobsen, O.D. 2017).

Overall, the need for a paradigm shift was supported by concerns about government prioritizing shorter term economic development over environmental impacts, such as climate change and degraded water quality, and, related to this, the pressure on governments from some vested interests. Accompanying this was the view that there needs to be a shift towards understanding the economy as dependent on the natural world and that there needs to be involvement from local communities in decision-making. The following findings describe examples and recommendations from participants that inform how a paradigm shift could occur in ways that address the challenges they raised. These include legislative, structural, and cultural changes *within* western parliamentary systems and qualities that help to build positive relationships within and *between* western parliamentary institutions and Indigenous Peoples. They describe how these positive relationships, in turn, can bring the value of sustaining the natural world to the fore in policy processes.

Finding 3: Shifts within Parliamentary Institutions

Legislation, Education, Representation, Leadership

The next three findings reflect participants' responses to questions about their policy experiences and whether they saw opportunities for federal and provincial policy makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples such that the natural world and Indigenous ways of knowing could become more central to senior- level and Cabinet decisions. If they did, they were asked whether they could talk about ways that, they believed, could support such a shift. The following findings address the *"how this could occur"* part of the research question.

Finding 3 highlights what participants described as changes that could take place *within* parliamentary systems, though some changes were also applied more broadly. At the same time, participants talked about some of the challenges that came with the examples they gave and so while all were seen as important, none were seen as perfect. For example, Tom Mulcair gave examples of environmental legislation that he felt were successful, but he also raised the issue that there is a lack of enforcement of environmental legislation more generally. Participants also identified more than one pathway to change within government institutions. They talked about education and awareness amongst civil servants, MLAs, MPs and Cabinet Ministers as being very important but emphasized that culture change within government systems requires the inclusion of Indigenous peoples themselves in senior leadership roles and in policy processes, supported by leadership that creates pathways for greater Indigenous representation.

Theme 3 a) Policy Instruments and Processes

Tom Mulcair spoke most frequently about the policy instruments of legislative and regulatory change, starting with the example of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* as an example of paradigm shift

in law-making in Canada. In terms of environmental legislation he talked about the Montreal Protocol, signed by governments around the world to ban CFCs that were damaging the ozone-layer, and the U.S.-Canada agreement to limit S02 and N0x emissions to address acid rain through a cap and trade program, noting that this was passed by Brian Mulroney and George Bush Sr.. These were cited as successful examples of reducing environmental harms through the use of laws and ones where non-partisan cooperation was a part of the process. Tom Mulcair talked about his work to get *The Right to Live in a Clean Environment* embedded in the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms and recommended this as a model for Canada. While he thought it was difficult to open up the Canadian Charter, he felt it could be included in the Canadian Bill of Rights, saying, *"embed it there"*. At the same time, he raised concerns about a lack of enforcement of environmental legislation as an obstacle to effectiveness. *"We have legislation on endangered species, species at risk, and we just don't do it. We have legislation on pesticides, and we don't enforce it and on water and we don't enforce it"*. This reflected Paul Thomas's reference to the policy literature on instruments of government that show that, *"politicians prefer to move from the least coercive to the most coercive [and] are more reluctant to take on certain groups than others"*.

Based on his experience in Quebec, Tom Mulcair felt that a sustainability lens was something that worked well to re-enforce legislative requirements. "*Every time a document goes to Cabinet you have a filter, a lens, that says 'does this action respect the Sustainable Development Act?' Quebec has the most forward-looking Sustainable Development Act in the country but this activates all the bureaucracy around Cabinet to make sure they've done the analysis".* Paul Thomas noted that a policy lens was one way of bringing about culture shift in government as it *"conveys a notion that there is a culture in different policy making fields, like a world view, based on different areas of government"*. Tom Mulcair also talked about how Quebec brought in an incentive for departments to use the sustainability policy lens and follow the law. *"Tie the annual evaluations and their annual bonus to whether they've respected*

the law of Sustainable Development. It works because the people who have to prepare that are doing it for Cabinet, the highest level of government…if a similar lens were to be applied in Ottawa to everything that came before Cabinet, it would include respecting treaty rights, inherent rights and Charter Rights". National Chief Bellegarde also highlighted the need for a policy lens. "*We need all governments and all parties to influence the policies we are talking about it, to put them through a First Nations lens, a Treaty lens".*

The Senior Official also gave examples of legislation, referring to two Acts that require the involvement of Indigenous Peoples and the inclusion of Indigenous worldviews. Of the new *Impact Assessment Act* she said that *"it structurally puts in place Indigenous worldviews to be heard"* and she talked about *The Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act* that mandates Boards, that have representation from Indigenous governments, to make development decisions. *"[It has] its own distinct environmental review process. From the use of water all the way up to major developments. It's a legislated co-management regime for all land and water use in the NWT and it works well".* However, she also noted that there were attempts to overturn the Boards under a different government. Jean Friesen and Sheri Longboat pointed to legislation coming out of the policy setting of New Zealand, referencing new laws that reflect the Maori view of nature as a living entity. But their comments about the legislation implied that it was the culture of the parliament that made that legislation possible. Sheri Longboat said that: "*It is so embedded in the whole nation, in the language of the Maori right on their national web-page… and in cultural values in land use planning".*

This brings out the idea that the effectiveness of policy instruments can depend on the institutional culture of parliamentary governments and that this is shaped by how policies are developed, evaluated and adhered to. Tom Mulcair noted that, despite the existence of numerous environmental laws, they are not always enforced and a sustainability lens and an Indigenous lens along with performance measures for civil servants are needed to bring about a more fulsome shift. The Senior

Official noted that the previous federal government had tried to change the *Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act* by taking away the management boards, albeit unsuccessfully. Although Manitoba has a *Water Protection Act* and accompanying policies to limit nutrients going into Lake Winnipeg, Norm Brandson said "it's not happening" and that Lake Winnipeg was becoming "a very large slough". These were reminders that legislation and policies, on their own, can be repealed, changed or ignored. In terms of a policy lens, Paul Thomas cautioned that a comprehensive approach is needed for the use of multiple lenses so that one policy lens, or one "worldview", doesn't get neglected over another. Therefore, a culture shift consistent with the values underpinning specific policy instruments is an important part of paradigm shift.

Claudette Commanda, Rosemarie Kuptana and the Senior Official talked about how this can start by evaluating policies based on how they will affect the people and places that are impacted by them, how the people affected will be involved in policy decisions and learning from other settings, particularly the North, about collaborative and culture based policy-making. Claudette Commanda said; *"You have to first and foremost ask; who is this going to impact and why? Where is it going to impact? Is it going to impact procedures and, if so, how? If it's going to impact First Nations people, First Nations people have to be involved in the decisions. Relationships are about dialogue, negotiation and decision-making powers".* Rosemarie Kuptana described a similar approach, adding in a cultural component. *"We have to look at decisions from a holistic fashion. If I make this decision, what impact does it have?... In our culture we don't participate in things that harm human beings and the Earth. We don't gossip about other human beings and the earth. Our words are so powerful. That is what we have been taught. In Inuit culture there are very few language interactions. It's a way of knowing what the other person is thinking and feeling and I think that all goes back to the connection with being a part of the eco-system".* The Senior Official described the policy process in the NWT. *"For consensus government, the main thing that I find interesting is legislative development. It's far more open and collaborative than any other*

Westminster system that I've seen. …It starts with public consultations and a Committee of the Legislative Assembly and then it is drafted and, recently, environmental laws and regulations are drafted directly with Indigenous governments. It goes to the Legislative Committee and then goes on the road again and does a full consultation and then it is put through the House. And Nunavut has a similar system". According to these participants, the NWT and Nunavut offer examples of how policy processes can reflect the people and places that policies are made about using culturally based, collaborative models of decision-making. This theme led to the idea that more education and awareness is needed to learn about different approaches to policy making and to deepen understanding of the values that underpin policy instruments, such as environmental or sustainability legislation.

Theme 3 b) Awareness and education for public servants, MLAs, MPs, and Cabinet Ministers

Participants felt that, in order to have a culture shift in values, there is a strong need for better education and awareness across the public service, including amongst elected officials, about sustainability, Indigenous histories and worldviews and their connections to the natural world. Phyllis Williams cited a lack of awareness and knowledge amongst government officials as one of the biggest hurdles that she and her community had to overcome when she was Chief. "*We are continually teaching and giving guidance of our history and continuing the default of education responsibility to government players. And that is very frustrating and quite exhausting. Ministers [and] technical expertise move on and they lose that history and knowledge piece… Education and re-education…it takes a lot of time on the part of First Nations leaders"*.

This echoed experiences described by the majority of Indigenous policy practitioners. Amanda Lathlin spoke about a situation involving traditional fishing rights in her community and the lack of knowledge, or "ignorance" on the part of Conservation Officers about Treaty rights. Larry McDermot noted that, during his work on International Biodiversity Agreements, Provinces were *"divorced"* from

these International Treaties and Canada's obligations to them and that it was the same with Treaties with Indigenous Peoples. He said that when he was with the Human Rights Commission, *"leadership had no clue"* about cross-cultural agreements made during the Treaty process.

While National Chief Bellegarde recommended having an Indigenous and Treaty lens on government policies, he was very specific about the need for education and awareness across government and what should be included. He said it should start with learning about all the report recommendations that have already been made, including RCAP and the TRC, and learning about the history of Canada- Indigenous relations, which he says is all based on land and resources. This starts with The Doctrine of Discovery and Terra Nullius that was used to justify colonization, Section 91 Part-24 of the BNA Act in 1867 giving the federal government responsibility for Indians and Indian lands and Treaty processes that were supposed to be based on peaceful co-existence and mutual respect. From there, he lists policies that have shaped Canada- Indigenous relations over the last 150 years and more including residential schools, the Indian Act, The Natural Resources Transfer Act, Indian agents and the pass system, status Indigenous Peoples not getting the right to vote until 1960, Treaty and Inherent rights going un- recognized until Section 35 of the Constitution in 1982 and up to today with the federal government's acceptance of the UNDRIP. He said:

> *All have an impact on Indians. How did the Crown gain title to this land? Title is assumed. They used the Doctrine of Discovery. Then the Royal Proclamation. If we didn't have the right to self-determination how could we enter into international agreements with the Crown? …It's all about land and resources in this country and who controls them…We feel that to this day. How do we fix it back to our worldview, our ceremony, other governments recognizing the UNDRIP and Treaty?* (Perry Bellegarde)

The Senior Official talked about how the federal government has been actively working to increase such awareness across the civil service saying that it has been "*very strong on the Indigenous agenda"* with policy direction that has raised awareness of Indigenous perspectives, consultation responsibilities and legal liability. Despite these efforts, she noted that public servants can sometimes show fear or embarrassment over what they don't know, which, according to the IPAC report that she

referred me to, was a lot. The findings of the report mirrored the lived experiences described by Indigenous policy practitioners. "*Most public servants cannot name the specific cultures and languages of the Indigenous Peoples living in their region, are not aware of, or uncertain about, their leadership and governing structures, are unaware of some of the most basic constitutional and legal obligations of their governments for Indigenous Peoples or have little understanding of the reasons underlying those obligations"* (IPAC, 2017). This was consistent with Norm Brandson's comment that, despite decades in the public service, he knew very little about Indigenous issues or Indigenous Peoples and hoped that Oscar Lathlin would teach him.

Claudette Commanda talked about her experience in workshops with a government department, noting that, for public servants, it is not only embarrassment or fear of what they don't know that creates a challenge, but their fear of, and resistance to, change. While saying *"There are opportunities for sure"* she added that: "*They resist change. People fear change… They become territorial….Watch who sits where… On one side there were young people who wanted change, on the other, people who've been there a long time. Those are the ones that come up with every excuse or fear tactics. How do you change it? It's got to come from the top".*

The idea that a shift in values requires not only education and awareness, but also leadership and, in particular, leadership that brings about greater representation of Indigenous Peoples, became a recurrent theme across conversations. This was well-described in a quote from the aforementioned IPAC report that highlighted three key areas that public sector leaders could act on: *"Values - include Indigenous values in our organizations; Governance - there should be meaningful indigenous voices in your organization; Human Resources - there should be representation of indigenous peoples in your organization"* (IPAC, 2017, pp. 20-21). The next theme discusses the belief of many participants that learning from Indigenous Knowledges requires more Indigenous voices in policy processes, and at senior tables in particular, bolstered by leadership that creates opportunities for that to happen.

Theme 3 c) More Indigenous Voices at the Table

Inclusion, Representation, and Leadership

In Finding 1, participants generally concurred with the idea that the value of sustaining the natural world should become foundational to senior-level decision-making and that learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples, or two worldviews, is a key part of this paradigm shift. While participants spoke about education and awareness programs as an important part of the learning process, having Indigenous Peoples themselves in senior roles and policy processes was highlighted by the majority of participants. This moves the discussion from learning *about* Indigenous worldviews and peoples through education and awareness to learning *from* Indigenous Peoples about their worldviews through direct interaction. Referring to his time with Oscar Lathlin, Norm Brandson said: "*Oscar had the idea that it's not just a case of including elements of the culture, it's the people themselves; bringing people into the organization with the view to having inclusion in the senior counsels of government".* It should be noted that participants did not equate Indigenous representation with a uniform Indigenous perspective on policy-making but, rather, with bringing multiple perspectives to the table. As National Chief Bellegarde said: *"Of course this is needed to bring a diversity of opinions, of views, of dialogue and you are going to get better legislation*".

Paul Thomas talked about how the starting point for policy making should be to ask *"…who do we want to include in our discussions? Who do you want to have around the table?"* For the majority of participants, the answer was clear: Indigenous policy-makers, Elders and Traditional Knowledge Holders. Their answers applied to western governments and, more broadly, to other influential sectors of society. National Chief Bellegarde said: "*You've got to have First Nations people around decision- making tables in places of authority and influence; in federal governments, in provincial governments, as CEOS, as Presidents of Universities, on the Supreme Court and bring about change from within"* adding that "*at the*

same time, moving beyond the Indian Act, going back to your nationhood, going back to the Treaties and the spirit and intent of them". Rosemarie Kuptana said, "*Inuit and other Indigenous Peoples have to be involved at the very highest levels of government decision making*" and Sheri Longboat said*, "We need more Indigenous people in leadership to make changes".*

Leadership was identified as an important factor in creating pathways for more Indigenous voices to be heard around decision-making tables. Paul Thomas pointed out that, *"You can change Cabinet structures, change committees, make rules, for example the costing of policies, Indigenous issues have to go through a Secretariat on Indigenous issues… but whether it actually changes the culture is a question mark"*. He said the single most important factor is *"exemplified in the behavior of leaders"* as reflected by the people they bring in, where they are placed, their values and the authority they are given. This echoed Claudette Commanda's experience with the federal government that: *"You need to put the right people in the right places. It's all about leadership and vision".*

Gary Doer talked about his experience creating opportunities for Indigenous leadership within the Manitoba Legislature when he was Leader of the Opposition and then Premier in Manitoba. He said, *"From a leadership perspective for me, at a provincial government level, there's two parts of inclusion that are required. One is finding and recruiting good people from Indigenous communities and then have them, not in minor roles, but in major roles in Cabinet"*. The second part was equal access to education. He summed up his leadership philosophy saying that, *"you have to have a kind heart and a hard head to get things done".* Paul Thomas talked about changes that were made in the Doer government in response to the Aboriginal Justice Inquiry that included the establishment of an Aboriginal Issues Committee of Cabinet. Many years later, when Amanda Lathlin was on the government side of the House, she participated in the Aboriginal Issues Committee, renamed the Indigenous Issues Committee, and she talked about the difference she felt it made. *"They would meet on a weekly or bi-weekly basis with all the Cabinet Ministers and the Minister for Aboriginal and Northern Affairs would Chair it. You*

could hear all range of issues affecting Indigenous Peoples and game plans were made to go ahead. The Critic for Aboriginal and Northern Affairs and the Minister spoke more because of this on Indigenous issues" She said this changed with a change in government. *"Now that Committee does not exist and we do not speak except for Treaty Land Entitlement. We don't talk to each other. There was actual input from Indigenous people, Indigenous staff, Ministers who were Aboriginal, input from Communities. It worked well because we had Indigenous input".* More generally, the MP noted that *"For progress to be sustainable, you need people in power who care and see these things as a priority*".

