

The Role of Recent Newcomers to Canada in Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples.

by

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Abstract

This thesis sought to examine the importance of recent newcomer contribution to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. In this thesis, I argue that the road to reconciliation demands a more targeted newcomer education of Indigenous peoples and their histories, as well as a greater emphasis on face-to-face interactions at the community-level between Indigenous peoples and recent immigrants. This is not to say that reconciliation at the federal government level should be abandoned or that meaningful reconciliation can be solely achieved at the community level through interactions between Indigenous peoples and newcomers. Personal experiences and observations as well as a focus group with eight Indigenous and newcomer participants guided me in my engagement with these topics. To inform my understanding of the above, I discuss the meaning of reconciliation; degrees of settler-ism; the difference between white and settler privilege; as well as the importance of intercultural collaboration. I conclude that increased efforts to educate recent newcomers and create more opportunities for personal interactions between newcomers and Indigenous peoples has the potential to increase newcomer participation in reconciliation and strengthen Indigenous-newcomer relations.

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Table of Contents

<u>Abstract</u>	i
<u>Acknowledgement</u>	ii
<u>Table of Contents</u>	iii
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	1
<i><u>Relatedness and Positionality</u></i>	4
<i><u>Organization of Thesis</u></i>	7
<i><u>Definitions</u></i>	8
<u>Chapter 2: Methodology</u>	13
<i><u>Community-Based Research</u></i>	17
<i><u>Reflection on My Work with IPW</u></i>	19
<u>Chapter 3: The Meaning of Reconciliation</u>	25
<i><u>The Origins of Reconciliation in Canada</u></i>	25
<i><u>Key Debates on Reconciliation</u></i>	30
<i><u>My Understanding of Reconciliation</u></i>	42
<i><u>Discussion</u></i>	45
<u>Chapter 4: Intercultural Partnerships</u>	47
<i><u>Why Focus on Recent Newcomers?</u></i>	47
<i><u>Multiculturalism: An Aide or a Problem to Reconciliation?</u></i>	48
<i><u>Recent Newcomers and Settler Colonialism</u></i>	50
<i><u>Settler Privilege and White Privilege</u></i>	53
<i><u>Settler Amnesia</u></i>	55
<i><u>The Importance of Intercultural Collaboration</u></i>	57
<i><u>Discussion</u></i>	60
<u>Chapter 5: Practical Pathways Towards Achieving Reconciliation</u>	63
<i><u>Reconciliation and Recent Newcomers</u></i>	63
<i><u>Reconciliation at the Community Level</u></i>	72
<i><u>Indicators of Reconciliation</u></i>	77
<i><u>Discussion</u></i>	80
<u>Chapter 6: Conclusion</u>	83
<i><u>Limitations</u></i>	86
<i><u>Lessons Learned</u></i>	88

<i><u>Opportunities for Future Research</u></i>	91
<u>Bibliography</u>	93
<u>Appendices</u>	104

Chapter 1: Introduction

The field of reconciliation studies is full of efforts to understand, describe, and define reconciliation. Despite the significant amount of political and economic capital that is dedicated to reconciliation-promoting projects in Canada and around the world, there remains a lack on the agreement about the meaning, timing, and how to measure reconciliation efforts of different actors. While precisely defining reconciliation may be challenging, Andrew Schaap argues that its ambiguity might be advantageous.¹ The ambiguity of this term has the potential to tailor reconciliation to the specific needs and expectations of local Indigenous communities. Precisely defining reconciliation carries the risk of limiting reconciliation efforts and promoting a singular understanding that can deny Indigenous voices. I delve into a deeper discussion of reconciliation and what it means to some Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in chapter 3. A lot of what has been written on reconciliation describes government-led attempts with not enough emphasis placed on the role and importance of community-based reconciliation efforts and the role of recent newcomers in this process. As a result, the aim of my thesis is to highlight this gap in academic literature.

The focus of my thesis is to better understand the role that new immigrants should play in reconciliation and peacebuilding with Indigenous peoples. Previous work on non-Indigenous roles in reconciliation has failed to specifically address new immigrants who do not speak or understand English and French well, had no opportunities to learn Canadian and Indigenous histories, and immigrated to Canada from colonized lands. The aim of this research is to explore if recent newcomers to Canada have a role to play in reconciliation with Indigenous peoples as

¹ Schaap, A. (2005). *Political reconciliation*. London: Routledge: p. 13.

well as how recent newcomers to Canada can contribute to reconciliation. When I immigrated to Canada I was not sufficiently educated on Indigenous peoples and their histories. Over the past 12 years, I heard newcomers express the same concern over the minimal amount of education that is provided to them on topics like Canada's colonizing history and Indigenous peoples. Moreover, I had trouble figuring out my role in the Canadian government-led reconciliation movement. As such, I wanted to explore how other recent newcomers and I can contribute to reconciliation at the municipal or community-level.

In this thesis, I argue that the road to meaningful reconciliation demands a more targeted newcomer education of Indigenous peoples and their histories, as well as a greater emphasis on face-to-face interactions at the community-level between Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers. This is not to say that reconciliation at the federal government level should be abandoned or that meaningful reconciliation can be solely achieved at the community level through interactions between Indigenous peoples and newcomers. Rather, it is my understanding that educating newcomers about Canada's colonial history and its impacts on the lives of Indigenous communities and supplementing this education with experiential learning can build newcomers' understanding of such things as Indigenous demands for recognition of Aboriginal title and Treaty rights as well as expose them to the continuous mistreatment of Indigenous peoples. Throughout my thesis I will raise the following questions: what is reconciliation and what does it mean to recent newcomers? Is the Canadian approach to multiculturalism able to meaningfully support reconciliation? What are some of the ways in which newcomers can contribute to reconciliation?

In chapter 3 I ask what the meaning of reconciliation is and what it means in the context of recent immigrants to Canada. In chapter 3 I bring in not only academic literature, but also the

discussion that occurred at my focus group between Indigenous and newcomer participants. Moreover, this discussion helps to inform how newcomers and non-Indigenous peoples can be contributing to reconciliation. It is important to gain a better awareness of what reconciliation means to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in order to develop better strategies for increasing non-Indigenous contribution to reconciliation. In chapter 4 I pose several questions that investigate the importance of newcomer contribution to reconciliation, such as: is multiculturalism hindering reconciliation efforts or does it have the potential to enhance reconciliation? Throughout this chapter, I conclude that newcomers have a responsibility to contribute to reconciliation, however, many newcomers are not aware of this responsibility. The responsibility to reconcile and educate oneself about Indigenous peoples and their histories is not intuitive to every newcomer; as such, I see a need to develop educational tools and integrate them into pre or post-arrival training that many newcomers receive. In chapter 5 I discuss how newcomers can contribute to reconciliation at the community level and the importance of newcomer education. I acknowledge that increased newcomer interaction with Indigenous peoples at the community level is not enough to enhance reconciliation efforts, nor will educating newcomers as soon as they arrive to Canada end racism towards Indigenous communities. In my opinion, newcomers need to have a better understanding of settler colonialism and its continued impacts on the lives of Indigenous peoples.

This research is equally concerned with understanding how newcomers can build relations with Indigenous peoples without denying Indigenous communities their rights, knowledges, beliefs, and practices by dominating the space with projects that are based on the ideals of Western knowledge and ideology. Maintaining explicitly Western thinking and ideas has the capacity to influence, force, and challenge cultural and social spaces and discourse,

which in turn perpetuate cultural hegemony and mask the extent of the influence on the thoughts, expectations, and behaviours of the subordinate group of people. As a result, it is imperative for this research to be aware of the potential damaging effects of relying only on Western knowledge, culture, superiority and imposed perspectives in discourses which try to conceptualise and interpret the knowledge of Indigenous peoples.

I acknowledge the contested histories of Canada and Indigenous peoples as well as my subjective position in this research. To prevent promoting a non-Indigenous colonial understanding I will only know as an outsider, I challenge myself to adopt a critical awareness of my positioning as a non-Indigenous person. With such an awareness, I attempt to investigate reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, cross-cultural relationships between these two broad groups of peoples, and a way of moving beyond Western ideals of power and control to negotiated and respectful relationships that work together in a culture-sharing context.

Relatedness and Positionality

Before I begin discussing reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, it is important for me to acknowledge who I am, where I come from, and why I am attempting to better understand reconciliation and cross-cultural Indigenous-newcomer interactions. My positionality in this master's research is that of a non-Indigenous knowledge seeker, and more specifically an immigrant who came to Canada 12 years ago from Asia. Upon my arrival, I was exposed to a limited amount of information on Canadian colonialism and Indigenous histories. As a result, my understanding of Indigenous peoples was shaped by the information passed on by non-Indigenous peoples. It was only when I reached my last year of undergraduate studies I began to learn about Indigenous histories from Indigenous scholars and community leaders. The gaps in my knowledge of histories of colonialism led me to become engaged in projects and

organizations that are aimed at bridging Indigenous-newcomer relations and addressing the misconceptions that some newcomers hold about Indigenous peoples. One of the aims of my thesis is to enable me to look at the ways in which different kinds of oppressions intersect and to examine the complicity of immigrants, like myself, in the ongoing project of colonization. First, my complicity lies in my failure to acknowledge what it means to live in Canada immediately upon my arrival. In my understanding, to live in Winnipeg means more than just being a Canadian citizen- it also means being a Treaty 1 person who bears a set of benefits and responsibilities. Second, my complicity lies in my failure to engage with Indigenous histories and related topics earlier on in my life. As I research and write about Indigenous-newcomer relations, I realize the importance of learning about the histories of this land and the impacts the past has on the present.

Given my status as an ethnocultural immigrant and a settler, it is my responsibility to become educated and involved in the renewal of the positive Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationships. Taiaiake Alfred notes that every non-Indigenous person in Canada is a settler who carries the responsibility of making amends “for the crimes that were committed from which [they] have gained existence as people on this land and citizens of this country”.² The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Chair Justice Murray Sinclair reminds non-Indigenous Canadians of the importance of non-Indigenous involvement in righting the wrongs and contributing to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples.³ Sinclair says that the onus is on non-Indigenous settlers to right the wrongs of Residential Schools and to participate in the process of restoring

² Alfred, T. (2009). Restitution is the real pathway to justice for Indigenous peoples. In Gregory Younging, Jonathan Dewar & Mike Degagné, (Eds.), *Response, responsibility and renewal: Canada's truth and reconciliation journey*, Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: p. 182.

³ Sinclair, M. (2015). Reconciliation is not an aboriginal problem, it is a Canadian problem. It involves all of us. Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-tuesday-edition-1.3096950/reconciliation-is-not-an-aboriginal-problem-it-is-a-canadian-problem-it-involves-all-of-us-1.3097253>

Indigenous identities and communities. The involvement of non-Indigenous peoples and recent immigrants is important in improving their relationship with Indigenous communities. In my interactions with Winnipeg newcomers at community events, I realised that few newcomers were aware of and cared for the federal government's actions for reconciliation. Some newcomers were not aware of what the Canadian Government did for reconciliation or the TRC's Calls to Action, while others did not feel a connection to reconciliation and the responsibility to contribute to it. Creating spaces where Indigenous and newcomer peoples can come together, talk to and engage with each other can provide opportunities to understand the similarities they share and the differences that should be respected. Such interactions have the potential to invite individuals from both groups to better understand the needs and problems that they face and seek opportunities for collaborative action. There is a need for more academic and community-based discussions on the roles of newcomers in reconciliation as well as a greater emphasis on acts of reconciliation at the interpersonal and community level.

Throughout my thesis, I do not mean to suggest that recent newcomers are the only peoples that must learn and become aware of their potential complicity in colonization and their need to educate themselves. A lack of understanding and awareness is not exclusive to recent newcomers. I agree with Paulette Regan who describes settler mythological amnesia as something that many non-Indigenous peoples have.⁴ Settler amnesia relates to the forgetting of the colonial situation, prior claims of Indigenous peoples, and the violence and dishonesty that continues to shape present-day treatment of Indigenous communities.⁵ The creation of the Canadian state is a by-product of colonialization and modernization and this type of amnesia is

⁴ Regan, P. (2006). *Unsettling the settler within: Canada's peacemaker myth, reconciliation, and transformative pathways to decolonization* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/1941>

⁵ Regan, 2006.

essential to the building of settler states and societies, since being aware of such histories would hamper the progress of colonialism. Non-Indigenous Canadians contribution to reconciliation is as essential as that of recent newcomers. However, the rest of my thesis will focus on going beyond the homogenous group of non-Indigenous peoples and focusing solely on recent newcomers.

Organization of Thesis

The major research questions of this thesis are as follows: what is reconciliation? How can we understand the meanings of reconciliation among recent newcomers to Canada and Indigenous peoples? Is it important for newcomers to contribute to reconciliation with Indigenous communities? If so, how can they contribute and how can newcomers be encouraged to do so? This thesis is divided into five chapters. chapter one provides a detailed interpretation of my methodology which includes a focus group, an autoethnographic study, and observational note-taking at several Indigenous-newcomer events. Chapter two is focused on understanding reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. This chapter reviews academic and non-academic literature that has informed and inspired the construction of this research project. In this chapter, I also include the opinion of my focus group participants on reconciliation as well as my own understanding of reconciliation as an ethnocultural newcomer. In chapter three I discuss the ‘newcomer’ and give my rationale for choosing to focus on recent newcomers rather than on all non-Indigenous peoples. I also discuss the relation between newcomers and settlers, as well as settler versus white privilege. Chapter four is focused on understanding if it is important for newcomers to contribute to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. I also discuss the importance of creating more opportunities for newcomers to contribute to reconciliation at the community

level. Chapter five is the final discussion for this research project. In this chapter I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of this research and future opportunities for research.

Definitions

Throughout this thesis, I use terms that can have multiple meanings and can be understood differently depending on the context. As such, in this section I will discuss several terms and how they are understood in this thesis. Definitions of the terms listed below are bound to this thesis and I do not mean to suggest that these are the only ways to understand terms like reconciliation, recent newcomers, and ethnocultural communities.

One of the central and most important terms in my thesis is reconciliation. The concept of reconciliation is a considerably vague term, as it is a complex idea that can mean different things to different people in different contexts. In this thesis, I will use reconciliation, although conciliation might be more appropriate, especially in the context of recent immigrants. Many scholars argue that the term reconciliation suggests a return to a previously harmonious relationship which never existed between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Since recent newcomers do not have a previous relationship with Indigenous peoples that they can reconcile/return to, conciliation might be a more appropriate term as it implies the need to mend a broken relationship.⁶ Nonetheless, because reconciliation is the term that is used by the TRC, I will also use reconciliation rather than conciliation. For the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, reconciliation is “about establishing and maintaining a mutually respectful relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples in this country. For that

⁶ Garneau, D. (2012). Imaginary space of conciliation and reconciliation. *West Coast Line* 46(2): 28-38.

to happen, there must be awareness of the past, an acknowledgement of the harm that has been inflicted, atonement for the causes, and action to change behaviour.”⁷

My understanding of reconciliation continues to evolve as I listen to survivors of residential schools and their descendants share stories of their experiences; read how Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars understand reconciliation and observe how my community is addressing reconciliation. To me, reconciliation demands an awareness and a reflection on who we are, where we live. Reflecting on these questions has the capacity to encourage us to face the truth about this country’s mistreatment of Indigenous peoples and its history of colonization. The past cannot be undone, and it is important to learn about how it impacted and continues to shape Indigenous communities today. Reflecting on these questions forced me to consider what practical work needs to be done at the community level to build respect, trust, and to create new relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Moreover, reconciliation demands the involvement of non-Indigenous groups, as it is the non-Indigenous community that bears the responsibility to reconcile. As I expand on this discussion in chapter 3, I am not suggesting that my definition of reconciliation should be universally adopted- rather it reflects how I understand this concept at the time of writing this thesis. It is important for me to investigate what reconciliation means to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples for me to develop an understanding of what role newcomers can play in it.

In this thesis I investigate how Indigenous peoples and newcomers understand reconciliation and how newcomers can more effectively contribute to reconciliation. As such, I use the term recent newcomers by which I mean those individuals who immigrated to Canada in

⁷ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. Retrieved from http://trc.ca/assets/pdf/Honouring_the_Truth_Reconciling_for_the_Future_July_23_2015.pdf: p. 6.

the past ten years.⁸ To refer to Metis, Inuit, Indian, and First Nations in Canada, I will use the term Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are the original inhabitants of land that is now called Canada since time immemorial. Peoples, rather than people, not only acknowledges the multiplicity of Indigenous communities but also Indigenous nationhood.

Colonialism can be understood as the ways in which the settler society, the mainstream or the majority, continues to seize Indigenous lands for settlement and resource extraction.⁹ To be more specific about the type of colonialism, Patrick Wolfe defines settler colonialism as “a winner-take-all project whose dominant feature is not exploitation but replacement” and which is primarily concerned with acquiring land.¹⁰ Moreover, Michael Morden adds that settler colonialism is “predicated on the elimination of Indigenous inhabitants in the interest of creating space in which new societies can be invented”.¹¹ One critique that settler colonialism presents is that it demands everyone to be put into a binary relationship, wherein one has to be either the oppressor or the oppressed. This binary relationship simplifies and ignores the political, social, and cultural dynamics that exist between oppressed racialized and oppressed immigrant minorities and Indigenous peoples. As such, I am interested in exploring the relationship between such immigrants and Indigenous lands and resources seized by the British and European settlers. A concept that was widely used by British and European settlers and colonialists is *terra nullius*. In international law, *terra nullius* describes territory that is not owned by anyone, allowing the first person or nation to discover it and take title for it. The United Kingdom relied

⁸ Tremblay, M., Katzmarzyk, P., Bryan, S., Perez, C., & Ardern, C. (2005). Obesity, overweight and ethnicity. *Health Reports*, 16(4), 23-34.

⁹ Saranillio, D. I. (2013) Why Asian settler colonialism matters: a thought piece on critiques, debates, and Indigenous difference, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3:3-4, 280-294, doi: 10.1080/2201473X.2013.810697.

¹⁰ Wolfe, 1999: p. 163.

¹¹ Morden, M. (2014). Across the barricades: Non-Indigenous mobilization and settler colonialism in Canada. *Canadian Political Science Review*, 8(1), 43-62: p. 46.

on this principle to claim title to lands like Australia, even though the Australian continent was inhabited by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.¹²

The distinction between terms state and government can be lost at times, especially during informal discussions and even some academics suggest that there is no practical need to distinguish between the two terms. Conflating or using state and government ambiguously can diminish the terminological specificity that describes political, social, economic, and cultural phenomena. States are nonphysical juridical entities which exist objectively, as their existence is not predicated on the subjective opinions of other states.¹³ Governments have powers that are limited by geographic range by political boundaries, as well as by a constitution or a similar mechanism.¹⁴ Since states are not physical entities and cannot exercise their rights and responsibilities or take direct action, governments have legal monopoly over speaking and acting for the state and are tasked with representing and acting on the behalf of the state.¹⁵ As such, states, such as Canada are “nonphysical objective legal persons of international law” while governments, such as the current Trudeau government are “the exclusive coercive organization [tasked with] making and enforcing group decisions”.¹⁶

The term settler can also be understood in different ways by different people. For some, a settler has a relatively benign meaning- someone who immigrated and settled on new lands. This understanding does not carry a colonizing spirit and does not associate the harms done to Indigenous peoples with the settler. For others, the term settler carries a more negative connotation and is the one that is being used in this thesis. This type of settler has settler

¹² Fitzmaurice, A. (2007). The geneology of Terra Nullius. *Australian Historical Studies*, 38(129), 1-15.

