

Municipal-Indigenous Collaboration in Climate Planning

by

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Abstract

Climate policy offers an ideal site to build collaborative governance relationships between Canadian municipalities and Indigenous peoples because climate action and decolonization both require a fundamental reworking of settler governance systems. However, few municipal climate action plans show evidence of relationships with Indigenous peoples. This research examines references to Indigenous peoples in published climate action plans from Canadian municipalities of over 20,000 people and urban regional governments. Through a mixed-methods content analysis covering the 139 municipalities and regions with climate action plans, this study finds that only half (69) make any reference to Indigenous peoples, and only about one in five (30) have ongoing working relationships. In most of these 30 ongoing relationships, Indigenous contributions to municipal climate plans are confined to certain topics or defined by engagement processes that ask for input without recognizing Indigenous authority. Truly addressing climate change requires increasing resilience for all people, which necessitates respect for Indigenous self-determination. The goal of this research is to serve as a jumping-off point for the establishment of decolonial partnerships between municipalities and Indigenous peoples.

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1.0 Introduction

Indigenous-municipal relations are complex and rapidly evolving (Anderson & Flynn, 2021; McLeod et al., 2017; Nelles & Alcantara, 2011; Porter & Barry, 2016). Planning practitioners have recently begun to respond to the calls of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2019; Ontario Professional Planners Institute [OPPI], 2019), but municipalities still struggle to work with Indigenous peoples in many areas of policy (Barry, 2019; Dorries et al., 2020). Climate planning is a growing policy area for many municipalities (Partners for Climate Protection, 2021; Shahani et al., 2022), and given the federal government's difficulty in bringing together its goals for reconciliation and climate action (Indigenous Climate Action, 2021; Reed et al., 2021), it is relevant to examine whether climate action is an area of strength or weakness for municipal-Indigenous collaboration.

Climate change is a complex problem tied to capitalism and settler colonialism (Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Gonzalez, 2020; Klein, 2014). Indigenous peoples are demonstrating leadership in innovating strategies for climate action (Assembly of First Nations, 2021; Goldtooth et al., 2021) and also face disproportionate climate impacts (Indigenous Climate Hub, 2021a; Whyte, 2017). Furthermore, climate is increasingly integrated across all areas of planning (C40 Cities, 2021; Negreiros et al., 2021), so collaboration in climate planning is a key point of entrance for collaboration in planning more broadly. It is vital that climate planning evolve to consider questions of justice and respect Indigenous self-determination so that it effectively contributes to community resilience rather than keeping a narrow, technocratic focus that increases inequality (Long & Rice, 2019; Reed et al., 2021; Robin & Castán Broto, 2021; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014).

To date, there has been no systematic examination of collaboration between Canadian municipalities and Indigenous peoples in climate policy. This project helps address that gap in the literature by describing the current state of these collaborations as evidenced by the published climate action plans (CAPs) of Canadian municipalities and regions. I analyzed the CAPs to determine if Indigenous collaboration is mentioned at all, to understand how extensively municipalities and regions are collaborating and with whom, and to evaluate what CAP content shows about collaborative climate action. This state-of-the-field analysis could be used to inform future strategies to deepen municipal-Indigenous collaboration in climate planning.

1.1 Key Research Question and Thesis Statement

The central research question for this project is **do municipal climate action plans discuss Indigenous peoples and self-determination and if so, how?** The analysis covers how Indigenous peoples are recognized by municipalities and whether that recognition influences collaboration and engagement. I examine differences between municipalities for trends, including variation by province or territory, size, proximity of reserve land, and the influence of guidelines and requirements from provincial, federal, and non-governmental bodies.

The premise for this work is that climate action and decolonization are inherently linked: improving resilience to climate change requires respect for Indigenous self-determination, and both climate change and decolonization demand deep, substantive changes to settler governance systems. Through this analysis, I found that very few Canadian municipal governments are considering how to build collaborative governance relationships with Indigenous peoples as part of their climate planning. **Substantial work remains to be done to establish collaborations between Canadian municipalities and Indigenous peoples that will enable effective climate planning.**

1.2 Positioning

Establishing who you are and your relationship to the research questions rather than pretending to be objective is a longstanding practice in Indigenous (Absolon, 2011; Hampton, 1995; Wilson, 2008), feminist (Hesse-Biber, 2012; Reinharz, 1992; Strega & Brown, 2015), queer (Browne & Nash, 2010; Manning, 2015), and critical (Fernandez, 2009; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003) research methodologies. These methodologies hold that being reflexive about your own standpoint and establishing relationships of accountability with those who may be affected by your research makes it stronger, not compromised. Though mainstream planning has long sought a position of objectivity, radical planning theorists also emphasize the importance of positionality (Sandercock, 1998). Planners should be explicit about our backgrounds, politics, and goals.

I come to this project as a settler, white graduate student in city planning. Throughout my studies both here at the University of Manitoba and previously at The Ohio State University, I have been struck by how the formalization of planning processes is used to exclude BIPOC and other marginalized communities from places and from decision-making power around land use and policy (Pattillo, 2007; Porter, 2010; Rothstein, 2017; Sandercock, 2003; Stein, 2019; Ugarte et al., 2019; Williams, 2020; Yiftachel, 1998). I also work for an environmental non-profit focusing on municipal climate policy and have a background in climate justice activism. My awareness of climate justice was shaped by solidarity movements with Standing Rock and Unist'ot'en. For this project and in my future planning practice, I am committed to understanding and shaping municipal climate action as a site for decolonization.

The University of Manitoba's land acknowledgement states that its "campuses are located on the original lands of the Anishinaabeg, Cree, Oji-Cree, Dakota, and Dene peoples, and

on the homeland of the Métis Nation” (University of Manitoba, 2023). My classes took place at the Fort Garry campus, which takes its name from a Hudson’s Bay Company trading post that existed in the early 1800s (Allen, 2015) and is located in south Winnipeg. Winnipeg’s establishment as a Canadian settler city occurred through the violent suppression of the Métis of Red River and the controversial signing of Treaty One with the Anishinaabe and Swampy Cree (Government of Canada, 2008; Toews, 2018). The water in Winnipeg has been sourced from Shoal Lake since 1919, cutting Shoal Lake 40 First Nation off from the mainland and leaving them without clean water themselves until the construction of Freedom Road and a water treatment facility in 2019 (Shoal Lake 40 First Nation, 2021). Winnipeg routinely marginalizes its diverse Indigenous residents in its development choices (Toews, 2018).

I acknowledge these relationships because they, along with other settler colonial relationships across Canada, are reasons for this project. As a standalone practice, territorial acknowledgements do not work: they have become a common symbolic gesture and move to innocence (Asher et al., 2018; Wark, 2021). They are recited at sports events and concerts that are otherwise devoid of Indigenous or anti-colonial content. However, academic work exists within relationships and obligations to people and places (Liboiron, 2021), and can grow from an understanding of these relationships (Hunt, 2016). This entire paper and the necessary collaborative work between municipalities and urban Indigenous peoples, Inuit, Métis, and First Nations which it will hopefully spark or strengthen are one part of coming to understand these relationships and obligations.

1.3 Outline of Chapters

This thesis begins with a review of relevant literature, divided into two parts. In Chapter 2, I address municipal-Indigenous relationships, looking at history, law, and theory to understand

where we are and how we might move forward. In Chapter 3, I discuss climate change as a function of colonialism and capitalism, current climate action across different levels of government, and the meaning of climate justice. Together, these chapters build the argument that climate action and decolonization are inherently linked and that local climate planning collaborations are a potential site to prefigure decolonial governance.

In Chapter 4, I describe the methodology for this paper, including my rationale for focusing on documents and conducting content analysis. Then I explain the methods that I used for each step in the research process, from defining the scope and collecting documents to analyze, through the manifest and latent coding stages, and finally to the analysis of the coded data.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the data analysis. First, I examine the characteristics of municipal and regional climate action plans that have any mention of Indigenous peoples to determine what trends exist. Then I describe the forms of recognition present in climate action plans and investigate whether recognition influences collaboration. I present findings on reconciliation and mentions of Indigenous knowledges, and then cover the types of collaboration and engagement that are present.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the implications of these findings. I look at the overall inclusion of Indigenous peoples within municipal climate planning and analyze how recognition of Indigenous contexts, understandings of self-determination, uptake of reconciliation, approaches to Indigenous knowledges, and differences between engagement and collaboration are at play. I also include profiles of three local governments whose climate action plans show leadership in collaborating with Indigenous peoples. I conclude in Chapter 7 with a summary, the implications for planning practice, and potential areas for future research.

2.0 Municipal-Indigenous Relationships

2.1 Structures of Settler Colonialism

The harms that settler colonialism has done around the world have put it at the centre of many theoretical investigations. Patrick Wolfe, whose work is among the foundational texts of Settler Colonial Studies, gave the often-quoted description that “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure, not an event” (2006, p. 388). Wolfe theorizes that settler colonialism employs the *logic of elimination*: that Indigenous peoples must be removed by genocide or other tactics so that settlers can take their land (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013; Wolfe, 2006). Settler colonies are defined as distinct from *franchise colonies*, which are characterized primarily by the exploitation of Indigenous populations for their labour (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Englert, 2020). Englert critiques this sharp division, arguing that exploitation of Indigenous peoples functions in tandem with elimination in many contexts. The fundamental logic of settler colonialism according to Englert is *accumulation by dispossession*: settlers take Indigenous lands and resources and distribute them unequally between different settler classes so that all settlers are pulled into the process of dispossession (Englert, 2020).

Planning by the settler state has been integral to this process of dispossession as it enforces notions of private property and constructs spatial divisions that invisibilize Indigenous geographies (Porter, 2010; Ugarte et al., 2019). Cities are conceptualized as settler spaces, even when they have strong Indigenous presence (Tomiak et al., 2019). Housing and policing policies discriminate against Indigenous peoples to shape urban areas in line with settler goals (Comack, 2019; Hugill, 2019). Indigenous authority is often relegated to non-urban geographies, marginalized through political processes, or confined to specific topics such as archeology (Dorries et al., 2020; Porter & Barry, 2016). These dominant patterns in planning and urban

policy are fiercely contested by Indigenous peoples, who have had their own planning practices for millennia (Harjo, 2019; Jojola, 2013; Matunga, 2013) and continue to live and build community in urban areas (Dorries et al., 2019; Dorries & Harjo, 2020; Nejad et al., 2020). It is important to remember the harms that settler planning has facilitated without reifying planning as the reason for oppression in a way that distracts from the role of the settler state.

The lands that would become known as Canada were stolen from Indigenous peoples through fraudulent treaties, war, coerced relocation, and physical, biological, and cultural genocide (Daschuk, 2013; Joseph, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). This violence is acknowledged in the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), which the federal government under Justin Trudeau accepted. Prime Minister Trudeau promised to “move towards a nation-to-nation relationship” with Indigenous peoples and adopt the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (Government of Canada, 2015). Progress has been slow (Lightfoot, 2018), and the rights affirmed in Section 35 of the Canadian constitution have so far not ensured good relationships because of “Canada’s failure to live up to... its promises” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). However, in 2021, Parliament passed the *United Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* which commits Canada to developing and following an action plan to implement UNDRIP throughout Canadian law in partnership with Indigenous peoples (Government of Canada, 2021d). UNDRIP is already having a positive influence on Indigenous rights in some court cases, such as the BC Supreme Court *Saik’uz First Nation* decision (Hoekstra et al., 2022), but the overall outcome of Canada’s UNDRIP processes is yet to be determined.

Nation-to-nation relationship-building is complicated not only because of historical and current oppression of Indigenous peoples, but also because of misalignment between settler and

Indigenous understandings of authority and representation. Historically, a strategy that the Canadian government used to establish treaties that were disadvantageous to Indigenous peoples was to find a “representative” who would sign on behalf of the nation, regardless of whether that person was a recognized leader in the community (Lowman & Barker, 2015; Montpetit, 2011). The Canadian government’s Indian Act exacerbated this issue by establishing Band Councils to have authority over reserve lands in an attempt to discredit existing Indigenous governance systems (Joseph, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b). These competing governmental authorities persist to this day for many Indigenous peoples, and settler states do not hesitate to play them off one another to continue to take Indigenous land (Carrigg, 2020; Dawson, 2019). Individual Indigenous people may feel adequately represented by their Band Council, by traditional leaders, or by neither of these structures, so settler institutions need to be careful in who they think “speaks for” a nation (Mannell et al., 2013).

Furthermore, centuries of colonial violence have separated many Indigenous people from their communities and nations, both geographically and politically (Smithers & Newman, 2014). This means that there are Indigenous people who live far away from the nation with which they are affiliated via citizenship, Status under the Indian Act, or other relationships (Smithers & Newman, 2014; Tomiak, 2010), so their nation as a whole might not have significant interest in or influence over the plans and policies in the area where this person lives. This also means that there are Indigenous people who are not affiliated with any nation. While these people are not recognized as having Status under the Indian Act, they still have Aboriginal rights as defined by the Canadian constitution (Government of Canada, 2016), as well as inherent Indigenous rights. Inherent rights are enshrined in UNDRIP but would exist regardless of that recognition because of Indigenous self-determination (Coulthard, 2014; Simpson, 2017; United Nations, 2007).

Often, Indigenous people living in cities have formed new pan-Indigenous identities and communities with their own leadership structures (Tomiak, 2010). Representation in these cases may also be contested (Tomiak, 2010).

The complexities of representation for Indigenous peoples living within colonial structures are important for municipal governments to understand and respect. Canadian governments cannot decide questions of representation because Indigenous self-determination is not dependent on affirmation from the settler state (Coulthard, 2014) and Indigenous peoples have their own constitutional orders which pre-date Canada (Coulthard, 2014; Ladner, 2005; Simpson, 2017). If Indigenous peoples were to seek recognition from the settler state, it would serve to validate settler authority and distract from the creation and maintenance of Indigenous power outside of colonial structures (Corntassel, 2012; Coulthard, 2014). This is what Coulthard (2014) critiques as *the politics of recognition*. Understanding pre-existing Indigenous self-determination and the complexities of representation of Indigenous peoples is foundational to this exploration of Indigenous-municipal relationships.

2.2 Current Ways of Being Together

Interactions between municipalities and Indigenous peoples are widely varied and evolving quickly. Settler legal scholarship has recently evolved to suggest that though municipalities have no constitutional standing of their own, they are nevertheless implicated in the Crown “duty to consult” First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples whose rights or land title may be impacted by a decision, just as federal and provincial governments are (Anderson & Flynn, 2021; Hoehn & Stevens, 2018; Pysklywec et al., 2022). In Saskatchewan, provincial policy directs municipalities to consult with First Nations and Métis communities about decisions impacting their land rights (Anderson & Flynn, 2021), and there is a call for Ontario to

create a similar mandate and guidance (Pysklywec et al., 2022). However, the duty to consult has been critiqued for its ability to be undertaken in a shallow, tick-box fashion, and for not considering the full complexities of representation (Gray, 2016). Policies mandating municipal consultation with Indigenous peoples should go beyond formulaic requirements rather than enabling shallow consultations (Anderson & Flynn, 2021; Barry & Agyeman, 2020; Pasternak & King, 2019; Porter & Barry, 2016; Tomiak, 2010).

Since Canadian municipalities are situated on stolen Indigenous land, planning decisions have sparked heated controversies in the past: for example, the months-long militarized standoff in 1990 when the Town of Oka, QC planned to build a golf course and townhouses over a Kanasatake Mohawk burial ground (Marshall, 2020). Though perhaps the most famous, the “Oka Crisis” is not the only time local land use decisions have sparked controversy with Indigenous peoples. The construction of Grant Park Mall in Winnipeg in the 1960s required the displacement of the Métis community of Rooster Town (Peters et al., 2018), attempted development on Haudenosaunee Six Nations land in southern Ontario led to another standoff in 2006 with conflict still ongoing (APTN National News, 2020), and more recently, the siting of a solar farm within a nature preserve in Edmonton that is important to the Enoch Cree Nation has also been a source of tension (Anderson, 2022). Recognizing that their land use decisions often impact First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, some municipalities have already decided that “should not wait around for other governments” (Walker, 2008, p. 23) to tell them what to do before working towards better relationships.

Sometimes, municipal efforts to collaborate with Indigenous peoples take the form of agreements between municipalities and First Nations. In BC, there were 93 separate agreements established between municipalities and First Nations between 1990 and 2009, mostly focusing

on establishing relationships or negotiating jurisdiction and service provision (Nelles & Alcantara, 2011). Recently, collaborations between First Nations and municipalities relating to community economic development have been piloted in communities across Canada (Community Economic Development Initiative, 2015; Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 2022). However, many municipalities still fail to consider fully First Nations authority in developing their Official Plans. In a study of 285 Official Plans from Ontario municipalities, just over half included some mention of Indigenous peoples, and only a few of those included meaningful commitments to working with specific First Nations on land use matters outside of archaeology (Dorries et al., 2020).