Amanda Lathlin also saw the importance of bringing back Elder Advisors, saying "*We need that First Nations Knowledge Holder's Committee"*. Norm Brandson mentioned this amongst many changes that took place under Oscar Lathlin's leadership in the Department of Conservation that also included the creation of an Aboriginal Relations Branch, a staff awareness certificate and co-management agreements. He said that, in order for these changes to occur, you have to create pathways for them to happen. *"If one of your objectives is to bring to the senior counsels of government a cultural and social perspective of the Indigenous community, you have to structure a path for it to happen. Going back to Conservation, we began a program of apprenticeship which recruited aboriginal people to the department, assigned mentors and set out a career path towards senior levels of government. That kind of specific initiative is needed"* (N. Brandson). While many of those changes were not carried on by the current government, Norm felt it was important to bring them back as a matter of representation, noting that 20 percent of Manitoba's population is going to be Indigenous. *"We still fall short of complete inclusion in Manitoba yet there is an opportunity to be an example to the country. One of our two party leaders is an Indigenous person. We have more Indigenous MLAs than any other province of Canada".*

Participants spoke about the influence that the presence of Indigenous leaders and Elders had in parliamentary and policy processes, particularly as they related to environmental issues and consensus and non-partisan approaches to policy-making. Norm Brandson talked about how he learned from Oscar

Lathlin about the environment as foundational to decision-making as a part of Cree culture and how this influenced his work both in government and, subsequently, his work with Split Lake First Nation. Jean Friesen talked about how she focused on relationships with Indigenous Peoples believing that the role of government was to create and maintain Treaty relationships, and how she valued having Elijah Harper and then Eric Robinson and Oscar Lathlin in caucus and Cabinet which allowed her to put this into practice *"in a personal way and in a political way"*. She added: *"Having Oscar as the Minister of the Environment was an important step. He had to, first of all, create a new department. He did it in a very careful way. He took a lot of time to bring people together to form [a department of] Natural Resources and the Environment. It is relatively recent that the general public has come to see the environment as the issue of our times. As a new government we were keen to have environmental considerations as a significant part of decision making".* - Jean Friesen

Tom Mulcair recalled his time as an Opposition Leader in the House of Commons and how Romeo Saganash would remind caucus that there were *"rules before contact with Europeans including how you are to act as a visitor on our territory"*. Kevin Washburn talked about his time in the White House and the influence that President Obama's directive to meet annually with Tribal Leaders had on Cabinet.

He invited all tribal leaders to Washington once a year to meet with the President and the Cabinet. It meant every Cabinet Secretary would have to go before 400 or 500 Tribal Leaders and talk about what his or her Agency had done. That had an enormous effect as they wanted to be sure that they had something to brag about when they went before these leaders. It was usually 10-12 Cabinet Secretaries. It ensured that every Cabinet Agency was focused on Native American issues. That's not a Native value, that's a good governance value: that you should talk to the people affected by decisions…It certainly had an impact. -Kevin Washburn

The Senior Official talked about government leadership in the House of Commons when she said, *"There has never been a time like the last four years, and now still, for Indigenous perspectives and voices to be more strongly incorporated into government policy".* This was reflected in practice when the MP described her personal experience of having ceremony and Elders present at a Federal-Provincial-

Territorial meeting of Cabinet Ministers**.** She talked about how a fire was kept burning and that dance, food, prayers and wisdom became part of the process. Ministers also learned about how, traditionally, communities were led by women. "*[For]the outcomes of that meeting, we had come up with a common set of indicators in advancing gender equality in the country and task forces to work on issues between meetings. We left hugging, as friends, deciding to partner with each other. That would not have happened had there not been ceremony. It is about a way of doing things… the process. That's an example about how Indigenous Knowledges helped bring harmony and a sense of humility and inspiration to what can be very partisan and divisive conversations"* (MP).

When Amanda Lathlin described how she views her own role in the legislature, she echoed the approach that the MP experienced. "*As a legislator and a First Nations woman, I like to put in my input when I can when it comes to committee and debate and votes. I'm always emphasizing the fact, that even though we are partisan, there are times we should just tear down that wall and work together when it affects Manitobans*".

This finding contained many examples and recommendations for changes within parliamentary institutions that reflect different elements of paradigm shift. These included policy instruments such as legislation and the use of a policy lens, learning about collaborative and more consensus-based policy processes from different policy settings such as the NWT, Nunavut and New Zealand and culture shift through awareness and education processes. The theme most often referred to was the importance of bringing Indigenous voices to the table including creating opportunities for Indigenous Peoples to be in senior level positions and having structures, such as Committees, where Indigenous people are well represented and having Elders involved in policy processes. There were a number of examples of pathways for this to occur, starting with leadership that enables the recruitment of Indigenous people to run for office and then be put in Cabinet, recruitment and mentorship programs in the civil service and Elder involvement in advising and in guiding meetings. Participants talked about the influence of

Indigenous presence in parliamentary settings and processes on their own thinking, in the decisions they took and in the outcomes of policy processes, including seeing the environment as the foundation of economy, Cabinet responsiveness to Indigenous issues and working together across party lines.

While this finding included many recommendations for change within parliamentary institutions and processes, none by themselves were seen as enough to create a paradigm shift. Legislation can be changed, not enforced or taken away. One policy lens can be overshadowed by another. Creating awareness amongst the whole of the public service, including elected officials, and overcoming resistance to change, is a large and long-term task, and recruiting more Indigenous Peoples into senior elected and unelected positions takes time. Paradigm shift needs to be supported by sustained leadership, understanding from an educated and aware public service and the presence of pathways for Indigenous voices and worldviews to be heard.

The emphasis that participants placed on education and awareness and having more Indigenous voices in policy processes spoke to an emerging theme that relationship building, both within government settings and outside of them, is a significant factor in paradigm shift. Across conversations, participant responses invariably included reference to relationships with Indigenous Peoples and cultures as an integral part of learning from them about governance and the natural world. For example, while John Borrows was positive about the policy instrument of UNDRIP legislation in British Columbia, his comments focused on the process of meeting with Indigenous Peoples that came out of the Act and how the natural world can 'speak through' Indigenous voices through these processes.

> *It is also a process of meeting with Indigenous Peoples here…In terms of the land-based way of looking at that, my understanding is that they continue to take council and guidance from Elders and the Feast structures and the Chiefs at the head of those. Each Chief has a name that relates to particular animals, territories and trees and watersheds. That process could be an opportunity for the lands and waters to speak through the Chiefs through the broader legislative process.* - John Borrows

The next two findings discuss how paradigm shift requires the rebuilding of relationships with Indigenous Peoples and the promotion of specific qualities within those relationships that include,

amongst others, listening, respect and trust, or, in other words, the creation of ethical space. Participant responses, such as John Borrows' above, show how this, in turn, can support the two knowledge systems coming together to restore relationships with the natural world in decision-making.

Finding 4

Paradigm Shift Part 1: Rebuilding Relationships

Bringing People Together

Finding 4 reflects a common reference to "relationships" that arose throughout the conversations. For example, the word "relationships" was mentioned over 30 times both in reference to relationships between parliamentary governments and Indigenous Peoples and in reference to the natural world. It often came up when participants were asked about examples of what they believed did and did not work well in policy processes, whether they felt there were opportunities for senior decision-makers to learn from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples and their recommendations for change. In the examples and recommendations participants gave, they highlighted specific *qualities* of relationships that, for them, either positively or negatively affected policy processes and outcomes. For example, either the presence of, need for, or the lack of "respect" was referred to over 20 times when talking about relationships. It should be noted that none claimed that the examples they gave were perfect models to follow, but rather that they included qualities that led to what they believed were policies and processes that had worked well, with most examples related to sustaining the natural world and some focused on justice and health.

The Finding starts with issues that participants raised that negatively affected relationships in the policy process. These included lack of respect, inequity, lack of consultation and policies that are disconnected from the people and places that are affected by them. The discussion then moves to examples of relationships built through policy process that they felt were positive. These include co-

management and shared governance and government to government processes that involved qualities such as respect, listening, and trust and where equal value was placed on the participation of Indigenous and non-indigenous people. These examples and qualities start to describe the creation of ethical space that brings two-eyed seeing to policy discourse.

Theme 4 a): What Does Not Work Well: Inequity, lack of respect, not listening, disconnection, distrust

Paul Thomas said: *"Trust is a central value in the culture of successful organizations. Where there are low levels of trust, the things you want to accomplish are that much harder to achieve"*. When talking about what did not work well in policy processes, and issues related to the research question overall, participants cited a number of negative qualities that they felt affect federal -provincial - Indigenous relationships in policy processes. The words and phrases they used to describe these qualities included lack of respect, inequity, discrimination, institutional racism, not listening, not having a say, lack of understanding, ignorance, policies being disconnected, lack of *true* consultation and *real* engagement and partnerships, human rights, a sense of superiority, and not seeing First Nations as equal founding nations. All of these affect the ability of federal and provincial government organizations to establish trusting relationships with Indigenous Peoples.

Many participants talked about colonization and the historical underpinnings of these issues. For example, Larry McDermot, Jean Friesen and Rosemarie Kuptana talked about a sense of superiority amongst colonizing Europeans historically that is still reflected in relationships today. Larry McDermot said, *"What happened in a nutshell is Europeans came along and thought they were superior, including their religion of Christianity"* and Jean Friesen related this to her time in the North saying, "*What I got out of the North experience and research was this innate sense of the superiority of Europeans that was a characteristic of Europeans and European Christianity in the 19th and much of the 20th century".*

Rosemarie Kuptana talked about the impacts that this sense of superiority and colonization had on her

and her family including her father no longer being able to hunt at traditional times of year, her mother losing her language and culture to Christianity and her own life long efforts to restore languages and culture in the North following her experiences in residential school. *"I was forced to speak English, forced to eat foreign food and forced to value different traditions from what I had learned".* She also talked about these issues as starting at contact and continuing up to the present day with northern communities that continue to suffer from third-world diseases, 50 year old housing shortages, and the continuance of the Indian Act and gave these as examples of institutional racism, saying that this is the biggest barrier to Canada-Indigenous relations. She said she sees the question about opportunities to learn from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples as part of a larger question of Indigenous-settler relations.

Issues of inequity were also raised by Phyllis Williams, who talked about the ongoing boil water advisory in Curve Lake First Nation and water as a basic human right; by Amanda Lathlin and Laurie Carr, who saw, first hand, inequities between on- and off-reserve health services and by Gary Doer who talked about inequities in education funding on and off-reserve, funding that he says that is based, not on results, but on the 120 year old Indian Act. The National Chief pointed to the United Nations Human Development Index that shows that, in 2016, Canada was ranked 12th in the world for quality of life for non-indigenous people but 42nd for off -reserve Indigenous populations and 78th for on-reserve Indigenous populations (Indigenous Services Canada, 2019). He emphasized that continued investments are needed in housing, water and education and placed importance on education that includes Indigenous languages, ceremonies, and customs alongside western K-12 education.

A number of participants felt that ongoing inequity and disrespect could be reflected in how government policies were disconnected from the people and places they were being made about. Amanda Lathlin said: "*A lot of people are disconnected and don't know what the effects are of the legislation they are pushing and the aftermath of the effects on people"*. Rosemarie Kuptana said: *"I see*

that disconnection between governments and peoples especially in the case of Inuit where governments in Ottawa, Winnipeg and Edmonton make decisions for Indigenous Peoples. What works in Kanesatake may not work in Pond Inlet. There needs to be greater effort on the part of the government to involve Indigenous Peoples". Laurie Carr said: *"You make policies around our health but you have no idea what it's like to live where we live. You make a policy where you've never stepped outside Ottawa or Toronto and make a policy about people that you've never been to their community where they live- about people you don't even know and you are making policies about them".*

This sense of disconnection was characterized by processes where participants felt there was a lack of consultation, a lack of collaboration, a lack of respect and a lack of listening leading to an overall lack of trust. For example, both Amanda Lathlin and Laurie Carr talked about governments saying that consultation had happened on specific pieces of legislation and that processes were collaborative but that the communities said that "*no it didn't"* and "*no it wasn't"*. They talked about the importance of *real* consultation, including with the grassroots and *true* partnerships with Laurie Carr stating:

> *There needs to be true joint partnerships on creating legislation, policy, bills that affect our people. They need to do that in a true relationship and a true partnership. Putting something out in the Gazette is not true partnership. That's what they need to do and it will bring about better relationships and working with us 100 per cent of the way and not pretending they are. And it has to be every step of the way, not just at the end.* -Laurie Carr

In talking about her experience with some government officials, Phyllis Williams said: *"Sometimes it'll be heard but there are times they'd rather not hear. I was reflecting on Duty to Consult and engagement and developers who just go ahead with major projects anyway... Another challenge is to chase to have them commit to the time to sit with them and to be able to have them hear you and put actions to their words".* Beyond government officials, Phyllis Williams talked about how important it is for people to take the time to develop relationships and to do so in a way that respects Indigenous relationships to the natural world. "*For those that do come to the table and accommodate with many meetings and do it in such a way to build in plans to protect the earth, it's those players who are*

respectful and transparent we most like to work with. It's not the ones that cause disturbance and feel they don't need to engage and simply don't understand the Indigenous Peoples and the relationship to the land and its resources. It isn't always the government. It's sometimes the developers, sometimes other tribes or nations.... Therein lies the problem" (Phyllis Williams).

In terms of changes that would start to build respectful and collaborative relationships, participants talked about the need to recognize Indigenous Peoples and governments as equal in policy processes including recognition of the inherent right to self-determination and to have a say over what happens on traditional territories. Amanda Lathlin said: *"We are still not considered even the same as a founding nation. The Indigenous component within policy making would make a smoother road to being recognized. It's not necessarily a constitutional reform. It's getting respect"*. Rosemarie Kuptana called for "*real partnerships that are respectful, that are more than meaningful, that make room to understand that Indigenous Peoples were here before the French and English made Canada [otherwise] not only is this an insult to our intellect, it's an insult to our humanity".* Kevin Washburn said: *"So that's one of the things is how to give Tribes more say over lands that they traditionally had.... We do have to reckon with the facts that Tribal lands were usually taken, not by force, but by lies. So tribes lost those lands through illegitimate means".* In his article on the Heiltsiuk First Nation, John Borrows pointed out that First Nations often have to resort to the court system to have their own laws recognized. *"When Indigenous Peoples have clear laws, there are few mechanisms to enforce them. This is why the Nation has decided to utilize the Canadian legal system to implement the requirements of their own laws to bring justice and take care of their territory" (*Borrows J., n.d.).