¹³ Robinson, E. (2013). The distinction between state and government. *Geography Compass*, 7(8), 556–566: p. 560.

¹⁴ Robinson, 2013: p. 560.

¹⁵ Robinson, 2013: p. 561.

¹⁶ Robinson, 2013: p. 561.

amnesia, which obscures the facts of the past and the harms that were committed. Morden calls this a “screen memory” and suggests that this is produced when the “subject recognizes the significance of a memory but is profoundly reticent to remember it”.¹⁷ In chapter 4, I discuss the relationship between being a settler and being a recent newcomer. To investigate the complexity of this term, I focus on degrees of settler-ism in order to go beyond the binary relationship that the term settler carries and to move away from the monolithic notions of settler.

¹⁷ Morden, 2014: p. 46.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The overarching aim of my thesis is to explore the meaning of reconciliation and how recent newcomers understand this process and their role in it. This chapter outlines the methods that were employed in answering the main research questions. The information examined and analysed in this thesis was obtained from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include my focus group, observations from my participation in Indigenous-newcomer forums and community events, and autoethnography. Secondary sources include academic literature including journal articles and books. This research was approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba on August 14, 2018. Research was conducted in accordance with the University of Manitoba ethics protocols and with the current Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans.¹⁸

During the first phase of primary data collection which occurred from May to August 2018, I gathered observations as a volunteer research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (IPW). Observational method can be defined as the description of events and behaviours in a social setting for the purpose of study.¹⁹ This method gives the researcher an opportunity to systematically describe the situation under study. In this thesis, I used participant observation method, which is defined by DeWalt and DeWalt as actively learning about the activities of the people under study in their natural setting by observing and participating in

¹⁸ Focus group participants were briefed at the beginning on the themes of the focus group and they were debriefed at the end of the focus group by way of restating the goals and main points of the discussion. This gave participants the opportunity to provide comments and feedback on the knowledge gathered during the focus group. Participants were required to read and sign the Informed Consent Form (Appendix B). Upon the completion of the focus group, the information was transcribed, with the focus on analysing the contributors' perspectives on reconciliation and the role of newcomers in this process. The focus group was analysed by considering the differences and similarities between Indigenous and newcomer comments on the questions posed.

¹⁹ DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. (1998). Participant observation. In H. Russell Bernard (Ed.), *Handbook of methods in cultural anthropology* (pp.259-300). Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press: p. 79.

activities.²⁰ Observational methods can be useful to researchers in many ways. They allow researchers to observe non-verbal expressions of feelings and develop a holistic understanding of the context of the social phenomena under study. It was important for me to better understand how Indigenous peoples and newcomers interact and what the cultural parameters were between these two groups of people, as well as what members of these groups deemed to be important regarding reconciliation and bettering Indigenous-newcomer relations.

Several advantages of using the observational method over other methods of collecting data include: an opportunity to observe intricate dynamics of a culture and intercultural interactions, as well as gather participants' impressions during events.²¹ There are also some disadvantages to this method. DeMunck and Sobo note several disadvantages of using the participation observation method, such as different researchers can gain a different understanding of what they observe and information collected by the researcher might not represent the culture, cultural interactions, and non-verbal expressions appropriately.²² One of the limitations of this method is the extent to which my participation influenced the way Indigenous and newcomer participants behaved and what they said.²³

The observations were collected during IPW meetings that related to Indigenous-newcomer projects and at bridge-building events like two Indigenous-newcomer forums and First Nations community visit by newcomers. The main purpose of this data collection phase was to obtain first-hand experiences and perspectives on how best to increase positive Indigenous-

²⁰ DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. (2002). *Participant observation: A guide for fieldworkers*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

²¹ deMunck, V. C. & Sobo, E. J. (Eds) (1998). *Using methods in the field: A practical introduction and casebook*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

²² deMunck, & Sobo, 1998.

²³ Kawulich, B. B. (2005). Participant observation as a data collection method. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 6(2). Retrieved from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502430>.

newcomer interaction and engage newcomers in reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. This method was valuable to my thesis as it allowed me to discuss my observations and opinions with participants at these events and meetings and form a better understanding of reconciliation. Permissions were obtained from directors of IPW to attend meetings and collect information, and no sensitive or confidential information was used for in thesis.

I also used autoethnography as a method for self-study. Auto-ethnographic methodologies incorporate textual components as embodied research in which “researchers use their own thoughts, feelings and experiences as a means of understanding the social world”.²⁴ Autoethnography is a unique research method as it gives an opportunity for learning not only to the researcher but also to the reader. Throughout my thesis I use self-reflection to link concepts from the literature to my understanding and personal experiences. Autoethnography will allow me to interpret the experiences of newcomer and Indigenous contributors and represent them through writing. Moreover, this method has the potential to create deeper understanding of the social phenomena for the researcher and an opportunity to connect the researcher’s own story with the research.²⁵ Autoethnography allows the researcher to bring in information and knowledge from sources other than academic literature. Non-academic and community voices are important and should not be excluded from academic literature. Lastly, reading my reflection on being a settler of colour, may encourage others to become aware of realities that they have not thought of before. I am aware that many recent newcomers are not conscious of their potential complicity in ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples and many have not reflected on what it means to live on lands that have been stolen from original owners or what their role in

²⁴ Regan, P. (2010). *Unsettling the settler within: Indian residential schools, truth telling, and reconciliation in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press: p. 30.

²⁵ Denshir, S. (2013). Autoethnography. *Sociopedia.isa*, doi: 10.1177/205684601351.

reconciliation is. Reflection on such topics is not widely encouraged in literature;²⁶ as such, autoethnography can be a liberating discourse that allows me to tell my truth and expose others to other ways of understanding the subject matter at hand.

In addition to the observational method and autoethnography, I conducted a focus group with five newcomers and three Indigenous peoples in October 2018. Focus group participants were recruited in several ways. First, I advertised the focus group with printed posters (Appendix E) on the University of Manitoba and University of Winnipeg campuses. To sign up for the focus group, interested participants had to email me; details such as location of the focus group was disclosed to participants via email. The focus group took two hours to complete and was audio-recorded with the permission of the research participants. The focus group concentrated on investigating how newcomers and Indigenous peoples understood reconciliation and what the role of newcomers should be in it.

The main rationale for conducting a focus group for this thesis stems from the potential to obtain the type of data that may not have been available through primary or secondary text-based sources. Throughout my thesis I include the opinions of my Indigenous and newcomer focus group participants, but I also reflect on how some participants react to each others' commentaries. The limit of this focus group lies in its small sample size, which is not suitable for generalizations about every recent newcomer and Indigenous person. Nonetheless, conclusions drawn in this thesis have value as the information gathered allowed me to gain a better understanding of the potential roles of newcomers in reconciliation and develop a better

²⁶ Wall, S. (2006). An autoethnography on learning about autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(2). Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_2/pdf/wall.pdf

understanding of what reconciliation means to me, as well as what some members in these groups think about reconciliation.

Conducting a focus group with Indigenous and newcomer participants gave me an opportunity to create a space where both groups of peoples can hear how reconciliation is understood by others and engage in a direct conversation with each other. The results of the focus group support the conclusions made in academic literature about the lack of information that is made available to recent newcomers on Indigenous peoples, colonialism, and Canada's colonial legacies. The focus group gave newcomer and Indigenous contributors the chance to share experiences of intercultural collaboration and an opportunity to engage in and contribute to a rarely occurring face-to-face dialogue between Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers. Moreover, the focus group gave newcomers an opportunity to articulate their attitudes towards reconciliation and their relations to Indigenous peoples, as well as address the misinformation that they might have been taught and now carry which informs their actions and understanding of Indigenous communities.

Community-Based Research

When designing this master's research, it was important for me to begin with a research topic that is of practical relevance to the Indigenous-newcomer Winnipeg community. It was equally important to me that the process and results of this research are useful to the community members in making positive change in newcomer involvement in reconciliation and Indigenous-newcomer relations. Vanessa Simonds and Suzanne Christopher suggest that community-based research (CBR) complements the attempt to decolonize research and can be understood as an approach where partners build capacity in the community while working collaboratively with an

aim of social change.²⁷ CBR is aimed at promoting research methods that are culturally-sensitive and that integrate research methods that go beyond traditional Western methodologies. The widely accepted belief that Western research methodology is the only true way to collect data marginalizes other research methods. CBR places individuals whose voices are typically marginalized at the center of the research process.²⁸ Such research attempts to critically examine the assumptions that inform the research and question the widely held belief that Western methodologies are the superior and only ways of gathering legitimate knowledge and data. This does not mean that Western methods are to be rejected, rather they are adapted in a way that made the gathering of knowledge and data appropriate and beneficial to the participants and to me.

To better understand the research needs of the Indigenous-newcomer community, I became a volunteer research assistant with IPW in May 2018. Throughout my time volunteering with IPW as a research assistant, I attended meetings and assisted with events that focused on introducing Indigenous-newcomer communities to each other. An awareness of the research needs of Indigenous-newcomer communities led me to explore academic literature on this topic. A review of literature showed that there is a lack of research on Indigenous and newcomer-related topics, as well as the role that new immigrants have in reconciliation process. As a result, I tried to build my research process in a way that would recognize and utilize the expertise that Indigenous-newcomer community members have and recognize the power imbalances between academic researchers and community members. Finally, the research process for my thesis was

²⁷ Simonds, V. W. and Christopher, S. (2013). Adapting Western research methods to Indigenous ways of knowing. *American journal of public health*, 103(12): p. 2185-2192.

²⁸ Simonds and Christopher, 2013.

driven by values of empowering Indigenous and ethnocultural communities, building supportive relationships, and learning as an ongoing process.

Reflection on My Work with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg

While volunteering as a research assistant with IPW, I participated and gathered experiences and observations at various Indigenous-newcomer community events. IPW is an organization that is aimed at establishing, facilitating, and implementing a community-wide strategy for improving newcomer settlement and integration.²⁹ For this thesis, I gathered my observations from three IPW projects: The Indigenous orientation toolkit for newcomers; two Indigenous-newcomer forums; and the First Nations Community Newcomer Visit.

In August 2018, more than 20 individuals from various ethnocultural communities attended a Pow Wow celebration at a First Nations Community in Manitoba. The day began in the morning as newcomer participants gathered at the IPW office for breakfast and were asked to fill out a pre-visit evaluation sheet which sought to understand the level of knowledge the attendees had about Indigenous peoples, their cultures, and histories. During breakfast, attendees were given an informative and interactive presentation/orientation by a former Chief of a First Nations Community. The Former Chief discussed treaties, residential schools, Indigenous cultures, histories, and some popular misconceptions about Indigenous peoples. Upon arrival at the Pow Wow, newcomers engaged in conversations with Indigenous attendees and observed Indigenous cultures and traditions. This event gave the newcomer attendees the opportunity to better understand the dynamics of their relationship with Indigenous peoples and gain a better understanding of some Indigenous nations through experiential learning. In addition to this

²⁹ Immigration Partnership Winnipeg. (n.d.) About us. Retrieved from <https://www.ipwinnipeg.org/about-us>

event, I attended two Indigenous-newcomer forums that were organized by IPW. These events were part of a series of bridge-building forums during which Indigenous peoples and newcomers from a variety of ethnocultural communities came together to make connections, learn or teach about Indigenous histories, and address stereotypes about each other's cultures.

Finally, IPW has been working on an Indigenous orientation toolkit for newcomers, which will have a text and video component and will be distributed to Winnipeg newcomers in order to teach them about Indigenous peoples. This multiyear project is aimed at addressing the gap between Indigenous peoples and newcomers and involves Indigenous curriculum developers, facilitators, and consultants. A report conducted by IPW in 2016 motivated IPW's efforts to address the minimal attention that is given to newcomer education of Indigenous-related topics.

As I reflect on my participation in these events and projects and on my observations of the experiences of other newcomers, I begin to realize the importance of cross-cultural interactions and dialogue between newcomers and Indigenous peoples at the community level. For newcomers, especially those who are not proficient in English or French and have no knowledge of Indigenous peoples, education and first-hand interactions with Indigenous peoples is important. Events organized by local organizations that work with newcomer or Indigenous peoples can provide newcomers the opportunity to take their knowledge beyond what they read and hear about Indigenous peoples and then reflect about these experiences to develop new knowledge, attitudes and new ways of thinking about Indigenous communities, colonialism, and their role in reconciliation. Being at the Pow Wow as a first-generation settler on Treaty One land, I began to reflect on what it means to live here and what I should know in order to do so.

White European racism and the theft of Indigenous lands and resources created the foundations of the benefits I enjoy. The dilemmas of reconciliation have as much to do with the future as with the past. In 1763, the Crown issued a proclamation that recognised Indigenous nationhood, territory and rights in land that could only be extinguished with consent.³⁰ In the 1870s, the Crown made real progress in signing treaties on the Canadian prairies so that land could be opened quickly for settlement. As I continue to educate myself on what it means to live on Treaty land, I am also learning what makes me part of Treaty One. Most Canadians exercise a treaty right simply by living where they do as we are all treaty people. Often this seems to be forgotten. Imbued with the myth of *terra nullius*, many Canadians live more comfortably not knowing that Indigenous peoples had their own understandings of treaty making as a form of sharing. This false feeling of innocence is very attractive and forms a large part of Canadian understanding of its history. It also offers absolution from the things that were done hundreds of years ago, offering a pardon from the burdens of the past. Learning that I am a treaty person made me realize that while it was the Canadian Government that granted me permission to immigrate here and seek a better life, I cannot abstain from reflecting on the means the Crown took to obtain this land and its resources.

The practices of colonialism stem from Canada's formation on unapologetic colonialism and on settler amnesia. With the expansion of European imperial powers like France and England in the 16th to the 20th centuries resulted in the seizure of Indigenous lands and resources.³¹ The English and French policies demanded domination, coercion, and ethnic cleansing of Indigenous communities to make space for European newcomers.

³⁰ First Nations Studies Program. (n.d.). Royal Proclamation, 1763. Retrieved from https://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/royal_proclamation_1763/

³¹ First Nations Studies Program, n.d.

Acknowledgement is an important step in the process of reconciliation, and it is no simple or small thing. Many Canadians do not experience the history of this nation as a burden, having only selective knowledge of it, while Indigenous communities live its legacy in suspicion and in brokenness as a result of it. Part of reconciliation is the acknowledgement of the broken relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. We need to recognize how Canada's unapologetic colonization had and continues to affect Indigenous communities.

As I continue to reflect on my responsibilities as a Treaty person, I want to better understand reconciliation and my role in it. In my search, I reflected on the actions the Canadian Government is doing to promote reconciliation with Indigenous communities. As I was reading the arguments of Taiaiake Alfred, Jeff Corntassel, and Sheryl Lightfoot, I began to question the government-led reconciliation discourse and its attempts to reconcile with Indigenous peoples. This led me to consider the extent to which the government-led discourse on reconciliation is offered as a pacifier to Indigenous communities, as a process of avoiding the real issues, and as a process for non-Indigenous peoples to give themselves forgiveness. The focus of the mainstream reconciliation, or practical reconciliation, in public discourse seems to miss the mark and divert the attention from substantive issues such as self-determination, land claims, and sovereignty.³² Assimilation, rather than reconciliation, overshadows the opportunity to understand the ways in which Canada might effectively and meaningfully engage with reconciliation.

Leanne Simpson asks how non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples can reconcile if only one side of this relationship understands the purpose of reconciliation and the contemporary

³² Borrows, J. (2004). *Practical reconciliation, practical recolonization?* Canberra, ACT: Native Title Research Unit AIATSIS.

injustices and dispossessions, occupations, and the perpetuation of colonialism.³³ With this in mind, I aim the rest of my thesis at showing the importance of recent newcomer recognition of their responsibility in reconciliation. The focus of my thesis lies in rethinking the relationship between recent newcomers and Indigenous peoples, so that instead of posing the question about reconciliation as a matter of what do ‘they’ want, the focus shifts to what I can do. Much of the burden lies on non-Indigenous peoples and newcomers to educate themselves and to begin showing their desire to reconcile with Indigenous communities. Moreover, reconciliation demands the acknowledgement and respect of Indigenous rights and title, and support for the reclamation of Indigenous identities, languages, cultures, and nationhood.

A greater emphasis must be placed on addressing reconciliation at the community level and giving newcomers opportunities to understand their roles in this process. Efforts to achieve reconciliation will be less successful if the growing newcomer population is unaware of the importance of knowing history and how they can support Indigenous claims. With this research I attempt to shed light on the possibilities and limits of reconciliation in settler colonial Canada among new immigrants. My hope is to invite newcomers to begin conversations with Indigenous peoples. With that said, I hope the following does not deter them from doing so, as learning about one’s potential complicity in colonization might be shocking, discouraging, and challenging to accept for some newcomers.

It is important to not accept reconciliation as a final act aimed at ending the conversation about Indigenous concerns and demands. By focusing on the relationship of Indigenous and European settlers in the process of reconciliation, the multicultural reality of Canada can be left

³³ Simpson, L. (2011). *Dancing on our turtle’s back: Stories of Nishnaabeg re-creation, resurgence, and a new emergence*. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Press.

out and forgotten. There cannot be collective responsibility for the trauma experienced by Residential School Survivors and for the traumas that happened before and after if new immigrants are not taking the responsibility to contribute to reconciliation. By ignoring or being unaware of their responsibilities, there is a risk that reconciliation will focus only on the past wrongdoings and ignore how settler colonialism continues to exist and how misconceptions about Indigenous peoples continue to be perpetuated by non-Indigenous Canadians.³⁴

In order to avoid the Australian reconciliation experience which remained extremely tightly controlled and was managed within political boundaries which were acceptable only to the settler colonial state, there is a need to think about reconciliation on the community level, where non-Indigenous peoples can have the opportunity to directly discuss this process with Indigenous communities.

³⁴ Wolfe, 1999.

Chapter 3: The Meaning of Reconciliation

A review of recent literature shows that reconciliation is a complex topic that has many definitions, understandings, and sparks several debates. The focus of this chapter is to investigate how academic and non-academic sources understand reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the origins of reconciliation in Canada and the impact federal inquiries and related litigations have had on the current state of reconciliation. The section following will present three debates and issues on the topic of reconciliation by discussing and analysing several authors and their arguments. The final section will present my understanding of reconciliation and I will also discuss what participants at my focus group said about reconciliation. I will end this chapter with a discussion of the gaps that exist in the literature and how I aim to address some of them in this thesis.