Since the release of the TRC report in 2015, many municipalities including large cities from coast to coast have endorsed the Calls to Action (Anderson & Flynn, 2021). The Calls to Action include improving rights and services for Indigenous peoples across many topics such as child welfare, education, healthcare, justice, culture, and land claims (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). While endorsements of the Calls to Action and municipal promises such as Winnipeg's Indigenous Accord (City of Winnipeg, 2017) speak to the growth of good intentions among Canadian municipalities, these statements often lack follow-through. Out of 18 major Canadian cities, only Edmonton had an implementation strategy for their commitment to Indigenous peoples, and none of the cities explicitly connected reconciliation to the history of colonialism (Tembo, 2018).

In part, the challenges of Indigenous-municipal relationships are tied to the erasure of urban Indigenous presence. Settler colonial city-building projects have perpetuated the myth that urban spaces are settler spaces and Indigenous peoples have no significant urban presence (Tomiak et al., 2019; Ugarte et al., 2019). Indigenous authority in planning processes has been

spatially bounded and largely kept out of cities (Porter & Barry, 2016) and Indigenous self-determination and governance structures in urban areas are often more complex than on reserves (Tomiak, 2010; Walker, 2008). In reality, cities are situated in significant places for Indigenous peoples and many Indigenous people live in urban areas (Nejad et al., 2020; Tomiak, 2010; Walker, 2008). Indigenous resurgence and placemaking projects within urban areas are significant (Nejad et al., 2020; Tomiak et al., 2019). Because collaboration in rural areas can take different forms than in urban areas, this project will focus specifically on the urban.

While rural and ecosystem-management projects are not the focus of this paper, it is worth briefly highlighting some successes and challenges. Positive examples of settler-Indigenous collaborations in resource management planning include the Haida-led ocean management plan supported by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans near Haida Gwaii off the coast of BC (Jones et al., 2010), forest management agreements in the Great Bear Rainforest between the Province of BC and several area First Nations (Low & Shaw, 2011), and a recent food security strategy by Kluane First Nation with support from Parks Canada and Health Canada in the Yukon (Cruikshank et al., 2019). However, co-management of resources is not a universally positive experience, as earlier attempts in Kluane National Park to manage sheep and grizzly bear populations illustrate (Clark et al., 2014; Nadasdy, 2006). It is often the settler partner that lacks the capacity and cultural knowledge to fulfill their side of the partnership (Howitt et al., 2013).

2.3 Theorizing Decolonial Collaborations

In rejecting the politics of recognition, Coulthard calls for practices that “prefigure radical alternatives to the structural and subjective dimensions of colonial power” (2014, p.36). Prefiguration encompasses both “this active building of another world *and*... the political

structures needed to govern that other world” (Maeckelbergh, 2011, p. 2). The dynamic of prefiguration is evident in Simpson’s description of Nishnaabeg resurgence: “*how we live, how we organize, how we engage in the world — the process — not only frames the outcome, it is the transformation*” (2017, p. 19). Scholars and activists in the Indigenous resurgence movement focus on reaffirming Indigenous cultures and social structures as the practices that Coulthard (2014) calls for (Corntassel, 2012; Simpson, 2017). Resurgence can be enacted through everyday practices of renewing relationships with water and traditional foodways as well as returning to traditional teachings and governance structures (Corntassel, 2012). Simpson writes of resurgence or *biiskabiyang* as “the process of returning to ourselves, a reengagement with the things we have left behind, a re-emergence, an unfolding from the inside out” (2017, p. 17).

Indigenous planning scholarship connects with the resurgence movement in its emphasis on planning that is accountable only to Indigenous communities and worldviews and not to settler structures (Harjo, 2019; Jojola, 2013; Matunga, 2013). Indigenous peoples have always planned for the development of their communities, despite colonial interruptions (Jojola, 2013; Matunga, 2013). Indigenous planning models vary from nation to nation, but tend to include strong community involvement, traditional knowledge systems, self-determination, and a focus on the needs of the community and protecting the land (Matunga, 2013). For example, the Seven-Generations Model described by Jojola is a planning framework that honours the past and allows long-term projects for sustainable communities by considering impacts across seven generations (2013). Harjo’s (2019) model of planning for Mvskoke futurity is based on Mvskoke concepts of innate sovereignty and collective power embodied in the practice of the stompdance.

Settler governments, too, need to be able to step into a dynamic of prefiguration in order to build decolonial relationships with Indigenous peoples. Municipalities must be ready to work

within Indigenous frameworks of resurgence and self-determination to build true collaborations with co-creation of policy (Pysklywec et al., 2022) and co-production of futurities (Barry & Agyeman, 2020). In keeping with the reminder that decolonization is not a metaphor (Tuck & Yang, 2012), every collaboration is an opportunity to enact governance methods that restore Indigenous control over land, water, social structures, financial resources, and futures (Pasternak & King, 2019). Collaborations can leapfrog ahead of the framework provided by the duty to consult and develop the processes and relationships necessary for decolonial governance.

These collaborations require respect for Indigenous self-determination so as to not reinforce the patterns of the politics of recognition. Respect for self-determination must encompass the diverse governance structures of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis peoples as well as urban Indigenous communities (Anderson & Flynn, 2021). Urban Indigenous communities may consist of people from different nations and communities, and collaborations should be organized to reflect this diversity (Walker, 2008). Urban Indigenous communities are also diverse in their level of political organization and in their concepts of self-government, so “it is important to make substantial political space to accommodate the full range of Indigenous community- and nation-building projects in and beyond cities” (Tomiak, 2010, p. 46).

Indigenous self-determination means that the settler state does not get to unilaterally decide who it recognizes and engages with (Coulthard, 2014; Porter & Barry, 2016).

Additionally, municipal-Indigenous collaborations must not restrict Indigenous authority according to spatial, political, or topical boundaries (Anderson & Flynn, 2021; Porter & Barry, 2016). Indigenous peoples are not merely stakeholders in planning processes led by the settler state nor communities in need of services (Singleton, 2009; Tembo, 2018). Using the modern-day proximity between reserves and municipalities to determine impact does not account for

histories of forced removal or the extent of traditional territories (Anderson & Flynn, 2021). Indigenous peoples' inherent authority extends beyond designated reserve lands, and conceptualizing First Nations as "neighbours" to settler municipalities oversimplifies the relationship (Barry, 2019; United Nations, 2007). Indigenous peoples have interests in every issue that settler urban policymakers deal with, including housing, healthcare, education, and many other issues in addition to land-use planning (United Nations, 2007).

The next section will show how climate planning is particularly fertile ground for the growth of these decolonial collaborations. Climate change is a growing concern in all aspects of municipal planning and the roots of the problem stretch deep into the racial capitalist and settler colonial foundations of society. Activists' call for *system change, not climate change* is an opportunity to restructure not just climate planning but planning and governance at all levels. Both Indigenous and settler governments are already urgently working on climate action, and both would benefit from increased collaboration, provided that the collaborations are structured to prefigure decolonial relationships rather than replicate colonial patterns.

3.0 Climate Planning

3.1 Understanding Climate Change

Our economy is at war with many forms of life on earth, including human life. — *Klein, 2014, p.21*

When Naomi Klein wrote the above quote in *This Changes Everything*, she was writing specifically about climate change. The quest for corporate profit derived from fossil fuels is indeed threatening all life on earth and fossil fuel companies have long done everything they can to distort science and block regulations that could stop them (Banerjee et al., 2015; Klein, 2014; Maynard & Simpson, 2022). The impacts of climate change are already happening and will continue to intensify through at least 2050, including extreme heat, heavy precipitation, drought, increased wildfires, melting glaciers and sea level rise, flooding, increase in infectious diseases, species loss, and crop disruption (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2022). Climate change disproportionately impacts communities of colour globally, often the same communities who are most affected by extractive industries and who have benefited the least from fossil fuel profits (Gonzalez, 2020; Pulido, 2018).

Capitalism's disregard for human and non-human life is also evident in many ways outside of climate change (Maynard & Simpson, 2022). From the beginning, capitalism has been built on slavery and dispossession (Kelley, 2017; Robinson, 1983). Capitalism and conceptions of private property drove settler colonial projects of land theft, environmental degradation, and genocide (Englert, 2020; Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Porter, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Centring the profits of private developers in planning leads to displacement and homelessness for low-income communities (Anguelovski et al., 2019; Stein, 2019). The search for profit also leads to the overexploitation of 'natural resources' such as fish stocks, with disastrous consequences for

humans, fish, and ecosystems (Clausen & Clark, 2005). Given capitalism's insatiable appetite for growth and destruction, it is not surprising that climate catastrophe is looming.

The intensifying impacts of climate change are so severe that staunch capitalists can now prod each other into action with purely economic arguments. Such arguments for climate action are increasingly evident: inaction will lead to greater cost burden and renewable energy sources are both cheaper and better for job growth than fossil fuels (Jaeger & Saha, 2020). Market-based solutions can also garner conservative support for climate action in some cases (Gillis et al., 2021). The economic rationale for climate action is also prevalent in city planning, with policymakers seeking to reduce risk to infrastructure and attract investors looking for climate-friendly opportunities (Anguelovski et al., 2019; Long & Rice, 2019).

While economic arguments can leverage resources for climate action, they can also be dangerous. Discourses that universalize environmental crisis can serve to justify colonial jurisdiction due to the 'emergency' (Erickson, 2020). Climate 'solutions' that do not centre human and natural life can be extremely problematic, ranging from green gentrification (Anguelovski et al., 2019) to continued destruction of Indigenous lands (Pasternak & King, 2019) to population control (Hendrixson et al., 2020). True strategies for climate action need to focus on justice rather than isolating climate as a technical problem (Pulido & De Lara, 2018; Stephens, 2022). International grassroots movements for climate justice have emphasized the importance of Indigenous rights, accountability for fossil fuel companies, financial assistance from big emitters like the US to less-wealthy countries, and rights and protection for vulnerable communities (Schlosberg & Collins, 2014). Addressing climate change really means addressing the harms of racial capitalism and settler colonialism, so climate action cannot be divorced from broader struggles.

3.2 Current Strategies for Climate Action

Climate change is an area of increasing concern within all levels of governance, from the international down to the local. Global climate action is coordinated by the United Nations through the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC], the parties to which have met annually since 1994 to forge multilateral climate agreements. Progress has often stalled due to competing interests and non-cooperation, such as the refusal of the United States to ratify the 2002 Kyoto Protocol. The parties have also been slow to consider international equity considerations such as loss and damage and hesitant to commit substantial money to the Least Developed Countries Fund (Roberts & Huq, 2015; Sheridan & Jafry, 2019). Indigenous peoples have historically been largely excluded from the official UNFCCC COP proceedings (Comberti et al., 2016; Shea & Thornton, 2019), though the recent creation of the Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform [LCIPP] aims to address this (UNFCCC, 2022). The significant struggles and lack of progress globally on climate action and climate equity demonstrate the challenges of acting against entrenched capitalist interests.

The Canadian federal government has fallen short of its commitments to the UNFCCC, achieving many anti-awards such as “Fossil of the Year” due to its hesitance to make any drastic moves that would harm to oil and gas sector (Carroll et al., 2022). The Trudeau government has repeatedly made climate promises while continuing to approve fossil fuel infrastructure (Carroll et al., 2022). Recently, there have been some signs that Canada may be taking climate change more seriously: the 2021 passage of the Canada Net Zero Emissions Accountability Act gives emissions-reduction commitments new statutory weight (Government of Canada, 2021b) and the first National Adaptation Strategy was published in late 2022 (Government of Canada, 2021c). However, an analysis of federal climate policy by Indigenous Climate Action recently found a

significant lack of alignment with the TRC Calls to Action, decolonial work more broadly, and the solutions put forward by Indigenous communities (Indigenous Climate Action, 2021).

Provincial governments show marked differences in their progress and willingness to act, but all parties still have much work to do to establish accountability and achieve real emissions reduction (Dusyk et al., 2021).

Given these gaps, there are calls for municipalities to step up as climate leaders, especially since urban areas are key for both mitigation and adaptation (C40 Cities, 2022). Canadian municipalities as small as Antigonish, NS (CBC, 2021) and as big as Toronto (City of Toronto, 2021) are racing to reach net zero emissions ahead of the Federal Government's 2050 timeline (Government of Canada, 2021a). Adapting to climate impacts is also crucial (Richardson et al., 2010), with many cities already developing adaptation and resilience plans (CDP, 2021a). The scale of action required for both mitigation and adaptation warrants integrating and embedding climate considerations into all aspects of city planning, from strategy to budgets (C40 Cities, 2021; Negreiros et al., 2021). Working regionally and incorporating multilevel governance into climate action can improve efficiency and effectiveness for both mitigation and adaptation actions (Corfee-Morlot et al., 2009). For small municipalities, the added muscle of higher-tier governments can be especially important, such as with the Waterloo Region and Metro Vancouver Region climate plans (ClimateActionWR, 2021; Metro Vancouver, 2018).

Though municipalities write their own climate plans that are specific to local contexts, provincial, national, and international programs greatly influence the content of those plans and understandings of best practices. Several programs led by non-profit organizations exist to guide and support municipal climate planning (see Table 1). These programs provide frameworks for

municipalities to use to benchmark their climate progress as well as tools and resources, education and capacity building, and networking. Guidance from these programs can influence municipal climate strategies (Guyadeen et al., 2019). Provincial governments also offer a variety of guidance and programs, from Resource Guides (Province of Manitoba, n.d.) to BC’s Local Government Climate Action Program [LGCAP] (Ministry of Environment and Climate Change, 2022). The federal government periodically offers substantial funding for climate action projects through the Low Carbon Economy Challenge (Environment and Climate Change Canada, 2018).

Table 1

Climate Policy Support Programs for Municipalities

Program	Scope
Partners for Climate Protection [PCP]	National
Climate Caucus	National
National Climate League [NCL] from the Climate Reality Project of Canada	National
Canadian Urban Sustainability Practitioners Network [CUSP]	National
Guidance from the Canadian Institute of Planners [CIP]	National
Global Covenant of Mayors [GCoM]	International
CDP Reporting (formerly Carbon Disclosure Project)	International
C40 Cities Climate Leadership Group	International
Race to Zero and Race to Resilience from the UNFCCC	International

(C40 Cities, 2022; CDP, 2021b; Climate Caucus, 2022; Climate Reality Project Canada, 2022; CUSP, n.d.; Global Covenant of Mayors, n.d.; Partners for Climate Protection, 2021).

Some municipalities are working to integrate social justice concerns into their climate planning, but climate urbanism overall has yet to fully take up issues of justice and equity. Long and Rice (2019) explain that climate urbanism focuses primarily on surveillance and management of greenhouse gas emissions and the protection of urban economies. This emissions-focused approach tends to mask urban inequalities and trivialize the concerns of marginalized communities against the impending collective climate apocalypse (Long & Rice, 2019; Robin & Castán Broto, 2021). For example, green infrastructure projects often cause

climate gentrification: low-income communities are displaced or priced out of areas where new climate-friendly infrastructure is built as developer interests take priority (Anguelovski et al., 2019). As municipal climate action continues to become more prominent and robust, it is crucial that solutions incorporate a stronger focus on justice and participatory planning (Shahani et al., 2022).

Indigenous nations are undertaking their own climate planning. Several First Nations are installing or planning to install renewable energy generation systems, including the Hupacasath micro-hydro project, the Xenigwet' in off-grid hybrid solar project, and wind power assessments at Cowessess, Swan Lake, and Rolling River First Nations (Assembly of First Nations, 2021). First Nations in BC collaboratively developed a climate action plan grounded in inherent rights and title that strengthens First Nations leadership, protects land and water, and builds climate preparedness (First Nations Leadership Council, 2022). The Métis Nation of Alberta has a climate change team and CAP aimed at reducing emissions and improving opportunities for its citizens (Métis Nation of Alberta, 2022). Inuit communities are facing some of the most severe climate impacts with melting permafrost and arctic sea ice and are coordinating adaptation and mitigation strategies across the 51 communities in the Nunangat (Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, 2019). Indigenous land defenders and Tribal nations across the US and Canada are also resisting fossil fuel extraction and pipeline projects that infringe on their lands. A report by the Indigenous Environmental Network and Oil Change International found that a sample of 26 high-impact resistance campaigns has “stopped or delayed greenhouse gas pollution equivalent to at least one-quarter of annual U.S. and Canadian emissions” (Goldtooth et al., 2021).