The National Chief summed up his views for what changes are needed to address these issues in Canadian government processes, and beyond, saying:

> *Start respecting that there are other orders of government besides just two. Encourage everyone to embrace the concept of self-determination for First Nations Peoples…basically that there's a separate*

jurisdiction. We are dealing with colonization and we are dealing with genocide. We have the inherent right to self-determination and self-government and start making space for that. You also have Indigenous Law, Natural Law and Creator's Law. You have to start with recognition that there is another jurisdiction. –Perry Bellegarde

Participants offered a number of examples where space is starting to be made for relationships that bring people together, that respect self-determination, that respect both world views equally and that encompass listening and respect in policy processes. Their examples describe an ethical space where senior government officials can learn from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples about shared approaches to sustaining the natural world. As Phyllis Williams said: "*We need to do better at relationship building and causing those bigger meetings to happen, to have those various perspectives and understandings to occur; events and planning where we can review history, relationships, and talk about who we are as peoples. That's what we need to bring people together".*

Theme 4 b) Bringing People Together

Many participants spoke about bringing people together and positive qualities, such as listening and respect, by describing processes that they had been involved in or knew of, with many of these focused on the goal of sustaining the natural world. Phyllis Williams described policy development as a process of *"collaboration and interaction"* and the Senior Official described it as "*coming to one mind about what the right or best thing to do is under the circumstances" and "helping people to see things from multiple perspectives… Policy making is nothing more than people coming together to agree what to do; coming up with a shared idea"*. Co-management was referenced frequently as an example of this approach to policy-making along with shared governance and government to government processes that brought western and Indigenous worldviews, laws and Knowledge systems together equally.

The Senior Official, in particular, pointed to specific co-management agreements as examples of positive policy-making relationships and that , as noted in Finding 1, "*having more of those kinds of arrangements and bringing people together around common issues is an area where federal and*

provincial governments can come together with Indigenous Peoples." She gave the example of Mackenzie Valley Resource Management boards that have representation from the Inuit, Gwich'in, Satu Dene, Metis and Tlicho, through which development proposals are reviewed ahead of federal environment and development processes and are based on land-use plans that "*are used to assign special areas of spiritual, ecological or cultural importance for protection, and define areas designated for development"* (Govt. of Northwest Territories n.d.). She talked about how all major industries have gone through the process and that it allows *"the Indigenous Peoples of that region to have a say in allowing that project to go forward and how it will go forward"*. She said that it has "worked well" and "withstood the test of time" as by the time the process is finished, developers have a social license to proceed. While she could not say if this has resulted in more sustainable projects, it is an approach where development proposals are reviewed by local Indigenous people based on watershed wide interconnected land plans, consistent with what other participants said was needed in Finding 3.

The Senior Official also referred to an agreement between the Nipissing First Nation and Ontario's Natural Resources and Forestry Ministry that was the result of five years of working together to address Lake Nipissing's declining walleye stocks. The Nippissing First Nations' laws to sustain the fish stocks were recognized and are enforced by the Ontario government and, according to both parties; this has resulted in a gradual rise in the health of the fish stocks (Nipissing First Nation 2020, Government of Ontario, 2019). The Senior Official also referred to an agreement with the federal government and the Qikiqtani Association to protect the Arctic Ocean that was "*all working directly with Indigenous People, particularly with the Inuit".*

Sheri Longboat talked about her positive experience with the Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board that has equal representation from the City of Hamilton and the Haudenosaunee and is focused on the protection of the valley. She said that what came out of that was "*a Confederacy Governance Land Agreement and they signed six agreements for joint stewardship…In terms of relationship, it was in the*

best interests of everyone to protect that valley…What worked was the recognition of what was left and funding was set aside to enable relationships between the communities." She noted that the relationship was supported by living documents that can be revisited by both parties over time, along with *"respectful discussion and communicating how each group works"* saying that "*it has won awards as a really positive example of how development can occur in a more environmentally sustainable way".* John Borrows referenced *The Guardian Watchmen Network* that works to enforce both western and Indigenous environmental protection laws on First Nations traditional territories saying, *"It is a contract directly with First Nations who operate with their own authority and there are regulations in place that allow for that work to be done with Indigenous Peoples"***.**

While these processes directly relate to sustaining the natural world, participants talked about other processes that were more focused on issues of equity, justice and health but, again, there was consistency in the qualities of the relationships that were described. Rosemarie Kuptana talked about her experience with the Migratory Birds Act and the Charlottetown Accord saying that *"the Inuit were there as equal partners"* for both processes and that documents were clearly understood by both government and the Inuit. She also felt that, *"If we had more co-management relationships we would be far better ahead"* referring to this one way to resolve the conflicts on the East Coast arising from the application of the Marshall decision to Indigenous fishing rights. Kevin Washburn also spoke about co-management agreements in the context of justice when he said, "*Same with trying to protect lands by creating national monuments and have tribes be co-managers. I don't question it. I'm doing it for justice reasons".*

Phyllis Williams talked about the qualities that made Ontario's *Indigenous Healing Wellness Strategy* successful saying that policy development came out of everyone meeting together and having those *"heart to heart sometimes very difficult discussions on what needs to change in Ontario"*. From those discussions, Indigenous Health Access Centres and healing lodges came into being across the province. The National Chief also talked about a health initiative and how he worked with surrounding

communities to bring both western and Indigenous Knowledges to the Fort Qu'Appelle Hospital saying: "*We incorporated our traditional healing into the hospital. Western medicine and traditional medicine are blended. You have a choice. You can choose one or the other or a combination of both".*

Through the examples they gave, participants talked about how processes that bring multiple perspectives together to come to one mind about the best thing to do create opportunities to restore Treaty relationships and Indigenous -Canada relationships. Speaking specifically to her work on climate change, Rosemarie Kuptana said: "*One really valuable way of interaction between cultures and Peoples is to share their knowledge. On climate change, we worked with scientists, wildlife experts and biologists but we also took those scientists out on the land so they could see how we observed and acquired our knowledge".* This reflected the importance that participants placed on bringing two worldviews together to make the planet better.

Finding 5

Paradigm Shift Part 2 - Giving Voice to the Natural World

Bringing Worldviews Together

Throughout the conversations, participants talked about the importance of restoring positive relationships with the natural world which was first expressed through their serious concerns about current policy paradigms. Returning to the issues raised in Finding 2, Norm Brandson said *"We are going to have to shift to an economic paradigm that isn't based on growth- it's killing us*" (N. Brandson, 2020) and talked about the importance of the environment as the foundation of decision-making. Tom Mulcair talked about how '*the techniques we have can ravage entire territories'* and described fracking as *"injecting known carcinogens into the water and shipping shale gas off to be burned in China"* and that the *Right to a Healthy Environment* should be in Canada's Bill of Rights. The Senior Official talked about how we have "*lost touch with nature"* and don't understand how critical it is to our day to day existence

and this was echoed by other participants who described this lack of understanding as disconnected, divorced and reductionist (McDermot, Carr, and Kuptana). Referring to the blockades in support of the We'suwe'ten's opposition to the Coastal Gas pipeline, Phyllis Williams said: *"If we are truly respectful of traditional knowledge keepers to what their wisdom is, which carry messages to protect the water, the earth, the climate, what else could we do to convince the government of the day to take a serious approach, to get more aggressive and start listening".*

Finding #5 highlights participant descriptions of how, like relationships between people, positive relationships with the natural world can be restored through the qualities of connection, respect, reciprocity, responsibility along with expressions of gratitude, empathy and love. For example, participants referenced the idea of *connection to*, or *disconnection from*, the natural world over 15 times. They talked about understanding that we are just one small part of the natural world and that there is a need to heal and celebrate the natural world for our children and for future generations. They describe how these qualities can be expressed through processes that bring worldviews together equally, ceremony and returning to original understandings of Treaties and Indigenous -Canada relations as founded on sharing and sustaining the natural world. Such processes are seen to give voice to the natural world, where, as John Borrows talks about, the land can speak through Indigenous Peoples and Chiefs whose responsibility, dating back hundreds and thousands of years, it is to care for it. This Finding includes references to some participants' personal connections to the natural world in the context of the influence this has had on their approaches to decision-making.

Theme 5 a) Giving voice to the natural world: Bringing worldviews together

In describing the goals of the Red Hill Valley Stewardship agreements, Sheri Longboat talked about how these were, first and foremost, about sustaining the natural world."*The agreements were that the most would be got out of protecting the natural environment and that there was joint stewardship to*

look after the natural environment…rather than argue about who has rights, the values of protecting the Red Hill Valley were put up front". This was done by bringing two worldviews together in a way that both symbolically, and in practice, reflects the two row wampum. The Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board's website describes its goal to *"foster long-term relationships and to create a plan for the Valley that reflects the best thinking of both peoples"* (Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board n.d.) with relationships represented by three strings of wampum signifying mutual respect, trust and friendship between them. (Ibid) In our conversation, Sheri Longboat also referenced *Indigenous Conserved and Protected Areas* as another model to look to.

Larry McDermot talked about the process that led to *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas,* the *Pathways on Biodiversity* process, in the context of Treaty relationships. He described how the then Federal Environment Minister came together with territorial and provincial government representatives, representatives from agriculture, forestry and Indigenous leaders and Elders saying that they saw wisdom in the previous Treaties. *"It was probably the first time since 1815, where Canada created ethical space".* He described how ethical space was created by bringing the two knowledge systems together starting with the mutual understanding that "*Your word is law in Common Law and before the Creator in Indigenous Law"*. He said that the process used both Robert's Rules of Order and the Seven Grandfathers to guide it, that there were written and oral accounts of their work and talked about how ceremony helped to bring people together. "*I did ceremony to start every session and to finish every session. There were drums with honour songs respecting all of Creation and the sharing of Indigenous Law and British Common Law".* Non-indigenous participants told him about the effect that ceremony had on the process. "*It connected them to a power that was beyond mind and body. One person said, 'I feel like the ceremonies united our minds and hearts.' They are practiced because they work. They bring the four directions and the four sources of intelligence to play".* The process was successful in creating a vision for the *"We Rise Together"* document, out of which *Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas* came to be.

There was a vision created and now those of us who share the land, we have the opportunity to look at those words and see that we need to support the continuation of life and that we have a responsibility to look after the natural world. When we don't exercise those responsibilities, we are harming our children and generations to follow. -Larry McDermot

Larry related this to early Treaty agreements such as *The Dish with One Spoon Treaty,* calling it *"a prototype for multi-lateral agreements on the land".* He talked about how Indigenous understandings arising from these agreements to share and sustain the land were carried into Treaties with Europeans, particularly the Treaty of Niagara and the Royal Proclamation upon which Canada is founded. "*Oral tradition predates the Proclamation and we know what was expected and that there were concerns about forests being cut, the amount fish being taken. These were early sustainability agreements long before Gro Harlem Bruntland"*. And so the Pathways to Biodiversity process represented a contemporary example of Treaty relationships founded on sustaining the natural world.

John Borrows gave several examples of how the natural world can be given voice in policy processes through Indigenous governance systems that are based on relationships with the natural world. As noted at the end of Finding 3, he talked about the importance of the UNDRIP legislation in British Columbia as laying in the process that will take "*council and guidance from Elders and the Feast structures and the Chiefs at the head of those"* each of whom is named for animals, territories, trees and waters and who carry responsibilities for the natural world. *"That process could be an opportunity for the lands and waters to speak through the Chiefs through the broader legislative process".* He also referred to this as a Treaty process*."It won't just be with those representative organizations it will be community by community…. In the treaty process people are brought in for potlatch and feast"* and pointed to the Haida whose constitution is based first and foremost on protecting the land.

He re-iterated this idea in his other examples saying that, the Wet'suwe'ten *"are bringing the land into that discussion and practice"* and referred to his talk on Wet'suwe'ten and Gitsxan rights to their traditional territories as they were described in the Delgamuukw case. He talked about how

traditional territories were based on an original marriage between land and Chief going back thousands of years with each subsequent Chief accepting responsibility for ensuring that all people have respect for the spirit of the land and all living things and underlined how this relationship is the basis for their laws and governance structure. (Borrows, 2020*)* He also spoke about the Heiltsiuk Nations response to a major diesel spill in their territories where they invoked their own laws about caring for the natural world to bring about restitution and restoration.

The National Chief's diagram of his journey from Little Black Bear First Nation to becoming National Chief illustrated that, although he represented ever growing numbers of First Nations people in various organizations, the role of Treaties and the relationship with the Creator always remains at the top of the list. *"Our nationhood, our language, our Treaty, those are the constants. We can pull out of those agencies at anytime. We can't pull out of the Treaty"*. He talked about his understandings of this worldview as originating from learning from Cree Elders and participating in ceremony. He said:

> *I had a strong connection to the Elders. They kept their Cree language. They kept their sweat lodge ceremonies. They kept all their dances…They kept all their ways. That's where I went to my first Sundance and where I have gone ever since. That's where you learn about the worldview of how everything is connected. It's the Elders' Knowledge. It's oral teachings... they were experts on Treaty. We agreed to share the land and resources to the depth of a plough, nothing underneath. Even the Treaty relationship with the Crown was a covenant with God, with Creator, and all the beings around*. -Perry Bellegarde

While these participants talked about learning from Indigenous approaches to governance and bringing Treaty relationships with the natural world into contemporary times, Claudette Commanda also offered the caution that: "*We also have to be careful because we have a duty to protect the sacred and it can't be a form of appropriation. We are going to protect the sacred, our knowledge. What is important is how we do things. That it is going to have positive benefits instead of consequences communities have to live with after".*

Through these examples, participants described how the natural world can be given voice at decision-making tables when western and Indigenous worldviews are brought together in policy-making. They talk about how ethical space is created for this to happen when there is equal respect for both worldviews, respect for the land and all living things and where the values of protecting the natural world are put up front. These spaces can reflect Indigenous-Canada-Creator relationships that draw upon Treaties, such as the *Dish with One Spoon*, as prototypes for sustainability agreements as well as opportunities for the land to speak through Indigenous leaders and peoples who have the responsibility to look after it. These are opportunities for leaders to fulfill their roles as helpers to their people and to the natural world for the benefit of present and future generations. These are opportunities for western policy-makers to learn *how* this approach to leadership and governance works in a way that does not appropriate or disrespect Indigenous Knowledges.

Theme 5 b) Connecting to the Natural World

A number of participants expressed their worldviews and values, in particular, when they were asked about their connections to, or experiences with, the natural world. I hadn't planned to include these responses in the findings as the question was intended to open conversations up to story-telling and, in two cases, I didn't get to ask it. However, half of the participants talked about how their personal connections to the natural world inform how they make decisions and how they believe decisions should be made and so their responses provided valued insight into the research question. Participants talked about ethics and values related to the natural world that were learned through childhood experiences and that are practiced in their daily lives. These included being in good relationship with the land which in turn involves seeing oneself as one small part of Creation and seeing humans as dependant on the natural world. It involves learning from animals and seasons, giving careful consideration before taking anything from the land and being connected to, grateful for and respectful of the gifts of the land.

Participants also talked about their roles as being responsible for, and protective of, those relationships for future generations as well as upholding the right of people to have access to common lands.