The Origins of Reconciliation in Canada

One of the first national attempts to address reconciliation and injustices inflicted upon Indigenous peoples was in 1996. The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) was established in 1991 shortly after the Oka Crisis which was a 78-day armed standoff between the Canadian army, the Mohawk community of Kanesatake, and the Sûreté du Québec.³⁵ One of the goals of the Commission was to bring justice to the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and to provide solutions to some of the problems that persist in the Canadian society, such as racism towards and discrimination of Indigenous communities.³⁶ After conducting nearly 200 public hearings and hearing briefs from thousands of people, the final report was published in 1996 which addressed a number of issues such as treaties, self-

³⁵ Marshall, T. (2014). Oka crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/oka-crisis>.

³⁶ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. (2010). Highlights from the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Retrieved from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014597/1100100014637>

governance, economic development, the North, housing and health. In this report, RCAP encouraged Canadians to begin a national discussion on reconciliation, which could contribute to the betterment of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. The Report explains reconciliation as a process in which Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples continuously ensure that the harms of the past are not carried on in the present and into the future.³⁷ Many of the recommendations made in the report have yet to be implemented today, however, some advances have been made in land claims and self-government agreements. Abele, Alexiuk, George, and MacQuarrie claim that there is a “generally more positive climate in many regions” and “there are stronger foundations from which Indigenous peoples and other Canadians can continue the hard work of forging a better future together”.³⁸

Throughout the 1990s, Indigenous activism and the need to take legal action surrounding the legacy of Residential Schools gained momentum. One of the more prominent examples of this movement occurred in 1996, when a group of Residential School Survivors in British Columbia filed a class-action lawsuit against the Canadian Government and the United Church of Canada.³⁹ The landmark case of *Blackwater v. Plint* (2005) sought compensation for Indigenous Residential School Survivors subjected to multiple forms of abuse.⁴⁰ The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the Churches share responsibility with the Government for the damages done. This case helped to open the door to thousands of other settlements, ultimately resulting in the 2006 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. As a result of this

³⁷ Canada. (1996). Royal commission report on Aboriginal peoples. Ottawa, ON: Assembly of First Nations.

³⁸ Abele, F., Alexiuk, E., George, H., and MacQuarrie, C. (2016). Completing confederation: The necessary foundations. Retrieved from https://www.queensu.ca/sps/sites/webpublish.queensu.ca.spswww/files/files/Events/Conferences/RCAP/Papers/Abel_e_Satsan_Alexiuk_Macquarrie_Completing_Confederation.doc.pdf

³⁹ Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. (n.d.). Litigation and courts. Retrieved from <https://indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/litigation-and-courts/>

⁴⁰ *Blackwater v. Plint*, [2005] 3 SCR 3.

agreement, Survivors, representatives of First Nations and Inuit governments, representatives of the Churches and the Government of Canada settled one of the largest class-action settlements in Canadian history.⁴¹ This Agreement also set aside \$60 million for a five-year Truth and Reconciliation Commission that would provide opportunities for individuals, families, and communities to share their stories and experiences of trauma and survival.⁴²

Almost twenty years after RCAP, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) offered another opportunity for the Canadian Government and Canadian citizens to address their relationship with Indigenous peoples and begin a new path towards reconciliation. The TRC sees reconciliation as the creation and maintenance of a relationship that is respectful to Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.⁴³ Such a relationship demands non-Indigenous peoples to become educated on how to amend the harms of the past and gain an understanding of how to never repeat the behaviour that inflicted such harms. In the report, the TRC proposed 94 Calls to Action which help to define TRC's understanding of reconciliation. Similarly, to RCAP, the TRC's Calls to Action focus on a few topics such as education, child welfare, reconciliation, newcomers to Canada, among others. The TRC emphasises the importance of non-Indigenous participation in reconciliation with the 94 Calls to Action. These Calls highlight areas that need to be addressed by non-Indigenous peoples, however, the TRC does not go into detail explaining how to implement these Calls. The lack of details and explicit directions give an opportunity for non-Indigenous individuals, communities, and organizations to implement the Calls in consultation with Indigenous peoples that live near their communities.

⁴¹ Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. (n.d.).

⁴² The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (n.d.). About us. Retrieved from <http://www.trc.ca/about-us.html>

⁴³ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015.

The RCAP and its recommendations had a significant impact on the TRC. The RCAP Report put forward a vision for completely restructuring the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada by setting out a 20-year agenda for change. In my opinion, one of RCAP's most impactful contributions to reconciliation was its argument that a strong future cannot be built unless non-Indigenous Canadians recognize and correct the injustices of the past. Nonetheless, the failure to implement a significant portion of RCAP's 400-plus recommendations present a missed opportunity for non-Indigenous Canadians and the Canadian government. What also contributed to the limited success of RCAP was the Canadian federal budget. The budget remained tight and the two percent spending cap placed on transfers to First Nations resulted in approaches that favoured reconciliation at the cheapest price.⁴⁴ The TRC impacted the reconciliation movement by bringing the stories of Residential School Survivors to the forefront of public dialogue. Dr. Marie Wilson, Commissioner of the TRC, estimated that at the early gatherings of the TRC around 90 percent of attendees were Indigenous.⁴⁵ By the end of the hearings nearly 50 percent of the participants were non-Indigenous. In 2019, Beyond 94, an interactive website created by CBC, shows that ten Calls to Action have been completed, 21 Calls have projects underway, 35 Calls have projects proposed, and 28 Calls have not been started.⁴⁶ Although the progress that is being made is slow and very little information is publicly available on how the remaining Calls will be implemented, it is encouraging to see that 56 Calls are currently receiving some attention.

⁴⁴ Schwartz, D. (2013). How does native funding work? Retrieved from <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/how-does-native-funding-work-1.1301120>.

⁴⁵ Institute on Governance. (2015). Revisiting RCAP: Towards reconciliation: The future of Indigenous governance. Retrieved from <https://iog.ca/docs/Revisiting-RCAP-Conference-Report.pdf>; p. 6.

⁴⁶ CBC/Radio-Canada. (2018). Beyond 94: Truth and Reconciliation. Retrieved from <https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform-single/beyond-94?&cta=1>

The TRC and RCAP contributed to reconciliation by encouraging non-Indigenous Canadians to recognize reconciliation as a process, not a destination. However, even after the completion of the RCAP and the TRC, Canada continues to struggle with what reconciliation looks like and with acknowledging the centuries of inequity that continue to exist between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. While efforts to achieve reconciliation have been made, a lot more effort and work remains to be done. The need for more public dialogue and leadership to advance reconciliation were prominent goals of the RCAP and TRC reports. The healing process that is essential to reconciliation must be continued and form the basis of new relationships and dialogue. This dialogue should have a central process, which is to bring the Canadian Government and Indigenous nations to respect each other. This dialogue should recognize the existence of multiple histories, present opportunities and provide a path to a common understanding.

In addition to the federal inquiries, the Canadian federal government tried to apologize for the harms it inflicted upon Indigenous peoples. On June 11, 2008, Canada's former Prime Minister Stephen Harper publicly apologized to Indigenous Peoples for the Indian Residential School system. The 2008 apology came after years of struggles by Indigenous communities to gain some restitution from reluctant institutions.⁴⁷ In May 2016, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau had Canada's objector status for the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples removed from the United Nations, which has been in place since 2007. These acts contributed to the conversation on what reconciliation with Indigenous peoples means to the federal government of Canada as well as to non-Indigenous peoples, although some argue that

⁴⁷ James, M. (2017). Narrative robustness, post-apology conduct, and Canada's 1998 and 2008 residential schools apologies. In Berber Bevernage and Nico Wouters (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of state-sponsored history after 1945* (pp. 831-847). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK: p. 833.

the apology and the removal of the objector status was done in part to end the discussion of colonization and Indigenous demands for reparations.⁴⁸ A lot has been written about the Canadian federal government's attempts to address reconciliation; what follows, is a small sample of these discussions.

Key Debates on Reconciliation

Canadian Federal Government's Approach to Reconciliation

Much of the literature on Canadian reconciliation is critical of the Canadian federal government's attempts at addressing the harms inflicted on Indigenous peoples and at achieving reconciliation. In this subsection I will focus on three scholars, Sheryl Lightfoot, Bain Attwood, and Taiaiake Alfred, and their arguments on the state's attempts to address reconciliation.

One of the most vital roles of official apologies is the reconciliation of the relationship between the parties involved.⁴⁹ Francesca Dominello suggests that official apologies have the capacity to advance reconciliation movement by showing respect to victims and restoring "the dignity of victims violated by past wrongdoing".⁵⁰ Meaningful apologies should be accompanied by additional reparative measures that will help victims to overcome "the practical effects of past injustices and ensur[e] against their repetition in the future".⁵¹ As such, an official apology has the capacity not only to "provide a much-needed shift in public attitudes toward tribes in the country, as well as attitudes of Native people toward the federal government" but also to accept

⁴⁸ Lightfoot, S. R. (2012). Selective endorsement without intent to implement: Indigenous rights and the Anglosphere, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 16(1), 100-122, doi: 10.1080/13642987.2012.622139

⁴⁹ Barkan, E., & Karn, A. (2006). *Taking wrongs seriously: Apologies and reconciliation*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press: p. 7.

⁵⁰ Dominello, F. G. (2017). Political apologies and their challenges in achieving justice for Indigenous peoples in Australia and Canada. *Oñati Socio-Legal Series*, 7(2): p. 280.

⁵¹ Dominello, 2017: p. 280.

responsibility for the harms that were inflicted.⁵² The capacity of official apologies to ameliorate the relationship between parties involved is particularly important in settler-colonized nations like Canada.

Sheryl Lightfoot argues that while official apologies to Indigenous peoples offered by settler governments like Canada and Australia have the potential to be meaningful in reconciling the Indigenous-state relationship, they turn out to be meaningless and serve as performative symbolism.⁵³ For Lightfoot, an apology can be meaningful only if it is accompanied by a comprehensive acknowledgment of the wrongs of the past and present and the state commits to changing its future policies with regard to Indigenous peoples.⁵⁴ I agree with Lightfoot that an apology should be an invitation to further reconciliation and the renegotiation process that can help to build a relationship of mutual respect between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Dominello points out several flaws with the 2008 apology offered by the Canadian federal government. First, the official apology was not legally binding in any way.⁵⁵ The apology did not challenge the laws which caused and continue to cause harms to Indigenous peoples, nor did the apology lead to substantive changes in the Indigenous-settler relationship or the creation of a nation-to-nation relationship. Second, Dominello argues that the apology was “made according to political procedures” with little regard to whether it will be accepted by Indigenous peoples.⁵⁶ I support Dominello’s evaluation as it shows the paradoxical nature of the official apology,

⁵² Kin, L.B. (2011). A Tree Fell in the Forest: The U.S. apologized to Native Americans and no one heard a sound. *The Indian Country Today*, 29 (15). Retrieved from: <https://tlpi.wordpress.com/2011/12/03/a-tree-fell-in-the-forest>

⁵³ Lightfoot, S. (2015). Settler state apologies to Indigenous peoples: A normative framework and comparative assessment. *Native American Indigenous Studies*, 2(1): p. 15-39.

⁵⁴ Lightfoot, 2015.

⁵⁵ Dominello, 2017: p. 291.

⁵⁶ Dominello, 2017: p. 292.

which seems to want to promote Indigenous rights and reconciliation, yet in a way that maintains the colonial status quo.

Writing about the Australian reconciliation process, Bain Attwood takes a similarly critical approach in his discussion of the Australian federal government's approach to reconciliation by focusing on 'shared history'.⁵⁷ This discussion is relevant to the Canadian attempts to streamline Indigenous narratives into the mainstream non-Indigenous narratives. Attwood notes that Australian reconciliationists argued that reconciliation could be advanced only if Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories are embraced into one historical narrative- a shared history. Attwood highlights problems with the concept of 'shared history' by arguing that the persistence of everyone having a shared history hinders the progress of reconciliation. Doing so insists that all groups must condense their individual histories and stories into one. Attwood further notes that this concept forgets that if there are two groups within one society, one of which identifies as being colonized by the other group, conflicting attitudes, opinions, and feelings about the colonial past will persist and the histories of each will clash.

The idea of 'shared history' has been less prominent in Canada, however, it has been indirectly promoted by the federal government on several occasions. For example, in the 2008 federal government apology to Indigenous peoples, the Prime Minister asserted that "Canada has no history of colonialism".⁵⁸ This remark suggests the need to ignore the harms inflicted on Indigenous communities and the impacts of these harms on Indigenous peoples today. The idea of a 'shared history' and the desire to erase Canada's colonizing acts is problematic as it jumps

⁵⁷ Attwood, B. (2005). Unsettling pasts: reconciliation and history in settler Australia. *Post-Colonial Studies*, 8(3), 243-259.

⁵⁸ C-Span. (2010, June 27). *Canadian Prime Minister Harper G-20 closing news conference*. Retrieved from <https://www.c-span.org/video/?294278-1/canadian-prime-minister-harper-20-closing-news-conference>

over the need for an apology, ignoring the suffering and pain of Indigenous peoples. It goes without saying that apologies are an important part of reconciliation and healing, and a ‘shared history’ might not adequately showcase the trauma experienced by the colonized; rather, it masks it. Reconciliation practices like ‘shared history’ and attempts to forget colonizing history try to equate and assimilate the histories and experiences of Indigenous peoples with those of non-Indigenous peoples, however, it is the inherent differences that must be acknowledged and highlighted in order for reconciliation to be effective at addressing Indigenous needs and demands. The recognition of Indigenous peoples’ rights, their different histories, and the futures they see for themselves must be considered in discussions about reconciliation.

Taiaiake Alfred argues that reconciliation is yet another way that the Canadian federal government is attempting to assimilate and appease Indigenous peoples.⁵⁹ Alfred is also critical of the timing of reconciliation as he contends that reconciliation should come only after justice has been done, after land has been returned, sovereignty restored, the Indian Act has been either abolished or amended according to the needs of Indigenous peoples, and the nation-to-nation-relationship healed. Without these steps, reconciliation “would permanently enshrine colonial injustices and is itself a further injustice”.⁶⁰ Glen Sean Coulthard promotes a similar understanding by arguing that Canadian federal government-led reconciliation movement is used to mask the continuation of the colonial regime and it does not progress Indigenous freedoms and autonomy.⁶¹

In my understanding, as long as the federal government has the sole power to decide when an apology is given and the manner in which the apology is done, it will continue to

⁵⁹ Alfred, 2009.

⁶⁰ Alfred, 2009: p. 152.

⁶¹ Coulthard, G. S. (2014). *Red skin, white masks*. Minnesota: The University of Minnesota.

promote the colonial hierarchy which denies Indigenous communities space in reconciliation talks and force them to depend on the laws of the colonizer. Coulthard explains that government-led reconciliation is not only minimally disruptive, it allows for maintenance of the status quo.⁶² A new relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples demands a transformation of the legal, political, cultural, economic, and social order. Moreover, I see a need to reconsider the way reconciliation is understood at the political, societal, and legal levels so that it would give a greater voice to Indigenous peoples. The lack of consultation with Indigenous communities on how to define and understand reconciliation can invariably lead to a disparity in understanding and implementing this process, and to unauthentic, self-serving, and inadequate acts of addressing Indigenous concerns. Considering the many meaningless attempts by the Canadian state to address reconciliation, is reconciliation still relevant?

Interpreting Reconciliation

Considering the multitude of ways to understand reconciliation and the continuous insincere attempts by the Canadian state to address it, should reconciliation be abandoned? I will focus on the arguments of Victoria Freeman, Sarah Maddison, and Dorothy Christian to support my argument that reconciliation efforts should not be abandoned especially at the community level.

If reconciliation remains as a top-down process that is promoted and set in stone by the Canadian federal government, then non-Indigenous efforts might be less successful. In my opinion, building relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples at the community and interpersonal level as well as engaging non-Indigenous communities in a more

⁶² Coulthard, 2014.

direct conversations with Indigenous perspectives has the potential to encourage non-Indigenous peoples to reflect on what it means to be a treaty person. For Freeman, reconciliation remains as a valuable concept because it supports “the emotional, psychological, and human changes that are necessary for true decolonization”.⁶³ Freeman states that we should not do away with the concept of reconciliation as it offers some benefits that, for example, the concept of decolonization cannot offer and that are imperative for political and economic reformulations.⁶⁴

An approach to reconciliation that is driven only by the federal government is problematic as it will reinforce its own hegemony by claiming an illegitimate sovereignty over Indigenous lands and peoples. I realize that it might be challenging to take non-Indigenous and the government reconciliation efforts seriously when the former prime minister of Canada states that this nation does not have a history of colonialism.⁶⁵ I suggest that continued efforts to increase non-Indigenous reconciliation efforts can help promote Indigenous efforts for decolonization, Indigenous resurgence, and honouring the spirit of the original peace and friendship treaties. Part of reconciliation with Indigenous peoples is understanding Indigenous concerns and how Indigenous communities can gain the opportunity to claim their rights, histories, and nationhood back. Working with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg on several Indigenous-newcomer community projects has led me to realise the importance of understanding and discussing reconciliation at the community level.

More academic and community discussions need to be had about what reconciliation looks like at the government and community level. Although this multi-level approach to reconciliation might be complicated, it pays attention to the political structures and their

⁶³ Freeman, V. (2014). In defence of reconciliation. *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*, 27(1): p. 216.

⁶⁴ Freeman, 2014: p. 213.

⁶⁵ C-Span, 2010.

responses to reconciliation, and it is aimed at creating shared visions of reconciliation for Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. This does not mean that there needs to be a singular vision of reconciliation. Defining reconciliation narrowly, meaning in a way that preserves the status quo of political and economic elites and avoids the efforts to address the deep structural conflicts with unknown consequences and ignores the importance of non-Indigenous participation in reconciliation should not be acceptable. I am certain that attempting to precisely define reconciliation can hinder the success of reconciling among different people and in different communities. As a result, I see the importance of creating multiple government and community efforts to understand reconciliation which can accommodate multiple meanings. This can be achieved with a multi-level approach which recognizes the need to understand who the actors are, what the needs and demands of Indigenous peoples are, as well as highlights the need to go beyond the homogenous non-Indigenous Canadian society and realise the dynamics of the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities like recent newcomers.

Sarah Maddison stresses the importance of reconciliation at different levels of society, as “overcoming structural injustice will open spaces in which further transformation can occur” such as land reform, education and economic redistribution, as well as change in justice and religious institutions.⁶⁶ At the relational level, or the community level, individuals engage in “transformative relational processes” and begin to understand and find ways to address each others needs, concerns, and demands.⁶⁷ Maddison suggests that one of the main goals at the relational level is to “create the conditions in which an enemy to whom you might want to do

⁶⁶ Maddison, S. (2016). *Conflict transformation and reconciliation: Multi-level challenges in deeply divided societies*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group: p. 15.