Indigenous approaches to climate action build on the worldviews, teachings, and relationships to land held by each nation. These diverse knowledge systems often allow for more

immediate and nuanced understandings of how climate change is impacting local landscapes as well as systems for maintaining and rebuilding relationships with foods and medicines (Indigenous Climate Hub, 2021b; Pasternak & King, 2019; Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021). Indigenous nations are conducting climate vulnerability assessments and crafting adaptation plans that take into account these relationships (Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021; Tribal Adaptation Menu Team, 2019). Oftentimes, the reassertion of Indigenous consent-based jurisdiction overlaps with climate and environmental protection, such as in the refusal of pipeline projects (Pasternak & King, 2019). Indigenous climate policy requires respect for self-determination, so that nations can lead their own responses to the problems that they identify. There is a need for more partnerships and resources to support Indigenous climate action (Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021).

3.3 Prefiguring Climate Justice

Climate action and decolonization both require a fundamental reworking of settler governance systems. The core threat of climate change is that it will make the Earth uninhabitable for humans, along with other species (Klein, 2014). In considering the impact of climate dystopias, Kyle Powys Whyte writes that “some [I]ndigenous peoples already inhabit what our ancestors would likely have characterized as a dystopian future” (2017, p. 207). Climate change will have major impacts on food systems, forcibly displace people whose homes are no longer habitable, and cause many people to die (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2022), paralleling some of the experiences that Indigenous peoples have already faced due to settler colonialism (Whyte, 2017). Truly addressing the threat of climate change means not only stopping carbon emissions but also addressing these issues of justice and community

resilience for all people (Gonzalez, 2020; Pulido & De Lara, 2018; Schlosberg & Collins, 2014; Stephens, 2022). This includes respect for Indigenous self-determination and the return of Indigenous land and resources to Indigenous control (Gilio-Whitaker, 2019; Pasternak & King, 2019; Reed et al., 2021; Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021).

Since municipalities are important players in climate action — and climate action is increasingly integrated in municipal planning — municipal climate plans are a key site for the development of decolonial collaboration. True solutions to the threats posed by climate change should remedy or avoid apocalyptic loss of land and life. Protecting Indigenous foodways, knowledges, and relationships with land, and respecting and resourcing Indigenous self-determination throughout the process are essential (Indigenous Climate Action, 2021; Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021). Municipalities are still learning how to work with Indigenous peoples (Barry, 2019; Dorries et al., 2020; Porter & Barry, 2016) and other levels of settler government have not provided great models or guidance (Lightfoot, 2018; Pysklywec et al., 2022) but those problems will need to be addressed simultaneously with climate action. Municipal climate policy provides an arena to prefigure new processes for collaborative governance that respect Indigenous self-determination and contribute to the healing of the relationship between humans and non-human nature.

Collaboration with Indigenous peoples will strengthen municipal climate policy, but that is secondary to respecting Indigenous self-determination. Though Indigenous peoples often have relevant knowledge about how to live with the land sustainably, these knowledges are not automatically accessible to settler government partners. As Max Liboiron writes, “attempts to ‘incorporate’ (use, assimilate, ingest, nom nom nom) Indigenous knowledges are often another form of colonialism that extends the reach of colonial and settler goals by acquiring more types

of data” (2021, p. 53). Sharing traditional knowledge requires proper protocol, consent from knowledge holders, and continual involvement of those knowledge holders lest it turn into another colonial process of extraction (McGregor, 2013; Status of Tribes and Climate Change Working Group, 2021).

Collaborations are only decolonial if they prefigure respect for Indigenous authority in all areas. Municipalities must extend beyond the framework of the duty to consult (Anderson & Flynn, 2021; Pysklywec et al., 2022) and participate in collaborations on the terms set by Indigenous peoples (Fox & Hatcher, 2022; Pasternak & King, 2019). Decolonial collaborations are not a replacement for more formal land repatriation or recognition of self-determination from the federal government, but they can begin to actualize and develop the governance that could exist in a decolonial future. These governance processes are crucial to implementing climate solutions based in climate justice that build resilience for all people.

4.0 Methods

4.1 Methodology

This study is a content analysis of documents (published climate action plans) from municipalities across Canada. Document analysis is a common research method since documents are readily available and provide a good deal of information without the sensitivities of involving humans in interviews or focus groups (Bowen, 2009). The intention of this study is to analyze the current state of municipal-Indigenous collaboration in climate planning and learn from existing examples. Content analysis is well-suited for this type of study because it focuses on describing and interpreting the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

There are strong precedents for using document analysis to examine settler governments' framings of their relationships with Indigenous peoples (Dorries et al., 2019; McLeod et al., 2015, 2017; Nelles & Alcantara, 2011; Pysklywec et al., 2022; Shared Path Consultation Initiative, 2020; Tembo, 2018). The relevance of policy documents to studies of settler-Indigenous relationships is fully explicated in Barry and Porter (2011), who argue that policy texts can shape institutional action and establish roles and responsibilities in Indigenous peoples' interactions with settler governments. Existing policies often limit the ways in which Indigenous peoples can participate in settler governments' planning processes, and revising policies can advance more equitable partnerships (McLeod et al., 2015; Porter & Barry, 2016).

There are limits to what can be accomplished using content analysis, especially in the context of settler-Indigenous relationships. These relationships are contested, unequal, and complex spaces (Barry & Porter, 2011). Understanding how Indigenous peoples perceive the intentions represented in municipal policies would require direct input from Indigenous representatives. Developing best practice standards for future collaborations should involve

Indigenous leaders: while this study gives an analysis of the current content of municipal climate action plans, it cannot provide definitive guidance on how to move forward.

Existing frameworks for analyzing settler governments' policies regarding Indigenous peoples emphasize the importance of including both manifest and latent content analysis (McLeod et al., 2017; Pysklywec et al., 2022; Shared Path Consultation Initiative, 2020).

Manifest content analysis examines the frequency of particular content within the text, while latent content analysis is an interpretive process of drawing out themes from the text (Cope, 2010; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The process of manifest content analysis can help prepare for latent content analysis because it tags sections with key indicator terms that may warrant further examination (McLeod et al., 2015).

Content analysis uses coding to organize and reduce the data into a format that enables patterns to be identified. Coding involves flagging occurrences of specific words or themes within the data, either manually or using a computer program (Cope, 2010). The list of codes may be developed inductively from categories that emerge during the research process or deductively from relevant theory and previous studies (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Initial deductive codes may still evolve over the course of research processes (Cope, 2010). The framework developed by McLeod et al (2017), along with several other studies of settler governments' relationships with Indigenous peoples (Howitt et al., 2013; Nelles & Alcantara, 2011; Porter & Barry, 2016; Shared Path Consultation Initiative, 2020), make it possible to begin this study using deductive coding. Deductive coding enables the extension of existing theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and this study aims to extend the analysis of settler governments' relationships with Indigenous peoples to the area of municipal climate policy.

To analyze the data generated through the coding processes, this study uses both direct interpretations of the text and statistical tests. Statistics facilitate comparison of numbers at a broad scale and allow researchers to check for relationships between factors. Though the abstraction possible through statistics has served colonial aims such as erasing the detail of Indigenous realities and identities, statistics are also used by Indigenous researchers to advocate for Indigenous peoples (Andersen, 2013; Walter & Andersen, 2013). This study uses statistics as responsibly as possible, primarily as a safeguard against claiming general relationships based on too little evidence.

4.2 Project Scope and Data Collection

This project examines precedents for municipal-Indigenous collaboration in urban climate planning within published municipal and regional climate action plans [CAPs] in Canada. The first step in building the dataset was to set parameters for which municipalities and regions would be included. Since the intent of this study is to examine *urban* climate planning, only municipalities with a population of at least 20,000 as Census Subdivisions in 2021 were included: 234 in total (Statistics Canada, 2022a).¹ Regional governance organizations were only included where they overlapped with a Census Metropolitan Area [CMA], yielding eight metro-region organizations and six “upper tier” Ontario regional municipalities (Association of Municipalities Ontario, 2022).² See Appendix 1 for a full list of the 248 municipalities and regions included in this study.

¹ The only exception to this population cut-off is Iqaluit, which was included to ensure representation from all provinces and territories. Iqaluit is the largest municipality in Nunavut with a population of 8,200.

² Regional organizations covering significant rural areas were not included, such as Ontario upper-tier municipalities classified as counties or districts, municipalités régionales de comté (MRCs) in Québec, regional districts in British Columbia, or other watershed or district-level planning organizations (Association of Municipalities Ontario, 2022; Ministère des Affaires municipales & et de l’Habitation du Québec, 2010; Ministry of Municipal Affairs, n.d.).

The second step in building the dataset was to collect all published CAPs from these organizations. For the purposes of this study, a CAP is defined as a document covering climate mitigation and/or adaptation policies for the whole community (not just local government operations). CAPs are often standalone documents but could also be distinct chapters excerpted from General Plans or Sustainable Development Strategies. Environmental plans with specific climate-related objectives or sections were also included. When municipalities had separate plans for mitigation and adaptation, both documents were included. CAPs had to be publicly accessible online during the search period of June 20–July 8, 2022, to be included in this analysis.³

To find the CAPs, I googled “[city name] climate plan” for each organization. If this search did not return a climate plan, I visited the city’s website and searched for “climate plan”, “climate change”, “environment”, and “sustainability.” I also scanned navigation menus for any relevant departments. For cities in Quebec, I searched for “*plan climat*”, “*politique environnementale*”, “*développement durable*”, and “*changements climatiques*”. This search process led me to webpages describing the environmental or climate-related programs that municipalities had in place, either offering a climate plan or a clear absence of climate plan.

Out of 234 municipalities, 130 had some form of CAP (56%), and out of 14 metro-region organizations, nine had some form of CAP (64%). Of these, 24 had separate adaptation and mitigation plans, giving a total of 163 documents. There were 28 documents in French and the remaining 135 were in English. I stored the French and English documents in separate folders in NVivo to facilitate coding in each language. This study is not focusing on which municipalities and regions have CAPs or reasons why some are lacking them, so the 109 organizations with no

³ Three municipalities were conducting consultation processes during my initial search and had published the CAPs by the time I checked back on August 13, 2022, so these plans were also included.

CAPs are not included in the analysis. The list in Appendix 1 indicates which municipalities and regions have CAPs and which do not.

The final step in building the dataset was to collect relevant metadata for municipalities and regions with CAPs for later analysis of trends in their collaboration with Indigenous peoples. For each municipality or metro-region organization with a CAP, I created a case in NVivo with the associated documents and all of the attributes listed in Table 2. Once all the data was collected and stored in NVivo, the next phase in the research process was to code for manifest content.

Table 2

Attributes Collected for Each Municipality or Region

Attribute	Source of data
Province or territory	Census
Classification as a municipality or as a region	Census
Associated CMA, if any	Census
Population (2021) of municipality or region	Census
Percent of population that is Indigenous	Census
KM to nearest Reserve (and name of that Reserve)	GIS Analysis based on Census Data
Year(s) of CAP publication	Municipal Websites
Member of Partners for Climate Protection	Campaign Website
Member of the Global Covenant of Mayors	Campaign Website
Member of C40	Campaign Website
Member of the Canadian Urban Sustainability Practitioners Network	Campaign Website
Member of the National Climate League	Campaign Website
Membership of elected official in Climate Caucus	Campaign Website

4.3 Manifest Coding Process

To analyse the manifest content of the municipal climate action plans regarding their consideration of collaboration with Indigenous peoples, I first established a list of search terms related to Indigenous peoples. The list of terms came from existing literature, which is standard

for deductive coding processes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The initial preliminary key words referring to Indigenous peoples are consistent with a study of Official Plans in Ontario conducted by the Ontario Provincial Planners Institute (Dorries et al., 2020). I expanded the list to include other words that could potentially be used to reference Indigenous peoples.

Additionally, recognition of Indigenous peoples could be framed in terms of land, rights, or worldviews (McLeod et al., 2017). I included common words in each of these categories, aiming to be as expansive as possible. Covering these different categories of recognition is especially important because, based on an initial scan of the documents, some reference specific First Nations rather than using more general terms for Indigenous peoples. This local specificity is a positive sign for a municipality's relationship with those First Nations but searching for every name would not be feasible. Based on the sample documents, terms relating to land, rights, or knowledges capture contexts where specific names are used.

To include French plans in the analysis, I translated all the keywords into French. I used terminology from the websites of the federal government and the Assembly of First Nations wherever possible and occasionally Google Translate. I have working proficiency in French which supported this translation task. I further verified these translations with a colleague⁴ who is fluent in French, who also suggested searching for the English words in the French plans as well, since sometimes the English is more commonly used. However, despite searching using key words in both languages, there were zero relevant results in the French plans. The lack of references in French plans eliminates the need for latent content coding in French.

⁴ Thank you to Andrée Forest for your support and insights.

I conducted the manifest coding process using NVivo and manually reviewed to remove irrelevant references.⁵ During the coding, I further refined the list of codes to eliminate those that were not useful (Cope, 2010). I removed the terms “band”, “native”, “settlement”, and “rights”, along with their French translations, because they frequently came up in irrelevant contexts (e.g., native plants, and *all rights reserved* on the copyright page) and were always accompanied by other keywords when referring to Indigenous issues. The final list of manifest content codes can be found in Appendix 2. The resulting tagged passages provided the material for the next phase, where I coded for latent content.

4.4 Latent Coding Process

Coding for latent content requires reading the portions of the documents that were flagged in the manifest content coding and re-coding them using a new list of codes. I developed the initial list of latent content codes with the aim of dividing the references into those that signify recognition and those that signify collaborations or engagement, following elements of the framework developed by McLeod et al. (2017). Within the recognition codes, I had categories for different ways that Indigenous rights and existence were mentioned in the documents studied by Dorries et al. (2020) and Tembo (2018). I divided references to collaboration from references to engagement processes, since these different ways of working can indicate amount of power that municipalities intend Indigenous peoples to have (Dorries et al., 2020). I further divided collaboration and engagement projects based on whether they were already underway or described as future projects (McLeod et al., 2017).

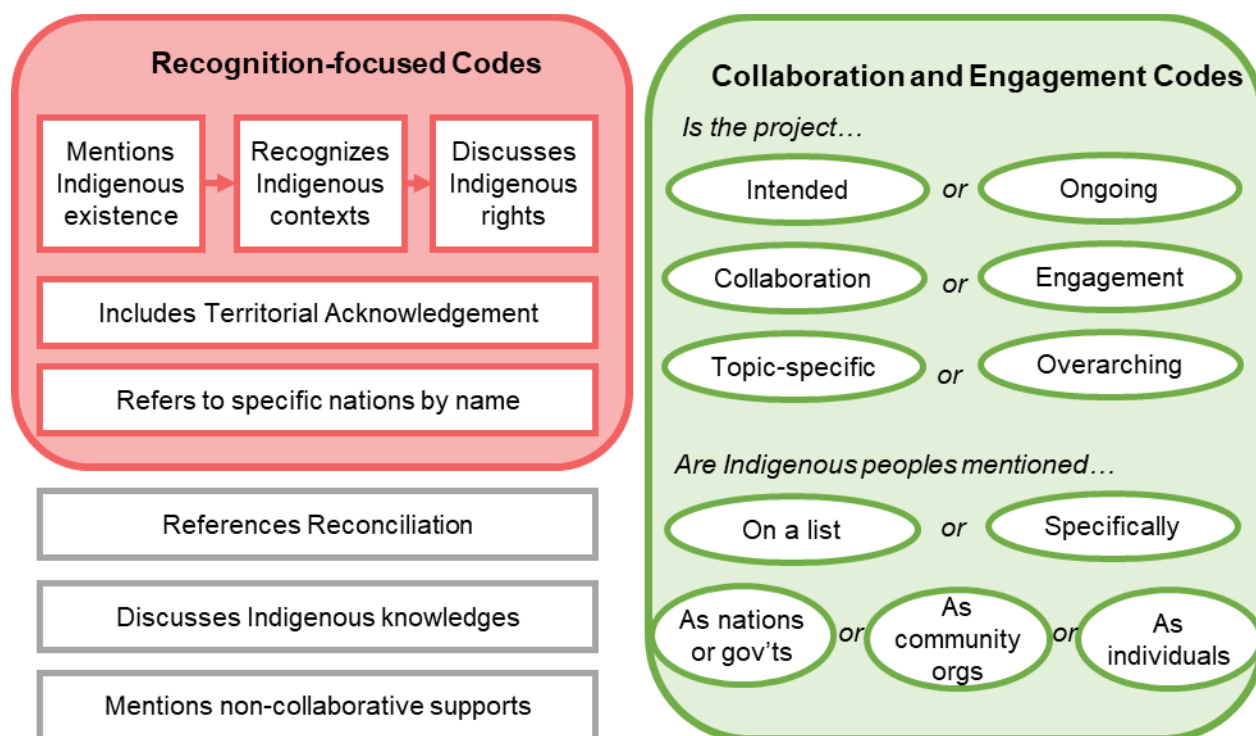
⁵ Some keywords were particularly noisy: *nations* yielded “developing nations” and “United Nations”, *reserve* yielded “reserve funds” and “agricultural reserve”, *cultural* appeared in a wide variety of contexts unrelated to Indigenous knowledges, *land-based* usually referenced emissions or ecosystems, *colon(y)(ial)(ism)* could refer to algal colonies or place names, and *treaty* sometimes brought up UN climate agreements.