The National Chief and Rosemarie Kuptana, in particular, talked about their childhood experiences living off of the land and the values associated with those experiences. The National Chief said: *"We had to live off the land to survive so we'd have to hunt and gather berries… We hunted deer, ducks, and rabbits, so we had to live in harmony. That's how we grew up. Gathering duck eggs, you gather some, you don't take all"*. Rosemarie Kuptana talked about being born in an igloo and being a nomadic child. "*I am a part of the natural world. I'm part of the life force of the natural world… We had to depend on caribou, musk ox, rabbit, arctic hare, geese, fish, and whales…we followed the seasons and the animals and when you make decisions about the world around us, you have to take into consideration those things that make the world happen".* The Senior Official also talked about the ethics and values she learned living in the North:

When we moved to Baker Lake, people were still very connected to the land. You were just surrounded by it; the fact that we are dependent on the land for our basic sustenance and we have a responsibility to keep that land and those resources for future generations. Human beings were not set above the natural world to have dominion over it. We are just one small part of a huge eco-system. I was taught the Inuit, the Dene and Metis teachings around hunting and fishing and respect for the animals that gave their life for us and gratitude ceremonies were part and parcel of that. -Senior Official

A number of participants similarly expressed a deep feeling of being part of, not above, the natural world and talked about how that relationship influences the decisions they make, such as Phyllis Williams' description of her life in Curve Lake:

I live and breathe the Creator's gifts and the protection of Mother Nature; our land, our waters. Like many of us, we receive those rich teachings and guidance of the Knowledge Keepers and some of us live it day to day. We experience and appreciate the vast beauty and have respect... I have the view of the lake and often see the water fowl, birds, vegetation and wildlife. It's a reminder of the richness of Mother Nature and the Creators blessing to enrich our lives. We must be very conscious of making sure we are doing the right things to protect those lands and animals for future generations. We don't just go cut a tree down. Think carefully why this living and spiritual object should be taken. Why cut it? What is the purpose? We use what has already felled or about to fall down, and we give thanks for the sacrifice that tree has provided… We have loons and ducks that can teach us about caring for one another; caring for

their babies and watch and guide them to grow and survive on their own. We watch a lot of nature and even by watching we are learning as they are looking after their homes and their little ones. Our teachings are also shared with my girls and my grandkids and great grandkids. -Phyllis Williams

Claudette Commanda expressed these values as an inherent part of Anishinaabe culture:

I live my life every day as an Anishinaabe, living my life according to the gifts the Creator gave me; respecting our Mother the Earth and all she provides and being kind and generous to people and to the natural world-the animals, the plants, our responsibilities to one another and with one another. I was given the gift of life, was made Anishinaabe and must give according to that order of Creation. As Omamawininni (Algonquin)… My understanding of the natural world? I think of everything as deep below as you can and as high as you can go and everything around and all those loved ones in the spirit world. It is the essence of Creation and we are part of it. -Claudette Commanda

Larry McDermot talked about song and celebration as part of the expression of this relationship:

"We have songs to share our love for species. If we are hunting, we have songs to celebrate the deer. I feel like the term conservation is incomplete. We traditionally practice abundance. That's about practicing those relationships; having empathy and being connected with all that is around us. We have to spend more time. We have to learn how to celebrate and appreciate all of creation". -Larry McDermot

Sheri Longboat talked about her connections from a Haudenosaunee perspective saying that she feels *"a sense of reverence and a sense of responsibility for my relationship with Creation. I don't feel that I need to be convinced of the importance of the equality of all Creation, I just feel a part of our natural world but yet privileged, or burdened, with having the ability to significantly alter it. That can be in a good way with good relations with it, but when we have no power to protect it, it is something that is heavy in the heart. As Haudenosaunee, it is all about our Original Instructions; how to live in good relations with all of Creation"*.

Some participants talked very directly about how their personal connections with the natural world guide decision making in their various roles. Laurie Carr talked about grounding herself by sitting on the grass or by the water or under a tree. "*It gives me comfort…peace. When I ask for help from my ancestors and from the Creator, that's where I go. Part of that role for me is to protect the lands and waters and that's where all the connectedness comes from"* (Carr, 2020). Jean Friesen talked about the influence that England's sense of a *Commons* and *Freedom to Roam* had on her values as a decision-maker. She described a mass march across the moors that took place in the 1930s in order to prevent

private land owners from cutting off public access to wild lands saying that this ethic was "crucial" in her thinking as a Cabinet Minister. *"On sustainability, going back to the Moors, it is that sense of public access to public lands, but you respect the land. You don't walk off trails".* This influenced her decisions on public access to lakes and waters. She said, *"No man has a right to own water front. All should have access to lakes and waterways".*

In addition to his childhood experiences, the National Chief described his leadership role as being based on what he learned from Elders and Ceremonies, linking it back to the diagram of his professional journey: "*AFN is at the bottom, it's not at the top. In Cree, the word for a helper or a servant is oskâpêwis. In leadership that's all it is you are, a helper or a servant of the people. That's all leadership is. It's all linked to ceremony. I had the good fortune to learn from Elders. The words are not mine, they are the Elders"*. He closed our conversation by saying "*our old people say 'as long as the sun shines, the river flows and the grass grows' and, also, 'for generations now and those yet unborn'... Little Black Bear used his pipe and called on all those things to witness the Treaty"*.- Perry Bellegarde

The personal connections and relationships that participants had with the natural world that they, in turn, carried with them into their roles, reflects the layered nature of paradigm shift expressed by many participants: that transformative change involves many levels of interaction from the personal to the community level all the way to where senior- level decisions are made. For example, like the National Chief, Amanda Lathlin, Laurie Carr and Phyllis Williams similarly described their roles as being about helping people and many participants talked about how engaging with and listening to people at multiple levels is essential to policy processes.

Finding 6

It's a Layered Opportunity

While the research question explores how changes can be made at senior- and Cabinet-levels of federal and provincial governments, there are a multitude of inputs that go into policy making that happen at many levels. When asked about opportunities for senior levels of government to learn from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples, John Borrow said that it is a "layered opportunity". Many participants emphasized the importance of community engagement in policy development with Amanda Lathlin saying that the engagement of those "who are living it" was even more important than Committees. Rosemarie Kuptana felt that the reason the Inuit were successful in self-government negotiations was because of community engagement so that everyone understood what it meant. *"We tried to knock on every door"*. Jean Friesen attributed the work that was done in the Manitoba government to the work the party did in Opposition to engage communities and build relationships during its platform development:

> *"Something I point to is where we invited people to come and talk to us. And those were the policies that we followed. It came from a couple years of work both inside the party and outside the party. If you haven't done it before government, you have much greater difficulty in government. I think the years that we spent in Opposition were crucial to the kind of government we could be…You have the relationships, the policies and then Cabinet makes decisions on the how, the where, the how much and how soon- but the fundamental decisions go on long before"* -Jean Friesen

At the federal level, the MP attributed community involvement to government policies such as Canada's Climate Change Plan. She said that the feedback she received from community meetings, *"all fed into the Pan Canadian Climate Plan and it kept feeding into the process. In the platform, ideas came directly from the riding, such as [proposals for] electric vehicles and it was the same with food policy, and housing. It works. And some of this stuff is now the law"*. At the local level, Phyllis Williams talked about the time that is needed to engage community members saying sometimes it takes one-to-one conversations. *"Sometimes those policy development pieces are slow moving because there is a whole*

process of engagement that has to happen in the community. Sometimes it depends on the topic and you will get people out to participate and sometimes it would take one to one calls".

Participants also placed importance on education and awareness beyond elected and unelected officials. They spoke about education from Kindergarten to Grade 12, community-level awareness and broader public education. At the K-12 level, participants spoke about the importance of equal access to quality education both on and off-reserve and the idea of bringing cultural relevance into the education system. The National Chief talked about the importance of language and culture alongside western curriculum and Amanda Lathlin referenced how learning from Elders on the land resonated with students in Opaskwayak Cree Nation. The National Chief, the Senior Official, Jean Friesen and Larry McDermot also talked about youth awareness and engagement with a view of youth as future leaders. The later references related to participants' earlier reflections that paradigm shift would be an inter-generational process. Larry McDermot said: "*We should be investing in our youth learning about those interconnections and conservation should be led by people who are closest to the land"*.

Jean Friesen emphasized broader public education, saying: "*It's Cabinet that signs off on things, but my big thing would be public education. You cannot move without the support of the public. It has to be a strong element of public support for what you are going to do. It's not possible to move much beyond that. You need people with you... Creating those relationships, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, are the kind of relationships that need to be made"*. Sheri Longboat's description of how people came together to protect the Red Hill Valley speaks to these kinds of relationships. "*It wasn't just Indigenous people; it was a lot of non-indigenous people as well. Oren Lyons talks about the basic call to consciousness and the power of the people and the collective mind".*

All of these comments reflect John Borrow's emphasis on layered opportunities for learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples about the value of sustaining the natural world. He talked about this

happening through personal relationships, friendships, the Anishinaabe law camps he was involved with, travelling to the north to learn about decision-making in Nunavut or having more formal obligations through parliamentary or legal systems. "*So, it's all those layers; kin, clan, friend, university, parliamentary and legal processes"*. Some participants noted that there are recommendations on education, public awareness and community engagement in reports such as the RCAP and the TRC. Previous chapters refer to some of the changes that have come about as a result of these reports and Chapter 9 will touch upon emerging trends aimed at public awareness and education. The final question that participants were asked was whether and how this particular piece of research, with its focus on senior- level and Cabinet- level decisions, can be put to use.

Finding 7

Being of Use

Due to time constraints not all participants had the opportunity to respond to this question however, a number of participants provided recommendations for how the research could be of use. Amanda Lathlin said:

> *"The information can be used for us legislators. We can always be having discussions with this in mind and this in spirit. This should be used as manifesto when governments, including Indigenous governments, work on environment, social [and] economic issues. You can use it in all aspects- education and health. This is perfect for the era that we are in right now but really useful for legislators, and top brass; Deputy Ministers, ADMs and First Nations governments"* . -Amanda Lathlin

Phyllis Williams, Laurie Carr, the Senior Official, Rosemarie Kuptana, John Borrows and the National Chief also suggested that the research would be useful to government elected and non-elected officials: to *"influence policy makers and to educate people"* (Bellegarde), including for a *"whole host of departments"* to learn more about how *"successful aboriginal and government relations work"* (Kuptana). John Borrows suggested that this could include training for policy makers and work on policy instruments as well as using personal relationships and friendships to advance the research, noting it was not an

either-or but an “and”. The National Chief added the importance of getting businesses to focus on the 3 Ps of people planet and profit by putting the planet first. *“Get CEOS to put their business focus on the planet”* and he and Jean Friesen talked about integrating the work with engaging with youth and youth leadership with Jean Friesen suggesting that the research be linked to international youth and Indigenous attitudes and examples from countries that have been successful in this area, such as New Zealand. Sheri Longboat and the Senior Official felt that the research could be a starting point to look further into application and effectiveness with the Senior Official suggesting surveying departments to see where they have *“started shifting to be more inclusive of Indigenous voices and Indigenous worldviews”* in their work and looking at the effectiveness of Cabinet documents and Treasury Board submissions having a requirement to look at impacts on the environment.

The findings in this Chapter provide pathways toward a paradigm shift that brings the value of sustaining the natural world to the fore in decision-making, with Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples playing a key role. The concluding section provides a discussion of patterns between the findings and the discussion in Part 2. Together, these ideas resonate with an emerging landscape of research on biodiversity and Indigenous Knowledges, new discourse on economics and legal and political trends that are consistent with a call for a paradigm shift.

Part 4: Coming Full Circle: Giving Voice to the Natural World

From the North back to the East Once Again

Restoring land without restoring relationship is an empty exercise. It is relationship that will endure and relationship will sustain the land. Therefore reconnecting people and the landscape is as essential as re-establishing proper hydrology or cleaning up contaminants. It is medicine for the earth.
(Robin Wall Kimmerer, 2013, p. 338)

Introduction: Overview of The Key Findings

The purpose of this study has been to learn from experienced policy practitioners, scholars, and Traditional Knowledge Holders about how the value of sustaining the natural world could become foundational to senior level policy decisions in Canada and how Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples could play a key role in such a paradigm shift. The study posed the question: *what kinds of structures, processes and relationships support, or could support, such a paradigm shift?* The findings support the idea that such a paradigm shift should occur. They include examples of, and recommendations for, parliamentary structures such as Indigenous Issues Committees of Cabinet and Elders Committees. They include the use of policy instruments, such as embedding *The Right to a Clean Environment* in Canada's Bill of Rights and co-management legislation. They propose that policies be put through a sustainability lens and an Indigenous lens as well as processes that are focused on the people and places most affected. There was emphasis placed on broader changes within parliamentary structures and processes that included education and awareness for all public servants, including elected officials, and having more Indigenous voices at senior-level decision-making tables. In addition, respectful relationships, *both inside and outside of* parliamentary structures, stood out across participant conversations as being necessary to support transformative change.

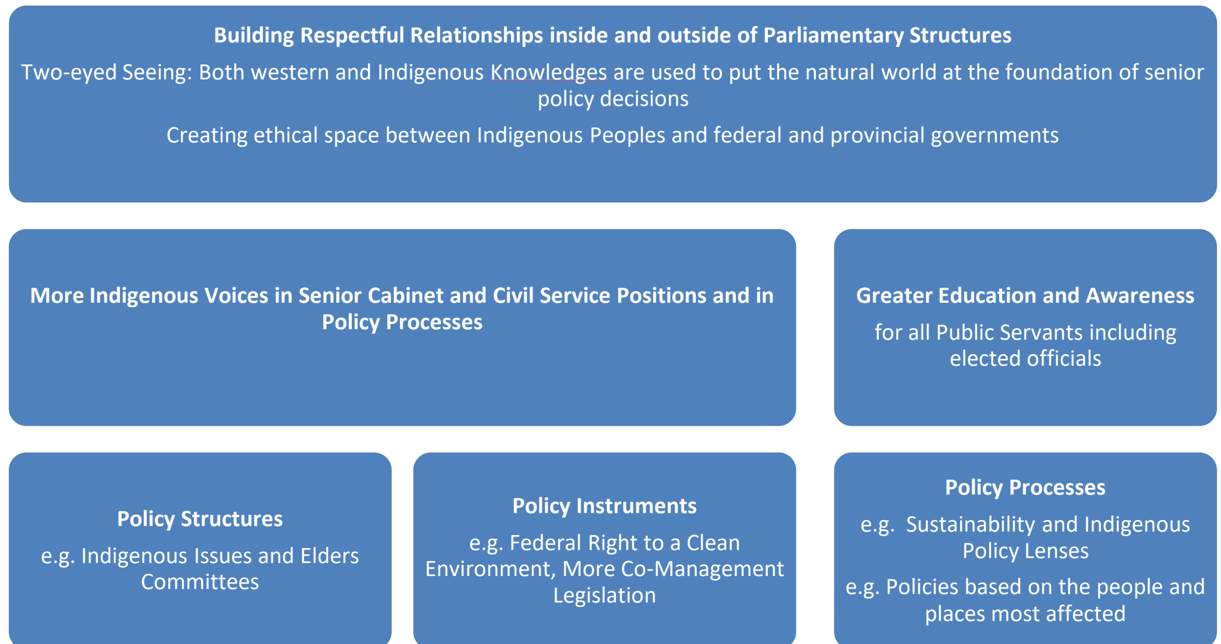
A similar pattern is found when matching the findings with the discussion of policy paradigms in Part 2. Drawing from literature on public policy, elements of a paradigm shift were described as including

changes in evidence, public values, policy settings, policy instruments, the inclusion of a broader diversity of people, and shifts in debate and discourse at senior levels of government. Based on their lived experiences, participants described all of these elements as important in making changes to parliamentary structures and policy processes.

However, both the literature and the findings from participant conversations led to the conclusion that these elements, while contributing to incremental shifts that build a foundation for change, are not enough to realize a full paradigm shift. Real-world examples from participants and the literature suggest that building relationships with Indigenous Peoples and with the natural world must be elevated in importance for a transformational paradigm shift to occur. Together, they describe relationships encompassing qualities of respect, listening, trust, empathy, and kindness that create Ethical, or Guswentha, spaces (Ermine, 2007; Newhouse, 2021) within which policies can be developed and decided upon. These were further described as spaces that bring Indigenous and western worldviews together equally and are informed by Treaty relationships, ceremony, and personal experiences with the natural world. In the context of the evidence of environmental, social, and economic costs of current policy paradigms, this led to the conclusion that: **building respectful relationships with Indigenous Peoples and with the natural world are necessary pre-requisites for a paradigm shift and must take on greater importance in senior-level federal and provincial decision-making processes.**

Figure 3

Key Findings: Building a Foundation for Transformational Change



Chapter 8

Building Relationships into the Policy Process

Discussion of Findings 1-2= Policy Anomalies, the Need for a Paradigm Shift, and Challenges

In Part 2 of the study, a paradigm shift was described using Hall's three orders of policy response to 'anomalies' that arise when evidence and/or public values no longer match a current policy paradigm (Hall, 2003). The anomaly that has been the focus of the research is the disconnect between growing evidence of the effects of environmental degradation on the natural world and human health and shorter-term economic policy decisions that run counter to this evidence. While recognizing that no one theory can fully describe the policy process, the study looked to Hall's policy responses to anomalies that include first order changes that involve adjusting existing policies and second order changes that involve changing policy instruments. Such changes are seen to be incremental in nature, while a third order change *"constitutes a dramatic departure in policy goals based on a new ideological or theoretical framework or paradigm"* (Hall, 1993, p. 80). Together with evidence and changing public values, other elements of paradigm shift involve broader inclusion and representation of people in policy-making who, in turn, bring new ideas and multiple perspectives to discourse and debate at decision-making tables (Hall, 1993; Coleman et al., 1996; Wood, 2015; Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012) (See Chapters 1 and 3).