⁶⁷ Maddison, 2016: p. 15.

physical harm can become an adversary- someone with whom you instead engage in a democratic contest of values and ideas”.⁶⁸

A multilevel approach acknowledges the fact that different groups of the Canadian non-Indigenous population will need to approach reconciliation differently. In my understanding, recent newcomers occupy a different identity in comparison to many non-Indigenous peoples born in Canada or even those who immigrated more than ten years ago. Attending various Indigenous-newcomer events in Winnipeg, I learned that attempts to discuss concepts like self-determination or treaty federalism with new immigrants, some of whom might have minimal English proficiency and low knowledge of Canadian and Indigenous histories, is futile and ineffective. Achieving reconciliation with new immigrants demands an approach that maintains an awareness of how well they understand the language used (English or French) and the amount of and the accuracy of information they have already been exposed to about Indigenous and Canadian histories.

Dorothy Christian argues that to understand reconciliation it is imperative to focus on decolonization. Reconciliation has a close connection to decolonization, which entails the recognition of Indigenous nationhood, and respecting Indigenous treaty rights. Reconciliation alone will not be enough for decolonization. Nevertheless, I see meaningful reconciliation being complimentary to decolonization as it can help address certain aspects of decolonizing and contribute to the development of more just and equitable relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. To achieve true reconciliation and “to finally reach a place where we can honour each other’s dignity”, we must deal with the racism we have towards each other and

⁶⁸ Maddison, 2016: p. 17.

address the misconceptions we have about each other.⁶⁹ Meaningful reconciliation demands that we take “the time to build respectful relationships and ... [go] beyond the usual multicultural sharing of food and dance”.⁷⁰ Moreover, meaningful reconciliation might not always align with the government-led reconciliation efforts. Meaningful reconciliation must create “a social space, where truth, justice, vengeance, and forgiveness are validated and joined together, rather than [is] forced into a confrontation where one must win out over the other”.⁷¹ Although current mainstream discussions on reconciliation do not force us to question the present and analyse the basis of legal, political, and economic institutions and how the daily life is arranged, reconciliation should not be a pardon for past histories and current practices of brutality. With this in mind, I ask what role non-Indigenous peoples should play in reconciliation?

Non-Indigenous Roles in Reconciliation

Veracini suggests that although reconciliation may continue to be vaguely defined and vary depending on the setting it is used in, the engagement of non-Indigenous peoples “must be at the centre of reconciliation efforts”.⁷² There is a need to establish a joint understanding of everyone’s interests in reconciliation, as “[a]llyship is one crucial prerequisite of reconciliation” which can aid in the struggle against institutional limits of settler colonial politics.⁷³ Srimoyee Mitra echoes Veracini by stating that the willingness of non-Indigenous peoples to participate in a dialogue with Indigenous peoples and to “engage with the narratives revealed through the

⁶⁹ Christian, D. (2011). Reconciling with the people and the land? In Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné (Eds.), *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the lens of cultural diversity* (pp: 69-80). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: p. 73.

⁷⁰ Christian, 2011: p. 78.

⁷¹ Short, D. (2003). Reconciliation, assimilation, and the Indigenous peoples of Australia. *International Political Science Review*, 24(4): p. 504.

⁷² Veracini, L. (2016). Facing the settler colonial present. In Sarah Maddison, Tom Clark, and Ravi De Costa (Eds.), *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation non-indigenous people and the responsibility to engage*. Singapore: Springer: p. 45.

⁷³ Veracini, 2016: p. 45.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission” is imperative in the struggle to dismantle the colonial mindset.⁷⁴ John Ralston Saul adds by contending that many non-Indigenous peoples do have the desire to engage in dialogue and to seek change in their relationship with Indigenous communities, however, non-Indigenous peoples claim a lack of opportunities to do so and a lack of a plan for such change.⁷⁵ I agree that more opportunities can be created to build stronger relations and better understanding among non-Indigenous peoples. In my opinion, many non-Indigenous Canadians do not seem to recognise that the onus to create such opportunities and to build stronger relations with Indigenous communities demands action on the part of non-Indigenous peoples.

Joanna Quinn’s discussion of the Canadian government’s apology highlights the importance of non-Indigenous bystander support. Quinn argues that the federal government’s actions towards reconciliation, such as an apology or forgiveness, demands non-Indigenous peoples to have a basic understanding of the past.⁷⁶ Quinn suggests that one of the main reasons why there is a lack of change is because there is a need for a growing awareness and a “deep introspection” that confronts the past- sympathy. By sympathy, Quinn means “understanding, awareness, recognition, and appreciation” of the needs of Indigenous peoples and the harms that have been done onto them.⁷⁷ While participating in three IPW projects that focused on newcomer reconciliation with Indigenous communities, I began to learn of the importance of non-

⁷⁴ Mitra, S. (2011). Learning through crossing lines: An intercultural dialogue. In Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné (Eds.), *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the lens of cultural diversity* (pp: 277-288). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: p. 286.

⁷⁵ Saul, J. R. (2009). Reconciliation: Four barriers to paradigm shifting. In Gregory Younging, Jonathan Dewar & Mike DeGagné, (Eds.), *Response, responsibility and renewal: Canada 's Truth and Reconciliation journey*, (pp. 309-322). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: p. 310.

⁷⁶ Quinn, J. R. (2016). Cultivating sympathy and reconciliation: The importance of sympathetic response. In Sarah Maddison, Tom Clark, and Ravi De Costa (Eds.), *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation non-Indigenous people and the responsibility to engage*. Singapore: Springer: p. 121.

⁷⁷ Quinn, 2016: p. 124.

Indigenous understanding and participation in reconciliation. The aim of these projects was to create space where the two groups of peoples can begin a conversation with each other, through which they can begin learning about each other's histories of moving to Winnipeg, as well as discovering similarities between each other and inaccuracies about each other's cultures. Based on my observations, these interactions gave non-Indigenous participants an opportunity to realize that part of the responsibility to create respectful relations and gain greater understanding of Indigenous peoples also lies on non-Indigenous peoples.

As such, it is difficult to underestimate the political importance of non-Indigenous attitudes towards reconciliation, as only 4.9% of the total population of Canada reported Indigenous identity in 2016.⁷⁸ That same year, Reconciliation Canada, an Indigenous-led organization aimed at promoting “reconciliation by engaging Canadians in dialogue”⁷⁹ conducted the first pan-Canadian online survey on Indigenous and non-Indigenous attitudes on reconciliation. The survey focused on understanding how reconciliation is perceived, barriers to reconciliation, and who bears responsibility for this process. When asked to indicate what reconciliation means, Indigenous and non-Indigenous survey respondents indicated that reconciliation means giving opportunities for every person in Canada to reach their full potential, accept the diversity of opinions and worldviews, as well as recognize and remove stereotypes.⁸⁰ When asked about the need for reconciliation, 62% and 46% of Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents (respectively) agreed on the need to reconcile.⁸¹ Reconciliation for both groups had

⁷⁸ Statistics Canada. (2018). National Indigenous Peoples Day... by the numbers. Retrieved from https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/dai/smr08/2018/smr08_225_2018.

⁷⁹ Reconciliation Canada (n.d.). Our story. Retrieved from <http://reconciliationcanada.ca/about/history-and-background/our-story/>

⁸⁰ Reconciliation Canada. (2017). National thought table on reconciliation. Reconciliation Canada, 1:57:01. Retrieved from <http://reconciliationcanada.ca/programs-initiatives/reconciliation-in-action-a-national-engagement-strategy/national-thought-table>; p. 2.

⁸¹ Reconciliation Canada, 2017: p. 2.

three themes: creating greater equality between both populations, working together to create opportunities and reduce barriers, and moving beyond the past and away from a dependency on government.⁸²

One of the most interesting results of this survey is that fewer than half of the non-Indigenous respondents believe that there is a need to reconcile. In my understanding, this is an obstacle that must be overcome before further progress is made. Attwood argues that one of the reasons why settler histories fail to show how the colonial past is still prevalent is because of the lack of fundamental knowledge that non-Indigenous peoples have about Indigenous issues.⁸³ Ignorance of Indigenous history continues to have a devastating impact on addressing Indigenous concerns and on promoting meaningful reconciliation. Greater knowledge about Indigenous concerns can allow non-Indigenous peoples to play a larger role in reconciliation which is important as they make up most of the Canadian population. Acts, such as ‘shared history’ and state apologies insist on temporal categories of past, present, and future, which tend to forget the continuance of colonization. Basic knowledge such as that countries like Canada, United States, Australia, and New Zealand were built on territories of existing Indigenous communities whose consent was not obtained and that colonizing practices are being perpetuated every day is important to know when discussing reconciliation. Increasing one’s knowledge about Indigenous concerns and demands can help explain to non-Indigenous communities the implications of the issues that Indigenous peoples face daily and that colonization is continued in the present day. An important part of reconciliation is acknowledgment. Reconciliation Canada survey revealed that Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents differ greatly in their opinion about the

⁸² Reconciliation Canada, 2017: p. 2.

⁸³ Attwood, 2005: p. 255.

necessity of addressing the past.⁸⁴ Unless the histories of events and their consequences are publicly acknowledged by the survivors and perpetrators, these atrocities are left behind, preventing the society from confronting the past and rebuilding the future. Acknowledging the past is especially imperative in the case of new immigrants, who are rarely asked to become aware of Canadian and Indigenous histories before and after their arrival in Canada.

My Understanding of Reconciliation

In my opinion, reconciliation demands an awareness of who we are, where we live, how we can reconcile and create greater understanding of Indigenous communities among non-Indigenous peoples. Understanding who I am- a newcomer who settled on contested land- encouraged me to develop a greater understanding of the harms that colonialism and other ongoing colonial acts have caused, and how the past harms impact the present and future. Asking who had to suffer for me to be able to live on these lands can be an uncomfortable question, but one that can force us to think outside of our habitual and protective bubble.

While I have made progress in developing a more concrete understanding of reconciliation, this idea is challenging to precisely define especially when thinking about the role of large groups of people and communities in reconciliation. This lack of a clear picture of what is expected of non-Indigenous peoples, including newcomers might leave some feeling frustrated. It is up to non-Indigenous peoples to figure out what their role in reconciliation and how they can assist Indigenous communities. Moreover, reconciliation demands an acknowledgement that settler colonialism is not an event of the past that can be addressed only

⁸⁴ Reconciliation Canada. (2016). The Canadian reconciliation landscape. Retrieved from http://reconciliationcanada.ca/staging/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/NationalNarrativeReport-ReconciliationCanada-ReleasedMay2017_3.pdf.

by educating oneself and building stronger relations with Indigenous communities. Meaningful reconciliation aims at disrupting settler colonialism and involves the restoration of land and life to Indigenous nations, as well as substantive economic and political redistribution of power among Indigenous communities. With that said, education of recent newcomers must be prioritized before they can meaningfully engage and contribute to the disruption of settler colonialism. Further, I think that reconciliation should remain as a process that is contextually contingent at community level, as each Indigenous community can demand different things from the non-Indigenous community they live near.

During my focus group, I had the opportunity to ask how Indigenous and non-Indigenous contributors understood reconciliation. One Indigenous focus group participant suggested that reconciliation is a conversation. This conversation is between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, neither of whom should be forced or shamed into discussing what it means to reconcile with Indigenous nations. This conversation demands non-Indigenous peoples to understand the injustices committed for the sake of establishing a country on this land. Reconciliation is an opportunity for non-Indigenous peoples to build relationships that are created with the support of Indigenous peoples. To create a new era of mutual respect, non-Indigenous peoples need to reflect on their relationship and responsibilities toward Indigenous nations. For another Indigenous focus group participant, reconciliation was challenging to envision. This focus group contributor argued that reconciliation demands the acknowledgment of the wrongs that are committed daily, such as the crisis of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, the ongoing racism towards Indigenous communities, and ongoing issues of land claims, among many other. As such, this contributor had little faith in the current process of reconciliation. Including Indigenous peoples in the management of their traditional lands and

resources, giving administrative control over federal and provincial programs that affect them make up part of the Canadian federal government's broader reconciliatory project. The top-down approach created from a foundation of dominant Euro-Canadian cultural norms leave little room for Indigenous and racialized non-Indigenous voices.

Newcomer focus group contributors seemed to be less confident when discussing the meaning of reconciliation. As a result, few newcomers voiced their opinion on the meaning of it despite having encountered this word prior. One participant suggested that reconciliation was a form of diplomacy and it is something that Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples should take part in. By this the contributor meant that both groups of peoples should sit and talk with each other. Another newcomer contributor added that some new immigrants do not have a sense of what the Canadian and Indigenous past looked like and what the state of Indigenous-Canadian government relations is. As a result, it is not surprising that few newcomer contributors could articulate their understanding of reconciliation. Reflecting on the discussion among newcomer participants, it seems that there is a general lack of understanding or agreement among non-Indigenous peoples that they have shared responsibility to reconcile.

Overall, for some focus group participants reconciliation was about closing the economic, social, and political gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. For others, cultural understanding played a bigger role in reconciliation. Some Indigenous and newcomer participants did not view reconciliation as a benign and desirable goal, as some questioned the Eurocentric approach to reconciliation and its potential to make more harm than good for Indigenous peoples. Despite the range of views among newcomers about reconciliation, they did acknowledge that they did not know enough about reconciliation and that there should be more education offered to newcomers by governmental and non-governmental organizations.

In my understanding, meaningful reconciliation entails the recognition and respect of treaty, constitutional, and human rights of First Nations, Metis, and Inuit peoples.⁸⁵ Non-Indigenous people and newcomers should not think that reconciliation is a substitute for Indigenous self-determination. Not only is reconciliation demands non-Indigenous participation, reconciliation is a responsibility of non-Indigenous peoples. As such, it is important to be aware of paternalistic attitudes that do not consider the needs and voices of Indigenous communities, but rather ignore them, continuing to assimilate and colonize Indigenous peoples. A meaningful reconciliation process demands the recognition of equality of each party to the other and distinctiveness of each party from the other.

Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to build a foundational understanding of reconciliation which can be used to analyse the role of new immigrants in reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. The unavoidable briefness of my remarks on the meaning of reconciliation does not do justice to the complexity and diversity of the extensive literature on this topic and inevitably oversimplifies the views of those few academics and community members mentioned above. What I have tried to do is highlight some of their relative arguments and the need to support government-led reconciliation with community-based reconciliation efforts, the failure of many non-Indigenous Canadians to understand the importance of their contribution to reconciliation, and the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples.

The review of the literature reveals several gaps in academic and community discussions on reconciliation which I aim to highlight with my thesis. The first gap is the homogenization of

⁸⁵ The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015: p. 3-4.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and a lack of focus on more specific groups within these large groups of people. In the chapters that follow I will focus on recent newcomers and on the importance of their contribution to reconciliation. My hope is that future research on this topic can go beyond 'Indigenous peoples' and even 'recent newcomers' and focus on a more specific group within these broad groups of peoples. There also seems to be a lack of focus on reconciliation at the community level and the importance of building intercultural relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The rest of my thesis will focus on the importance of reconciliation at the community level and intercultural face-to-face interactions between Indigenous peoples and newcomers to Canada.

Chapter 4: Intercultural Partnerships

Oftentimes in academic literature the complacency of settlers in the continuous colonization of Indigenous peoples is framed as a white settler-Indigenous issue. As a result, recent immigrants are not explicitly included in such discussions. While many immigrants experience racism and discrimination, there is a pressing need for a discussion of how newcomers, who may not be white settlers, have the potential to contribute to the colonization of Indigenous communities. This chapter begins with a discussion why I decided to focus on recent newcomers. Following, is a discussion of whether policies of Canadian multiculturalism have the capacity to support reconciliation. I also discuss the relation between newcomers and settler colonialism, as well as settler privilege and white privilege. I conclude the chapter with an examination of the importance of intercultural collaboration and allyship in reconciling with Indigenous peoples.

Why Focus on Recent Newcomers?

The number of newcomers, economic migrants, and refugees to Canada continues to increase.⁸⁶ The diversity of origins, migration journeys, and migrant needs suggests that the way to welcome and integrate them demands continuous reactivity and innovation. Newcomers to Canada experience several challenges to successful integration upon their arrival. Some of these challenges include finding employment, language barriers, affordable housing, adjusting to a new social, cultural, and political environment, finding childcare and health support, among others.⁸⁷ The amount of new challenges and barriers that newcomers encounter upon their arrival

⁸⁶ Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship. (2018). Annual report to parliament on immigration 2018. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/annual-report-2018.pdf>

⁸⁷ Bucklaschuk, J. (2018). Ethnocultural community organizations in Winnipeg: A legacy document. CERI Network. Retrieved from <https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/ceri-network/docs/ecc-legacy-document.pdf>: p. 2.

further complicates their settlement experiences. In addition to the above-mentioned challenges, some newcomers have a limited access to information and social, political, economic, and historic knowledge of their local and national community. To address some of these challenges, formal and informal services and supports are available for newcomers. Formal supports include pre and post-arrival agencies, language schools, government programs, while others are less formal, such as family members and friends.⁸⁸ The rapid growth and diversification of the Canadian population in the past few decades demands a discussion that goes beyond the homogenous group of non-Indigenous peoples and their role in reconciliation with Indigenous communities. As such, do Canadian policies of multiculturalism have the potential to support reconciliation or are they hindering such efforts?

Multiculturalism: An Aide or a Problem to Reconciliation?

Canada was one of the first countries to pronounce multiculturalism as its official policy.⁸⁹ David B. MacDonald defines multiculturalism as the use of formal initiatives by the federal, provincial, and municipal governments to manage diversity.⁹⁰ Such initiatives are ultimately implemented by the state to benefit the interests of the dominant group in society.⁹¹ For Macdonald, the Canadian version of multiculturalism has become the norm and its values are rarely critically reflected on.⁹² While multiculturalism can seem benign and necessary, Macdonald contends that it can be used as a tool to augment and legitimize the state power and result in inequities and harm.⁹³ As an example, MacDonald argues that the *Canadian*

⁸⁸ Bucklaschuk, 2018: p. 2.

⁸⁹ Srikanth, H. (2012). Multiculturalism and the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(23), 17-21. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23214913>

⁹⁰ MacDonald, D. B. (2014). Aboriginal Peoples and Multicultural Reform in Canada: Prospects for a New Binational Society. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 39(1), 65-86.

⁹¹ MacDonald, 2014: p. 68.

⁹² MacDonald, 2014.

⁹³ MacDonald, 2014.

Multiculturalism Act of 1971 was used to encourage Indigenous peoples and immigrants to assimilate into the white Canadian-European society. Similarly, he suggests that this practice of multiculturalism is reflected in the *White Paper* 1969 and the *Indian Act*, as both incentivize Indigenous peoples to reject their Indian status and assimilate and integrate into the mainstream Canadian society.⁹⁴ As such, while multiculturalism is presented as a celebration of racial and cultural diversity, scholars like MacDonald and Will Kymlicka suggest that the Canadian practice of multiculturalism is used as a strategy to insist on the assimilation of Indigenous peoples, as well as immigrants into the 'Canadian society'.⁹⁵ Recognizing the potential of multiculturalism as a strategy to marginalize Indigenous claims demands a critical evaluation of how multiculturalism impacts reconciliation with Indigenous peoples. MacDonald suggests that there is potential of multiculturalism to meaningfully contribute to reconciliation without encouraging the assimilation of Indigenous peoples and immigrants.⁹⁶

Multiculturalism does not have a lot of support among Indigenous peoples, as some argue that these practices mask racism and inequalities in power and resources.⁹⁷ Himani Bannerji suggests that multiculturalism ensures white supremacy in Canadian society.⁹⁸ I argue that the Canadian government continues to recognize racial and religious diversities in its own image rather than embrace them for what they are, so as to continue the dominance of the status-quo. As such, many of the current policies of multiculturalism are symbolic, as they do not result in institutionalised changes to the social structure. For one, government-led multiculturalism did

⁹⁴ MacDonald, 2014: p. 74.