My list of codes evolved as I noticed patterns in the data throughout the coding process (Cope, 2010; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). I refined the recognition-focused codes to reflect the progression from mere mentions of the existence of Indigenous nations and people to descriptions of specific Indigenous contexts to assertions of support for Indigenous rights. I also had recognition codes for territorial acknowledgement statements and mentions of specific First Nations or Métis nations (as opposed to using generic terms). For the collaboration and engagement codes, I added subcategories for whether the municipality was intending to work with the government of an Indigenous nation, a community organization, or individual Indigenous community members. I also noted when Indigenous peoples were on a list with other potential partners or participants rather than sought out specifically. Additionally, I realized that references to reconciliation, Indigenous knowledges, and non-collaborative supports occupy a transitional space between recognition and collaboration/engagement. I made a second pass through the documents to recode all the tagged passages to the final latent codes as summarized in Figure 1. The full list of codes is shown in Appendix 3.

To add another layer of depth to the analysis, I revisited the references to collaboration and engagement to gather information on the project topics. Previous studies have found that municipalities seek to work with Indigenous peoples on archeological and cultural projects far more often than on other areas of work such as social service development or land use planning (Dorries et al., 2020; McLeod et al., 2017; Tembo, 2018). The list of project topics emerged during the coding process (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and can be found in Appendix 3.

Figure 1

Overview of Codes Used for Latent Content Analysis



4.5 Data Analysis Process

To analyze the data generated through coding, I used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. For the qualitative analysis, I interpreted the patterns and themes in the data using examples from each category. I pulled quotes from CAPs to highlight typical phrases and unique cases. The framework that I built through coding allowed me to describe variations in how municipal and regional CAPs are approaching recognition, collaboration and engagement, and other aspects of their relationship with Indigenous peoples. Through qualitative analysis, I investigated the difference between collaboration and engagement, and identified collaborations that seemed promising. I did not develop a quantitative ranking system to determine which CAPs demonstrate the “best” work with Indigenous people: that cannot be reduced to a formula or

determined without direct input from people on both the Indigenous and municipal sides of the partnership.

I used quantitative methods including counting and statistical tests to help me decide which themes were important to discuss and determine which variables were related to each other. Counting questions were easy to answer because NVivo shows the total number of documents with coded passages and the number of documents coded to each code. This allowed me to see how many municipal and regional CAPs mention Indigenous peoples, how many CAPs show collaboration, how many discuss Indigenous rights, and so on. I exported the list of documents coded to each code to Excel to count the number of municipalities and regions for each category because some municipalities had separate CAPs for adaptation and mitigation.

Statistical tests allowed me to determine whether there were relationships between any variables. I had some categorical variables and some numerical variables, so I needed to use two different statistical tests. For categorical variables, I used chi-squared tests in Excel to see whether the distribution across the categories indicated any relationship to the other variable. Chi-squared tests compare the actual results for each category to what would be expected if there were no relationship between the variables (Hayes, 2022b). For example, when I tested whether inclusion of Indigenous peoples in CAPs varies by province or territory, I compared the number of CAPs with inclusion from each province or territory to how many CAPs would mention Indigenous peoples if the rate of inclusion was constant across provinces and territories.

For numeric variables, I used a t-test in Excel to see if the average value of the variable was significantly different between groups. By considering the mean and standard deviation of the numeric variable for each of the two groups, a t-test determines whether the two groups are distinct (Hayes, 2022a). For example, I tested whether inclusion of Indigenous peoples in CAPs

varies by the distance between the municipality or region and the nearest reserve land. To set up the t-test, I calculated the mean and standard deviation of the distance to reserve for CAPs with inclusion and for CAPs without inclusion.

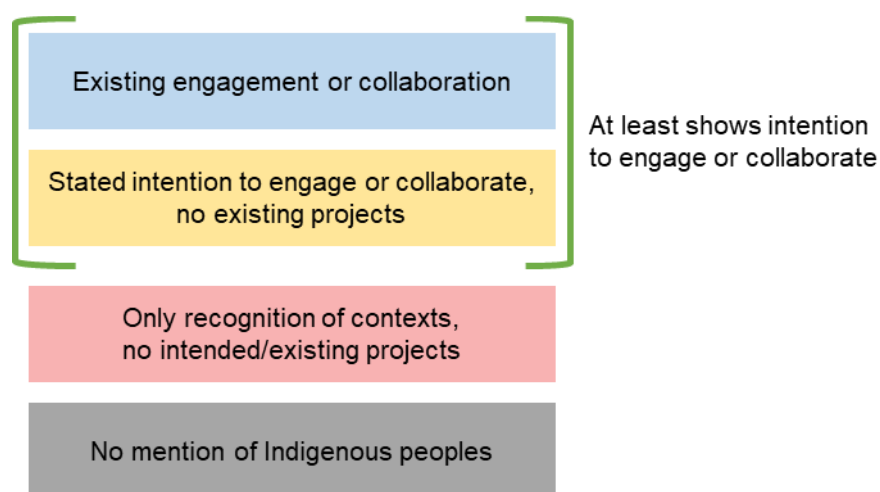
Chi-squared tests and t-tests both return a *p-value*, which indicates the probability of getting the same results due to chance if the variables are not related. For chi-squared tests, the p-value is based on the sum of the differences between observed and expected values. For t-tests, the p-value is based on the differences between the means of the two groups, taking into account the standard deviation. High p-values (close to 1) mean that the variables are likely not related, and low p-values (close to 0) mean that there is a good chance that the variables are related. If p-values are below the chosen cut-off (α) value, the results can be considered *significant* (Bevans, 2022). For this study, I used the cut-off of $\alpha=0.10$, which is the highest cut-off typically used.⁶

Testing for relationships requires there to be distinct categories of how CAPs discuss Indigenous peoples. To enable the statistical analysis, I grouped the CAPs into four categories based on the results of the coding, as shown in Figure 2. These categories should not be viewed as the steps through which a municipality would progress. Recognition can be performative and not lead to concrete action (Wark, 2021), and within the scope of this project, it cannot be determined whether stated intentions are more than just a different form of recognition. Municipalities with existing projects are not necessarily doing “better” than others because the extent of existing engagements and collaborations can vary widely.

⁶ Lower α values allow you to be more certain of your conclusions and are important if you are testing whether an expensive drug is more effective than a placebo, for example. My chosen cut-off of $\alpha=0.10$ means that there can be up to a 10% chance that the observed results would occur just by accident without a real relationship. For the purposes of this study, 90% confident is good enough.

Figure 2

Categories of CAPs' References to Indigenous Peoples



4.6 Summary

Chapter 4 has described the research methods that I used for this study. I chose to do a document analysis because policies can shape how settler governments interact with Indigenous peoples and the documents are readily available. I collected 163 CAPs from the 139 regions and municipalities with over 20,000 people that had published their climate plans as of summer 2022. I coded for manifest content using NVivo to find all mentions of Indigenous peoples, lands, rights, or worldviews within those documents. I returned to the flagged passages to code for latent content, noting how Indigenous peoples were recognized and any indications of engagement or collaboration processes. To analyze the coded data, I used qualitative analysis to interpret important passages from CAPs and quantitative analysis to find overarching relationships and patterns. The results of this analysis are presented in the Chapter 5.

5.0 Results

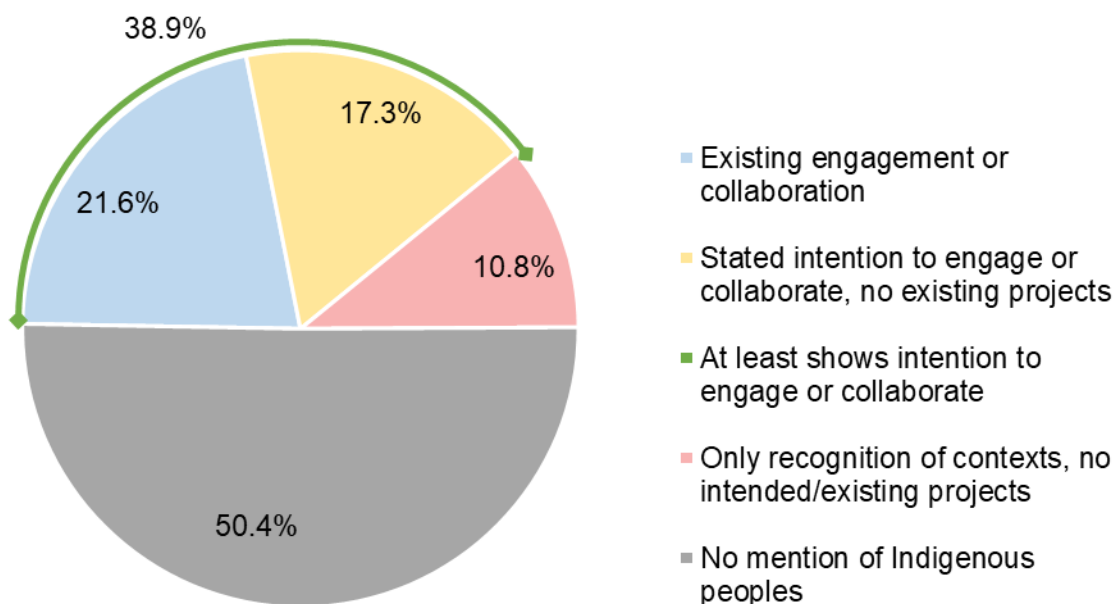
This chapter presents the findings from the data analysis, with a focus on patterns in CAPs' references to Indigenous peoples. About half (49.6%) of the municipalities and regions with CAPs mention Indigenous peoples in those documents — 21.6% have already begun engagement or collaboration, another 17.3% have stated intentions to engage or collaborate, and 10.8% have recognition of Indigenous peoples but no planned engagement or collaboration, as shown in Figure 3. While these categories hint at the overall state of municipal-Indigenous collaboration in climate action and provide structure for the quantitative analysis, there is wide variation within each category.⁷ It would be an oversimplification to interpret these results as saying that about one-fifth of municipalities and regions are doing well. The qualitative analysis provides important nuance regarding the extent of collaborations and engagements.

The first section of this chapter presents the relationships between characteristics of municipalities and regions and the categories of consideration present in their CAPs. The second section examines how CAPs recognize Indigenous contexts. The third discusses reconciliation and the fourth discusses Indigenous knowledges. The fifth section investigates trends among CAPs with intended or existing engagement or collaboration. Municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples in their CAPs are indicated on the list in Appendix 1. The full list of CAPs analyzed for this project is listed in Appendix 4.

⁷ That is, within each category except those CAPs with no mention of Indigenous peoples at all.

Figure 3

Percent of Municipalities and Regions by Type of Reference to Indigenous Peoples



5.1 Characteristics of CAPs that Mention Indigenous Peoples

Out of the 139 municipalities and regions with CAPs, 69 of them have some mention of Indigenous peoples, lands, knowledges, or rights within those documents. The manifest coding found key words in 86 documents, nine of which were duplicates from municipalities with two plans,⁸ and eight which I removed during latent coding because they each had only one

⁸ For the 24 municipalities with separate adaptation and mitigation plans, nine had mentions in both documents and five had mentions in one but not the other. Among the nine with mentions in both documents, there were further mismatches: some showed ongoing engagement while others showed only intentions or recognition. The most logical explanation for this would be if the more recent plans had more in-depth consideration or developed projects, but that is not the case. There is no consistent pattern between adaptation and mitigation plans either. These differences probably come down to unique contexts in each municipality and have no easily discernable pattern.

incidental reference.⁹ Words referring to Indigenous peoples were in 85 of those documents,¹⁰ with 61 uses of the term “First Nation,” 46 of “Indigenous,” 17 of “Métis,” and 12 of “Inuit.” Words referencing Indigenous rights and sovereignty came up in 37 CAPs, mostly “reconciliation” (24 CAPs) and “treaty” (22 CAPs). Indigenous lands were referenced in 30 CAPs, primarily as “traditional territory” (16 CAPs) or in a land acknowledgement (15 CAPs). There were references to Indigenous knowledges in 21 CAPs.

The only province or territory where the percentage of CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples is significantly different from the overall rate of 49.6% is Quebec. None of the 25 CAPs from Quebec municipalities include any of the key words in English or French.¹¹ Using chi-squared tests, I confirmed that there is a significant difference between provinces and territories ($p=0.053$) that goes away when Quebec is excluded ($p=0.929$). Without Quebec, the percentage of CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples jumps to 60.5%. Among the CAPs that mentioned Indigenous peoples, province or territory did not correlate with stating at least an intention to work together ($p=0.999$), and among those with at least intentions, province or territory did not correlate to work already being underway ($p=0.980$).

For non-Quebec municipalities and regions, two factors correlated with whether a CAP mentioned Indigenous peoples. The distance to the nearest reserve¹² showed a strong relationship

⁹ Six of the incidental references are mentions of Indigenous peoples as other potential recipients of federal or provincial support. Another is an acknowledgement of past work with First Nations in a consultant’s biography, and the last is a timeline entry for the Assembly of First Nations climate emergency declaration. None of these indicate any recognition of Indigenous rights or interaction with local Indigenous peoples about the CAP. In all eight of these cases, there were no other instances of any of the key words in the document.

¹⁰ The 86th document was the *Halton Hills Low Carbon Transition Strategy*, which has a land acknowledgement stating that the Town is “located on the Treaty Lands and Territory of the Mississaugas of the Credit.” The names of specific nations are too numerous to use as search terms. This passage got flagged because of the word “treaty.” None of the other search terms appeared anywhere else in the document.

¹¹ None of the CAPs from Prince Edward Island or Northwest Territories included any of the key words either, but they each only had one municipality above the population cut-off, so the absence was not statistically significant. Since 0/1 and 1/1 are equal distances from 1/2, the chi-squared test would not flag either outcome as suspicious.

¹² I calculated distance to reserve using Census Subdivision designations of lands reserved for Inuit, Métis, and First Nations. Most reserves have the code “IRI – Indian reserve” but there are several First Nations with their own

($p=0.029$), with municipalities and regions that are closer being more likely to include any of the search terms. However, 75% of the municipalities and regions with CAPs are less than 35km from the nearest reserve, so the variation between groups is small. The population of the municipality or region was also significantly different ($p=0.031$) between those that mention Indigenous peoples in their CAPs and those that do not, with larger jurisdictions more likely to use any of the search terms. None of the other characteristics in Table 2 were significant factors: not the year of publication ($p=0.356$), nor being in a CMA ($p=0.852$), nor municipalities versus regions ($p=0.256$), nor being a member in any of the initiatives.

Among the 69 municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples, the percentage of their population that is Indigenous is the only factor that correlates to their CAP showing an at least the intention to work together. The percentage of the population that is Indigenous is higher where CAPs at least show intentions ($p=0.022$). However, among the broader set of CAPs, these demographics are not a significant determinant ($p=0.115$) of whether a CAP mentions Indigenous peoples and among the 54 that at least show intent, the percent of Indigenous residents is not correlated ($p=0.103$) to whether work is already underway.

Among the 54 municipalities and regions with stated intentions to work with Indigenous peoples, the only characteristic that is significantly correlated to work being already underway is membership of a municipal or regional elected official in the Climate Caucus network.¹³ Those

designations due to land claims agreements such as “TWL – Tsawwassen Lands” or “TC – Terres réservées aux Cris.” Métis settlements have the code “SET – Settlement.” There are 13 areas designated “TI – Terre inuite” in Quebec; however, the Inuit Lands described in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement do not have their own code, they are listed as cities, hamlets, and unorganized territory (Statistics Canada, 2021). This might be because, under Article 2 Part 17 of the Agreement, the Inuit Lands in the Nunavut Settlement Area are not to be considered “Lands Reserved for Indians” (Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada, 1993, p. 16). Because of this specification, the nearest reserve to Iqaluit, NU, was Kangiqsujuaq, QC, 280 km away. I adjusted the distance for Iqaluit to be 0 km since it is within recognized Inuit Land.

¹³ Climate Caucus is a national network of local elected officials committed to advocating for strong, justice-focused climate policies (Climate Caucus, 2022). It is one of the initiatives for local climate action listed in Table 2.

with an elected representative in Climate Caucus are more likely to have already begun working with Indigenous peoples ($p=0.034$). However, among the 69 municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples, Climate Caucus membership is not a determinant whether there is at least a stated intention. None of the other initiatives for local climate action or characteristics listed in Table 2 have any correlation with intended or existing projects.