The findings reflected all of these stages and elements of policy paradigm shift. First, participants raised serious concerns about policy paradigms where shorter-term economic development decisions take precedence over environmental impacts in light of evidence of issues such as climate change and water degradation. Concerns were based on participants' observations and experiences such as unprecedented flooding in Southern Manitoba and algal blooms on Lake Winnipeg (Brandson), climate change impacts in the north (Kuptana), declining salmon stocks in British Columbia (Senior Official) and

effects of pollutants on human health (Carr, Mulcair). Participants linked their concerns to what they described as a disconnect, or a false dichotomy, that puts economic interests ahead of the natural world rather than seeing the economy as dependent upon the natural world (Brandson, McDermot, Senior Official, Kuptana, Carr).

Participant experiences and observations were consistent with broader evidence of the economic, environmental and health impacts of climate change, biodiversity loss and exposure to pollutants arising from old economic paradigms (Stern, 2006; UNEP, 2005; Forbes, 2018; Parliamentary Budget Office, 2016; Boyd, 2015). Evidence included a report from the Parliamentary Budget Office (2016) on the rising costs of disaster assistance to the federal government citing climate change, wetland drainage and a lack of planning in flood-prone areas as major factors. It also included research by David Boyd (2015) that linked human exposure to pollutants to cancers, Parkinson's disease and childhood illnesses, amongst other health impacts, and the potential for trans-generational effects from pollutant exposure. Along with the social and emotional effects on families and communities, he cited an estimated annual cost of over $100 billion to the Canadian economy from the health impacts of these and other environmentally-linked diseases (Boyd, 2015) (See Introduction, Part 2). The findings, supported by the evidence presented earlier in the study, suggest that neither the environmental, social or economic goals of sustainable development (WCED, 1987) are being fully met by current policy paradigms. As Hall points out: *"Efforts to deal with such anomalies may also entail experiments to adjust existing lines of policy, but if the paradigm is genuinely incapable of dealing with anomalous developments, these experiments will result in policy failures that gradually undermine the authority of the existing paradigm…"* (Hall, 1993, pp. 279-280).

Participants' descriptions of what it would take to address this anomaly amounted to a third order paradigm shift described as, for example, "a complete change of our economic inter-relations within society" (Brandson). Many participants strongly suggested that a paradigm shift, consistent with

the research question, should happen saying it was needed, important and essential, with some saying that it was imperative that senior decision-makers learn from Indigenous Knowledges (IK) and that IK should be brought to Cabinet decisions. Many readily made linkages between the natural world being foundational to decision-making and the need for both Indigenous and western worldviews in policy processes. None expressed disagreement with the premise of the overall research question.

But participants also talked about challenges in realizing a paradigm shift. This was based on their own experiences with, and observations of, federal and provincial government policy processes. The challenges they identified included the influence that certain industry interests and departments, such as Industry, Finance and Natural Resources, can have over policy decisions respecting resources and the environment. Their descriptions were consistent with challenges identified in the policy literature that found that these same Ministries have considerable influence over policy decisions and can be, in turn, influenced by historical policy precedent that is based on long-standing relationships with vested industry interests. (Auld et al., 2015; Hessing et al., 2005; Boyd, 2003; McRobert et al., 2008) The institutional separation between these Ministries and Environment Ministries was cited as a major obstacle to implementing sustainable development by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 (WCED, 1987) and, according to participants and the literature, it remains so today (See Chapters 3 and 4).

The issues and challenges raised by participant experiences reflected policy examples from the first and second parts of the study in the period between 2015 and 2020. These included federal and provincial policies that are intended to reduce green house gas emissions and environmental impacts and, also, include Indigenous voices in policy-making. These were contrasted with energy policies that contribute to rising green house gas emissions and environmental impacts and, also, run counter to the wishes of some Indigenous communities. Further, the fluctuating nature of oil and gas prices coupled with targets to lower carbon emissions in Canada and internationally, raise questions about whether markets will be able match the costs of major pipeline and extraction projects (Rubin, 2012;

Parliamentary Budget Office, 2020). This again pointed to inconsistencies, not only with environmental and reconciliation goals, but also with mainstream economic goals. This underscored how historic approaches to valuing land and resources solely for wealth accumulation, dating back to the granting of Rupertsland to the Hudson's Bay Company, continues to influence policy paradigms in Canada today even when the economic arguments are harder to make. These challenges reflected participants' view that paradigm shift requires new ways of viewing the economy and changes in parliamentary structures and processes towards more consensus-based, less hierarchical, approaches to decision-making. However, they felt that changes of this magnitude would take time and even require an intergenerational approach.

At the same time, participants provided specific examples and recommendations that spoke to the challenges they identified. Their responses, highlighted in Findings 3-5, provided answers to two key questions underlying the purpose statement of the research: *What kinds of structures, processes and relationships support, or could support, such a paradigm shift in federal and provincial governments in Canada? How can Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples play a key role in this paradigm shift?* Answers to these questions included many of the elements of paradigm shift described in the literature.

Discussion of Finding 3: Changes within Parliamentary Structures and Processes

Policy Instruments and Processes

The second part of the study described how the introduction of policy instruments such as new legislation, expenditures on programs and revenue from taxation, signal policy shifts in values. Examples from the literature and texts focused on legislation including environmental protection, climate change and sustainable development laws. These kinds of policy instruments have been implemented over 50 years reflecting various phases of environmental and sustainability discourse (Auld et al., 2015). They

have resulted in the protection of designated ecosystems and habitats, the regulation of polluting substances and policies that incentivize green economic development. Reflecting a new phase of discourse around reconciliation, new laws are including references to Indigenous Knowledges and the inclusion of Indigenous Peoples in policy processes up to and including UNDRIP legislation (See Chapters 3 and 4). In the findings, participants that referenced policy instruments, focused on legislation over other policy instruments. The examples they gave were ones they felt could inform the kinds of legislation that could contribute to a paradigm shift. These included:

- The Montreal Protocol that banned CFCs, and regulations on S02 and N0x emissions to address acid rain, that were brought in on a non-partisan basis and that resulted in reducing environmental impacts and, also, efficiency and financial benefits for industry.
- Embedding *The Right to a Clean Environment* in Canada's Bill of Rights, using Quebec's Charter as a model. (Note that Boyd (2015) proposed that this Right be included in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms (see Chapter 4).
- The *Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act* that gives co-management boards, made up of local and Indigenous leadership, the ability to review development proposals based on land-planning for the watershed, taking precedence over federal development approval processes.
- New Zealand's recognition of the Maori view of nature as a living entity to legally protect designated rivers and other landforms.

However, at the same time, participants raised concerns about a lack of enforcement of environmental legislation more generally as well as changes to legislation that happen with changes in government or legislation simply being ignored. These concerns echoed the 'green-lite' findings of Auld et al. (2015) and research by Boyd (2003) on the lack of enforcement of environmental laws in Canada. Their research found an imbalance between the values placed on environmental and sustainability policies compared to the interests of traditionally served resource industries. This has resulted in what Auld et al. (2015) have called a halted transition towards sustainability goals. The literature and participants direct experiences therefore suggest that changes in policy instruments, such as legislation, on their own, are not enough to realize a paradigm shift and that a broader shift in values in government

is needed. The findings from participant conversations recommended re-enforcing the values underpinning policy instruments by:

- Putting policies through a sustainability lens and an Indigenous lens, backed up by incentives for departments to adhere to them.
- Evaluating policies, first and foremost, based on impacts on the people and places they affect and how the people affected will be involved in policy development and decisions.

To accompany these recommendations, the findings suggest looking to other parliamentary settings as models for a values shift in parliamentary processes. These included the aforementioned example of Quebec, that backed up *The Right to A Clean Environment* with a sustainability lens and incentives for departments to comply with the law; the NWT and its involvement of Indigenous Peoples throughout environmental policy processes; Nunavut and the use of culturally based consensus approaches to decision-making, including the use of Indigenous languages; and New Zealand that recognized the Maori view of the natural world as a living entity as an extension of a parliamentary culture that includes Maori representation and language. These examples also speak to the challenges participants raised about the need to address hierarchical and overly partisan approaches parliamentary processes. They recommended learning from:

- Consensus based, representative approaches to policy development from other parliamentary settings such as in the North where, for example, environmental laws are drafted directly with Indigenous Peoples, based first on broader public consultation, and are reviewed again with the public before returning to the legislature.
- Culturally based approaches such as making decisions in a "holistic" fashion and in ways that "don't harm human beings and the Earth" (R. Kuptana). This includes being mindful of the words used in debate, and making space for Indigenous languages and cultural practices within parliamentary processes, learning from, for example, Nunavut and New Zealand.

The literature and texts support the lessons that can be learned from these policy settings. This included descriptions by Barnaby et al. (2009) of how the Nunavut legislature accommodates different views and perspectives as part of a consensus approach to decision-making that respects the roles of all

people including women, elders and youth. Legislative proceedings were described by O'Brien (2003) as respectful processes where members are actively listening to one another, consistent with Inuit language and culture. Similarly, the example of New Zealand showed how legislative changes took place within the context of representation of Maori people, language and culture in parliament (See Chapter 4).

But the findings further suggest that learning new approaches to policy evaluation and to policy processes requires education and awareness. The majority of Indigenous participants described experiences with government officials who lacked knowledge of Indigenous communities, Treaty rights, and relationships to the natural world. Greater education and awareness across all of the public service, including amongst elected officials, was seen to be an important element of a values shift within parliamentary structures.

Greater Education and Awareness

The first section of the study referenced the TRC's call for professional development for public servants that includes learning about the history of Indigenous Peoples, residential schools, Treaties and Rights, Indigenous laws and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (TRC, 2015). Professional development programs have already begun and are ongoing in the federal civil service and there are similar efforts across provincial governments. However, the IPAC report, *Public Service Action for Reconciliation* (2017) revealed that the knowledge gap amongst civil servants was significant and that education and awareness programs cover only a small percentage of the total public service. This reflected the experiences of Indigenous participants who felt that they, themselves, had to educate and re-educate government officials and that therefore education and awareness programs for all of the public service, including for elected officials, needs to be more widespread and even mandatory. Building on the TRC's Call to Action #57, recommendations from participants suggested that programs include:

- Understanding the history of Indigenous-Canada relations in the context of lands and resources starting with the Doctrine of Discovery up to the Indian Act and through to the UNDRIP today.
- Understanding of Indigenous worldviews and approaches to governance based on relationships with the natural world.
- Understanding of Treaty Relationships and mutual responsibilities regarding the natural world.
- Understanding why the economy, and human beings overall, are seen as dependant on and not above the natural world.
- Understanding the relationship between all of the above and sustainability issues today.

The findings further suggest that a paradigm shift consistent with the research question requires not only *learning about* Indigenous histories and worldviews through education and awareness programs but, also, *learning directly from* Indigenous Peoples themselves. This speaks to inclusion and representation, particularly in senior levels of government, as important elements of paradigm shift within parliamentary structures.

More Indigenous Voices at the Table

The discussion on parliamentary structures in Chapter 3 opened with Hall's quote that, *"old paradigms end only when the supporters of a new paradigm secure positions of authority over policymaking and are able to rearrange the organization and standard operating procedures of the policy process so as to institutionalize the new paradigm"* (Hall, 1993, pp. 280-281*).* This was related to the significant influence that the Prime Minister, or Premier, Cabinet Ministers and their offices and the policy advisors therein, Treasury Board, Privy Council, Cabinet Committees and senior civil servants, such as Deputy Ministers have on policy making. As discussed, some departments maintain more power than others and sustainable development policy decisions have been found to be increasingly concentrated in the central offices of government such as the Prime Minister's Office and Privy Council Office. (Thomas, 2002; Auld et.al, 2015; McRobert et. al, 2008)

The discussion pointed out that greater inclusion in policy decisions over time has helped to bring about paradigm shifts in values to senior levels of decision-making. Tom Mulcair referenced the Charter of Rights and Freedoms as a paradigm shift in law-making and the recognition of women as persons, and

Section 35 of the Constitution, giving formal recognition to Indigenous rights, were referenced as examples of the changes that inclusion can bring (See Chapter 3). Given the power that senior government offices hold over decision-making, greater representation of Indigenous Peoples in Cabinet and other senior level positions, as well as policy processes generally, stood out in the findings as a very important element of paradigm shift within parliamentary structures. It was not just the inclusion of more Indigenous voices in senior government roles that was seen to determine whether and how a shift might occur, but the greater range of values and ideas or, the "gift of multiple perspectives" they bring to debate and discourse at senior decision-making tables ((Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012; Wood, 2015). This was borne out by the lived experiences of participants who described the influence that the presence of Indigenous Peoples in Cabinet and caucus, and the presence of Elders in meetings, had on policy discussions and outcomes. In particular, they described how this contributed to shifts in thinking such as seeing the environment as the foundation of the economy, Cabinet responsiveness to Indigenous issues and environmental issues and working together across party lines. The findings highlighted key examples and recommendations from participants that included:

- Recruiting experienced people from Indigenous communities to run for office and have them in Cabinet and other senior roles.
- Creating pathways in the civil service for Indigenous Peoples to enter and move into senior civil service roles.
- Creating and maintaining structures such as Indigenous Issues Committees of Cabinet that also meets across party lines, Committees or Advisory bodies of Elders and Traditional Knowledge. Holders to advise Ministers and departments and Elder involvement in senior level meetings with Federal-Provincial-Territorial Meetings as one example.
- Annual meetings between all Cabinet Ministers and all Indigenous leaders.
- Leadership that creates opportunities for all of the above to happen.

Summary Discussion of Findings 1-3

The list of examples and recommendations from participants in the first three Findings corresponded with the elements used to describe policy paradigm shifts in the literature and texts: including evidence

of the need for a paradigm shift and the use of policy instruments, learning from different policy settings, greater inclusion and shifts in discourse at senior levels of government. This is significant because the presence of all of these elements has been shown to contribute to important policy paradigm shifts in the past. The example of health care policy was used to demonstrate how all of these elements were at play in a major paradigm shift in values in Canada. This started with the presentation of evidence of poor health outcomes in the late 1930s, public support for a shift in values from private to publicly funded health care and leadership in Saskatchewan that created opportunities for a paradigm shift to happen. However, even after the presentation of evidence, it took decades to realize a paradigm shift in values at the federal level. The incremental nature of this shift reflected institutional obstacles within powerful offices such as Finance, and the influence of political and economic vested interests, such as the medical insurance industry. A national publicly funded health care system was realized in 1966 as new voices were elected in the federal parliament and a working model was in place in Saskatchewan. Though the system has yet to achieve full universality and equity, the value of public health care has become part of what are today considered Canadian values. Therefore, the literature and the findings show that, incrementally, all of the elements discussed can contribute to a paradigm shift in values over time. The idea of expanding the value of universal access to health care to universal access to a healthy natural world was then introduced to imagine the art of the possible for a future paradigm shift in Canada (See Chapter 4). However, to realize a paradigm shift on this scale, the research found that more is needed.