⁹⁵ Kymlicka, W and Banting, K. (2010). Canadian multiculturalism: Global anxieties and local debates. *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 23(1): p. 16; MacDonald, 2014: p. 76.

⁹⁶ MacDonald, 2014.

⁹⁷ Srikanth, H. (2012). Multiculturalism and the Aboriginal Peoples in Canada. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47(23), 17-21.

⁹⁸ Bannerji, H. (2000). *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays on Multiculturalism, Nationalism and Gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

not encourage Canada to have more than two official languages. In my view, if multiculturalism continues to ignore Indigenous histories, the uniqueness of their identities, and their interests, multiculturalism will continue to fail reconciliation efforts as these policies are not aimed at changing the institutional and political status quo.

Recent Newcomers and Settler Colonialism

Over the past few years, there have been several discussions on whether immigrants are settlers/colonizers in the same sense as those who were born in settler countries like Canada and Australia. What follows, is a discussion that highlights some of these debates. Patrick Wolfe describes settler colonialism as an ongoing system of power which promotes the oppression of indigenous peoples, their cultures, and the extraction of indigenous lands.⁹⁹ Settler colonialism accepts settler occupation, exploitation of indigenous lands and resources and accepts Eurocentric values as morally superior, natural, and inevitable.¹⁰⁰ Settler colonialism is not a historical period; rather, it is a perpetual system of indigenous erasure through assimilation, genocide, and other means that replaces them with settlers from around the world.¹⁰¹

In 2005, Bonita Lawrence and Enakshi Dua began the academic discussion that compelled us to think critically about how people of colour are implicated in colonial practices. The authors contend that ethnocultural immigrants are settlers who live on lands and use resources that have been stolen from Indigenous nations.¹⁰² Moreover, the authors note that citizens of colour had the opportunity, and some took it, to participate in constitutional reforms that denied Indigenous peoples the chance to reshape Canada's approach to decolonization (such

⁹⁹ Wolfe, P. (1999). *Settler colonialism*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.

¹⁰⁰ Wolfe, 1999.

¹⁰¹ Wolfe, 1999.

¹⁰² Lawrence, B. & Dua, E. (2005). Decolonizing Antiracism. *Social Justice*, 32(4): p. 134.

as The Charlottetown Accord).¹⁰³ Further, the authors argue that by demanding equal rights and benefits, marginalized ethnocultural settlers risk claiming land and resources that have been stolen by white settlers. While the authors acknowledge the marginalization of immigrants, they maintain that “at particular historical moments they may have been complicit with ongoing land theft and colonial domination of Aboriginal peoples”.¹⁰⁴ These ideas challenge the understanding that only white Europeans can be settlers and/or colonizers.

Nandita Sharma and Cynthia Wright take a critical approach to Lawrence and Dua’s argument by contending that labeling all immigrants as ‘settlers’ or ‘colonizers’ without taking into consideration “their historical or social relation to colonialism” runs the risk of promoting neoliberal thinking.¹⁰⁵ Sharma and Wright refer to such thinking as neoliberal neo-racist thought which ‘others’ anyone who is not ‘Native’, therefore delineating who belongs and who does not belong on this land. Thus, by “demanding space for each people”, Lawrence and Dua’s argument seems to be “linked to either new or old nation-building projects, as well as to neoliberal practices [that] rely on forms of ‘differential inclusion’”.¹⁰⁶ Sharma and Wright suggest that by maintaining the negative duality of ‘Native’ and ‘migrant’, the two groups are posed against each other and are encouraged to remain in opposition.¹⁰⁷

In her response to Lawrence and Dua, Melissa Phung turns her attention to Chinese Canadians, and concludes that while they benefit from Indigenous lands and from the displacement of Indigenous peoples, Chinese settlers have been and continue to be foreign and

¹⁰³ Lawrence & Dua, 2005.

¹⁰⁴ Lawrence & Dua, 2005: p. 132.

¹⁰⁵ Sharma, N. & Wright, S. (2008). Decolonizing resistance, challenging colonial states. *Social Justice*, 35(3): p. 123.

¹⁰⁶ Sharma & Wright, 2008: p. 125.

¹⁰⁷ Sharma & Wright, 2008: p. 122.

alien, who are perpetually seen as invasive settlers that pose threats to the livelihoods of “Indigenized white settlers”.¹⁰⁸ Phung uses this to illustrate that Chinese settlers should not be equated with the original European settlers and highlights the importance of considering the implications of using monolithic notions of the term ‘settler’. There is a possibility that it can run the risk of erasing and subsuming the different histories and everyday experiences of settler privilege. Dean Itsuji Saranillio adds that while migration should not be equated with colonialism, people who immigrate to places where the lands, peoples, and resources are under economic, social, ecological, and political contestation by Indigenous peoples have the potential to increase colonialism.¹⁰⁹ Positing that everyone who migrates to Canada is a colonialist or a settler suggests that the only way to not be a colonizer and a settler is to stay on one’s homeland, which is becoming more and more impossible to do for many individuals.¹¹⁰ For refugees and migrants, migration becomes a response to being decolonized in newly liberated nations, making migration one of the few available escape routes for a better life. As a result, it is becoming important to understand the relation of immigrants to settler colonialism and their responsibilities to Indigenous communities.

During my focus group, I asked Indigenous contributors to explain what ‘settler’ meant to them and how they understood this word. One Indigenous contributor stated that anyone who is not Indigenous and lives on stolen lands is a settler. This individual did not see any difference between a settler who voluntarily arrived on these lands several hundred years ago to claim ‘free land’, from a slave who was sent to North America from Africa, from an ethnocultural

¹⁰⁸ Phung, M. (2011). Are people of colour settlers too? In A. Mathur, J. Dewar, M. DeGagné (Eds.), *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the lens of cultural diversity* (pp. 289-298). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation: p. 293.

¹⁰⁹ Saranillio, (2013).

¹¹⁰ Sharma & Wright, 2008: p. 123.

immigrant. For this Indigenous contributor, every non-Indigenous person is a settler regardless of their ‘degree of settler-ism’- meaning awareness of their complicity in colonial practices and their knowledge of the histories of these lands. Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang similarly contend that settlers are those who made homes on Indigenous lands and obtained capital from it.¹¹¹ Following the same line of thinking, Anna Soole writes that a settler “is someone whose culture/traditions do not originate in and are not embedded in the land upon which they live”.¹¹² Soole adds that a colonialist is someone who “displace[s] or remove[s] the culture/traditions that are Indigenous to the land that one lives on or uses. One can be a settler without being colonial. One can be colonial without being a settler.”¹¹³ The above is meant to showcase the differences in understanding who a ‘settler’ is and to contrast it with my understanding of being a ‘settler’ which includes ‘degrees of settler-ism’ which I will expand upon in the Discussion section. This is just a small sample of how Indigenous peoples understand ‘settler’ and this do not suggest that all Indigenous peoples in Canada agree with these understandings.

Settler Privilege and White Privilege

Privilege, in the context of colonization, relates to either settler privilege or white privilege. Beenash Jafri states that privilege is a form of a social advantage and its accumulation is dependent on one’s nationality, class, gender, and migration status.¹¹⁴ White privilege can be understood as “the unquestioned and unearned set of advantages, entitlements, benefits and

¹¹¹ Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society*, 1(1), 1-40.

¹¹² Soole, A. (2018, June 19). Decolonization: A resource for Indigenous solidarity. Retrieved from <https://www.annasoole.com/single-post/2018/04/03/Decolonization-A-Resource-for-Indigenous-Solidarity>.

¹¹³ Soole, 2018.

¹¹⁴ Jafri, B. (2012, March 21). *Privilege vs. complicity: People of colour and settler colonialism*. Retrieved from <http://www.ideas-idees.ca/blog/privilege-vs-complicity-people-colour-and-settler-colonialism>.

choices bestowed upon people solely because they are white”.¹¹⁵ Yin Paradies argues that the impact of white-privilege awareness seems to be weakened among non-white immigrants compared to white peoples.¹¹⁶ He further notes that such results could be explained by the weaker role played by white privilege awareness among non-white immigrants, especially when it comes to acknowledging Indigenous disadvantages. I became aware of this term in my undergraduate studies, almost a decade after my arrival to Canada. For a while, white privilege to me was an idea that only applied to those who were white non-Indigenous individuals born in Canada. I think that the term ‘white-privilege’ cannot be easily applied to non-white newcomers, as many of them would not associate with the social, political, and economic advantages some white non-Indigenous peoples might have. In my opinion, settler privilege is a more appropriate term to use. Settler privilege is different from white privilege as it gives an opportunity for newcomers to associate with the benefits of living on stolen lands. I understand settler privilege as having rights and advantages that are available to a certain group of peoples. When I use settler privilege, I acknowledge that non-white newcomers are benefiting from living on stolen lands, but they might be experiencing discrimination based on their race, language, culture, skin colour, among other.

Complicity relates to one’s intentional and unintentional participation in and contribution to colonial practices through one’s (in)actions, rhetoric, and thought process. Jaffri writes that “thinking in terms of complicity shifts attention away from the self and onto strategies and

¹¹⁵ McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege and male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondences through work in women's studies. In Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, (Eds.), *Critical White Studies*, (pp. 291-299). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

¹¹⁶ Paradies, Y. (2016). Attitudinal barriers to reconciliation in Australia. In Sarah Maddison, Tom Clark, and Ravi de Costa (Eds.), *The limits of settler colonial reconciliation: Non-indigenous people and the responsibility to engage* (pp: 103-118). Singapore: Springer: p. 113.

relations that reproduce social and institutional hierarchies”.¹¹⁷ This does not mean that non-Indigenous peoples need to free themselves of the guilt or culpability for settling on stolen lands, rather, re-examine strategies that we can use to become more accountable for our actions, rhetoric, and thoughts.¹¹⁸ Many immigrants to Canada are complicit in colonial practices. In my view, intent is an important aspect of being a true colonizer. Classifying every immigrant as a settler would impose on them the intent to colonize, which mistakenly assumes that the immigrant is aware of the historical and political climate they are immigrating into. Although some recent immigrants experience systemic inequities and are in poverty, they do benefit by living and working on stolen lands. Awareness and acknowledgment are one step closer to creating opportunities to think about tangible ways that colonial relationships are supported, reproduced, and reinforced. This can lead to the creation of new decolonial relations in a way that is not only about one group supporting another group, but also about acknowledging Indigenous sovereignty and dismantling settler colonialism.

Settler Amnesia

James (Sákéj) Youngblood Henderson describes collective amnesia as the process of stripping “Indigenous peoples of their heritage and identity... and [alienating] Indigenous peoples from their elders, their linguistic consciousness, and their order of the world”.¹¹⁹ Stacy Ernst clarifies by stating that settler amnesia relates specifically to the colonial situation and involves the forgetting of prior claims of Indigenous peoples and the violence that shaped the

¹¹⁷ Jafri, 2012.

¹¹⁸ Jafri, 2012.

¹¹⁹ Henderson, J. Y. (2000). Postcolonial ghost dancing. In Marie Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision*, (pp. 57-76). Toronto: UBC Press: p. 65.

colonial nation state.¹²⁰ This type of amnesia is essential to the building of a settler state as remembering such history is an inconvenience that might disrupt the status quo.

This amnesia seems to plague not only the Canadian general public, but its some of its politicians, historians, and scholars who seem to have built their lives around avoiding most things Indigenous.¹²¹ Many choose to forget that Canada was created on the lands of already established nations, who signed treaties which granted Canada and Indigenous peoples treaty rights and obligations, and that Indigenous nations continue to exist with rights and histories that are distinct from English-speaking Canada and Quebec. By choosing to forget the past and its impacts on present-day Indigenous communities, many Canadians choose to support the perpetuation of colonialism. This collective disorder challenges efforts to reconcile and decolonize and refuses to end the silence and envision a new future.

Counter-narratives of collective memory as told by marginalized and oppressed groups of peoples have the potential to challenge the dominant and institutionalized understanding of the history of this land. Acknowledging the significance of the past to reconciliation should not mean pursuing the goal of finding a singular truth that everyone agrees upon. In my understanding, the past atrocities and injustices will always be contested. Maddison argues that collective memory of the past “is more often the product of bitter political debate [...] particularly where a critical history challenges elite hegemony”.¹²² Despite some of the shortcomings of the TRC, it has undoubtedly contributed to the collective memory on which many Canadians have based their ambition for a stronger human rights culture.

¹²⁰ Ernst, S. A. (2017). Indigenous sovereignty and settler amnesia: Robert Houle’s premises for self rule. *Continuities Between Eras: Indigenous Art Histories*, 42(2): p. 114.

¹²¹ Maddison, 2016.

¹²² Maddison, 2016: p. 210.

Beyond the symbolic recognition and an apology, reconciliation continues to struggle with getting Canada to face up to its past, and while this process may have brought some people closer together, Indigenous and non-Indigenous versions of history remain far apart. Tim Gartrell argues that “not dealing with the fundamental truth of our history is the real road blocker for reconciliation”.¹²³ The lack of resolution in regard to the dispossession and exclusion of Indigenous peoples from society makes it challenging to engage the wider population on issues like constitutional change and reform.¹²⁴ Gartrell contends that it is important to build a sense of passionate emotion when people do not understand the history and the harms of the past.¹²⁵ In order to overcome the deep divisions that exist between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, seeking a single truth cannot be realistic as members of these groups see the world differently. To help address the underlying “constitutional, institutional and relational challenges [...] [there] is the need for micro-level efforts that will actually facilitate relationships among people”.¹²⁶ This has been the main argument of my thesis- a greater emphasis on understanding reconciliation beyond how the federal government wants Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples to understand it. In the section that follows, I discuss the importance of educating recent newcomers about Indigenous peoples and the importance of reconciliation at the community level.

The Importance of Intercultural Collaboration

In this section, I argue that intercultural collaboration between newcomers and Indigenous peoples is important for reconciliation because it is aimed at encouraging

¹²³ As cited in Maddison, 2016: p. 220.

¹²⁴ As cited in Maddison, 2016.

¹²⁵ As cited in Maddison, 2016.

¹²⁶ Maddison, 2016: p. 249.

newcomers' capacity to listen, accept, talk, learn, and work together irrespective of their cultural differences. Here I will discuss the importance of Indigenous-newcomer collaboration for reconciliation as well as what it means for a newcomer to be an ally to Indigenous communities.

Intercultural work and collaboration entail the exchange of thoughts and activities between Indigenous and newcomer peoples.¹²⁷ Such work recognizes that working in between cultures does not take place in equal-power relations or in a power vacuum. Rather, it is located in the context of power inequalities and imbalances, many of which have their historical roots in colonialism.¹²⁸ As a result, this work reveals the underlying differences between members of the two communities and aims to identify the ways in which commonalities can lead to understanding. This type of work is appealing to me, as it allows for people of different backgrounds to integrate different forms of knowledge into strategies to achieve positive change at the personal and community level. Intercultural work is unique as it is place-based and is shaped according to the priorities of the local Indigenous stakeholders and addresses the needs of the non-Indigenous group of people who have decided to improve their relations with Indigenous peoples.

Albert Memmi reminds us of the limitations of non-Indigenous and newcomer collaborations and allyship by arguing that as long as non-Indigenous peoples remain on contested lands, they cannot be true Indigenous allies.¹²⁹ However, many Indigenous activists and scholars see the potential of non-Indigenous peoples to make valuable contributions to movements that are of importance to Indigenous communities. Lorenzo Veracini argues that

¹²⁷ Christian, 2011.

¹²⁸ Christian, 2011.

¹²⁹ Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.

“Allyship is one crucial prerequisite for reconciliation”.¹³⁰ Lynn Gehl clarifies the meaning of true allyship with Indigenous peoples as continuously learning and unlearning, being aware of one’s privileges, complicity, and responsibilities, and acting with the consent of Indigenous peoples.¹³¹ Amadahy and Lawrence understand allyship with Indigenous peoples as building relationships that are respectful not only with Indigenous communities but also with the land on which you live.¹³² Allyship demands “an understanding of everybody’s substantial interest in reconciliation” as a way of addressing the limits of institutional and colonial politics.¹³³ Chelsea Vowel notes that one of the most effective ways for non-Indigenous peoples to show their support to Indigenous communities is to support Indigenous-led movements as well as recognise that Indigenous peoples have the power to find solutions for themselves.¹³⁴ As such, one cannot become an ally, rather, one can aspire to be one, as allyship demands engagement in self-reflexivity and an understanding of how one’s lifestyle and choices impact Indigenous peoples.

For one Indigenous focus group participant, being an ally meant supporting Indigenous self-determination and land struggles. Meanwhile, a newcomer focus group participant noted that being an ally meant that they build relations and work with Indigenous peoples by supporting them at rallies and demonstrations to enhance funding for social programs and related causes. Amadahy and Lawrence note a few examples of allyship: reflecting on one’s relationship to the land, to Indigenous communities, and to ongoing colonialism and aiding Indigenous peoples as needed and requested.¹³⁵ It is my understanding that being an ally to Indigenous communities

¹³⁰ Veracini, 2016: p. 45.

¹³¹ Gehl, L. (2012). Ally bill of responsibilities. Retrieved from http://www.lynngehl.com/uploads/5/0/0/4/5004954/ally_bill_of_responsibilities_poster.pdf.

¹³² Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009: p. 129-130.

¹³³ Veracini, 2016: p. 45.

¹³⁴ Vowel, C. (2014, September). ‘How can I help?’ answered concretely. âpihtawikosisân. Retrieved from <http://apihtawikosisan.com/2014/09/how-can-i-help-answered-concretely/>.

¹³⁵ Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009: p. 129-130.

starts with listening and supporting the needs of Indigenous peoples. As an ally it is equally important to be aware of one's limits and respecting boundaries so as not to set the agenda on behalf of Indigenous communities. Further, to avoid promoting paternalistic and presumptuous attitudes, it is important to remember that Indigenous people have the right not to participate in events and activities and they have the right to choose with whom they would like to reconcile. For those newcomers who immigrated from colonized countries or who were colonized themselves, being an ally requires a willingness to acknowledge and discuss the potential similarities in experiences as well as the ability to take encourage other non-Indigenous peoples to contribute to reconciliation. So, when beginning to insert oneself into communities with the intention of becoming an ally, non-Indigenous peoples cannot presume that they will be welcomed with open arms. It takes time, dedication, and a display of prolonged commitment to a community before trust can be established.