5.2 Recognition of Indigenous Peoples in CAPs

Out of the 69 municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples in their CAPs, 57 included some form of recognition of Indigenous contexts aside from any plans to work together. I categorized recognition into four broad types. Within the 61 CAPs with some form of recognition of Indigenous peoples,¹⁴ there were 27 that mentioned Indigenous existence, 21 with recognition of unique Indigenous contexts, 32 with territorial acknowledgements, and 23 with discussion of Indigenous rights or sovereignty. There was significant overlap between these categories: 33 had just one type of recognition and 28 had more than one type.

I also noted that 27 out of the 69 municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples identified the nation or community by name, such as K'ómoks First Nation for Courtenay, BC, or Métis Nation Region 4 for Beaumont, AB, rather than using generic terms like “local First Nations.” Among the 54 municipalities and regions that have at least stated intentions to work with Indigenous peoples, 32 frame them only as nations, 12 only as community organizations, and nine as both.¹⁵ Framings with both can be in the same sentence, like Niagara Region, ON, planning to collaborate with “First Nations, Indigenous communities

¹⁴ Four of the 57 municipalities and regions with some type of recognition in their CAPs had two CAPs, both with recognition, for a total of 61 documents. Five had recognition in one CAP but not the other. This left 12 municipalities and regions that described potential or existing projects with Indigenous peoples without discussion of broader contexts.

¹⁵ Iqaluit, NU, is the 54th municipality in that set and does not use either of those framings: since it is under Inuit government, the engagement process for its CAP involved Inuit elders and community members.

and other partners” (2022, p. 92), or can vary between adaptation and mitigation plans from the same jurisdiction.

Mentioning Indigenous existence includes incidental references that would not count as recognition on their own,¹⁶ along with mentioning Indigenous people or peoples on lists of diverse or frontline communities, case studies with no expressed connection to the municipality, and visual representations. The statement “Often those that are most affected by climate change are the ones who lack resources and are most vulnerable, such as Indigenous communities, young people and seniors, and people with low incomes” (Town of Halton Hills, 2020, p. 11) is an example of mentioning Indigenous existence. Visual representations include pictures of Indigenous people or Indigenous artwork. Sometimes these accompany relevant content, such as the photograph of someone in regalia shown next to Wood Buffalo, AB’s section on First Nations and Métis History (2011, p. 24). They may also be on pages with no clearly relevant content, such as next to a list of opportunities identified by Timmins, ON (2022, p. 28).

Passages coded as recognizing unique contexts discuss Indigenous peoples specifically, either for their contribution to the area’s cultural diversity, their specific vulnerability, their “cultural” connection to the land, or their historical presence. Vulnerability in these passages is more specifically defined than in passages coded as mentioning Indigenous existence, such as this explanation from Kings, NS:

Those who live on First Nations reserves within the county may be particularly affected by catastrophic events associated with climate change — not only will

¹⁶ Earlier I excluded eight CAPs with *only* incidental references. There are three more that mention Indigenous peoples as other recipients of federal or provincial support, and five that mention Indigenous peoples as participants in other federal or provincial processes. There are also two CAPs that include full summaries of public engagement processes with Indigenous peoples mentioned in many ways by participants. All these CAPs have other references to Indigenous peoples that are more substantial.

they experience the impacts, but they are within physical boundaries which may restrict their ability to relocate to avoid flooding, for example (2013, p. 27).

Other examples of recognizing unique contexts include the City of North Vancouver, BC, writing that “the North Shore of Burrard Inlet was home to First Nations such as the Squamish Nation and Burrard Nation for centuries before European explorers discovered the area” (2014, p. 4) and Winnipeg, MB, referring to Indigenous peoples having a “distinctive spiritual relationship with the land and natural resources” (2018, p. iv).

Discussion of Indigenous rights or sovereignty includes references to reserve lands, treaties, self-government agreements, UNDRIP, nation-to-nation relationships, colonial history, or self-determination. Recognition of reserve land includes marking it on maps, as West Vancouver, BC (2016) has done in several places, or noting the presence of reserves as North Vancouver has done: “The City is bounded by the Burrard Inlet and the jurisdictions of the District of North Vancouver, the Squamish Nation, and the Port of Metro Vancouver” (2014, p. 59). References to treaties and self-government agreements include “The Winnipeg Metropolitan Region is located on Treaty No. 1 Territory” (Winnipeg Metropolitan Region, 2021, p. 20) and “The Kwanlin Dün First Nation and the Ta’an Kwäch’än Council have Final and Self Government Agreements” (City of Whitehorse, 2015, p. 7). Histories included in this category make colonialism explicit, such as Iqaluit, NU, stating “We continue to experience rapid social change that is deeply rooted in our recent colonial history” (2014, p. 8). Mentions of self-determination or decolonization such as “Actions support Indigenous-led climate solutions that are grounded in Indigenous self-determination” (Capital Region District, 2021, p. 3) and “Support the continued efforts of water protectors and land defenders while creating

opportunities to give land back/land ownership back to Indigenous Peoples” (City of Toronto, 2021, p. 84) are also included in this category.

Territorial acknowledgements are stand-alone statements at the beginning of a document that recognizes Indigenous peoples who have a relationship to the land. There are 28 CAPs with such statements, some of which are quite short, such as “The City of Victoria is located on the traditional territories of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations” (City of Victoria, 2018, p. 2). Some other acknowledgements are quite long, referencing many Nations, relevant treaties, historical points, the importance of Indigenous contributions to the area, and the jurisdiction’s gratitude. There are four CAPs with short statements acknowledging unceded or traditional territory integrated into the text on later pages, but with similar phrasing to typical introductory statements; for example, “The area known as Brampton today is the traditional territories of the Anishinabek, Huron-Wendat, Haudenosaunee, and Ojibway/Chippewa” (City of Brampton, 2020, p. 29). Out of the 32 CAPs with territorial acknowledgements, five have no other mention of Indigenous peoples anywhere else in the plan.

There was no correlation between which of the four categories of recognition was present in a CAP and whether that CAP at least stated an intention to work with Indigenous peoples. I expected that more in-depth recognition would correspond to working together but chi-squared tests showed that this is not the case. Among CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples, there is no correlation between the type of recognition and stated intentions to work together ($p=0.410$), and among CAPs that state intentions, there is no correlation between the type of recognition and work already underway ($p=0.980$).¹⁷ There are 16 CAPs from 15 municipalities and regions that

¹⁷ Having none of the types of recognition cannot be analyzed for its influence on collaboration/engagement projects because CAPs with no recognition and no collaboration/engagement have no mention of Indigenous peoples and are therefore not part of the dataset.

do not describe any intended or existing collaboration or engagement, some of which show each category of recognition. For example, Delta, BC, notes the location of Tsawwassen First Nation as a separate jurisdiction (2013, p. 6), but has no plans stated in their CAP to work with them. East Hants, NS, describes how “stormwater flooded and shut down two access roads in the Indian Brook First Nation, leaving 135 residents stranded for a day” (2013, p. 22) but also does not include any plans to engage or collaborate.

In some cases, CAPs do draw direct connections between Indigenous rights, colonialism, and desire to work together. For example, Campbell River, BC, links ongoing partnerships to First Nations’ sovereignty:

Additional dialogue should take place between the City of Campbell River and the local Nations (Homalco, We Wai Kai, Wei Wai Kum, Tlowitsis) to carry out an action planning process and determine how the City can best support action implementation in a way that honours Indigenous sovereignty and autonomy (2020, p. 28).

Other CAPs have both recognition and mentions of projects without explicitly connecting them; for example, Cape Breton, NS, recognizes Indigenous jurisdictions, writing “There are four First Nations Reserves in the County, two of which are inhabited (Membertou and Eskasoni). These Reserves are not subject to this Municipal Climate Change Action Plan” (2014, p. 4) and only later mentions intending to meet annually with local First Nations (2014, p. 53). Meanwhile, Peterborough, ON, developed their plan through in-depth collaboration with Hiawatha and Curve Lake First Nations (2016, p. ii) but does not use any of the four categories of recognition to describe Indigenous contexts in their CAP. Edmonton, AB (2018) and Greater Sudbury, ON (2019) both acknowledge Indigenous representatives who contributed to their planning process

and have plans to collaborate further but do not use any of the four categories of recognition either.

Among the 69 municipalities and regions that mention Indigenous peoples, 27 use specific local names rather than generic terms. Using specific local names correlates to at least stating an intention to work with Indigenous peoples ($p=0.033$). For example, Orillia, ON, sets an objective to “collaborate with the Chippewas of the Rama First Nation to identify how the CCAP can advance reconciliation” (2022, p. 7) and Courtenay, BC, explains that “Throughout the project timeline the City of Courtenay engaged specifically and separately with the K'ómoks First Nation in government-to-government ideas exchanges” (2022, p. 12). There are only two municipalities that mention specific First Nations without any plans to work together.

Among the 54 municipalities and regions that at least state an intention to work with Indigenous peoples, using specific nations' names does not correlate to projects being already underway ($p=0.109$). Also, intended projects do not differ from existing projects in terms of whether the CAP frames Indigenous peoples as nations or community organizations ($p=0.143$). Since the overall percentage of CAPs using specific local names is less than half, there are still many municipalities and regions that have intended or existing projects with local Indigenous peoples without naming anyone specific. For example, Strathcona County, AB, references an Indigenous Working Group that contributed to plan development (2021, p. 13) rather than any specific nation.

5.3 Mentions of Reconciliation in CAPs

There are 13 CAPs that discuss reconciliation.¹⁸ Seven of these directly link reconciliation to the need to work with Indigenous peoples. Four more do not explicitly state the

¹⁸ Only three directly reference the Truth and Reconciliation process, the others use just “reconciliation.”

connection, but still have at least intended projects described elsewhere in the plan. The remaining two do not have any intended or existing projects. There is no statistically significant relationship between discussing reconciliation and having at least intended projects ($p=0.654$), largely because the percentage of plans discussing reconciliation is relatively small. Among the plans that describe intended projects, there is no correlation between discussing reconciliation and having projects underway either ($p=0.664$). However, for plans that do discuss reconciliation, it is usually connected to their work with Indigenous peoples.

Examples of CAPs that directly link reconciliation to collaboration include those from Toronto, ON, and Saanich, BC. Toronto has a section on Reconciliation and Implementation which states:

To effectively address climate change and advance the process of reconciliation, the City of Toronto will meaningfully engage Indigenous Peoples in an ongoing partnership that upholds Indigenous rights, knowledge and their approaches to climate change to avoid the pitfalls of failed climate strategies (2021, p. 84).

Saanich lists working towards reconciliation as one of its guiding principles, defined as “Support Saanich’s work towards reconciliation with local First Nations governments through collaborations on climate action” (2020, p. 13). Five out of the seven municipalities that draw this direct connection engaged with Indigenous representatives in developing their CAP and three of those have existing partnerships. The remaining two have stated intentions to collaborate.

Three out of the four CAPs that do not directly link reconciliation to collaboration list reconciliation as one of the benefits of climate action. For example, the Capital Region District, BC, states as one of its guiding principles that actions should “maximize co-benefits, including

reducing GHG emissions, increasing resilience, improving affordability, expanding economic opportunities, improving health and well-being, advancing reconciliation, and more” (2021, p. 3). Throughout the rest of its CAP, the Capital Region District notes opportunities to partner with First Nations. The fourth in this group, Beaumont, AB, has a section explaining the history of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as the reason why “the City’s Strategic Plan, Municipal Development Plan, and Social Master Plan require that municipal program delivery and policy development reflect, recognize, and respect the community’s Indigenous peoples, their history and culture, and connection to the land” (2021, p. 2). Elsewhere in their CAP, Beaumont lists the Confederacy of Treaty Six First Nations and Métis Nation Region 4 as potential partners for several actions.

The two CAPs that mention reconciliation but do not include any intended or existing projects are Vaughan, ON, and Burnaby, BC. Vaughan defines “Principles of Reconciliation” in its glossary as “Treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between Indigenous peoples and the Crown intended to be acts of reconciliation based on mutual recognition and respect and a starting point or the Crown to engage in partnership” (2019, p. 95) and has a land acknowledgement, but no other references to Indigenous peoples. Burnaby states that its CAP is “Guided by our commitment to equity, reconciliation and resilience” (2021, p. 4) and has a land acknowledgement too but has no other mentions of reconciliation or of working with Indigenous peoples.

5.4 Indigenous Knowledges in CAPs

There are 19 CAPs that mention Indigenous knowledges. All 19 also at least state an intention to work with Indigenous peoples, which makes a significant correlation ($p=0.023$). However, the CAPs themselves did not always discuss the two things in conjunction. There are

five CAPs that discuss Indigenous knowledges as important for informing climate policy without explicitly connecting those knowledges to their work with Indigenous peoples. The remaining 14 CAPs make the connection between Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous peoples explicit.

The five CAPs that discuss Indigenous knowledges separately from their engagement with Indigenous peoples often use words like “incorporate” to describe their plans. The Winnipeg Metropolitan Region states that it will “Incorporate recognition of traditional Indigenous knowledge and support traditional lifestyles” (2021, p. 93) and Whitehorse, YT, writes that it will “Incorporate First Nation community-based mapping work into management planning” (2015, p. 19). Indigenous knowledges are also listed among many sources of information: Vernon, BC, writes that its “plan will be built using scientific knowledge, relevant studies and local and indigenous [sic] knowledge” (2021, p. 4) and Metro Vancouver plans on “combining traditional knowledge and wisdom with new information, evidence and technologies” (2018, p. 7). Waterloo Region, ON, is different, including a sidebar “Spotlight on Climate Justice” that reads:

Indigenous knowledge and cultural practices are crucial to addressing climate change. From a food perspective, hunting, fishing, and gathering are an integral part of that knowledge and practice. While working to reduce emissions from our diets, these practices must be respected and encouraged, and we must work toward achieving food sovereignty (2020, p. 60).

Waterloo Region and Whitehorse have stated intentions to collaborate with Indigenous peoples and the other three CAPs all had Indigenous representatives involved in their development.

The remaining 14 CAPs discuss Indigenous knowledges in connection to their engagement or collaboration with Indigenous peoples. For example, Kamloops, BC, states “It

will also be important to foster collaborations with Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc that enhance understanding of traditional ecological knowledge and Indigenous perspectives on environmental conservation and climate change” (2021, p. 57) and Windsor, ON, writes that it will “Continue to consult and engage local First Nations to further climate action based on traditional knowledge, insights and experience” (2020, p. 34). Ten of the 14 have already begun to work with Indigenous peoples, and the remaining four have stated intentions. Among those that at least state an intention to work with Indigenous peoples, there is no correlation between discussions of Indigenous knowledge and whether projects are already underway ($p=0.337$).

Within those 14, there are three CAPs that have more in-depth discussion of Indigenous knowledges. Toronto, ON, has a section devoted to how the CAP “aims to include an Indigenous worldview” (2021, p. 24). The CAP states:

This can be done in part by asking big questions, such as "are we good ancestors?", and “how are we honouring the land, water, and all our relations?” Through asking these questions, learning from Indigenous stories and expertise, and having respectful, ongoing engagement with local Indigenous Peoples, the City aims to address climate change as one part of advancing the reconciliation process (2021, p. 24).

Courtenay, BC, worked with K'ómoks First Nation to include excerpts from the K'ómoks Comprehensive Community Plan and K'ómoks Marine Use Plan in their CAP. Courtenay's CAP cites K'ómoks values and teachings such as “Protocol as a foundational cultural tool to manage resources throughout KFN territories. Protocol includes acknowledging which Nation's territory one is in, asking permission to utilize resources, and sharing in benefits” (City of Courtenay, 2022, p. 29). Iqaluit, NU, engaged with Inuit elders to develop a plan based in Inuit *Qaujimaqatugangit* and lists important values in Inuktitut at the beginning of the CAP. Iqaluit's

CAP states, “we have taken every opportunity to embrace both Inuit and Qallunaat (non-Inuit) perspectives, while ensuring that Iqaluit retains Inuit values at heart” (2014, p. 4).

5.5 Trends in Collaboration and Engagement

Among the 54 municipalities and regions that at least state intentions to work with Indigenous peoples, 24 only have intentions while 30 have already begun collaboration or engagement.¹⁹ The CAPs that show intentions but no existing work tend to focus on collaboration, while among those with existing projects, engagement is more common ($p=0.001$). Twenty-two of the 30 with existing projects separately state intentions for additional work. When those intentions are factored in, the tendency for intentions to be about collaboration gets even stronger ($p<0.001$). Overall, there are 38 municipalities and regions with intended collaboration, 23 with intended engagement, 24 with existing engagement, and 13 with existing collaborations, with substantial overlap among those categories.