For 50 years, despite the presence of many elements of paradigm shift, significant disconnects between environmental, sustainability and economic development policies continue. While incremental shifts have occurred, a third-order paradigm shift in values that puts the natural world at the foundation of decision-making is not yet a reality in senior levels of federal and provincial governments in Canada. Learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples as a key part of this shift is not yet a widespread practice in policy-making. The research suggests that the missing pieces are: (1) in order to learn from

Indigenous Peoples, there must first be a respectful relationship with them and; (2) through the building of respectful relationships (ethical space), opportunities arise for policy-makers to learn from both Indigenous and western knowledges (two-eyed seeing) about how to put the natural world at the foundation of decision-making.

Discussion of Findings 4-5

Supporting Change through Relationships

Paradigm Shift Part 1: Rebuilding relationships with one another: Bringing people together

As the study evolved, the main findings arose from answers to the question: *what kinds of relationships support, or could support, a paradigm shift?* Similar answers to this question could be found in both the findings and in the literature. For example, in Deb McGregor's research (2014) she found that, in many policy processes, Indigenous communities felt that government officials did not take the time needed to build relationships with them. They felt they were not meaningfully involved in decision-making and were concerned that their Knowledges were being used simply to tick a box in development processes (McGregor, 2014). McGregor also identified what she called *"characteristics of successful traditional knowledge inclusion"* (McGregor, 2014, p. 349), in policy processes that were seen to be successful in achieving policy goals. These included "*a commitment to cross-cultural dialogue"* and a *"relationship building approach that acknowledged the need for First Nations to express their responsibilities in relationship to environmental concerns"* (McGregor, 2014, p. 349). Her findings echoed research by Kennedy-Dalseg and Abele (2015) that spoke about the importance of meaningful community engagement and communications, including in Indigenous languages, before, alongside and throughout the formal processes for the Mackenzie Valley pipeline and the Mary River Iron Ore development (See Chapter 4).

When participants spoke about what did or did not work well in policy processes, they also pointed to the importance of taking the time needed for relationship building that includes community engagement, clear communication, equal respect for Peoples and their Knowledges, and taking care not to appropriate Indigenous Knowledges. They identified specific *qualities* that did or did not work well in building relationships. Starting with **what does *not* work well,** participants identified**:**

- Processes and interactions where government officials demonstrate a sense of superiority over and a lack respect for, or understanding of, Indigenous Peoples, their worldviews and Treaty Rights.
- Not seeing First Nations as equal founding nations and not recognizing the right of self-determination.
- Policies being "disconnected" from the people and places that are affected by them.
- A lack of *true* consultation and *real* engagement (not consulting with the grassroots and not communicating policies clearly) and a lack of *true* partnerships, where there is inequity in the relationship as described above.
- Lack of recognition of ongoing human rights issues such as inequity in health and education services, housing, access to clean water and the Indian Act.
- Not taking the time to develop trusting relationships.

When participants described ***what does work well*** to build relationships in policy processes they included:

- Bringing people together to "*see things from multiple perspectives"* and "*to come up with a shared idea"* (Senior Official) including taking a non-partisan approach. (Mulcair, MP, Lathlin)
- Policy processes that build trusting relationships through the qualities of listening and respect, including respecting Indigenous Peoples, worldviews and Knowledges equally, recognition of self-determination and understanding of ongoing inequities.
- Taking the time to build relationships including consulting and engaging at the community level, clear communications that are understood by everyone and follow-up.
- Learning from processes characterized by these qualities, such as co-management and shared governance arrangements that have been seen to work well, stood the test of time or to otherwise have been successful.

Noting that none were perfect, participants gave real-world examples of policy processes that, from their perspectives, exemplified these positive qualities with many, but not all, focused on the conserving or restoring the natural world. Examples included:

- The Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Boards: Development proposals are assessed by Indigenous led boards based on land-planning to sustain the whole Mackenzie Valley watershed.
- The Red Hill Valley Stewardship Board: The Haudenosaunee and the City of Hamiliton have equal representation and work together on the shared goal of protecting the Red Hill Valley.
- Nipissing Fisheries Laws: Nipissing First Nation Fishery laws are applied and enforced by the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources to address declining walleye populations resulting in improvement in the health of walleye stocks.
- Guardian programs: Both Indigenous and western environmental laws are monitored and enforced by Indigenous Peoples within their traditional territories.
- Ontario Indigenous Healing and Wellness Strategy: Four government departments and Indigenous leaders from across Ontario came together and developed Indigenous Health Access Centres and Healing Lodges.
- Fort Qu'Appelle Indian Hospital: The First Nation run transformation of the hospital involved working with surrounding communities to bring together access to both western and traditional medicine.
- Charlottetown Accord and Migratory Bird Convention: The Inuit were seen as equal partners and given the time to do extensive community consultation such that everyone understood what was being negotiated and agreed to.

The qualities that were described in the findings as characteristic of positive relationships mirrored recommendations for policy relationships made by Black and McBean (2016). These included recognition of Indigenous Knowledges, recognition of the inherent right to self-determination, recognition of inclusive and integrative knowledge systems, community-based participatory approaches, and holistic viewpoints (2016). More broadly, they reflected those proposed by Newhouse for reconciliation and by the RCAP report for a new era of Canada- Indigenous relations. Newhouse (2016) talked about four components of relationship building that include: closing the inequity gap with Indigenous Peoples, promoting harmony between Indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, restoring and renewing nation-nation relationships, and recognizing Indigenous interests and rights to lands and territories. The RCAP spoke to relationship principles including recognition of Indigenous Peoples as the original inhabitants and care-takers of this land along with their responsibilities in this regard; respectful relationships that involve mutual regard for one another; sharing, involving the giving and receiving of benefits in equal measure- a principle that is central to the treaties; and relationships that carry high standards of responsibility, honesty and good faith towards one another (Indigenous and Northern

Affairs Canada: Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996) (See Chapter 4). Overall, the qualities of relationship highlighted in the findings, the literature and reports describe the “Ethical Space” (Ermine, 2007) or “Guswentha Space” (Newhouse, 2021) needed to bring two worldviews together ((Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012) to learn how to bring the natural world to the fore in senior level decision-making. This connects the main findings back to examples in the study of Indigenous approaches to governance and Treaty relationships or, to encompass Treaty and non-treaty relationships, what could be described as Indigenous-Canada-Creator relationships.

Paradigm Shift Part 2: Restoring relationships with the natural world: Bringing worldviews together

Descriptions of Indigenous approaches to governance in Chapter 2 provide added depth to recommendations for relationship building that were highlighted in the findings. For example, Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg Elder Gidigaa Migizi (Doug Williams) applied the Seven Grandfather-Grandmother teachings to decision-making or *Naakgonige* meaning *“to carefully deliberate...and to consider the impacts of decisions on all aspects of life and our relationships”* (Simpson 2011, pp. 56- 57). His descriptions provide added meaning to the qualities of trust, respect, listening, and treating people equally in relationship-building. He describes Honesty or *Gwekwaadiziwiin* as to *“make a change in life and redirect towards the good”*, Truth or *Debwewin* as, *“speaking from the heart”,* Humility or *Dbadendiziwin*, “*overcoming the human drive to be selfish, liking yourself, you don’t worry about your place with the group and not imposing yourself on other people”,* and Respect or *Mnaadendiwin*, *“understanding something to the point you’ve looked at it a long time. You looked at it twice. You want to give it honour*” (Elder Gidigaa Migizi, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg, personal communication, March, 2017, approved April 9th, 2021).

Haudenosaunee governance principles speak to concerns raised by participants about hierarchy, centralization of power, and disconnection from the natural world in parliamentary processes. Principles

included, for example, ensuring power is diffused and that decisions are based on consensus over a majority rules approach. Policy decisions would be based on understanding the consequences of how they affect the welfare of the people that are here now, the earth and all of creation, and the coming generations (D. Longboat, personal communication, June, 2018; Porter, 2008; Hill, S. as cited in Simpson, 2008) (See Chapter 2).

All of these governance principles are intertwined with relationships with the natural world. This includes qualities that are attributed to a leader, described as *"one who leads with reluctance and out of a sense of responsibility"* (Simpson, 2011, p. 121) and who considers *"the impact of their decisions on all the plant and animal nations, in addition to the next seven generations*" (Simpson, 2011, as cited in Gray, 2012, p.112). John Borrows described Haida, Heiltsiuk, and We'tsuwe'ten governance systems wherein leaders continue to carry responsibilities for the natural world and give voice to lands and waters through decision-making processes. This resonated with how some participants described their own leadership roles as helpers who, first and foremost, carry responsibilities for their people and the natural world. These descriptions provide guidance for the leadership that participants say is needed to support value shifts within parliamentary structures and beyond.

Chapter 2 also offered descriptions of Treaty agreements that have parallels with the qualities participants saw as necessary for re-building relationships between Canada's governments, Indigenous Peoples, and the natural world today. This included the three purple beads representing peace, respect, and friendship in accordance with Great Law of Peace's principles of respect, reciprocity, and renewal in the Two-Row Wampum (Turner, 2006). Turner talked about these principles as being at the heart of political relationships and that they are to be renewed and strengthened over time (Turner, 2006). Guidance for the renewal of relationships can be found in these early Treaties including the *Dish with One Spoon* Treaty that was described as foundational to the Niagara Treaty, and treaties thereafter, and that are the basis for Indigenous-Canada-Creator relationships. "*Of particular importance in this age of*

environmental degradation is the fact that the dish with one spoon is also a covenant with nature...Here's the great dish and inside the dish are all the plants, the animals, the birds, the fish, the bushes, the trees, everything you need to be healthy and therefore, happy" (Hill, R, 2014). Participant, Larry McDermot called the Dish with One Spoon Treaty a prototype for modern sustainability agreements adding that, if we had followed the Treaties, there would be no need for the Earth Summit. From the British parliamentary tradition, Jean Friesen talked about the *Right to Roam* ethos of public access to natural areas and the idea of a shared commons. This evolved over centuries arising from the Forest Charter that accompanied the Magna Carta (See Chapter 2). Participants drew on their understandings of Treaty relationships, Indigenous governance principles, and the ethos of a shared commons to describe qualities that promote positive relationships with the natural world. These include:

- Relationships of respect, reciprocity, responsibility, and connectedness with expressions of gratitude, empathy, and love.
- Seeing humans as dependent on, and not above, the natural world, being mindful of what is taken from the earth and why, *"you gather some you don't take all"* (P. Bellegarde), upholding the right of public access to natural areas, and protecting the natural world for future generations as a foundational principle that guides all else.

Summary Discussion of Findings 4 and 5

Supported by Knowledge Holders and the literature, Findings 4 and 5 describe how principles of relationship found in Indigenous approaches to governance and in early treaties can become part of policy processes. **Bringing the findings on relationship together, new elements can be added to a framework for policy paradigm shift in the area of sustainability. They are:**

1. **Creating Ethical Space** (Ermine, 2007)
    - **Listening and Respect:** Respecting Indigenous Peoples, worldviews, and knowledges equally, including their role as original founding nations with rights to self-determination.
    - **Understanding the context for relationship-building** including the history of Indigenous-Canada relationships and ongoing inequities experienced by Indigenous communities.

- **Taking the time to build trusting relationships**, including consulting and engaging at the community level, clear communications that are understood by everyone, and follow-up.
- **Being careful not to appropriate** or otherwise misuse Indigenous Knowledges.

2. **Bringing Worldviews Together within Ethical Space: Learning from Two-Eyed Seeing** (Bartlett, Marshall & Marshall, 2012)
    - **Remembering and Enacting Treaty Relationships**: Understanding Indigenous-Canada-Creator relationships that draw upon Treaties, such as *the Dish with One Spoon*, as prototypes for sustainability agreements based on relationships of respect, friendship, and trust.
    - **Learning from Indigenous Approaches to Governance:** Learning how the natural world is foundational to decision-making wherein Indigenous leaders and communities have carried responsibility for looking after the natural world within their traditional territories for hundreds and thousands of years. Ethical space allows for *"the lands and waters to speak through the Chiefs"* (J. Borrows), and through communities in policy processes and for western policy-makers to learn about how to exercise responsibilities for the natural world as well.
    - **Ceremony:** Elders and Knowledge Holders begin, end, and guide meetings through ceremonial reminders of human relationships with the natural world.

Participants provided real-world examples of what this looks like in policy practice. Examples included:

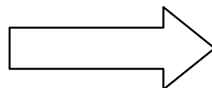
- **The Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board:** *"Reflects the best thinking of both peoples"* to first and foremost protect the valley (Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board, n.d.) represented by three strings of wampum signifying mutual respect, trust, and friendship between them. (Red Hill Valley Joint Stewardship Board, n.d.)
- **The Pathways to Biodiversity Process:** Federal, provincial, and sector representatives came together with Indigenous leaders using both Robert's Rules of Order and the Seven Grandfathers and ceremony and drew on Treaty relationships with the process resulting in an Indigenous led process to create *Indigenous Conserved and Protected Areas* to help fulfill Canada's international biodiversity obligations.
- **Indigenous Governance in British Columbia:** Examples included Haida relationships with the B.C. Government based on the Haida constitution, Wet'suwet'en governance as described in the Delgamuukw case, and the application of Heiltsiuk laws to environmental restoration after a diesel spill, all of which provide guidance on governance structures and leadership that gives voice to the natural world and upholds responsibilities to protect it for present and future generations.
- **Bringing worldviews together on the land** such as Rosemarie Kuptana's example of bringing scientists out on the land to learn from Knowledge Holders in the North about the impacts of climate change.
- **Daily practice and life experiences:** Life experience living from the land and living close to the land provided examples of practices such as: daily gratitude for all of the natural world, learning lessons from observing animals and the seasons, being mindful of what is taken from the earth and how it is taken, whether it is needed and what the impacts might be, upholding the principle of public access to natural areas, and the idea of a shared commons and sustaining the land for future generations.