Discussion

The discussion in this chapter showcases the difficulty in understanding the relation of recent immigrants to Indigenous peoples. I envision settler on a spectrum with several degrees of complicity in Indigenous colonization similarly to how Ross Chambers describes the “‘degrees’ or ‘shades’ of whiteness”.¹³⁶ Chamber contends that ‘white’ and non-white are not the only categories that exist, as there cannot be “an absolute distinction between the categories and the purity of each”.¹³⁷ In my opinion, recent immigrants should not be considered settlers in the same sense as European colonizers. Being a settler and having settler privilege can be ‘enhanced’ if one possesses certain qualities like being a male, heterosexual, middle or upper-class, or

¹³⁶ Chambers, R. (1996). The unexamined. *Minnesota Review*, 47(1): p. 144.

¹³⁷ Chambers, 1996: p. 144.

‘depreciated’ if one holds a different set of qualities like being non-white, having low proficiency in English, working-class, among other. A recent immigrant, with a low English proficiency should not be immediately put into the same category of settler-ism as someone who is Canadian-born and English-speaking. This is because the newcomer has not had an opportunity to become aware of their complicity and to educate themselves on the history of this land. When attempting to understand the relation of one group of peoples to another, it is important to consider how identity markers intersect, such as race, class, and gender.

This is not meant to say that there are ‘good settlers’ or ‘bad settlers’. As mentioned above, to many Indigenous peoples there is only one type of settler- anyone who is not Indigenous to this land. Rather, degrees of settler-ism can be of greater use to immigrants as they attempt to grasp the concept of being a settler and what that implies. Combining all Indigenous peoples and settlers into two separate and homogenous groups, where all Indigenous peoples have the same rights and all settlers have the same privileges is problematic because reconciliation is a complicated process and addressing it demands critical and complex thinking. It is the responsibility of the immigrant to learn about the colonial history of this land and of their potential complicity in ongoing Indigenous colonization. If the immigrant chooses not to acknowledge and become aware of such things, I would consider their complicity intentional and aimed at promoting one’s wellbeing at the expense of Indigenous communities. As such, how can recent newcomers begin to understand their potential role as settlers?

To begin understanding one’s relationship to settler colonialism, we need to question where we are coming from and consider the lands we live on. It is important to ask oneself what it means to live on lands that were stolen and be under the governance of a government that

continues to discriminate against the original inhabitants of this land.¹³⁸ I agree with Saranillio who argues that encouraging a conversation between the histories of immigrants and Indigenous peoples has the potential to create conditions in which liberation and justice might be conceptualized in ways that is accountable to Indigenous aims for reconciliation and decolonization.¹³⁹

For some newcomers, including myself, assimilating into and adopting a settler colonial mindset offered the promise of prosperity and safety, which is why most of us move to Canada. In my opinion, challenging the settler-Canadian status quo is something that many newcomers do not consider doing, and those who do consider this, risk hindering their own chances at achieving prosperity and acceptance by the mainstream society. Newcomers who disrupt the status quo and point out the inequalities and the flaws of the society they live in risk being labelled as troublemakers and unappreciative of being given an opportunity to begin a new life in a safer country. As such, it is easier and safer to blend in and to adopt the colonial rhetoric and attitudes rather than to resist them. As I reflect on this, I realize that to achieve reconciliation and solidarity with Indigenous peoples, it is important for newcomers to problematize their status as settlers in Canada. Being complicit in the marginalization of Indigenous communities does not necessarily entail that one is also privileged in relation to Indigenous peoples. As a result, while privilege generally suggests complicity, it is also possible to be complicit within a system of hierarchical power without accruing all its benefits. Realizing one's complicity can help one to realize the strategies that produce hierarchies and the impacts they have not only on oneself, but on those around.

¹³⁸ Patel, S. (n.d.). Where are the settlers of colour? *Uppingtheanti.com* Retrieved from <http://uppingtheanti.org/journal/article/10-where-are-the-settlers-of-colour/>

¹³⁹ Saranillio, 2013.

Chapter 5: Practical Pathways Towards Achieving Reconciliation

In chapter two I discussed reconciliation and what it means to some Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Reconciliation is a complicated process, with a myriad of understandings, actors, and approaches. In this chapter, I continue this conversation by first discussing why I think reconciliation should be important to recent newcomers to Canada. From there I move on to examine whose responsibility it is to reconcile with Indigenous peoples and educate newcomers about Indigenous peoples and histories. It is my understanding that reconciliation is not the sole obligation of Indigenous communities; rather, it is a shared responsibility of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, including recent newcomers. From there, I analyse some ways to observe attitudinal changes in reconciliation. I finish the chapter with a discussion of how newcomers can contribute to reconciliation at the community level.

Reconciliation and Recent Newcomers

I begin this section by addressing some contentions I heard from newcomers who questioned the need and responsibility to contribute to reconciliation. I argue that recent newcomers, like all non-Indigenous Canadians have a shared responsibility to engage and educate themselves. I then examine why it is important for recent newcomers to understand what reconciliation is and what they can do to contribute to it.

In my interactions with newcomers at IPW community events, I heard three reoccurring objections voiced by some recent newcomers to accepting their responsibility to reconcile with Indigenous nations. The first objection insists that today's recent newcomers were not supporting European settlers in their efforts to colonize Indigenous peoples, they did not help send Indigenous peoples to Residential Schools, nor are they the descendants of colonial administrators or occupying soldiers. The second objection stems from the reasoning that some

recent newcomers escaped colonialism prior to their arrival to Canada. As a result, it is difficult to imagine how those who were once colonized can become settlers and colonizers simply by moving to a new country. The third objection raised most often is that for many newcomers the priority upon their arrival to Canada is to settle in and to find employment and housing rather than reconcile with Indigenous peoples and address injustices of the past. Many newcomers come to Canada for a better life, for prosperity, or for an escape from insecurity. So, how can recent newcomers be encouraged to think about their relationship to colonialism and to this land?

Why Should Reconciliation be Important to Recent Newcomers?

There are a few reasons why recent immigrants should engage in reconciliation; here I will discuss only the ones that I consider to be of most importance and the ones that I believe will resonate with recent newcomers. First and foremost, reconciliation is not the sole responsibility of Indigenous peoples. Reconciliation is the shared responsibility of newcomers and non-Indigenous Canadians. Interestingly, in a pan-Canadian survey of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples conducted by Reconciliation Canada, only 8% and 5% of Indigenous and non-Indigenous respondents, respectively, chose ‘Non-Indigenous peoples in Canada’ as being the most responsible for reconciliation.¹⁴⁰ The majority of the respondents, 61% and 64%, stated that the Government of Canada is responsible for reconciliation.¹⁴¹ The third group chosen by 44% and 49%, was ‘Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada’.¹⁴² ‘Indigenous-led organizations’ had 24% and 15% support, and ‘Indigenous peoples’ in Canada had 23% and

¹⁴⁰ Reconciliation Canada, 2016.

¹⁴¹ Reconciliation Canada, 2016.

¹⁴² Reconciliation Canada, 2016.

20% support.¹⁴³ These survey results show the importance of making non-Indigenous peoples, including recent newcomers aware of their shared responsibility to reconcile.

Moreover, reconciliation should matter to recent newcomers because in an increasingly multicultural world where few people live in isolation from other cultures, understanding those who live around us is becoming more imperative. Around 56% of Indigenous peoples live in cities.¹⁴⁴ In Winnipeg, many recent newcomers and Indigenous peoples are neighbours in the inner-city. As a result, the need to understand how the past and current practices impact those around us is important. One of the goals of reconciling with Indigenous peoples is to learn how to understand the mistakes of the past and make sure that no other group of people is colonized and marginalized again. By developing an accurate understanding of the perspectives of Indigenous communities, newcomers can begin to identify areas of congruence and opportunities to collaborate in the face of obstacles to progress.

The increasing cultural, social, and political diversity of Winnipeg and of cities across Canada present a difficulty in creating a unifying understanding of reconciliation. One of the Indigenous participants in my focus group noted that reconciliation can pave the way to self-determination and autonomy, healing, or cultural recognition for Indigenous communities. A newcomer participant noted that when they conduct acts of reconciliation, they gain an opportunity to acknowledge the perpetuation of colonialism and begin moving beyond the acts and policies that are the failed relics of colonization. While the Indigenous and newcomer contributors did not identify reconciliation in the same way, I do not consider this disunity to be problematic. As I mentioned before, I believe that it is important to have multiple ways of

¹⁴³ Reconciliation Canada, 2016.

¹⁴⁴ Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada. (2016). Urban Indigenous peoples. Government of Canada. Retrieved from <https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100014265/1369225120949>.

understanding reconciliation as it is a personal process for many people, and it involves several actors at the community and government levels. Moreover, my impression is that it is important for non-Indigenous peoples to be aware that Indigenous understandings of reconciliation are diverse and that no single way of defining reconciliation is superior to others.

In my opinion, reconciliation should be important to recent newcomers as they share the responsibility for it. This responsibility includes the need to educate oneself, to contribute to Indigenous-led movements, and to understand such things as the reasoning for decolonization and acknowledgement of treaty rights. However, in my experience, the realization of one's complicity in colonization, the need to reconcile and educate oneself are not intuitive. So, how can recent newcomers become aware of these responsibilities?

Responsibility to Engage

When talking about people and topics we do not know, it is easy to generalize and pass judgment based on very limited knowledge. Whether we see others favourably or not, prejudgment can often be based on ignorance, lack of information, and fear of differences. In my understanding, the above-mentioned objections do not recognize the perpetuation of colonial practices and their impact on present-day Indigenous communities, nor do they acknowledge one's complicity in ongoing colonialism. While the current generations of non-Indigenous Canadians, including recent immigrants, did not begin the colonization process, non-Indigenous peoples benefit from a world in which the descendants of white settlers remain disproportionately privileged in comparison to the peoples they once conquered. This is not to deny the fact that some newcomers and non-Indigenous peoples are not in favourable positions in the contemporary capitalist system, however, even their privilege to immigrate to and live in Canada is the result of the conquering of Indigenous lands, peoples, and resources.

The responsibility to reconcile was discussed at length at my focus group and was discussed in brief at the First Nations community visit. An Indigenous focus group participant argued that this responsibility lies equally on Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. An Indigenous attendee of the First Nations community visit suggested that most of the onus to reconcile lies on non-Indigenous peoples and on recent newcomers, while the role of some Indigenous peoples can be to support these efforts and guide non-Indigenous peoples. Most newcomer focus group participants did not seem to have a deep understanding or opinion on who is most responsible for reconciliation. Some newcomer participants suggested that the responsibility is equally divided between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

Awareness of the need to educate oneself can become clearer through education and intercultural collaborations and interactions with Indigenous peoples. The potential complicity of recent newcomers in settler colonialism is real because of the misunderstandings and inaccuracies that some newcomers adopt about Indigenous communities from friends, family, and the media. Newcomers are most vulnerable to adopting inaccurate information about Indigenous peoples as they receive little Indigenous education and orientation after their arrival to Canada. As such, it is imperative that non-Indigenous peoples, including recent newcomers educate themselves about the histories of this land and engage in meaningful acts of reconciliation. So, how can recent newcomers become aware of their responsibility to engage and learn more about Indigenous peoples and of their potential complicity in colonization?

Responsibility to Educate

I see several opportunities to encourage recent newcomers to become aware of their responsibility to engage. The first opportunity is education. Education remains as a contentious concept, especially in contemporary settler societies where information about the colonization of

Indigenous peoples and its impacts on present-day Indigenous communities continue to be minimal or non-existent. Non-Indigenous responsibility to engage in reconciliation and educate themselves on Canadian colonial history and its impacts on the present should not be the principal responsibility of or a favour to Indigenous peoples. I see education as an important part of engaging newcomer communities in addressing the injustices that are perpetuated in the present-day and engaging them in the process of social transformation. A better understanding of Indigenous histories and their reasons for seeking reparations for stolen lives, resources, and lands is a step towards recognizing the privileges that came with living on these lands.

During my focus group, one of the livelier discussions was on the topic of where the onus to educate newcomers lies. Several immigrant focus group participants noted that the government, at the federal and provincial levels and Indigenous communities must take the primary role in educating newcomers about Indigenous peoples. In contrast, several Indigenous participants suggested that this onus lies squarely with newcomers. Reconciliation is the responsibility of non-Indigenous peoples, including recent newcomers.

I see an opportunity to address the divide in the understanding between Indigenous and newcomer participants, as each one of these actors has a role to play in reconciliation. In my understanding, the role to educate should be shared by the various levels of Canadian government; it should also be shared by non-Indigenous peoples who should educate themselves; and by Indigenous peoples who can guide others in the non-Indigenous journey to educate and reconcile. Moreover, there is an obligation on the Canadian federal government to address the Call to Action 94 by changing the Oath of Citizenship so that it will include the acknowledgement of Treaties and Call to Action 93 by creating newcomer information toolkits in consultation with Indigenous peoples.

I agree with Indigenous participants that newcomers must not wait for Indigenous peoples to teach them about their histories and cultures. However, many new immigrants will not have an opportunity to learn Canadian history as many newcomers are not offered Indigenous orientation/education upon their arrival. Without accurate knowledge it is very easy to adopt negative stereotypes, especially when a new immigrant gathers such information from more established non-Indigenous friends, family members, and media. As a result, this limited, or non-existent understanding of Canadian and Indigenous histories poses obstacles to reconciliation and a new respectful relationship. Without education about the Canadian colonial history of injustices towards Indigenous peoples and how the past impacts on Indigenous communities, reconciliation between newcomer and Indigenous peoples might be even more challenging to achieve. As a result, part of the responsibility to educate must be taken by organizations that offer pre and post-arrival newcomer services, as well as federal, provincial, and municipal governments, and organizations that newcomers frequent, such as community groups and religious establishments. These organizations offer newcomers various services such as language lessons, and help with employment and housing, however, few services offer education on Indigenous histories.¹⁴⁵ In my understanding, newcomers who take part in such services could be in perfect positions to learn about Indigenous peoples and related topics. For education to be effective in helping newcomers make sense of Indigenous and Canadian histories, newcomers must be educated prior to or immediately after their arrival in Canada.

¹⁴⁵ Immigration, Refugees, Citizenship Canada. (2018). Evaluation of pre-arrival settlement services. Retrieved from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/pre-arrival-settlement-services.html>

Education of Recent Newcomers

The purpose of educating oneself is to begin to understand and support the need to advance Indigenous rights and address the harms that were caused and the impacts they continue to have on today's Indigenous communities. However, not every newcomer nor every non-Indigenous person born in Canada will know where to access accurate information. Because of this, it is imperative that more education on Indigenous peoples and histories is delivered prior to or immediately upon newcomers' arrival to Canada. In my opinion, such information must be written specifically for recent newcomers by Indigenous peoples and be administered through immigrant services, pre and post-arrival organizations, and institutions that work with immigrants, such as community and religious organizations.

In my understanding, there is a greater need to create education specifically designed for newcomers to Canada that can help increase newcomer awareness of Indigenous peoples and of newcomer responsibility to contribute to reconciliation. One such way is to create and distribute guides for newcomers about Indigenous peoples. Several of such guides already exist. The Mennonite Central Committee Manitoba created a guide for newcomers about Indigenous Peoples of Manitoba.¹⁴⁶ A similar guide for newcomers was created in Vancouver, and its contents seems to have included more direct input from Indigenous peoples.¹⁴⁷ IPW is currently working on an Indigenous Orientation Toolkit for Newcomers which will include video and text components. Guides and other related information need to be written by Indigenous peoples using a simple language that can be well understood by newcomers and easily translated into

¹⁴⁶ Reynar, A. & Matties, Z. (2017). Indigenous Peoples of Manitoba - A guide for newcomers. Prepared for Mennonite Central Committee Manitoba. Retrieved from <https://mcccanada.ca/media/resources/4186>

¹⁴⁷ City of Vancouver. (2014). First Peoples: A guide for newcomers. Retrieved from <https://vancouver.ca/files/cov/First-Peoples-A-Guide-for-Newcomers.pdf>

languages that are most used by newcomers to Canada. Most immigrants who arrived to Winnipeg between 2011 and 2016 were from Philippines (37%), India (18%), China (5%), and Nigeria (5%).¹⁴⁸ Reflecting on the discussions held at IPW's meetings on Indigenous Orientation Toolkit for Newcomers, guides can have the most impact if they are distributed among organizations that serve newcomers at the pre and immediately after the newcomers' arrival.

Such education should focus not only on one's understanding and relationship to colonialism, but also on one's responsibilities to Indigenous communities and this land as a result of the Treaties that were made between Indigenous nations, the Crown, and the Canadian government. The Numbered Treaties are a series of eleven treaties that were signed between the Crown and First Nations (Anishinaabe, Anishininiwak, Ininiwak, and Denesuline) in order to create areas for settlement, farming, and extraction of natural resources.¹⁴⁹ First Nations entered into Treaties in order to protect their cultures, livelihoods, and lands, and they did not view them as a surrender of their lands but as an agreement to share the lands and resources.¹⁵⁰ Winnipeg is located on Treaty 1 territory and procures certain responsibilities and benefits on every non-Indigenous person and newcomer who lives on this land. Some of the benefits of being a Treaty person are being able to immigrate to Canada and share this land and its resources with Indigenous communities.¹⁵¹ With these benefits come responsibilities. First Nations emphasize the spirit and intent of the Treaty and the fact that these were solemn pacts that were made on a nation to nation basis. In addition, the relationship established by the Treaty was based on

¹⁴⁸ Statistics Canada. (2017). Winnipeg [Census metropolitan area], Manitoba and Manitoba [Province] (table). *Census Profile*. 2016 Census. *Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001*. Ottawa, ON.

¹⁴⁹ Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba. (n.d.) Treaties in Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.trcm.ca/treaties/treaties-in-canada/>.

¹⁵⁰ Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, n.d.

¹⁵¹ Personal e-mail communication with staff member of Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, November 2018.

equality, mutual benefit, and consent. When the First Nations agreed to share the land with the settlers, they were very clear that they did not want their way of life to be interfered with. Among other things, this would include their languages, ceremonies, and relationship to the land. Responsibilities under the Treaty relationship would therefore include ensuring that First Nations would continue to enjoy their way of life, as before, and that the relationship is based on respect for each other as nations.¹⁵² In my view, gaining a better understanding of the history of this land and of the continued impacts of colonization has the potential to encourage newcomers to reflect on how they might be promoting colonialism through their actions and what they say. Learning more about Indigenous peoples from Canada and Australia led me to reflect on my role in reconciliation, how I can be complicit in the colonization of Indigenous peoples, and what it means to be a Treaty person.