Intended collaborations may be overarching or topic specific. Indigenous peoples might be the sole target partner or on a list of potential collaborators, and the CAP may frame them as a nation or as a community organization. For example, Vancouver, BC, describes an overarching partnership specifically with local First Nations: “seek to collaborate with the $x^w m \theta k w \acute{a} y \acute{a} m$ (Musqueam), $S k w x w \acute{u} 7 m e s h$ (Squamish), and $S e l \acute{i} l w i t u l h$ (Tsleil-Waututh) First Nations on the development and implementation of climate plans” (2020, p. 4). Barrie, ON, also seeks overarching collaboration, but lists “Indigenous groups” among other community organizations: “Work with Indigenous groups, youth associations, and key community partners to determine

¹⁹ I classified references as discussing engagement when they used the words engage, dialogue, meeting, workshop, stakeholders, surveys, consult, involve, or inform, or when they talked about building relationships or incorporating perspectives. I classified references as discussing collaboration when they referred to partners or partnerships; used the words collaborate, coordinate, cooperate, work together, or meet regularly; or discussed supporting Indigenous-led initiatives or government-to-government relationships.

how they would like to be involved and supported in implementing the Plan” (2022, p. 18).

Meanwhile, the District of North Vancouver, BC, focuses on one topic, aiming to “Partner with regional First Nations to explore approaches for understanding and managing forested areas” (2017, p. 36).

Engagement, whether intended or existing, nearly always covers the entire content of the CAP rather than being topic specific. Like collaboration, engagement can include Indigenous peoples on a list or single them out and can frame them as nations or as community organizations. Unlike collaboration, engagement is sometimes open to individual Indigenous community members in addition to nations and organizations. For example, Winnipeg, MB, sets an objective to “Engage Winnipeg’s Indigenous population on issues around climate change” (2018, p. 60) and Squamish, BC, writes that “hundreds of participants gave feedback, including children, youth, and elders, community organizations, Squamish Nation members, governments, agencies and partners” (2020, p. 11).

Having existing engagement does not make CAPs more likely to have intended collaboration, existing collaboration ($p=0.400$), or existing support programs ($p=0.693$). In fact, CAPs *without* existing engagement are more likely to have intentions to collaborate ($p=0.071$). Descriptions of existing engagement are not directly connected to the influence of those engagement processes on CAP development. Usually, engagement is mentioned in the acknowledgements or introduction for the CAP, such as Metro Vancouver: “Input came from a range of organizations and individuals including other orders of government, First Nations, industry and business associations, academics, Metro Vancouver’s members, and many engaged residents” (2018, p. 2).

Some CAPs do include clear evidence of engagement in later sections; for example, Campbell River, BC, includes a list of top climate risks for Homalco, We Wai Kai, and Wei Wai Kum First Nations (2020, p. 28) and Peterborough, ON, tailored emissions reduction targets for all participating municipalities and First Nations in their regional collaboration (2016, p. 8). However, other plans with existing engagement only have short statements about intended partnerships, such as “The City of Edmonton will engage and partner with Federal/Provincial governments, regional municipalities, Indigenous communities and key stakeholders to achieve Edmonton’s climate resilience goals” (City of Edmonton, 2018, p. 26). These statements are not clearly different from those in CAPs without existing engagement. Many others have no indication of outcomes or next steps at all.

There are 13 municipalities and regions that mention existing collaborations with Indigenous peoples; however, three of those just mention the importance of “continued” collaborations without giving details. Among the remaining 10, collaboration is most often through regional initiatives: Coquitlam, BC, and kwikwəḷəm First Nation are part of a salmon restoration program (2022, p. 57), Nanaimo, BC, and Snuneymuxw First Nation are on an estuary management committee (2020, p. 33) and St. Albert, AB, is in a watershed management group with Alexis 133 and Alexander 134 First Nations reserves (2014, p. 34). Metro Vancouver includes Tsawwassen First Nation as a member (2018, p. 2) and the Winnipeg Metropolitan Region established the Collaborative Leadership Initiative for ongoing work with Métis and First Nations (2021, p. 20). Peterborough, ON, also built a regional collaboration for climate and sustainability planning that includes Hiawatha and Curve Lake First Nations (2016, p. 1). Three more have bilateral, topic-specific partnerships: Squamish, BC, with Squamish Nation on a community forest and regional transit (2020, pp. 51, 64), Vancouver, BC, on a coastal flood risk

assessment with Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations (2018, p. 44), and Winnipeg, MB, with an Indigenous social enterprise for e-waste recycling (2018, p. 50). Finally, Courtenay, BC, has an extensive partnership with K'ómoks First Nation (2022, p. 28). All but two of these municipalities and regions have other engagement or intended collaboration with Indigenous peoples.

In eight cases, CAPs describe ways of working with Indigenous peoples that are neither engagement nor collaboration. The municipality or region is either providing or planning to provide something to Indigenous peoples as part of their climate policy. Five of these municipalities have engaged with Indigenous peoples already and have other plans to work together: Toronto and Whitehorse are allocating funds (City of Toronto, 2021, p. 121; City of Whitehorse, 2011, p. 75), Vancouver is analyzing its budget and procurement policies for their impacts on Indigenous peoples and other equity-seeking communities (2020, pp. 23, 52), Strathcona County, AB, is opening up areas for harvesting native plants (2021, p. 53), and the City of North Vancouver, BC, is connecting transit and greenway trails to Squamish Nation (2014, pp. 14, 60). The Capital Region District, BC, has plans to work with First Nations for many specific projects and also “enforces the BC Building Code... upon request, in First Nations communities” (2021, p. 35). West Kelowna, BC’s wildfire prevention plan covers Westbank First Nation (2019, p. 16), with whom, the CAP notes, there are other opportunities for collaboration (2019, p. 22). Waterloo Region, ON, calls for education on climate justice and Indigenous histories (2020, p. 99) in addition to their other intended collaboration.

Many of the existing collaborations and support programs described above focus on specific topics. Overall, there are 36 CAPs that mention collaborations or engagements around a specific topic, but only 10 of them focus on a specific topic without also having something

overarching. When CAPs focus on a specific topic, the most common topic is biodiversity or ecosystem management (16 CAPs), followed by addressing risk especially on reserve (11 CAPs) and energy/emissions reduction/carbon sequestration (11 CAPs). Water and food are next with six CAPs each, and then other sectoral planning such as waste, transportation, and land use with three or four CAPs each. Three CAPs also mention environmental education. There are a few other topics with only one or two CAPs each: infrastructure, clean economy, fire protection, a service agreement, and weather monitoring. There is no correlation between whether a project is already underway and whether it is topic-specific or overarching ($p=0.120$).

5.6 Summary

Chapter 5 has presented the results of the data analysis. About half of municipalities and regions with CAPs mention Indigenous peoples in those documents. The most notable trend is that no CAP from Quebec has any references to Indigenous peoples. The way that CAPs present Indigenous contexts does not correlate to whether they are working with Indigenous peoples, but CAPs that mentioning specific nations by name are more likely to include intended or existing joint projects. Only 13 CAPs mention Reconciliation. Nineteen CAPs discuss Indigenous knowledges, often in the context of engagement work. There are very few municipalities and regions that demonstrate broad collaboration with Indigenous peoples in their CAPs, but several have begun engagement or state intentions to collaborate. The implications of these findings are discussed in Chapter 6.

6.0 Discussion

Thus far, municipal climate policy has been a missed opportunity for building decolonial collaborations. Only half of municipalities and regions mention Indigenous peoples in their CAPs, and many references are performative recognition rather than examples of meaningful collaboration. Though most references recognize Indigenous peoples as nations, CAPs typically do not include procedures for collaborations that would be appropriate for government-to-government relationships, and they avoid addressing the complexities of Indigenous self-determination. Reconciliation is not a motivating factor for municipalities and regions to initiate relationships with Indigenous peoples in most cases. Concerningly, many municipalities and regions are motivated by interest in utilizing Indigenous knowledges, rather than interest in supporting self-determination. When municipalities and regions do work with Indigenous peoples, Indigenous input is typically bounded by engagement processes or by project topics. Out of all the municipalities and regions in this study, only Peterborough, ON, Courtenay, BC, and Iqaluit, NU, provide strong examples of climate policy as a site of decolonial governance.

6.1 Municipal Climate Policy Is a Missed Opportunity for Decolonial Governance

The majority of Canadian municipalities and regions are not conducting climate planning through decolonial collaborations: half do not even mention Indigenous peoples in their CAP. Only one out of five are actively working with Indigenous peoples on climate planning, and most of those projects are constrained by engagement processes or confined to specific topics. Outside of Quebec, there is no clear set of conditions that fosters leadership in collaborative climate planning. I looked for the influence of province or territory, population size, inclusion in a census metropolitan area, year that the CAP was published, proximity to reserve land, percentage of the population that is Indigenous, and membership in several climate-focused city networks. None of

these conditions showed consistent influence across whether a CAP mentioned Indigenous peoples, showed at least an intention to work with them, and showed evidence of ongoing work.

Despite the lack of consistent defining conditions, there were a few isolated relationships between contextual factors and each category of consideration. Larger municipalities and those closer to reserve land were more likely to mention Indigenous peoples, and among those, a higher percentage of Indigenous residents correlated with stating intentions to work with Indigenous peoples. Among those with intentions, only membership in the Climate Caucus network had any correlation to work being underway. These relationships suggest that municipal capacity and Indigenous presence contribute to the likelihood that a municipality considers Indigenous rights and interests in their climate planning. Larger jurisdictions typically have more staffing and resources, and since Climate Caucus is a network for elected officials, membership indicates that decision-makers are supportive of climate action. Being close to reserve or having a larger urban Indigenous community would make it easier for municipalities to know who to work with and Indigenous leaders may be pushing for a larger role.

Bolstering both municipal and Indigenous capacity for climate planning could support greater progress with collaborations. Truly addressing climate change requires increasing resilience for all people, which cannot be done without respect for Indigenous self-determination. Municipalities have a responsibility to go beyond the duty to consult by collaborating with Indigenous peoples in ways that align with Indigenous frameworks of self-determination and resurgence. As climate planning expands its scope to influence nearly all municipal decisions, it becomes a key site to build decolonial governance through collaboration with Indigenous peoples.

6.1.1 Quebec CAPs Do Not Mention Indigenous Peoples

While in most cases, provincial context is not a significant determinant of consideration of Indigenous peoples in municipal CAPs, it is notable that no municipalities or regions in Quebec mentioned Indigenous peoples at all. There were 25 Quebec municipalities with CAPs included in this study, and none of their documents contained any of the key words in French or in English. This is a statistically significant difference from other provinces and territories, where the average percentage of CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples is 60.5%. This suggests that either the relationships between municipalities in Quebec and Indigenous peoples are not developing in the same ways as in other provinces and territories, or that approaches to climate planning remain more siloed from other areas of government.

This study did not examine indicators of the integration of climate planning into other areas of municipal governance or municipal-Indigenous relationships outside of climate planning. However, at a provincial level, Quebec is among the stronger provinces for climate action: it led on implementing carbon pricing, has the lowest per-capita emissions, and has developed an adaptation strategy (Dusyk et al., 2021). The province of Quebec has also been actively negotiating its relationships with Indigenous peoples, such as with the signing of the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement in 1975 and the *Paix des Braves* in 2002 (Cyr et al., 2022). Further study would be required to determine why Quebec municipalities are not referencing Indigenous peoples in their CAPs or collaborating with them in climate planning.

6.2 Awareness Is Often Performative

Though few municipalities are actively working with Indigenous peoples, there are 69 that mention Indigenous peoples and 57 that include statements recognizing Indigenous contexts aside from any plans to work together. Recognition does not correlate to working together: CAPs

can start with a territorial acknowledgement statement and then not have any content that demonstrates an understanding of the obligations that come with being on Indigenous land. Meanwhile, municipalities and regions may be already collaborating with Indigenous peoples without including any background information about Indigenous rights or contexts in their CAPs. Though recognition shows awareness and good intentions, it is largely symbolic, consistent with other findings on the function of territorial acknowledgements (Wark, 2021).

There is no clear line between which statements are purely performative and which intentions may translate to action. The connections between recognition and potential action range from completely absent to plausible. For example, Okotoks, AB, has a territorial acknowledgement that ends by stating that “The Town remains committed to respecting Indigenous culture and reconciliation, and promoting the awareness and recognition of Indigenous people” (2021, p. v), but has no other mention of Indigenous peoples in their CAP. In this case, the connections are absent. Meanwhile, Toronto, ON, has a substantial section on Indigenous worldviews (2021, p. 24). Toronto attempted to work with Indigenous peoples as part of their CAP development but notes that due to short timelines, there was a “lack of meaningful engagement and co-development” (2021, p. 84). The City commits to working with Indigenous Advisory Circles on CAP implementation and updates (2021, p. 85). Toronto’s intention to translate recognition into meaningful work seems plausible, but the words in the CAP would remain performative if the City fails to fulfill its commitment.

While strong language around Indigenous rights can make CAPs seem more progressive, it does not directly accomplish anything. Increasing the number of plans that claim to be “actively working toward climate justice, anti-racism, and decolonization” (Region of Waterloo, 2020, pp. 99–100) is less important than building the relationships that would support decolonial

governance. Stated commitments to decolonization are not necessary for the initiation of meaningful collaboration: for example, Nanaimo, BC, is actively working with Snuneymuxw First Nation on estuary management (City of Nanaimo, 2020, p. 33) but does not discuss Indigenous self-determination or include any recognition statements anywhere in its CAP. Advancing projects with tangible impacts is key for avoiding performativity.

6.3 Understandings of Indigenous Self-Determination Are Shallow

For municipalities and regions working with Indigenous peoples, it is important to respect Indigenous self-determination and work on a government-to-government basis rather than treating Indigenous nations as mere stakeholders. Indigenous peoples have inherent rights and title that differentiate them from other interested parties. Overall, the majority of municipalities that at least state an intention to work with Indigenous peoples do refer to them as nations. Forty-one out of 53 municipalities and regions use terms such as “local First Nations” rather than “Indigenous groups,” and 25 of those use specific nations’ names. However, municipalities and regions do not usually specify engagement or collaboration procedures that align with Indigenous rights and title. Indigenous nations are often on lists of partners alongside governments and community organizations or represented on stakeholder committees. Among those working with First Nations, only Courtenay, BC, specifies that it is working with Chief and Council — in all other CAPs, representatives are unspecified or listed only by name in acknowledgements of committee members.

The lack of nuance around processes for government-to-government relationships hinders municipalities’ ability to demonstrate respect for Indigenous rights and self-determination. Though there is a growing recognition that Indigenous peoples are *rights holders*, *not stakeholders* (Province of British Columbia, 2023), this seems to be leading to semantic debate

rather than the development of protocols to reflect this difference. Courtenay, BC, again provides an exception, stating that the city “engaged specifically and separately with the K’ómoks First Nation in government-to-government ideas exchanges” (2022, p. 12). Without specific, separate relationships that uphold Indigenous decision-making authority, Indigenous rights and title are not fully respected in engagement or collaboration processes.

Connecting to appropriate representatives of Indigenous peoples in a landscape of self-determination can be complex, especially in urban areas, and municipalities and regions do not explore this complexity in their CAPs. London, ON, Toronto, ON, and Winnipeg, MB, are the only municipalities that specifically mention working with urban Indigenous communities.²⁰ There is no discussion of whether the municipalities are considering self-determination in urban contexts or how they are connecting with representatives of these communities. Since nearly half of Indigenous people in Canada live in large urban centres (Statistics Canada, 2022b) and many have formed new pan-Indigenous identities and community leadership structures (Tomiak, 2010), figuring out how to respect and include these communities in governance is increasingly important. Where municipalities do not have existing relationships and processes for working with urban Indigenous community representatives or Inuit, Métis, and First Nations leaders, municipal climate planners have a role to play in initiating these conversations, because respecting Indigenous self-determination is key to increasing climate resilience.

6.4 Reconciliation Does Not Consistently Have an Impact

Though reconciliation has been a major topic of conversation in Canada since the publication of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s report in 2015 and it is recognized as an important area of work for planners (Canadian Institute of Planners, 2019), only 13 CAPs

²⁰ There are other CAPs with references just to “Indigenous communities,” but they do not specify if those communities are in the city or nearby.

mention it. That is less than 20% of the CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples, despite the fact that 83% of them were published after 2015. This figure is surprisingly low, because reconciliation is frequently referenced by settler institutions in other contexts as a reason to improve relationships with Indigenous peoples. The CAPs that discuss reconciliation usually connect it to plans to work with Indigenous peoples, so in specific cases it is resonating; however, it is concerning that such a large proportion of CAPs are out of step with this major conversation.