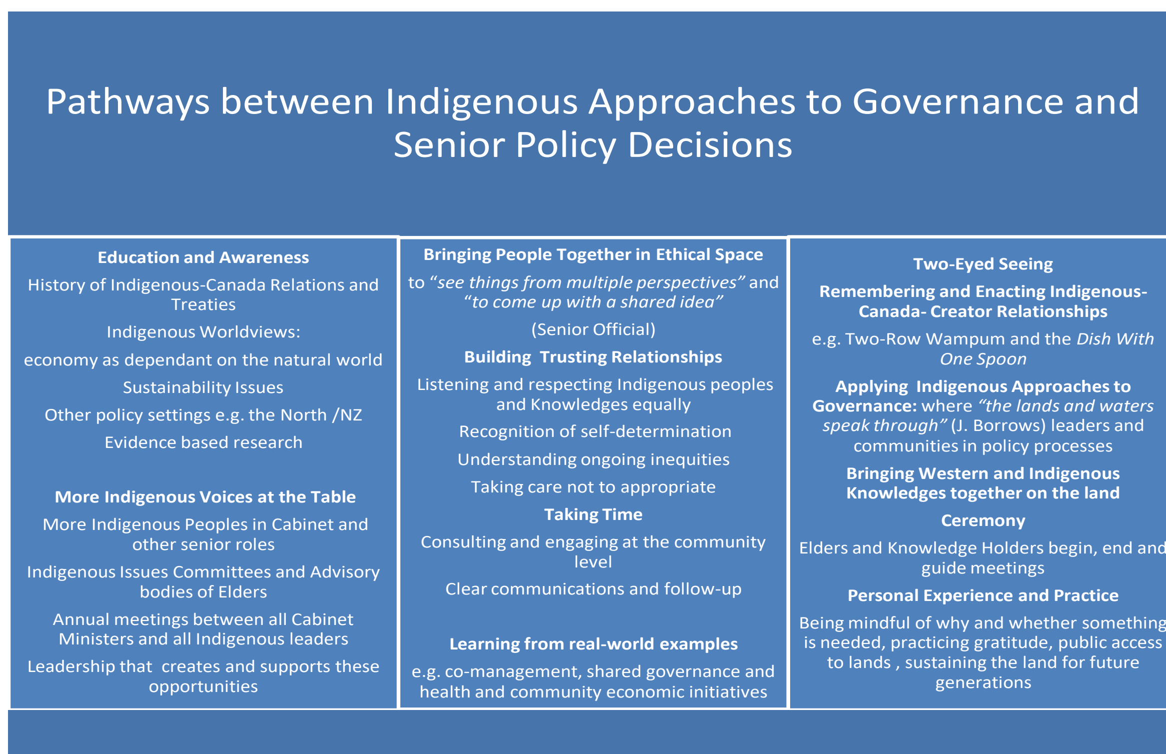
Coming Full Circle - Building Relationship into the Policy Process

This study provides additional information on how to transform parliamentary approaches to policy-making to better sustain the natural world. Consistent with its purpose, the contribution of this research can be found in the examples and recommendations given by a highly experienced and respected group of Indigenous and non-indigenous policy leaders, Knowledge Holders and scholars, supported by reports and the literature, that describe *how* senior levels of governments in Canada can shift the way they make decisions. A goal of the study was to explore pathways between Indigenous approaches to governance regarding the natural world and senior- level decision making in federal and provincial governments. Based on the findings, these pathways are relationship-based. They include: education and awareness; inclusion and representation of Indigenous Peoples; bringing people together through ethical space; and bringing worldviews together through two-eyed seeing to inform policy decisions as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4

*Pathways for *Ethical Space Based on the Findings*

Indigenous Approaches  Senior Policy Decisions



* Ermine, 2007

The findings can be further illustrated in the context of the policy cycle. In current policy cycles, policy instruments such as legislation are often seen as a first response to evidence of sustainability issues, albeit with greater inclusion and discourse in the policy process. But the research discussed how this results in only incremental change as the cycle continues in the context of mainstream, or outdated (Boyd, 2015), economic goals. In a new policy paradigm, the goal of sustaining the natural world becomes the foundation, or the starting point, for policy decisions. Based on the findings, emphasis is placed on building relationships through the policy cycle to inform policy instruments to support the new

goal. Figures 5 and 6 present this as *one way* of conceptualizing the findings as a new approach to the policy cycle.

Figure 5

Illustration of Policy Cycle: Current Policy Paradigm

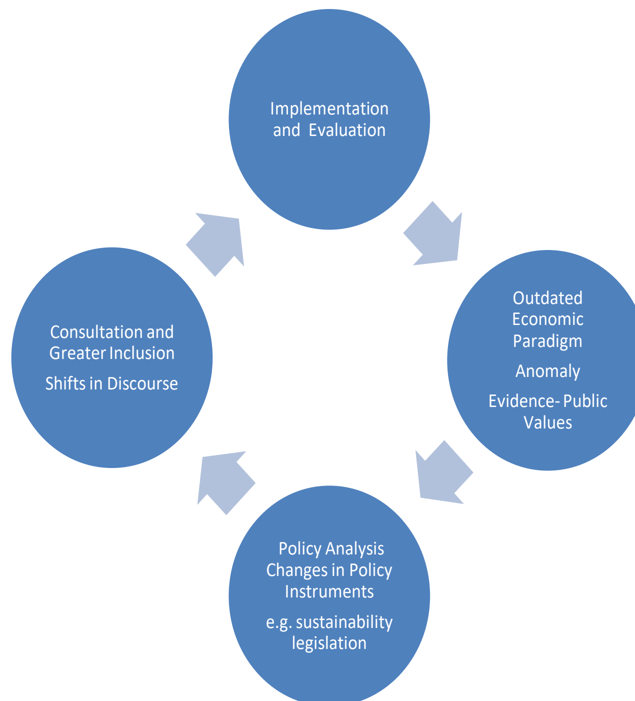
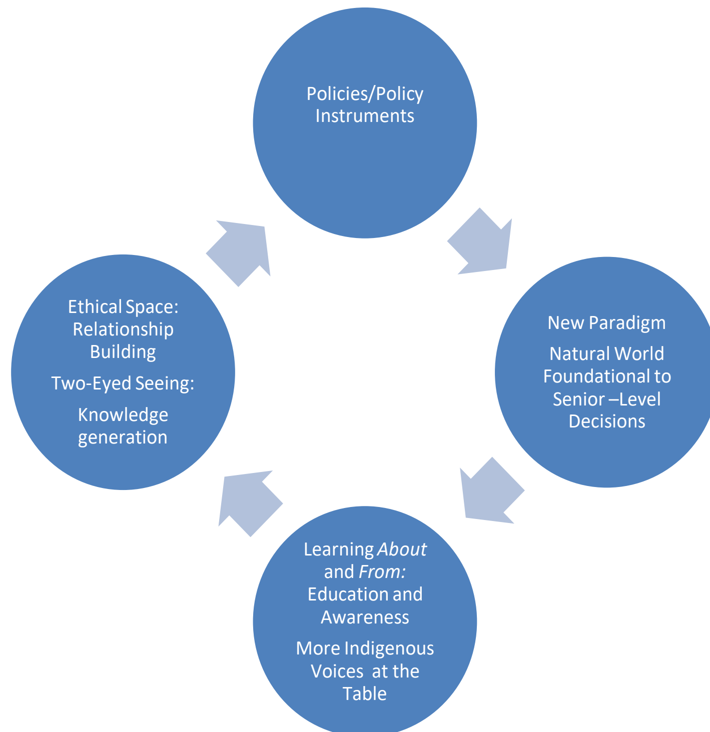


Figure 6

Illustration of Policy Cycle: Paradigm Shift

Illustration of Paradigm Shift
Natural world foundational to decisions-Respectful relationships as pathways to shifting to a new norm



As demonstrated by the policy examples offered by participants, some policy cycles include some of these phases already. In this model, policy development evolves through an overt process of learning through education and awareness, inclusion and representation, and through the practice of building relationships. As participants re-iterated, such processes require time and respect, or taking the time to look twice (Gidigaa Migizi, 2018). Based on her work with Elders Micheal Thrasher and Peter O'Chiese on sustainability and Medicine Wheel teachings, Jennifer Dockstator (2014) further describes this as a process of "double understanding":

The first level (or look) is the intellectual acknowledgement and appreciation for a concept, which may be grasped through listening in an oral tradition or reading. The second level is the deeper comprehension and internalization, which are only possible from learning personally about a concept through the experience of doing or practicing it i.e., where the practice is another "look". Only through actual experience may one achieve "double understanding. (Dockstator, 2014, p.282)

In envisioning a process for "double understanding" (Dockstator, 2014) in policy development, I return to Dr. Elder Shirley William's (2004) *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel* as a model for putting this approach to the policy cycle into practice. My own research path for this study followed this Medicine Wheel. It started in the eastern direction, in the *Zhayaawin/Feeling* stage, with a vision that was formed based on previous experiences, research, and a sense of responsibility. The southern direction, the *Gnawaabjigen/Watching* phase, involved education and awareness that included reading the literature, texts and reports, and observing and listening to scholars, Elders, and Knowledge Holders. This prepared me to go to the Western direction or the *Zhichigewin/Doing* phase that involved the process of relationship building with, and learning directly from, Indigenous and non-indigenous leaders, scholars, and Knowledge Holders who had extensive policy experience. All of these steps brought me to the Northern Direction, *Mokwendamowin/Thinking,* that involved analysis of all the previous research phases to create a theory about new approaches to senior level policy decisions in Canada. With this experience as a guide, next steps for the research would involve collaboration with policy practitioners,

Knowledge Holders, and scholars on how to apply the findings in practice. An illustrative approach is provided in the final chapter.

Chapter 9 : Beyond the Findings

Envisioning Next Steps, Resonance with an Emerging Policy Landscape and Final Reflections

What Treaty Relationships might look like if we pursued our highest aspirations as Canadians and Indigenous Peoples.
(Coyle M. & Borrows J., 2017, p. 5)

One of the primary goals of this study was for it to be of use to policy practitioners and students and youth, as future decision-makers. Participants made several recommendations for how this research could be of use beyond the study itself. These included:

- Bringing the findings to senior policy-makers, legislators, and civil servants and applying it to training, policy instruments, and also promoting it through personal and professional relationships.
- Bringing the findings to youth, as future leaders, and connecting the research to international examples of best practice.
- Building on the findings with research that evaluates inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and worldviews in government departments and measuring how Treasury Board, Finance, Industry, and other departments are evaluating policies based on the environment and the effectiveness of this.
- Additional research on evidence based benefits for this approach to decision-making.
- Getting CEOs of businesses to focus on the 3Ps-planet, people, and profit by putting the planet first.

As a starting point, based on the findings, I would explore the development of a similar model to the *Principles of Learning Medicine Wheel* with Elder Dr. Shirley Williams, amongst others, to see how it could be applied to policy processes and used in workshops, training, and for further research. To visualize what this could look like, using Figure 6 as an illustration (See Chapter 8), a policy cycle could start in the east by developing a shared vision for the natural world, perhaps building on the vision unanimously agreed to by Federal Provincial Territorial Health Ministers in 2005 that proposed that: "*The air we breathe, the water we drink, the food we eat, and the places we live, work and play are safe and healthy—now and for generations to come*" (Picard, 2013) (See Chapter 4). A vision would draw on

Indigenous Knowledges and western sciences, Treaties, and early agreements between peoples to carry out responsibilities to the natural world in policy decisions. Moving to the southern direction, a learning pathway could include a watching phase, involving education and awareness programs, based on the examples and recommendations from the findings, the literature and the TRC. It could include learning about evidence based benefits from tried and tested policy processes and instruments from Quebec, Nunavut, the NWT, New Zealand, and First Nations in B.C., and beyond. Education and awareness could be included in classrooms, in orientation for newly elected officials, and prioritized in professional development for senior officials in Natural Resources, Finance, Industry, and Economic Development as well as central offices of government such as PMO, PCO and Treasury Board in all the areas recommended by the TRC and in the findings. It could include culture camps for elected officials and civil servants across government, modeled on the law camps referenced by Prof. John Borrows. Learning by listening to Indigenous elected and non-elected public servants and Elders is a key part of education and awareness and relationship building, requiring opportunities for more Indigenous voices to be at, in particular, senior-level decision-making tables. In whatever way it takes place, this phase is preparation for the doing part of the learning circle which involves relationship-building and sharing worldviews in the policy process.

Having prepared for the 'doing phase', ethical spaces can be created guided by Indigenous teachings, such as the Seven Grandfather-Seven Grandmothers, focused on building trust through the qualities of listening and respect, including equal respect for Indigenous and western worldviews and voices. Gatherings could take place in virtual or physical spaces, from the new *Indigenous Peoples' Space* across from Parliament Hill to post-secondary institutions, corporate boardrooms, community centres, tipis, long-houses or on the land, but they would be guided through ceremony by Elders and Knowledge Holders. These spaces are intended to create opportunities for two-eyed seeing that bring western and Indigenous scientific, experiential, traditional, and spiritual Knowledges together to focus on, in

particular, new approaches to economy. Based on the findings, policy dialogue could include asking questions such as: *Who are the people and places affected by current or proposed policies? How are they, the people, lands, and waters, involved in decision-making? What are the alternatives? How will policies support future generations?* They could include the questions proposed by Prof. Dan Longboat (2021) in his application of the 5 Rs to policy processes that "*enables meaningful, long lasting, mutually beneficial, sustaining relationships and fundamentally a collection of minds coming together to focus on the good, for the continuation of All Life"* (See Chapter 1). This work provides the thought and analysis needed to create new policies and policy instruments that support the vision.

Situating the Findings

The findings extend beyond senior levels of government as participants point out that paradigm shift involves multi-layered and inter-generational opportunities and suggested that these include:

- Equal access to education that includes culturally based education, including language, cultural practices, and on-the-land learning alongside western K-12 curriculum.
- Broader public awareness focused on building Indigenous-Canada relationships and awareness of sustainability issues.
- Extensive community involvement in platform and policy development prior to elections and throughout all the stages of policy development after an election. This includes involving 'the grassroots' as well as community and political leaders, those who have lived experience with the policy area and, overall, involve the people and places that the policy will affect.

This situates the research within broader efforts to engage the public and upcoming generations in paradigm shift. The findings coincide with hundreds of initiatives across the country that are already supporting linkages between IK and putting the natural world at the foundation of decision-making on a multi-layered and intergenerational basis. Just a few examples include the National Centre for Collaboration on Indigenous Education (NCCIE) that brings together best practices in K-12, post-secondary, and community-based Indigenous education; the Yellowhead Institute on Indigenous governance at Ryerson University, Indigenous law programs at University of Victoria and across the country, and a new Research Chair in Indigenous Law and Governance with a focus on water at the

University of Ottawa. There is the Centre for Truth and Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba. There is the Chanie Wenjack School at Trent University, where I study, with its Indigenous Environmental Studies and Sciences Program and, together with universities and colleges across the country, they offer courses in Indigenous Knowledges for all students. There are national initiatives such as the Indigenous Leadership Initiative and Indigenomics supporting new approaches to conservation and economic development. There are community-based Indigenous and non-indigenous partnerships focused on renewable energy, energy efficiency, food security, and water protection initiatives such as the social enterprises referenced in Chapter 4. This research is intended to add a small contribution to such ongoing efforts across the country, particularly new approaches to policy development in the area of sustainability. The findings are therefore situated within these emerging trends across Canada. They also resonate with emerging global research on biodiversity, shifting discourse on economic development and legal and policy decisions on environmental protection and Treaty rights.

Resonance with an Emerging Policy Landscape and Final Reflections

As I was writing the conclusion of my Masters research in 2012, the UN released their statement from the Rio plus 20 conference calling for approaches to sustainable development "*that will guide humanity to live in harmony with nature and lead efforts to restore the health and integrity of the earth's eco-systems*" (United Nations, Clauses 39-40, 2012), echoing the words of policy makers and Knowledge Holders that I had talked to. As I write this conclusion, more U.N. reports coincide with the findings from conversations with another group of highly experienced policy practitioners. In response to the most recent report on climate change from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the U.N. stated that: "*Unless there are rapid, sustained, and large-scale reductions of climate change-causing greenhouse gas emissions, including CO2, methane and others, the goal of limiting global warming to 1.5C compared to pre-industrial levels, as enshrined in the Paris Agreement, will be beyond reach"* (UN CC, 2021). In its summary for policy-makers, the IPCC outlined response options that would have

immediate impacts in addressing their dire predictions. These included the conservation of ecosystems such as peat lands, wetlands, rangelands, mangroves, and forests (IPCC, 2021).

The importance placed on ecosystem conservation reflected recommendations from the *Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Eco-system Services:* the first major assessment on the world's eco-systems since the U.N. Millennium Eco-system Report in 2005. The report found that one million plant and animal species now face loss or extinction. The Chair of the organization, Ana Maria Hernandez, stated that damage to nature as a result of current approaches to economic development can "*no longer be justified as an externality"* (IPBES, 2020) . Echoing the U.N. statement from 2012 she added that: *"Coordinated action at local, national, regional, and international levels is needed to safeguard remaining habitats, undertake large-scale restoration of degraded habitats, and more broadly to place nature at the heart of decision-making and sustainable development"* (Ana Maria Hernandez, IPBES, 2020). Recommendations for policy-makers suggest that such transformative change could overcome opposition from vested interests with one of the key leverage points being: "*promoting education, knowledge generation, and the maintenance of different knowledge systems, including in the sciences and Indigenous and local knowledge regarding nature, conservation, and its sustainable use*" (IPBES, 2019, p. 9).