Reconciliation at the Community Level

Education is an important aspect of confronting the issues that stem from ignorance and misconceptions that some recent newcomers have about Indigenous peoples. It is imperative that all Canadians have the knowledge to understand Indigenous peoples, their concerns, and demands. However, having an awareness and information about Canadian and Indigenous histories is not enough to change attitudes or behaviours. There is also a need to foster reflection and personal responsibility towards these difficult issues by cultivating egalitarian values, seeking meaningful relationships with Indigenous peoples, and drawing parallels with experiences of oppression in their own lives. This demands face-to-face opportunities that will allow meaningful interactions between both groups of peoples. Such interactions are best created

¹⁵² Epp, R. (2008). *We are all treaty people: Prairie essays*. Alberta: The University of Alberta Press.

at the community level, where individuals from both communities could come together and talk and learn about each other. Organizations that serve immigrant and ethnocultural communities can have a great contribution to newcomers' understanding of Indigenous peoples by initiating projects, events, and activities that focus on building bridges with Indigenous communities.

Although the call for greater community reconciliation efforts exists in academic literature, these calls are limited as most focus on the national approach to reconciliation. Freeman argues that “a national approach to reconciliation risks reinforcing the hegemony of the very nation state that claims an illegitimate sovereignty over Indigenous land and peoples”.¹⁵³ Cornthassel similarly suggests a return to actions that are local and focus on reconnecting the community with land and culture, as different regions would demand different cultural, treaty, historical, economic, political, and social considerations.¹⁵⁴ Wab Kinew also acknowledges the importance of reconciliation at the community level and argues that “reconciliation is realized when two people come together and understand that what they share unites them and that what is different between them needs to be respected”.¹⁵⁵

In my opinion, reconciliation at the community level has the potential to allow communities to create approaches that are specific to them, as some communities are on Treaty lands and some are not, each with diverse Indigenous and newcomer cultures, histories, and needs. Attempting to find a unified Indigenous voice in Canada on how to address reconciliation can be a great challenge. I do not expect nor see it necessary to find a unified understanding of reconciliation among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. With that said, I believe that there

¹⁵³ Freeman, 2014: p. 219.

¹⁵⁴ Cornthassel, J. (2012). Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination. *Decolonization: Indigeneity Education & Society*, 1(1), 86-101: p. 91-92.

¹⁵⁵ Kinew, W. (2015). *The reason you walk: A memoir*. New York: Viking: p. 211.

is a need for appreciation of the multiple ways of addressing reconciliation and an understanding that a single view of reconciliation has the potential to be damaging rather than helpful.

Finding ways to build reconciliation at the community level can give Indigenous communities opportunities to articulate their goals and understandings of newcomer roles in reconciliation. In my opinion, building stronger alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples locally and regionally is not essential but can be helpful as reconciliation requires place-based relationship-building between diverse peoples. One example of this is the Idle No More movement which gained support and spread awareness across the country in part due to the allyship of Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.¹⁵⁶

The above is not meant to suggest that less reconciliation work must be done at the government level. Rather, it is my understanding that a greater emphasis should be placed on getting newcomers and non-Indigenous peoples to also find ways to meaningfully contribute to reconciliation at the interpersonal and community level. A predominantly top-down approach to achieving reconciliation with Indigenous communities can limit the ability of non-Indigenous peoples to realize their responsibility to reconcile. Such an approach has the potential to exclude the opinions and voices of those at the grassroots level. National healing requires the active participation and voices of communities, Indigenous survivors and victims. A top-down approach also has the potential to only focus on the role of the government in the reconciliation movement and ignore the role of non-Indigenous peoples. Leaving this important process in the hands of a few elite decision makers in government can create the impression that non-Indigenous peoples are not accountable for their responsibilities that were made through treaties.

¹⁵⁶ Freeman, 2012: p. 220.

Finally, I do not suggest that all Indigenous peoples must find ways to build relationships with newcomers. I acknowledge and respect the desires of some Indigenous peoples to reject reconciliation efforts and allyship of newcomers and non-Indigenous peoples and pursue decolonization in their own ways. With that said, if part of reconciliation is the change in relationships between individuals, communities, governments, and institutions, how can we see such change occur?

Acts of Reconciliation

Newcomer focus group participants' visions of reconciliation seemed to broadly align with the core aspects of the TRC's vision, such as understanding, being respectful and creating an awareness of Indigenous histories. However, among these newcomers, there seems to be a lack of understanding on what it means to concretely contribute to reconciliation beyond simple awareness of Indigenous histories. Clarke argues that reconciliation between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples must begin with "an acknowledgement of each other's historical repression, genealogical bonds [...], and our mutual efforts, sometimes in coalitions (usually not even of convenience, but of happenstance), to insist on our rights and respect- right in the stony, white-supremacist face of the state".¹⁵⁷ Becoming more aware about Indigenous peoples, their histories, and cultures is an important part of reconciliation, however, awareness alone is not sufficient.

To supplement awareness and understanding, Heather Igloliorte suggests that newcomers can attend Indigenous festivals and celebrations such as Aboriginal peoples' day.¹⁵⁸ At such

¹⁵⁷ Clark, G. E. (2011). Indigenous Blacks: An irreconcilable identity? In Ashok Mathur, Jonathan Dewar, and Mike DeGagné (Eds.), *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the lens of cultural diversity* (pp. 69-80). Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation; p. 404.

¹⁵⁸ Assaf, M. (2016). Newcomers- Reconciliation needs you too. *New Canadian Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.newcanadianmedia.ca/item/33174-newcomers-reconciliation-needs-you-too>.

events, newcomers can have an opportunity to meet and talk to Indigenous peoples, thus, enriching their understanding of Indigenous cultures. In addition, joining community events that bring Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples together can offer opportunities for further learning. Being a part of IPW forums and related community events taught me important lessons about how reconciliation can take place. It is not enough to observe reconciliation at a distance or passively; rather everyone must actively engage and participate.

One of IPW Indigenous-newcomer forums' goals was for newcomers to translate the knowledge they gained and turn it into action by spreading the knowledge among their family and friends. Newcomers were also encouraged to invite local reconciliation organizations to hold Blanket Exercises at their place of work and to gently counter racist or stereotypical comments with fact-based information whether they are at the office or school. An Elder at the second Indigenous-newcomer forum encouraged newcomers to read the TRC Report and the 94 Calls to Action and then write to municipal, provincial, and federal representatives and ask them how they are implementing the Calls. Newcomers were encouraged to learn the land acknowledgment in their region; initiate a conversation with a friend about an Indigenous issue in the news; consider their position as a settler in Canada and how their practices might contribute to the marginalization of Indigenous peoples.¹⁵⁹

I encourage recent newcomers to realize that good intentions can be harmful too. Good intentions can become acts of symbolic violence when simply stated intentions do nothing more than pacify voices of dissent and of those who are marginalized. Therefore, good intentions can be about silencing voices and not about wanting structural changes. Another challenge is that not

¹⁵⁹ Fraser, C. & Komarnisky, S. (2017). 150 Acts of Reconciliation for the Last 150 Days of Canada's 150. Retrieved from <http://activehistory.ca/2017/08/150-acts-of-reconciliation-for-the-last-150-days-of-canadas-150/>

enough individuals are committed with good intentions to personal transformation which is necessary for reconciliation. Finally, in my opinion, a good heart or good intentions are not enough to transform one's community: the responsibility lies within the empowerment and actions of those with good intentions to rise above adversity for positive transformations. As such, the above discussion does not suggest that reconciliation should only focus on what non-Indigenous and recent newcomers can do at the community level. Rather, the aim is to highlight the importance of different approaches to reconciliation.

Indicators of Reconciliation

Understanding the success of reconciliation practices can be a challenging task. On several occasions I witnessed the impact of face-to-face Indigenous-newcomer interactions on a newcomer and here I will discuss two of such occasions. The discussion that follows brings in Kelly McKone and her understanding of how to measure reconciliation efforts and changes in attitudes. While my study does not allow to measure changes in attitude and success of reconciliation efforts due to the small sample size of my focus group nor assess change over time, I will discuss my reflection on newcomer self-reported change and newcomers' attitude about Indigenous peoples.

In a report conducted for the United States Institute of Peace, McKone discusses how to measure reconciliation-related changes and contends that such changes must first occur within an individual and only then can intergroup relationships improve.¹⁶⁰ Individual level indicators are meant to assess changes in a person and to better recognise such changes McKone proposes several measures that can help understand a person's change in attitude. Some of these measures

¹⁶⁰ McKone, K. (2015). *Reconciliation in practice*. Center for Applied Research on Conflict at the United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from <https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW111-Reconciliation-in-Practice.pdf>

are self-awareness of the reasons an individual holds certain attitudes about certain people, how motivated and empowered the individual is to make change in their community and not be a bystander to racism, and their motivation to continue promoting reconciliation.¹⁶¹ Similarly to individual level indicators, community-level indicators are geared towards measuring actual or perceived shifts in knowledge, attitude, or behaviours in communities.¹⁶² McKone breaks down ways of assessing community attitudes into four groups: “people’s perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors about overall intergroup relations; attitudes and behaviors associated with intergroup socializing; people’s knowledge about the narratives, culture, and history of the Other; and the potential for future reconciliation”.¹⁶³ Evaluation techniques include questioning participants and conducting surveys about personal thoughts or general relations between groups.¹⁶⁴

McKone’s discussion of personal and community level changes are relevant to this thesis as they helped me to better understand the changes in opinion and attitude at the personal and at the community-levels. I observed interpersonal changes in attitude after my focus group participants were encouraged to reflect on what they heard. After my focus group I was approached by a newcomer participant who arrived in Canada a month ago. The participant told me that seeing and hearing the passion that some Indigenous participants had when they talked about reconciliation, ongoing colonialism, and related topics left a great impression on them and made them realize how important history is to them. The newcomer participant was not aware of how much emotion some Indigenous peoples had for reconciliation and the injustices their ancestors experienced. For this newcomer, this face-to-face experience was eye opening and certainly one that could not have been attained only by reading about colonialism or Indigenous

¹⁶¹ McKone, 2015: p. 35.

¹⁶² McKone, 2015.

¹⁶³ McKone, 2015: p. 35.

¹⁶⁴ McKone, 2015.

histories. Similar changes in attitude were observed in two participants who were originally from China and who took part in the First Nations Community Newcomer Visit. Newcomer visitors were asked to fill out a questionnaire and share their reflections of the experience. The two newcomers noted that interacting with Indigenous peoples from a variety of cultures and nations positively impacted their perceptions and attitudes about Indigenous peoples and made them realize some of the similarities that exist between their culture and that of some Indigenous cultures.

In both instances, newcomers acknowledged the change in attitude and opinion on their own. This indicates to me not only that some change in attitude and opinion occurred and the newcomer realized a change in their own understanding and attitude towards Indigenous peoples, but these changes were occurring after personal interactions and conversations with Indigenous peoples. These newcomers began to understand the continuous impact of treaties, reserves and Residential Schools on Indigenous communities and the difficulty of living with these experiences and memories. Newcomer education at the community level has the potential to position them in active roles to contribute to reconciliation as well as learn accurate information about Indigenous peoples, their histories, and cultures directly from Indigenous peoples. My above examples of attitudinal change are common in some, but not all newcomers, and are not meant to represent the experiences of every newcomer who participated in my focus group or in IPW's Indigenous-newcomer events. The connection between face-to-face experiences and changes in attitude are complex and might be challenging to gauge and identify, partially because changes in attitude might occur after several positive encounters with Indigenous communities or the newcomer might not recognize such change for some time. Future research

could be dedicated to investigating whether these changes were reflected in newcomers' behaviour and discourse and if the changes persisted over time.

Discussion

In this chapter I explored why recent newcomers should be more dedicated to reconciliation. I argued that there is a greater need to create opportunities for newcomers to engage in reconciliation at the community level and educate newcomers about Indigenous histories and their responsibility to reconcile. Creating more Indigenous-newcomer community events and educating newcomers about Indigenous peoples will not sufficiently address concerns and demands that Indigenous peoples have. Some scholars argue that a renewed Indigenous-non-Indigenous relationship would demand the dramatic transformation of the settler society, its political and economic structures, and the ways in which people relate to each other.¹⁶⁵ While such a transformation demands changes that go beyond the community, greater attention must be dedicated to newcomer and non-Indigenous education and acknowledgement of their complicity in colonization and a reflection on how they can meaningfully contribute to reconciliation and decolonization.

Newcomers to Canada and Indigenous peoples have varying understandings of reconciliation and how they see their roles in it. This diversity can create challenges but also opportunities for collaboration between Indigenous peoples and newcomers. The diversity in how reconciliation is understood by Indigenous peoples is necessary to accommodate the diverse Indigenous political and cultural traditions and visions of the future and the variation in understanding between nations and regions. Disagreements and maybe even conflicts may arise

¹⁶⁵ Coulthard, G. S. (2011). Teaching reconciliation: The place and power of Indigenous pedagogy. Delivered at the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association Annual Meeting.

when different visions of reconciliation are being articulated by recent newcomers and Indigenous peoples. Perhaps the point that could result in greatest amount of contention is if we are prepared to dismantle the settler state and the capitalist system and revitalize Indigenous political and economic arrangements.

In its 2016 survey, the Environics Institute for Survey Research asked non-Indigenous peoples about their understandings of Indigenous communities, reconciliation, and related topics. The survey notes that individuals who have immigrated to Canada “demonstrate a small but consistently more positive orientation towards Aboriginal peoples in comparison with those who are Canadian-born”.¹⁶⁶ The survey does not hypothesize why this is so, but it does note that newcomers are more likely to learn about Indigenous peoples and cultures, support initiatives that teach Indigenous histories and cultures in provincial and territorial education curriculum, and increase funding to preserve Indigenous languages. This is encouraging and is an important step towards achieving reconciliation and justice for Indigenous communities.

In order to support community organizations that create opportunities for Indigenous-newcomers interaction, there is a need for greater government funding. There is a great need to recognize the important role that ethnocultural organizations play in immigrant social, cultural, and economic integration, as well as the potential of these organizations to build bridges between ethnocultural and Indigenous communities. Organizations such as IPW provide important immigrant settlement services that are specific to the needs of their immigrant clients. With that said, learning about Indigenous histories and building stronger relations with Indigenous communities might not directly or immediately adequately address the harms and injustices

¹⁶⁶ The Environics Institute for Survey Research. (2016). Canadian public opinion on Aboriginal Peoples. Retrieved from <https://tidescanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Canadian-Public-Opinion-on-Aboriginal-Peoples-2016-FINAL-REPORT.pdf>: p. 7.

committed. Community interactions, bridge-building, and non-Indigenous education is one of many necessary steps to be taken before meaningful reconciliation is achieved.

This thesis gave me an opportunity to better understand how others envision reconciliation, begin to develop my own understanding of reconciliation, as well as what role recent newcomers can play in it. In my understanding, one of the main challenges with reconciliation at the community level is the way in which the past is dealt with. How can different memories of the past be reconciled with? Brenna Bhandar contends that in order for a society to agree to restitution and move on, it needs to agree on one historical truth.¹⁶⁷ The idea of establishing a single understanding of the past is challenging as history is made up of memories from different actors, with varying social, political, economic, cultural, and historical backgrounds.¹⁶⁸ Reflecting on my observations at my focus group and at various Indigenous-newcomer community events, I think that there can be some facts about the past that will be agreed on by many. However, there will always be multiple histories and ways of understanding and remembering the past. Although, some of these memories will conflict with each other, they must somehow coexist. Facing the past, revealing the multiple ways of remembering history, and using narratives that are told by the marginalized and oppressed groups can be some of the ways to question the hegemony of the dominant narrative that is controlled by the elite. Such counternarratives refuse injustices of the past to be thought of as incidental and imperative for the purpose of building a nation. Reconciliation at the community level has the potential to allow individuals who experienced injustices in the past and continue to experience them in the present to share their histories with others, and as such, help disrupt settler amnesia.

¹⁶⁷ Bhandar, B. (2007). 'Spatialising history' and opening time: Resisting the reproduction of the proper subject. In S. Veitch (Eds.). *Law and the Politics of Reconciliation*, (pp. 93-110). Farnham: Ashgate.

¹⁶⁸ Bhandar, 2007: p. 95.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the meaning of reconciliation in the context of recent immigrants to Canada. This thesis argued that there is a need for a greater emphasis on recent newcomer education on Indigenous peoples and their histories as well as a greater emphasis on face-to-face interactions at the community-level between Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers. Throughout my thesis I raised several questions such as what reconciliation is and what it means to recent newcomers and to me. Reconciliation is a complex, multifaceted process with a myriad of actors, understandings, and goals. In my opinion, reconciliation demands an awareness of who we are, where we live, how we can reconcile and create greater understanding of Indigenous communities among non-Indigenous peoples. Further, I think that reconciliation should remain as a process that is contextually contingent at the community level. Discussing reconciliation in the context of recent immigrants adds another layer of complexity. Since many newcomers to Canada are not taught Indigenous histories and the responsibilities they have as treaty people, it can be challenging to understand how one's actions and words can promote colonialism. As such, education of recent newcomers must be prioritized before they can meaningfully engage and contribute to the disruption of settler colonialism. In chapter 4, I discussed if the Canadian approach to multiculturalism can meaningfully support reconciliation. The increasing multicultural nature of Canadian society demands us to consider how newcomers can be better educated about Indigenous peoples. Newcomer education of Indigenous peoples should be provided prior to or immediately after the newcomers' arrival in Canada. Such education can be in the form of orientation toolkits which are aimed at giving newcomers accurate information about Indigenous communities.

By choosing to focus on recent newcomers who immigrated to Canada in the past ten years, I wanted to go beyond the homogenous non-Indigenous group and understand how their relationship to reconciliation is different than of non-Indigenous peoples who were born in Canada. In the first few years upon arrival to Canada, many recent newcomers have not had opportunities to learn about Indigenous histories and acknowledge their potential complicity in ongoing colonization.¹⁶⁹ While recent newcomers are expected to contribute to reconciliation, it is my understanding that many are not well prepared to do so. I do not consider it to be appropriate to characterise every recent newcomer as a settler and colonizer and with white privilege. Rather, recent newcomers have the potential to promote settler colonialism if, after having been exposed to Indigenous histories and of their potential complicity in colonialism, they choose to ignore their responsibility to engage and educate themselves further.

In chapter 5, I explored some of the ways in which newcomers can contribute to reconciliation. The ambiguity surrounding the meaning of reconciliation should not discourage future reconciliation efforts. In my opinion, reconciliation at the community level has the potential to not only take some of the authority over this process from the government but be more in tune with the needs and demands of different Indigenous communities. One of the aims of my thesis was to support the view that is held by scholars like Epp who says that the “most meaningful work of reconciliation, however, will lie in small, face-to-face initiatives for which the imperative is greatest where communities exist in close proximity”.¹⁷⁰ I agree with De Costa and Clark who underline the importance of creating stronger Indigenous-newcomer relations, not only for the benefit of Indigenous peoples in their struggle for autonomy and resources, but for

¹⁶⁹ Immigration, Refugees, Citizenship Canada. (2018).

¹⁷⁰ Epp, 2008: p. 138.

non-Indigenous peoples and their search for prosperity.¹⁷¹ I hold the view that reconciliation should be of importance to recent newcomers for several reasons. The primary reason is that reconciliation is a shared responsibility of recent newcomers and non-Indigenous. As a result, recent newcomers need to understand and think about how they can contribute to reconciliation. I also examined the importance of educating recent newcomers about Indigenous histories and reconciliation. The recent newcomer responsibility to engage should not only be at the community level. I see opportunities for recent newcomers to contribute to reconciliation at the government level, especially those newcomers who work in governments and can influence government decision-making. Those recent newcomers who do not occupy positions in government also have the capacity to voice their opinions through activism and by talking about reconciliation with their friends, family, and community members.