Since reconciliation does not provide a framework for the depth of change that is needed to truly respect Indigenous self-determination, increasing its uptake should not be a priority at this point. Reconciliation is widely critiqued, both for its ability to circumscribe self-determination and protect settler legal certainty (Hill & McCall, 2015) and for its impossibility in the face of ongoing colonial violence (Unist'ot'en Camp, 2020). Citing reconciliation is politically easier for settler governments than participating in meaningful discussions about respecting Indigenous self-determination. While it is surprising that more municipal CAPs do not reflect reconciliation discourse, the real need is for relationship-building and decolonization.

6.5 Indigenous Knowledges Are in Demand

Indigenous knowledges only come up in 19 CAPs, which is also a relatively small proportion. There is a strong connection between discussing Indigenous knowledges and planning to work with Indigenous peoples: all 19 at least state an intention for joint work, and 14 explicitly make the connection between Indigenous knowledge and collaboration or engagement. On the surface, this connection is good: municipalities and regions understand that Indigenous knowledges should not be separated from Indigenous peoples. However, the language that CAPs use to refer to Indigenous knowledges indicates that they are generally being conceptualized as

resources that can be used to improve climate policy and may be a motivating factor for engaging with Indigenous peoples.

CAPs frequently state intentions to “incorporate” Indigenous knowledges, or frame increasing their understanding of Indigenous knowledges as the purpose of collaboration or engagement. For example, Strathcona County, AB, sets an objective to “Consult with Indigenous communities to learn from their ancestral knowledge and practices of stewardship to ensure conservation of biodiversity” (2021, p. 53) and Windsor, ON, plans to “Continue to consult and engage local First Nations to further climate action based on traditional knowledge, insights and experience” (2020, p. 34). The municipalities are not undertaking engagement or collaboration to support Indigenous self-determination and build decolonial governance; they are doing it to enhance their own climate policies. Additionally, only Courtenay, Iqaluit, and Toronto have any engagement with the values and perspectives present in local Indigenous knowledges. This indicates that for the other municipalities and regions, Indigenous knowledges are a somewhat reified and potentially unexplored source of information.

Seeking to learn from Indigenous knowledges without making space for Indigenous knowledge keepers to take decision-making power is a colonial practice. Indigenous scholars emphasize that Indigenous knowledges are inherently connected to worldviews and lifeways: they are not data for intellectual consumption (Liboiron, 2021; McGregor, 2013). Many Indigenous nations and communities are innovating and leading on climate action, but that does not make their knowledges automatically available for settler benefit. Municipalities and regions that want to learn from Indigenous knowledges also must be ready to support Indigenous governance and leadership.

6.6 Intentions Require Follow Through

Throughout this study, I have taken municipalities and regions at their word when they state intentions to collaborate or engage with Indigenous peoples. Though just over half of municipalities and regions that at least state intentions to work with Indigenous peoples have some form of engagement or collaboration already underway, there are far more intended projects than existing projects. Since this is a document analysis, it is beyond the scope of this project to determine whether municipalities and regions are following through on the plans that they outline in their CAPs, or whether Indigenous peoples are open to municipal attempts to work with them. This is the primary limitation of this study: implementation and reception of the projects described in CAPs are extremely important to the state of municipal-Indigenous relations.

If the intended projects described in CAPs are not implemented, then they become just a slightly more complex form of recognition. Demonstrating awareness of the need to work together is also performative if nothing is done to act upon it. There are many reasons why the intentions stated in CAPs may not become reality: municipalities and regions may lack the political will to work with Indigenous peoples in ways that support self-determination, there may not be sufficient resources for in-depth collaboration, or there may be knowledge gaps that prevent municipalities and regions from building respectful partnerships. Addressing as many of these obstacles as possible will be key for progress.

6.7 Engagement Is Not the Same as Collaboration

Most of the existing work that municipalities and regions are undertaking with Indigenous peoples can be classified as engagement rather than collaboration. There are 24 municipalities and regions with existing engagement, and just 13 with existing collaboration.

Engagement is different from collaboration because it treats Indigenous peoples as stakeholders rather than partners with decision-making power. Terms such as “survey,” “consult,” and “dialogue” indicate that the final power over decisions and implementation remains with the municipality or region. In collaborations, words like “coordinate” and “cooperate” create more space for power-sharing.

Engagement processes for stakeholders and the public can support a wide range of levels of influence, as classified in Arnstein’s Ladder (Arnstein, 1969) or the IAP2 Spectrum (International Association for Public Participation, 2018). At the top level, engagement participants have control over the decision, and the institution running the process implements what they decide. However, not even this top level accurately describes how municipalities should be working with Indigenous peoples, who should be full partners in decision-making and implementation. Indigenous peoples have self-determination and jurisdiction that overlaps with municipalities: they are not stakeholders to be empowered through engagement processes. Additionally, the engagement processes described in CAPs do not delegate municipal decision-making power to Indigenous peoples, instead serving to constrain their role in the process and keep ultimate power with the municipality.

The shortcomings of engagement processes are evident because having existing engagement often does not result in clear outputs in the CAP. There are a few exceptions, such as Campbell River, BC’s description of climate risks specific to Homalco, We Wai Kai, Wei Wai Kum, and Tlowitsis First Nations (2020, p. 28); however, many CAPs acknowledge existing engagement and have no other mention of Indigenous rights or issues. For the most part municipalities and regions who have engaged with Indigenous representatives in their planning process do not show marked differences in the objectives that they set than those who have not

engaged. Including Indigenous community members in survey processes or inviting a representative of a First Nation to sit on a steering committee may support relationship-building, but municipalities and regions need to be willing to go further and make more space for Indigenous peoples to exercise authority. In some contexts, engagement processes could become a box-ticking exercise like strictly following the duty to consult. It is important to be clear from the outset when the intention is to build decolonial governance rather than getting sidetracked establishing more limited options.

6.8 Comprehensive Collaborations Are Rare

Most existing collaborations with Indigenous peoples that are described in detail are centred on specific topics, usually related to ecosystem or water management. Restricting Indigenous authority to specific topics where they are presumed to have special interests is not uncommon (Dorries et al., 2020; Porter & Barry, 2016). These topic-specific collaborations may still be useful for relationship building and may be paired with collaborations on other topics outside the scope of a CAP and therefore outside of this study. However, even a handful of topic-specific projects does not equate to recognizing the full scope of Indigenous jurisdiction. It is notable that intended collaborations are less often confined to specific topics: many municipalities and regions state intentions to collaborate with Indigenous peoples for climate planning writ large.

With the exception of Peterborough, ON, and Courtenay, BC, these overarching collaborations have not become reality. There are many stated intentions to partner or work collaboratively with Indigenous peoples, and particularly with First Nations. It is possible that in many cases, municipalities and regions have not fully considered what that would mean in the context of climate planning. The steps for building relationships and developing joint decision-

making structures that respect Indigenous self-determination are not made clear in CAPs, and existing relationships in other policy areas are rarely mentioned. Municipalities and regions would likely benefit from guidance on how to move towards collaborative governance. General guidance could be jointly developed by diverse Indigenous leadership and municipality-serving organizations. However, the preferences of the nations that a municipality is directly working with should always take precedence over the general guidance. The examples in the next section may provide a helpful starting point for conversations about how to move forward.

6.9 Leaders in Decolonial Climate Governance

There are three municipal CAPs that demonstrate meaningful steps towards decolonial governance: the *Greater Peterborough Area Climate Change Action Plan*, the *City of Courtenay Official Community Plan*, and the *Iqaluit Sustainable Community Plan*. While other municipalities and regions may be advancing partnerships in other areas or doing work that is not reflected in their CAPs, these three have climate collaborations that go beyond what other CAPs have documented. Peterborough, ON, worked with neighbouring municipalities and Hiawatha and Curve Lake First Nations to develop their CAP. Courtenay, BC, fully integrated climate planning into their official community plan, working in partnership with K'ómoks First Nation. Iqaluit, NU, is a special case since Nunavut is under Inuit self-government, and Inuit values form the basis of Iqaluit's CAP. The rest of this section provides a bit more detail on the models that each of these CAPs describes.

6.9.1 Peterborough, ON

The *Greater Peterborough Area Climate Change Action Plan (CCAP)* was developed in partnership by the City of Peterborough, the County of Peterborough, the eight townships in the County, Hiawatha First Nation, and Curve Lake First Nation. These 12 partners had previously

come together to develop the Sustainable Peterborough Plan and the CCAP is a continuation of that partnership, focusing on GHG reduction and climate mitigation planning. Representatives from all 12 partners were present on the Steering Committee and Stakeholder Committee, along with representatives from community groups and utilities. They had support from a consultant in conducting a GHG inventory for each community and allocating emissions reduction commitments fairly to reach their collective goals (City of Peterborough, 2016).

The CCAP sets overarching strategies for climate mitigation and emissions reduction in six sectors: homes, workplaces and schools, transportation, food, land use, and health and civic engagement. It also sets targets and strategies for corporate (government operations) emissions reduction. All 12 partners approved the targets and strategies, and then each partner wrote their own plan for actions to take towards those strategies. The CCAP states the intention to continue working collaboratively as much as possible and establishes procedures for oversight by the steering committee with representation from all 12 partners (City of Peterborough, 2016).

6.9.2 Courtenay, BC

The *City of Courtenay Official Community Plan (OCP)* responds to the City's climate emergency declaration by integrating climate policy throughout municipal planning. Official Community Plans from other municipalities may have a section on climate, but Courtenay intentionally integrated climate into their OCP so that the document also serves as their CAP. Climate mitigation and adaptation concerns are woven throughout the OCP's sections on transportation, buildings, housing, environment, parks, and food (City of Courtenay, 2022). Reconciliation is another key pillar of the plan, and the City worked with K'ómoks First Nation to identify priority areas for collaboration (City of Courtenay, 2022, p. 28).

The OCP references the City’s reconciliation framework, but more importantly, it refers to ongoing work with K’ómoks First Nation throughout the plan. It cites the *KFN Comprehensive Community Plan* and *KFN Marine Use Plan* for context about K’ómoks priorities and values (2022, pp. 38–39). As part of their partnership, the OCP states that Courtenay will work with K’ómoks First Nation on land use planning, affordable low-carbon housing, estuary management, and other topics (2022, p. 28). This OCP illustrates how climate action and collaborative governance can be elevated to central positions within municipal planning.

6.9.3 Iqaluit, NU

Iqaluit, NU is the capital city of Nunavut. Nunavut is a territory of Canada that is under Inuit self-government as recognized in the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement of 1993 (City of Iqaluit, 2014, p. 6). This makes Iqaluit a special case since it does not need to have mechanisms for collaboration in place to support Indigenous governance: the city itself is part of Inuit governance. The *Iqaluit Sustainable Community Plan* is based in Inuit *Qaujimagajatuqangit*, “the knowledge and practice of Inuit ways” (City of Iqaluit, 2014, p. 4) and was developed in consultation with Inuit Elders (2014, p. 25), providing an example of climate planning under Indigenous frameworks.

Climate change is a central concern of the Plan, which is framed around three relationships: to the environment, to wellbeing, and to productivity. Relationships to the environment include management of waste, water, and energy, along with adapting to changing ice conditions as the Arctic warms. Relationship to wellbeing considers destabilization of infrastructure due to climate change and impacts on Inuit identity and food systems. Relationships to productivity considers climate disruptions on local economy and the need for

more education around climate impacts and better emergency preparedness. Community engagements for the plan were conducted in Inuktitut, English, and French to support participation from all community members, and Elders' observations of the changing climate informed adaptation policies (City of Iqaluit, 2014).

6.9.4 Summary of Cases

Though these three CAPs represent different contexts, they all demonstrate respect for Indigenous self-determination in the climate planning process. Peterborough, ON, involved Hiawatha First Nation and Curve Lake First Nation as partners in its planning process, tailored relevant targets and actions to their needs, and presented the CAP to their governments for approval. Courtenay, BC, engaged directly with K'ómoks First Nation in a government-to-government relationship to set priorities for climate planning and continues to work with them across policy areas. Iqaluit is under Inuit self-government, and its CAP is based in Inuit *Qaujimaqatuqangit* and input from community members. This diversity highlights the importance of local context in determining strategies for collaborative governance. A key similarity across these three cases is recognition of Indigenous decision-making authority.

7.0 Conclusion

This project contributes to planning practice and theory by providing an analysis of municipalities' consideration of Indigenous peoples in their climate action plans. I argue that municipal climate planning is an important site to begin governing collaboratively with Indigenous peoples because of climate change is a direct result of colonialism. Many climate impacts are similar to challenges that Indigenous peoples have already endured due to settler colonialism (Whyte, 2017). The climate 'emergency' should not be used to justify colonial jurisdiction (Erickson, 2020) or accelerate technocratic 'solutions' that perpetuate injustice (Long & Rice, 2019; Pulido & De Lara, 2018). The scale of change that is necessary to build resilience and transition away from fossil fuels provides an opportunity to shift power structures away from settler colonial and capitalist systems.

Practicing collaborative governance in climate planning contributes to decolonization. Respecting Indigenous decision-making authority and self-determination through meaningful partnerships supports the restoration of Indigenous control over land, water, social structures, financial resources, and futures (Pasternak & King, 2019). This materially contributes to decolonization, in keeping with Tuck and Yang's assertion that decolonization is not a metaphor (2012). Collaborations go beyond the limited input made possible through the duty to consult or engagement processes where the municipality retains full control, building relationships that prefigure decolonial governance.

However, this study has found that overall, Canadian municipalities and regions are missing an important opportunity to build decolonial collaborative governance through climate planning. Only half of municipal and regional CAPs mention Indigenous peoples at all, and only one out of five describe any existing work with Indigenous peoples. Municipal capacity for

climate planning, as represented by population size and support from elected officials, and Indigenous presence, in terms of proximity to reserve and percent of the municipal population, contribute to the likelihood that a municipality or region has included Indigenous peoples in their climate planning processes. However, there are no clear groups of municipalities or regions that are further along in collaboration or inclusion than others, with the exception of Quebec municipalities which do not mention Indigenous peoples in their CAPs at all. National discussions of reconciliation have influenced a few municipalities consideration of Indigenous peoples in their CAPs but have not had consistent impact.

Three municipalities — Iqaluit, NU, Peterborough, ON, and Courtenay, BC — provide strong examples of decolonial governance in climate planning. In other cases, municipalities and regions have not built true government-to-government relationships that encompass all elements of climate planning. CAPs usually refer to Indigenous peoples as nations, but do not directly address the complexities of self-determination and representation or outline structures for power sharing or collaborative decision-making. The lack of details about how municipalities and regions will address Indigenous rights and work with Indigenous peoples differently than other interested parties elides the specific demands of Indigenous rights and title. The recognition present in CAPs is often performative, and desire to benefit from Indigenous knowledges may be a driving factor in some cases. Substantial work remains to be done to establish collaborations between Canadian municipalities and Indigenous peoples that will enable effective climate planning.

7.1 Recommendations for Planning Practice

For climate planners working for Canadian municipalities and regions, four key recommendations emerge from this study. First, **understand that climate planning requires**

respect for Indigenous self-determination in order to increase resilience for all people. The work that municipal climate planners are doing provides an important area to build collaborative relationships with urban Indigenous peoples, Inuit, Métis, and First Nations. Second, **focus on projects with tangible impacts and building specific relationships** rather than flashy commitments. Writing more substantial acknowledgement of Indigenous contexts into CAPs does not correlate to work being done on the ground. Third, **build collaborative governance that respects Indigenous authority** across topics and stages of the planning process.

Engagement processes that do not allow space for Indigenous leaders to make decisions are not the same as partnerships, and Indigenous peoples have interests in topics beyond ecosystem management. Finally, **remember that governing collaboratively is the goal in and of itself**, not a strategy to gain access to Indigenous knowledges. Respecting self-determination contributes to decolonization and to climate resilience for Indigenous peoples.

Municipal and regional climate planners often face barriers to working with Indigenous peoples due to timelines and processes for plan development that are mandated by policies. There can be conflict between tight timelines and the work required for meaningful relationship-building. This presents a conundrum because municipal staff cannot rewrite the rules to accommodate Indigenous authority without having relationships with Indigenous leaders who could shape those rules. Drawing on ideas of prefiguration (Maeckelbergh, 2011) and the emphasis on process demonstrated in the Indigenous resurgence movement (Corntassel, 2012; Simpson, 2017) can help municipal staff find room to maneuver. **To build the decolonial governance practices required for effective climate planning, municipal climate planners need to prioritize respect for Indigenous self-determination, bending the rules or working outside official channels where necessary to build strong relationships.** Building these

relationships and ways of working as part of climate planning can reshape governance and develop decolonial, collaborative processes that could eventually become normalized throughout municipal planning processes.