This recommendation reflects Larry McDermot's statement that *"where Indigenous people are leading conservation is where there are more species"* which is borne out in recent research by Bliege et al., (2021) that looked at land-use over the past 12,000 years and found that it was not human interactions with land that caused biodiversity loss but rather *"appropriation, colonization, and intensification of use in lands …Global land use history confirms that empowering the environmental stewardship of Indigenous Peoples and local communities will be critical to conserving biodiversity across the planet…When you're thinking about conserving and restoring nature, that's a cultural nature. It needs not just experts and practices. It needs the people. It needs those traditional cultures and Indigenous*

cultures and people to manage those places sustainably" (Ellis et al. 2021). Recent research has also found that biodiversity of forest landscapes is higher in those areas that are currently on the traditional territories of Indigenous Peoples and that granting legal title to them is a critical mechanism for slowing forest loss. The authors (2021), reflecting participant examples of co-management and shared governance, called for carefully designed *"collaborative governance regimes involving Indigenous and other partners"* (Fa J., as cited in Austin et al., 2021).

Evidence of biodiversity loss along with ever-increasing numbers of extreme weather events, backed by scientific evidence, are leading to a global re-think on approaches to economic development. In 2020, the World Economic Forum identified the top five risks to the global economy as environmentally related: extreme weather events, failure of climate mitigation and adaptation policies by governments and businesses, human made environmental damage and disasters, biodiversity loss and eco-system collapse, and major natural disasters (World Economic Forum, 2020). Former Bank of Canada and Bank of England Governor, Mark Carney, has proposed that fighting climate change with a goal of net zero emissions and a transition away from fossil fuels is the best way to stimulate the economy in the post-pandemic period. He suggests that the financial sector, weighing the risks of the impacts of climate change against mitigation and adaptation, will invest trillions of dollars in climate solutions (CBC, 2020). The OECD has estimated that already, $336 billion (USD) has been allocated by OECD countries to green economic development in their post-pandemic recovery strategies, but they say it is not enough when these investments are counteracted by ongoing investments in environmentally harmful activities. They call on governments to walk the talk towards a low carbon green economy, align sustainability and climate policies across sectors, and invest in skills training and innovation (OECD, 2021). The International Energy Agency, known primarily for global energy outlooks and forecasts, is also calling for a pathway to net zero emissions. In their report, *Net Zero by 2050,* the IEA calls for no new approvals of oil and gas fields and coal mines pointing to a long-standing disconnect between government commitments to

tackle global warming, dating back to 1992, and a 60% rise in emissions from the energy and industry sectors since that time. They call, instead, for a massive up scaling of renewable energies, low carbon transportation, net zero new building construction, and massive energy efficiency retrofits, amongst other measures. While organizations around the world have been advancing these measures for decades, having the IEA call for a halt to expansion of fossil fuel development and a mass scale up of these alternatives that they link, in turn, to $4 trillion in investment and millions of jobs, marks a new era of global energy-economy discourse. (International Energy Agency (2021).

Added to these trends are precedent-setting decisions by courts and governments in favour of sustaining the climate and ecosystems, including in accordance with Treaty obligations and Indigenous worldviews. So far, climate change litigation cases have been brought in 28 countries (Byrnes R. & Setzer J., 2019), including Canada. In a court in The Hague, Judge Larisa Alwin ordered Royal Dutch Shell to comply with the Paris Accord and to reduce emissions by 45% by 2030 stating that, "*the interest served with the reduction obligation outweighs the Shell group's commercial interests"* (D. Boffey, The Guardian, 2021). The B.C. Supreme Court recently sided with the Blueberry First Nation finding that the Province had infringed upon Treaty rights through extensive industrial development on their territory. Justice Burke wrote that: "*The cumulative effects of industrial development authorized by the Province have significantly diminished the ability of Blueberry members to exercise their rights to hunt, fish and trap in their territory as part of their way of life and therefore constitute an infringement of their treaty rights"* (The Supreme Court of British Columbia, *Yahey v. British,* 2021). Governor Whitmer of Michigan recently revoked an easement that allowed Enbridge to transport oil and gas through a pipeline under the Great Lakes, citing the Treaty Rights of the Chippewa and Ottawa Tribes and research that showed that a rupture would have ecological impacts on Lake Michigan and, thereby on fishing, hunting, and other rights to natural resources agreed to in the Treaties (Michigan Radio, 2021). Returning to New Zealand, a recent New York Times article highlighted how New Zealand's environmental protection agency credits

Maori spiritual knowledge with preventing major flood damage. This was one example, amongst many of governments beginning to recognize the importance of IK in policy decisions. The same article quoted the new U.S. Secretary of the Interior, the first U.S. Indigenous Cabinet Minister, Deb Haalaand as saying, *"It is Indigenous resilience and worldview that every government, country and community can learn from, so that we manage our lands, waters and resources not just across budget years, but across generations"* (Rachel Cernansky, July 10th, New York Times)

There are indications that Canada is following these trends. Examples of sustainability, climate, and UNDRIP legislation along with co-management and shared-governance agreements, amongst other policies, have been referenced throughout this study. The federal government's most recent budget focused on a *"Healthy Environment for a Healthy Economy"* following on commitments made earlier in the year. It included billions of dollars for low carbon economic development (renewable energies, electric vehicles, on-farm climate plans, and energy efficiency programs), funding to address increased flooding and forest fire events and a climate lens to evaluate government policies. It included a goal of protected areas across 25% of the country by 2025 and investments in Indigenous Conserved and Protected Areas and Guardians programs. It also includes billions of dollars for First Nation, Inuit, and Metis communities for housing, child welfare, health, education, and language revitalization along with allocations for clean energy, sustainable fisheries, food security, business development, and implementation of the UNDRIP (Government of Canada, 2021). Even more recently, Canada appointed its first Indigenous Governor General, Inuk leader, Mary Simon.

Again, it seems as though a paradigm shift is well underway. However, the challenges of shaking Canada's centuries old values and practices towards the land and each other are still very much with us. The federal government's green budget received mixed reviews from the OECD as Canada continues to invest billions of dollars in the fossil fuel sector (OECD, 2021). Despite investments and efforts towards

reconciliation, the Canadian government has received warnings from the United Nations for its handling of violence on the east coast over the application of the Marshall decision and its handling of the Transmountain pipeline, Coastal Gas pipeline, and Site C Hydro dam developments vis-à-vis the rights of Indigenous Peoples (UN Committee on ending Racial Discrimination*,* 2019).The focus on Indigenous-Canada relations being has been put in the international spotlight again with the unearthing of mass graves of children who attended Indian residential schools; a devastating reminder that Canada's cruel colonial past is still with us. With this has come research demonstrating that non-indigenous Canadians have reached better understandings of Indigenous issues than ever before (Innovative Research Group, 2021); understandings that could open up greater space for listening.

This emerging landscape makes it increasingly difficult for decision-makers to justify ongoing disconnects between short-term economic development decisions that carry environmental, health, and economic risks, and that run counter to Indigenous rights and involvement, and environmental, sustainability, and reconciliation policies aimed at addressing these very same issues. If left unaddressed, disconnected decisions can not only result in future harms, increased costs, and division but also leaves the country behind in the preparation, innovation, and relationships needed to thrive in a changing global economy and a changing global ecosystem. We are at a critical stage in policy-making where, as the 2012 statement from countries around the world concluded, we need to make decisions that will guide humanity to live in harmony with nature or, in other words, by that upon which our lives truly depend.

Final Reflections

While this research has highlighted how tackling old policy paradigms and re-building relationships is challenging and will take time, it has also shown how the art of the possible for a transformative paradigm shift is taking shape. All of the elements are in place. There is ample evidence.

There is a shift in public values nationally and internationally. There are policy instruments, multiple perspectives and models from policy settings here and around the world to draw from. There are the imperatives for change arising from the environmental, social, health, economic and legal costs of continuing with current paradigms along with the risks of being unprepared and left behind in a changing global environment and economy. Most of all, we have the capacity for restored relationships borne out of efforts across the country and across territories over decades and centuries to create ethical spaces of trust, respect, listening, kindness, empathy and gratitude guided by a vision for relationships with one another and the natural world as they should have been, and as they could still be, in Canada. In our conversation, Kevin Washburn talked about how in his dream *"we would find a way to give Tribes more control, authority, power and voice over lands outside their reservation"* (Washburn). To me, this relates to the necessary revitalization of Indigenous Knowledges that arise from relationships to the land (Battiste, 2013; McGregor, 2014) and that can give voice to the natural world in decision-making.

In the preface I spoke of my previous policy experiences where I had the privilege of working locally, provincially, nationally, and internationally within gatherings of people in policy processes. Inevitably, when people came together with a diversity of backgrounds, languages, cultures, and interests, the best work always got done when they got a chance to know each other. In my dream, I envision a new policy community of Indigenous and non-indigenous policy practitioners, scholars, and Knowledge Holders. I see this policy community gathering with senior officials from Finance, Industry, and Economic Development and the central agencies of governments. Following a learning medicine wheel approach, everyone comes prepared to enter into ethical space through education and awareness in all the areas that have been recommended and gatherings start in ceremony guided by Elders. In my dream, the words of Chief Henry Prince are recalled*, "The land cannot speak for itself. We have to speak for it. And we want to know fully how you are going to treat our children"* (Craft, A. 2014, p.16). Participants introduce themselves and take turns talking about their connections to the places they are

from and the places they call home. They learn about the vision each one has to sustain these places for upcoming generations who will be invited into the circle and who are waiting to take their place. They are listening to each other's way of speaking and the knowledge contained within the experience, culture, and language of each person. They are deepening their respect for the multiple perspectives that this brings forth. They are focused on a goal of transforming an economic model of short-term economic growth, based on the extraction of resources and the production of pollutants, to a conservation and restoration economy based on abundant eco-systems that support the food, energy, buildings, clothing, medicines, goods, and physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health of humans. They are discussing economic policies that are based on circular and reciprocal relationships with land, water, air, plants, animals, and organisms and all that sustains us. As they do they are, themselves, reconnecting to the natural world: learning from its cycles, seasons and inter-connections to inform the decisions they make. And as they do that, they experience gratitude; perhaps even love. They do this work for all who are here now and all who will come next, this time joined together to give voice to the natural world with a purpose so strong, it is as if our lives depended on it.

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Personal Communication: Oral Sources

Rick Beaver, Alderville First Nation, in person Oct., 2016; by phone April 6th, 2021.

Elder Gidigaa Migizi, Michi Saagiig Anishinaabeg, in person March, 2017; by phone April 9th, 2021.

Dan Longboat, in person April 2018; by phone April 8th 2021.

Personal Communication: Participants

Amanda Lathlin: Phone conversation, Aug. 12th 2019

Perry Bellegarde: Phone conversation, March 16th, 2021

John Borrows: Phone conversation, Oct. 6th, 2020

Norm Brandson: Phone conversation, Sept. 4th, 2020

Laurie Carr: Phone conversation, March 30th, 2020

Elder Claudette Commanda: In-person conversation, October 10th, 2019

Gary Doer: Phone conversation, Oct. 16th, 2019

Jean Friesen: Phone conversation, Oct. 25th, 2019

Elder Rosemarie Kuptana: Phone conversations, Oct. 20th and Oct. 27th, 2020

Sheri Longboat: Phone conversation, March 2nd, 2020

Elder Larry McDermot: In- person conversations, Oct. 19th and Oct. 24th, 2020

Tom Mulcair: In person conversation, Feb.6th and phone conversation Feb. 18th, 2020

Paul Thomas: Phone conversation, Oct. 7th, 2019

Kevin Washburn: Phone conversation, Oct. 6th, 2020

Phyllis Williams: In-person conversation, Feb. 11th, 2020

MP-Cabinet Minister: Conversation took place on March 5th, 2020

Senior Official: Conversations took place on Sept. 16th and Oct. 24th, 2019

Appendix

Interview Consent Form

Consent Form for Interview, Story-Telling based Research

Working Title: Governance as if our Lives Depended On It

This represents the formal letter and consent form as per our Research Ethics Board process for research participants. I am extremely grateful for the time taken to review this form

and for sharing your time overall. Please note that **this study has been reviewed and approved by the Trent University Indigenous PhD Ethics Council and the Research Ethics Board. Please direct questions pertaining to this review to Jamie Muckle, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer, Trent University, Phone: 705-748-1011 ext 7896, Email: jmuckle@trentu.ca**

The research looks at how Indigenous governance protocols and practices can become foundational to Cabinet and senior policy decisions in Canada such that more decisions can become focused on achieving social and economic outcomes through sustaining the natural world of which we are a part. A focal point will be learning what Indigenous and non-Indigenous policy practitioners believe is needed for such changes to occur or if they believe such changes are needed and explores the following questions; ***Learning from Indigenous Knowledges and Peoples, what changes could be applied to policy processes and structures at the Cabinet and other senior levels of government in Canada such that the natural world becomes more central to policy decisions?*** **The additional research question is*: What does a community of practice of experienced Indigenous and non-indigenous policy practitioners believe is necessary for Cabinet decisions to become based on sustaining the natural world or do they believe such changes are necessary?***

The information that you provide will be part of this PhD research but may also be part of future presentations or publications. I will either audio record conversations or use written note-taking. ***Please note that Interviews/Story-telling conversations will take place by phone or by video conference.*** The records will include my field notes and audio recordings that will be stored on a jump drive and kept in a secure file drawer. Typed information and transcripts will be encrypted. **Please note that I intend to use the names of participants for the purposes of this thesis, however, you may choose to remain anonymous. You may also change your mind regarding anonymity or disclosure in which case a revised informed consent form will be sent to you.** You may obtain my notes or information from me regarding our conversation to review for accuracy. I will provide you with a transcript of your interview and you have the right to review, change or delete any of the information provided. I will also provide you with a summary of the results. These follow ups are intended to ensure that your contribution is reflected in a way that is true to your voice and intention. Some additional time will be required for you to review your transcript and summary of findings. You are also free to withdraw your comments or your participation from the research anytime up to two months before the initial completion date of the thesis. (currently planned for Summer, 2021). If you choose to withdraw, records of your interview/ conversation will be destroyed within one week of receipt of your notification unless you give me permission to retain your contributions to that point. Your comments will be used for reflection purposes and for comparison to those of other participants for common themes. In my

role as researcher, I will not form any negative judgements or perceptions of your character based on your responses. If you are comfortable in participating please sign the consent form below. Many thanks once again for your consideration in sharing your time and extensive experience.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Gray

PhD Researcher, Trent University - Contact: jegray9@gmail.com

Consent Form

PhD Thesis Research- Jane Gray- *Governance as If Our Lives Depended on It*

Your signature below indicates that you have carefully read this letter, that you have received a copy for your records and that you understand that this study has been reviewed and approved by the Trent University Research Ethics Board. Please direct questions pertaining to this review to Karen Mauro, Certifications and Regulatory Compliance Officer, Trent University, Phone: 705-748-1011 ext 7896, Email: **jmuckle@trentu.ca**

I ___________________________ (print full name) agree to participate in the research project: PhD Thesis Research: *Title- Governance as If Our Lives Depended on It.* I have been informed of the expectations of the interview process, and understand that I have the right to withdraw my full or partial participation in the research project up to two months before the final date of thesis completion.

Please initial or sign and date ***one*** *of the two options below.*

I agree to have my name disclosed with my contributions. __________________________

I would like my contribution to remain anonymous. ______________________________

I recognize I may change my mind regarding anonymity or disclosure in which case a revised informed consent will be issued and signed.

Signature: ______________________________ Date signed: ________________