For federal and provincial policymakers and organizations seeking to support collaborative climate planning, **providing capacity-building resources and funding to municipalities and regions and to Indigenous peoples will be crucial. Funding programs should be developed in collaboration with Indigenous leaders** as all levels of government strive to respect Indigenous self-determination through strengthening relationships and new governance practices. Municipal capacity, in terms of population and support from elected officials, influences consideration of Indigenous self-determination present in CAPs. Indigenous presence also has an influence. Providing additional resources to Indigenous peoples will support their ability to advocate for a bigger role in municipal processes as well as supporting their own climate policies and projects. Extra attention should be paid to Quebec to enable municipalities start having conversations that are already happening in other provinces and territories.

Guidance and training geared towards municipal staff would also be beneficial. A municipality's capacity to work respectfully with Indigenous peoples depends on both resources available for new projects and the cultural knowledge and skills of municipal staff. Guidance and training materials could highlight best practices for collaboration and facilitate understanding of Indigenous self-determination. These materials, as well as the format of additional funding and supports, should not be planned without diverse Indigenous project leadership. Though there is no one-size-fits-all solution, having a roadmap and answers to common questions can make the process feel more approachable to municipalities with limited resources and help them avoid the most common pitfalls.

7.2 Areas for Further Research

This study provides a comprehensive analysis of how Indigenous peoples are considered in climate action plans of Canadian municipalities and regions with populations of over 20,000 people. Further research could expand the scope of this study in two key ways. First, municipalities with populations smaller than 20,000 people may be doing innovative work. Collaboration with Indigenous peoples is often more advanced outside of major urban areas (Jones et al., 2010; Low & Shaw, 2011; Porter & Barry, 2016) so this study could be missing some useful models. Analyzing progress in smaller jurisdictions and rural areas could be fruitful. Second, there may be substantial differences between what is written into climate plans and what is being implemented through programs and policies. Settler organizations often lack the cultural capacity to smoothly collaborate with Indigenous peoples (Howitt et al., 2013). To get a complete picture of the state of the field, it would be beneficial to analyze how the intentions stated in CAPs are being implemented and how Indigenous peoples perceive municipal attempts to collaborate with them. Direct input from both municipal and Indigenous representatives would be required to identify and define best practice more accurately.

The results of this study have also generated two new questions. First, none of the documents from Quebec that were analyzed in this study had any mention of Indigenous peoples in French or English, which is a significant difference from the rate of inclusion in other provinces and territories. There is no obvious reason for this, but future research using methods that directly involve municipal staff from Quebec could help determine what the obstacles are. Second, CAPs do not address the complexities of self-determination for urban Indigenous peoples. Very few even mention working specifically with urban Indigenous communities. Urban Indigenous communities often have their own identities and leadership structures

(Tomiak, 2010), so increasing municipal capacity to navigate these relationships is important. Future research could examine how urban Indigenous communities are addressed in other municipal policy documents or conduct case studies of representation and relationships in particular areas.

Additionally, future research could support the development of a best practices guide for Canadian municipalities and regions that are interested in collaborating with Indigenous peoples. This is discussed above as a recommendation for planning practice, but it will likely require research support, particularly from organizations with connections to municipal and regional sustainability staff from across Canada as well as to representatives of urban Indigenous peoples, Inuit, Métis, and First Nations. Building a best practice guide for collaborations should be done in a collaborative manner that respects Indigenous decision-making authority and demystifies the process for municipalities. My hope is that the findings of this study provide a useful jumping-off point for the development of support systems and future collaborative climate governance.

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Appendix 1: List of Organizations

This is the full list of 248 organizations in the dataset: 234 municipalities and 14 metro-region organizations. Organizations are sorted by province or territory and then by population, with metro-region organizations and their constituent municipalities first. The 109 organizations with no CAP are in ~~strike through~~, the 70 with CAPs that have no mention of Indigenous peoples are in *italics*, and the 69 with CAPs that mention Indigenous peoples are in **bold**.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Metro Vancouver

Vancouver, BC

Surrey, BC

Burnaby, BC

Richmond, BC

Coquitlam, BC

Langley (Township), BC

Delta, BC

Maple Ridge, BC

North Vancouver (District), BC

New Westminster, BC

Port Coquitlam, BC

North Vancouver (City), BC

West Vancouver, BC

Port Moody, BC

Langley (City), BC

White Rock, BC

Pitt Meadows, BC

Capital Region District

Saanich, BC

Victoria, BC

Langford, BC

Kelowna, BC

West Kelowna, BC

Abbotsford, BC

Mission, BC

Nanaimo, BC

Kamloops, BC

Chilliwack, BC

Prince George, BC

Vernon, BC

Campbell River, BC

Penticton, BC

North Cowichan, BC

Courtenay, BC

Squamish, BC

Fort St. John, BC

Cranbrook, BC

ALBERTA

Calgary Metro Region

Calgary, AB

Airdrie, AB

~~*Rocky View County, AB*~~

Cochrane, AB

~~*Chestermere, AB*~~

Edmonton Metro Region

Edmonton, AB

Strathcona County, AB

St. Albert, AB

Spruce Grove, AB

Leduc, AB

~~*Parkland County, AB*~~

~~*Fort Saskatchewan, AB*~~

Beaumont, AB

~~*Sturgeon County, AB*~~

~~*Lethbridge, AB*~~

~~*Red Deer, AB*~~

Wood Buffalo, AB

Grande Prairie, AB

~~*Medicine Hat, AB*~~

Okotoks, AB

~~*Grande Prairie County No. 1, AB*~~

~~*Foothills No. 31, AB*~~

~~*Red Deer County, AB*~~

~~*Lloydminster (Part), AB*~~

SASKATCHEWAN

Saskatoon, SK

Regina, SK

~~*Prince Albert, SK*~~

Moose Jaw, SK

MANITOBA

Winnipeg Metro Region

Winnipeg, MB

Brandon, MB

ONTARIO**Toronto, ON**Peel Region, ON~~Mississauga, ON~~~~Brampton, ON~~~~Caledon, ON~~York Region, ON~~Markham, ON~~**Vaughan, ON**~~Richmond Hill, ON~~~~Newmarket, ON~~~~Aurora, ON~~~~Whitchurch-Stouffville, ON~~~~Georgina, ON~~~~East Gwillimbury, ON~~~~King, ON~~Halton Region, ON~~Oakville, ON~~~~Milton, ON~~**Halton Hills, ON**~~Burlington, ON~~Waterloo Region, ON~~Kitchener, ON~~~~Cambridge, ON~~~~Waterloo, ON~~~~Woolwich, ON~~~~Wilmot, ON~~Niagara Region, ON~~St. Catharines, ON~~~~Niagara Falls, ON~~~~Welland, ON~~~~Fort Erie, ON~~~~Grimsby, ON~~~~Lincoln, ON~~~~Thorold, ON~~Durham Region, ON~~Ajax, ON~~~~Pickering, ON~~~~Uxbridge, ON~~~~Oshawa, ON~~~~Whitby, ON~~~~Clarington, ON~~**Hamilton, ON****London, ON****Windsor, ON****Greater Sudbury / Grand Sudbury, ON****Barrie, ON**~~Guelph, ON~~**Kingston, ON****Thunder Bay, ON**~~Brantford, ON~~~~Chatham-Kent, ON~~**Peterborough, ON****Kawartha Lakes, ON****Sault Ste. Marie, ON**~~Sarnia, ON~~~~Norfolk County, ON~~~~Belleville, ON~~~~North Bay, ON~~~~Haldimand County, ON~~~~Cornwall, ON~~~~Woodstock, ON~~~~Quinte West, ON~~~~Bradford West Gwillimbury, ON~~~~New Tecumseth, ON~~~~Innisfil, ON~~~~St. Thomas, ON~~**Timmins, ON**~~Lakeshore, ON~~~~Brant, ON~~**Orillia, ON**~~Stratford, ON~~~~LaSalle, ON~~~~Centre Wellington, ON~~~~Orangeville, ON~~~~Leamington, ON~~~~Prince Edward County, ON~~~~Collingwood, ON~~~~Essa, ON~~~~Wasaga Beach, ON~~~~Oro-Medonte, ON~~~~Tecumseh, ON~~~~Kingsville, ON~~~~Amherstburg, ON~~~~Strathroy-Caradoc, ON~~~~Seugog, ON~~~~Huntsville, ON~~~~Springwater, ON~~~~Brockville, ON~~~~Owen Sound, ON~~~~Essex, ON~~~~Cobourg, ON~~~~South Frontenac, ON~~ONTARIO-QUEBEC CAPITAL REGION**National Capital Commission**~~Ottawa, ON~~~~Gatineau, QC~~~~Clarence-Rockland, ON~~~~Russell, ON~~

QUEBECCommunauté Métropolitaine de Montréal

~~Montréal, QC~~
~~Laval, QC~~
~~Longueuil, QC~~
~~Terrebonne, QC~~
~~Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, QC~~
~~Brossard, QC~~
~~Repentigny, QC~~
~~Saint-Jérôme, QC~~
~~Blainville, QC~~
~~Mirabel, QC~~
~~Mascouche, QC~~
~~Châteauguay, QC~~
~~Dollard-Des-Ormeaux, QC~~
~~Saint-Eustache, QC~~
~~Vaudreuil-Dorion, QC~~
~~Boucherville, QC~~
~~Côte-Saint-Luc, QC~~
~~Pointe-Claire, QC~~
~~Chambly, QC~~
~~Sainte-Julie, QC~~
~~Saint-Constant, QC~~
~~Boisbriand, QC~~
~~Saint-Bruno-de-Montarville, QC~~
~~Sainte-Thérèse, QC~~
~~La-Prairie, QC~~
~~Beloil, QC~~
~~Saint-Lin-Laurentides, QC~~
~~L'Assomption, QC~~
~~Candiac, QC~~
~~Saint-Lazare, QC~~
~~Saint-Lambert, QC~~
~~Mont-Royal, QC~~
~~Varenes, QC~~
~~Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac, QC~~
~~Westmount, QC~~
~~Kirkland, QC~~
~~Beaconsfield, QC~~

Communauté Métropolitaine de Québec

~~Québec, QC~~
~~Lévis, QC~~
~~Sherbrooke, QC~~
~~Saguenay, QC~~
~~Trois-Rivières, QC~~
~~Drummondville, QC~~
~~Granby, QC~~
~~Saint-Hyacinthe, QC~~
~~Shawinigan, QC~~
~~Rimouski, QC~~
~~Victoriaville, QC~~

~~Salaberry-de-Valleyfield, QC~~
~~Rouyn-Noranda, QC~~
~~Sorel-Tracy, QC~~
~~Saint-Georges, QC~~
~~Val-d'Or, QC~~
~~Alma, QC~~
~~Magog, QC~~
~~Thetford Mines, QC~~
~~Sept-Îles, QC~~
~~Joliette, QC~~
~~Baie-Comeau, QC~~
~~Rivière-du-Loup, QC~~

NEW BRUNSWICK

~~Moncton Area (no regional org)~~
~~Moncton, NB~~
~~Dieppe, NB~~
~~Riverview, NB~~
~~Saint John, NB~~
~~Fredericton, NB~~

NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

~~St. John's, NL~~
~~Conception Bay South, NL~~
~~Paradise, NL~~
~~Mount Pearl, NL~~

NOVA SCOTIA

~~Halifax Area (no regional org)~~
~~Halifax, NS~~
~~East Hants, NS~~
~~Cape Breton, NS~~
~~Lunenburg, NS~~
~~Kings, Subd. A, NS~~

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

~~Charlottetown, PE~~

NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

~~Yellowknife, NT~~

NUNAVUT

~~Iqaluit, NU~~

YUKON TERRITORIES

~~Whitehorse, YT~~

Appendix 2: Manifest Coding Search Terms

I used the following search terms in English and French for manifest content coding:

Words referring to Indigenous Peoples

First Nation(s), Métis, Inuit, Indigenous, Aboriginal(s), Indian(s), Nation(s), Tribe(s), Peoples, Elder(s), Two-Spirit

Première(s) Nation(s), Métis, Inuit, Autochtone(s), Indien(s), Nation(s), tribu(s), peuples, Aîné(s), bispirituelle(s)

Words referring to land

Reserve, Treaty Land Entitlement (TLE), land claims, traditional territory, territorial/land acknowledgement

Réserve(s), Terres réservées, Droits fonciers issus de traités, revendication territoriale, territoire(s) traditionnel(s), reconnaissance territoriale

Words referring to rights & (de)colonization

Treaty(ies), Aboriginal Rights, Inherent Rights, self-determination, sovereignty, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Section 35, Duty to Consult, Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC), nation-to-nation, Indian Act, self-government, reconciliation, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), colonialism, settler, decolon*, resurgence

Traité(s), droits autochtones, droits inhérents, autodétermination, souveraineté, Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones (UNDRIP), article 35, obligation de consulter, consentement préalable, donné librement et en connaissance de cause, la relation de nation à nation, Loi sur les Indiens, autonomie gouvernementale, réconciliation, La Commission de vérité et réconciliation (CVR), colonialisme, colon, décolon, réapparition*

Words referring to knowledges

Traditional Knowledge (TK), Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Indigenous Knowledge(s) (IK), teachings, worldviews, cultural, land-based

Savoir traditionnel, connaissances écologiques traditionnelles, Savoir autochtone, enseignements, vision du monde, culturelle, terrestre

Appendix 3: Latent Coding Categories

I used the following codes to categorize references to Indigenous peoples during the latent content coding.

Recognition-focused codes:

- Mention of Indigenous existence
 - Noted that AFN declared a climate emergency
 - Case study / example featuring a First Nation
 - Demographic trends
 - Mentioned as eligible for provincial or federal support
 - Mentioned within consultant's experience
 - Part of a list of community diversity
 - Part of a list of vulnerable groups
 - Featured in a photo or artwork
 - Noted consideration from provincial or federal government
 - Referenced by an engagement participant
- Recognition of Indigenous contexts
 - Discussed cultural relationship to land (i.e., a spiritual connection or significant site, NOT land rights)
 - Sanitized history
 - Specifically noted for value to diversity
 - Specifically noted for vulnerability
- Territorial acknowledgement
 - Introductory Land Acknowledgement statement
 - Other reference to traditional territories
- Discussion of rights of sovereignty
 - Colonial history
 - Indigenous language used
 - Mentioned support of land back or decolonization
 - Mentioned nation-to-nation or govt-to-govt relationship
 - Recognition of reserve lands
 - Recognition of separate jurisdiction
 - Mentioned support of sovereignty or self-determination
 - Mentioned Treaties
 - Mentioned UNDRIP

Codes for reconciliation, Indigenous knowledges, and support programs:

- Reconciliation
 - On a list of goals
 - As a specific commitment or goal
 - Reference to TRC

- Definition in a glossary
- Indigenous knowledges
 - Specific example given
 - Used as a basis for the plan
 - Will explore/investigate
 - Will incorporate/include/reflect
 - Will consult/engage/learn from
 - Will share
 - As required/necessary/crucial
 - Will respect/encourage/support
- Support programs that are not clearly collaborative
 - Increased access to city greenspace
 - Call for education on Indigenous history
 - Enforce building codes on reserve land, upon request
 - Funded programming that benefits Indigenous community
 - Established grants for Indigenous projects
 - Inclusion of reserve in fire protection planning
 - Consideration in procurement policy
 - Transit provision

Collaboration and engagement codes:

- On a list to engage or consult
 - As a government
 - As a community group
 - As community members
 - As staff
 - Unclear
- On a list of potential partners
 - As a government
 - As a community group
 - As community members
- Specific goal to engage or consult
 - As a government
 - As a community group
 - As community members
 - Unclear
- Specific goal to establish partnership
 - As a government
 - As a community group
 - As community members
 - Unclear

- Indigenous representative consulted in plan development
 - Community members engaged
 - Community organization gave input
 - Government consulted or gave input
 - Government representative on advisory committee
 - Noted lack of adequate representation
- Existing partnership
 - Bilateral partnership
 - Specific joint project underway
 - Regional partnership
 - Vague
- Inuit-led government

Topic codes used in the second round of latent coding:

- Addressing risk especially on reserve
- Biodiversity management
- Buildings and infrastructure
- Clean tech and economy
- Environmental education
- Fire protection
- Food and agriculture
- Land use and parks
- GHG emissions reduction
- Carbon sequestration
- Renewable energy
- Service agreements
- Transportation
- Waste reduction
- Water management
- Weather monitoring
- No topic specified or overarching collaboration/engagement process

Appendix 4: List of CAPs Analyzed

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