I found the research methods to be appropriate for this thesis for several reasons. First, participating in Indigenous-newcomer community events allowed me to gather my research questions directly from the community and better understand the research needs and gaps that exist in the academic literature on this topic. Further, relying on the autoethnographic method gave me an opportunity to not only reflect on my own understanding of reconciliation, but also on my identity as an immigrant and what it means to live on Treaty 1 land. Finally, by conducting a focus group I was able to gather research information and better understand how some newcomers and Indigenous peoples understand reconciliation and their roles in it.

¹⁷¹ De Costa, R. & Clark, T. (2016). On the responsibility to engage: Non-Indigenous peoples in settler states. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 6(3), 191-208, DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2015.1065560.

Limitations

The information and insights of this research are constrained by certain limitations and potential biases. Regarding the methodological considerations, the major limitation of the information collection resulted from the small sample size of focus group participants. Further, the newcomer participants were not all recent newcomers, as a result their understanding of the role of recent newcomers in reconciliation might differ from the more recent immigrants. I did not focus on a specific Indigenous or newcomer community and rather discussed both as homogenous groups of peoples. I am aware of the differences in understanding reconciliation and Indigenous-newcomer relations that might exist among different Indigenous and different newcomer communities.

This research focused on projects at the community level. Certainly government-led efforts such as truth and reconciliation commissions and local healing practices carried out by local people without the support of the community-at-large are important factors affecting the larger reconciliation process. Further, it is unclear how sustainable any of the community-led events and projects are over time. If projects could not be supported repeatedly, interactions between the two groups might not be sustained. Therefore, it is imperative that community organizations are given more support from the government. Moreover, there is a possibility for selection bias. In my participation in various Indigenous-newcomer community events I noticed that those who are invited to participate in these events are those who are most ready to change, those who have been working on changing the relations with others, or those who have obtained the reputation in their community as a leader of reconciliation efforts. This suggests that such projects might not reach people who are not ready for change and are resistant to reconciliation. Finally, it is important to be aware of who is being asked to reconcile with whom. Some recent

newcomers come from colonized countries or from countries with conflict. In such spaces, there is a possibility that everyone present has suffered and was a victim of larger political processes. While this can encourage groups to see the similarities in their suffering and can unite and help reconcile divided groups, this can also undermine reconciliation efforts as it can discount the unequal suffering of certain groups and the responsibility of others. While some recent newcomers were colonized, and suffered through traumas and injustices, there is a need for them to examine their responsibilities.

Western conceptualizations of reconciliation, or government-led reconciliation, which emphasize the importance of improving relations is context-bound.¹⁷² Western conceptualizations of reconciliation can be understood as an improvement of social relations among individuals or groups of people that ignore cultural constructs and local contexts.¹⁷³ Such conceptualizations impose a singular understanding of how every individual and group of people can reconcile their relations with each other. In Canada, such conceptualizations also assume that there is a harmonious relationship that we can re-concile and return to. In my understanding, there is value in paying attention to the spiritual approaches and local meanings of reconciliation. Being open to different cultural constructions of reconciliation and culture of peace is an important part of building peace in an increasingly diverse society. Overlooking and marginalizing local understandings and practices risks making Western approaches privileged and indigenous approaches portrayed as inferior.¹⁷⁴ Local approaches to reconciliation have the potential to be sustainable. Externally driven approaches can lack support and come to a sudden

¹⁷² Stasiulis D. & Yuval-Davis, N. (1995). *Unsettling settler societies: Articulations of gender, race, ethnicity and class*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

¹⁷³ Wessels, M. (2008). Community reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction for peace. In Joseph de Rivera (Eds.) *Handbook on Building Cultures of Peace*, (pp. 349-361). New York: Springer-Verlag: p. 354.

¹⁷⁴ Stasiulis & Yuval-Davis, 1995.

end.¹⁷⁵ More often than not, the problem is the lack of funding, but another issue is that such approaches may have little connection to the local culture, social norms, and local actors. As a result, local actors, beliefs, and reconciliation practices demand a greater attention to the national discussions on reconciliation. Participating in various Indigenous-newcomer community events taught me several lessons on reconciliation and on how to conduct research with Indigenous peoples and newcomers.

Lessons Learned

Participating in IPW's Indigenous-newcomer community events and projects taught me several lessons about reconciliation with Indigenous peoples and about doing research on reconciliation. First and foremost, I learned of the importance that community organizations play in the reconciliation movement and in encouraging newcomers to contribute to reconciliation. IPW provides a mix of formal and informal services to newcomers and many newcomers perceive organizations like IPW as an invaluable resource which helps them make their transition easier due to shared language, culture, traditions, and their connections to specific ethnocultural communities and resources.¹⁷⁶ Bucklaschuk notes that the work that IPW does to support the ethnocultural communities in Winnipeg often goes unnoticed.¹⁷⁷ This is in part because much of IPW's "work is informal and occurs outside of regular office and work structures".¹⁷⁸ IPW serves an important role in ethnocultural communities as it has the potential to provide individuals with relevant information, connect individuals with services and organizations that share their culture, language, and religion.

¹⁷⁵ Wessels, 2008.

¹⁷⁶ Bucklaschuk, 2018: p. 3

¹⁷⁷ Bucklaschuk, 2018: p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ Bucklaschuk, 2018: p. 1.

Despite the large amount of support organizations such as IPW provide to ethnocultural communities, Bucklaschuk names several challenges that these organizations face. Many of these organizations are not recognized by government funders as formal settlement service providers. As a result, “these groups and organizations struggle to obtain sufficient stable financial resources and are often expected to 'do more with less'”.¹⁷⁹ When such organizations do attempt to secure funding, some application processes can be rigorous and competitive. Further, since organizations like IPW tend to provide support in more than one way (economic, social, cultural, religious), they have trouble defining themselves according to the government’s narrow goal for support which tends to be only economic.¹⁸⁰ Despite the significant contribution of such organizations to ethnocultural communities and reconciliation, they are often ignored or marginalized by governments and policy-makers.¹⁸¹

As I mentioned before in this thesis, good intentions can be harmful. Consultation is imperative in order to ensure that the event or project addresses the needs of Indigenous community members. When organizing events with Indigenous communities, it is imperative to think about how the event has the potential to promote colonization or inhibit the ability of Indigenous peoples to seek changes. It is important to build trusting relationships with partners and to ensure that no one is dictating what needs to be done. When trying to build relations with Indigenous communities it is important to understand their priorities and what Indigenous partners want to address.

¹⁷⁹ Bucklaschuk, 2018: p. 3.

¹⁸⁰ Bucklaschuk, 2018.

¹⁸¹ Ramakrishnan, S. K. & Bloemraad, I. (2008). *Civic hopes and political realities: Immigrants, community organizations, and political engagement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

I also learned that when designing workshops and events that include newcomers and Indigenous peoples, it is important to not take for granted the amount of knowledge each group of peoples has about each other. During the second IPW Indigenous-newcomer forum, I participated in a sharing circle exercise that broke Indigenous and newcomer participants into small groups. After the exercise was finished, I had a chance to survey some newcomers about their experience in the circle. It was at this point when I realized that some newcomers were not explained this exercise well. As a result, some newcomers did not understand why there was ‘a smoking shell in the middle of the circle’ which was burning sage held in an abalone shell; or why they had to hold on to and pass around ‘a stick’ which was a talking stick; or what they were supposed to say during the sharing circle exercise; and why this exercise ‘seemed like a monologue, where no one responded to what you said’. Nonetheless, many newcomer participants had an educational experience, and some participants noted that this exercise resonated with them as they became more aware of the similarities between the struggles of Indigenous peoples and some newcomers. Similarly, an Indigenous participant noted that after this exercise she wanted to hear more from newcomers and their stories of life in their country and how they immigrated to Canada.

In my experience participating in Indigenous-newcomer events such as the Indigenous-newcomer forum and First Nations community visit, I learned of the importance of not only remembering the history of colonization and its impacts on today but also of emphasising the positive aspects of Indigenous cultures. Gathering feedback from newcomer participants at these events, I learned that the opinions of some newcomers changed from neutral or negative to positive admiration about Indigenous peoples once they learned of the accomplishments

Indigenous peoples have made in various fields, and in their potential to continue to make further positive impacts in the world.

When building events and projects with Indigenous peoples, it is important for partners to discuss and articulate the role that Indigenous knowledge and methods will have in the project. When researchers predominantly exist within a Western paradigm, they must pay close attention to their own values and beliefs and how much space is given to other ways of understanding. The degree of trust within the partnership affects the extent to which community partners will share their knowledge and ways of knowing with those who are outside of their community. Non-Indigenous partners should not expect Indigenous community members to share their knowledge to inform the project, as Indigenous peoples have the right to reject their input and association with the project. It is important that partners explicitly acknowledge their commitment to producing culturally centered research methods.

Opportunities for Future Research

There are several areas that future research can focus on. Future research can focus on a specific Indigenous or newcomer community and analyse how this community understands reconciliation and the role of newcomers in it. Additionally, future research can focus on the role of recent newcomers at the political/constitutional/legal levels, as well as what recent newcomer education of Indigenous histories and related topics should be like, who should write the content, and where it should be distributed. There is also an opportunity to focus on a specific city in Canada and analyse how this city and its citizens are contributing to reconciliation. Moreover, I see an opportunity to focus on a community organization and analyse how it supports or what it can do to provide more support to the community's efforts to reconcile with Indigenous peoples.

In my understanding there is a need to develop more meaningful monitoring and evaluation indicators of how to measure reconciliation efforts. Reconciliation indicators are most strongly developed for changes at the community level but are quite weak at the individual and government levels. The common objectives of individual change involve self-awareness, empowerment, and motivation. No robust indicators of these objectives seem to exist. If they do exist, there is a disconnect between their existence and their adoption by organizations. Further research could also focus on understanding how reconciliation efforts at the community and personal levels can connect to other stages and actors in reconciliation, such as government.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Protocol Submission Form: Research Ethics- Fort Garry



Protocol Submission Form
Research Ethics - Fort Garry

Admin Only
Protocol #
HS #

Select the appropriate REB for the Faculty/Department/Unit of the Principal Investigator. Joint-Faculty REB

Interactions and Collaborations Between Indigenous Peoples and Recent Newcomers in an Age of Reconciliation

Project Title
Roxana Akhmetova

Principal Investigator
[REDACTED]

Email
[REDACTED]

Co-Investigators

+

-

N/A- Master's Thesis PI Roxana Akhmetova

Political Studies

Faculty/Department/Unit

Master's Thesis

Type of Research

Specify affiliation

N/A

If this is a student/graduate project, please provide the following information:

Dr. Kiera Ladner

Advisor's Name

[REDACTED]

Email

Political Studies

Advisor's Faculty/Department/Unit

If this study has a study coordinator or research assistant, please provide the following information :

Name

Email

Title

Is this application a follow-up to an existing Request for Preliminary Access (RPA) to Grant Funding form?
☐ Yes ☒ No If yes, please identify the HS# (HSXXXXX): N/A

Is this project funded? ☒ Yes ☐ No If yes, provide the UM Project Number SSHRC (UM Project # can be found using My Research Tools) <http://umanitoba.ca/research/grs/mrt-faq.html>

What is the anticipated start date for this study? September 2018

Purpose of the Research

1. Describe the background and rationale for this research study. Describe the research question(s) and objectives for this research study.

Despite the increasing number of debates that surround Canadian multiculturalism, immigration issues, and Indigenous peoples, there seems to be little interaction between these conversations. In fact, while discussions about Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers are closely related, these narratives are usually separated from each other into two distinct categories. First, the discourse on Indigenous peoples usually focuses on the effects of colonization and on the continuous efforts of Indigenous communities to re-claim their lands, histories, cultures, and futures. On the other hand, the debates that involve newcomers, which include immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers, mainly focus on the cultural and economic challenges that this group encounters as it settles in Canada. Bauder concurs by stating that Indigenous and newcomer issues are "intimately connected with each other through the historical facts of colonization and settlement; yet contemporary public and academic debates separate and disconnect immigration and Aboriginal narratives from each

Protocol Submission Form - Page 1

104

other". The nature of Canadian social diversity demands a greater attention to discussions of reconciliation and a discussion between Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers to Canada.

On June 2, 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) released 94 Calls to Action as part of its Final Report to the people of Canada. Two of the Calls to Action, 93 and 94, form part of the focus of this thesis, as they emphasize the relationship between new Canadians and Indigenous peoples. These two Calls to Action invite new Canadians to think about the ways that new citizens, immigrants, and refugees are introduced to Indigenous communities, histories, and cultures. Despite the establishment of the TRC and its subsequent Report, reconciliation remains as an optimistic but a vague aspiration for settler Canadians and Indigenous nations.

My master's research is aimed at addressing the preceding by focusing on the following questions: Is it important for recent newcomers to engage and build stronger relationships with Indigenous peoples? If so, why is it important and how can recent newcomers and Indigenous peoples do this? What is reconciliation and what constitutes meaningful Indigenous reconciliation? Is it important for newcomers to contribute to and participate in Indigenous reconciliation? If yes, why is it important and how can newcomers do this effectively? Moreover, my thesis aims to gain insight into the potential of the TRC's Calls to Action 93 and 94 in increasing recent newcomer knowledge of Indigenous and colonial history of Canada.

2. Describe the research methods and instruments. Attach copies of all materials (i.e. questionnaires, interview guides, instructions etc.) to be given to participants and/or third parties as **appendices**. Do not include them in this text box.

Knowledge collection for my master's thesis will be conducted in two phases. During the first phase, I will collect field notes which will be taken while I volunteer as a research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (IPW). Currently, I participate in three IPW projects that focus on bridging Indigenous-newcomer relations: 1) Indigenous orientation toolkit for newcomers; 2) Indigenous-newcomer forum; 3) and an educational Indigenous reserve visit by newcomers. 1) Indigenous orientation toolkit for newcomers, an IPW initiative, will be used to challenge the perception newcomers may have regarding Indigenous peoples, and to address the prejudices which they may have inadvertently adopted as part of their socialization and integration into Canadian communities. 2) In March 2018, IPW planned and delivered a bridge-building forum, during which Indigenous peoples and newcomers came together to make connections and bust myths about each other's cultures. This forum will be followed up by a second forum in August 2018, which will focus on exploring treaties, what it means to be treaty people and to live on this land. 3) Indigenous reserve visit by newcomers is an IPW initiative, the goal of which is to create a cultural exchange between Indigenous peoples on reserves and the ethnocultural community in Winnipeg. The purpose of inviting ethnocultural communities to visit Indigenous reserves are three-fold: education, cross-cultural bridge-building, and this addresses Truth and Reconciliation Call to Action number 93. Being invited to talk to Indigenous peoples on reserves can offer newcomers the opportunity to learn accurate information about Indigenous peoples from Indigenous peoples.

I will collect field notes during meetings that relate to these three projects. The main purpose of this data collection phase is to obtain first-hand experience and perspective on how best to increase positive Indigenous-newcomer interaction and get acquainted with IPW initiatives that address Calls to Action 93 and 94. Moreover, reviewing existing IPW documents will help me better understand potential questions for future research and gaps in existing data and knowledge about Indigenous-newcomer relations. No documents will be used for this thesis that will contain confidential data. By using autoethnography as the method for my self-study, I will 'transfer' these field notes (i.e. the knowledge I gain from IPW) into my master's thesis. Understanding my own experience is a stage of the research process that will allow me to interpret my own experiences working with Indigenous and newcomer peoples and represent them through writing. Ethnographic field notes will be taken during Immigration Partnership Winnipeg meetings that pertain to Indigenous-newcomer relations. A letter of permission has been obtained from IPW's director and community engagement coordinator to attend such meetings and to take notes of my own thoughts, ideas, and opinions (attached). No personal information, such as names or direct quotes, will be gathered during these meetings. Opinions/statements/viewpoints will not be attributed to any individual. Rather, I will observe the naturally occurring interactions and conversations among members of IPW meetings and take notes of my own thoughts and opinions of such conversations. Only my own thoughts/opinions/viewpoints will be written down. These notes, which are my own thoughts/opinions/viewpoints about Indigenous-newcomer relations, will then be integrated into my thesis.

During the second phase, I will conduct a focus group with 10-15 newcomers and Indigenous peoples who have participated in at least one Indigenous-newcomer forum held by IPW. The focus group will be 1.5-2 hours and will be audio-recorded with the permission of the research participants. The focus group will concentrate on understanding the cross-cultural knowledge gained by Indigenous peoples and newcomers about reconciliation during the 2nd IPW forum which will be held in August 2018, how both groups think they can better engage with each other, and what they think about the potential of TRC's Calls to Action number 93 and 94 to contribute to the development of reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers. Such cross-cultural dialogues are important to this research as they are a part of the decolonizing methodologies which provide a common space for self-reflexivity, listening, and learning from the multiple histories, experiences, and narratives, many of which continue to remain unheard of in mainstream academic and public discourses. Moreover, I believe that such dialogic approach, facilitated at the small-scale level, can help to overcome the government's superficial apology that has failed to acknowledge the devastating impact of past injustices that continue into the present for Indigenous

communities. For newcomers to Canada such opportunities can facilitate an effective way in understanding the complexities of Canadian and Indigenous histories, which can lead to nuanced ways of engaging with contemporary Indigenous cultures. For Indigenous peoples, such opportunities can help illuminate the cultural similarities and paths towards common goals with newcomers.

Participants

1. Describe the participant population. Please provide the inclusion/exclusion criteria as well as how many participants you expect to recruit.

The participant population is Indigenous peoples and newcomers to Winnipeg. I expect to recruit 10-15 participants for this master's research. Only individuals who self-identify as Indigenous peoples and recent newcomers to Canada will be recruited for this master's research. Recent newcomer is understood as a first or second generation immigrant to Canada. Only individuals who are over the age of 18 and who are practically able to give consent will be recruited for this focus group. Any participant that the PI has any kind of a relationship with will not be invited to participate in this study.

2. Will the participants in your study be UNAWARE that they are participants? ☐ Yes ☒ No If yes, please elaborate:

Participants will be fully aware that they are taking part in this focus group.

3. Will information about the participants be obtained from sources other than the participants? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, please elaborate:

Information will be obtained directly and only from individuals who wish to and will participate in this master's thesis and focus group.

4. Provide a step-by-step description of how you will identify and recruit participants. Attach copies of all material (i.e. telephone scripts, posters, etc.) that will be given/read to participants and/or third parties as **appendices**. Do not include them in this text box.

If ethics approval is obtained before the 2nd IPW Indigenous-newcomer forum, a sign-up sheet will be made available at the forum which will describe the focus group and allow interested individuals to sign up. If enough participants sign up for two focus groups, then a maximum of 8 participants will be invited to participate in each of two focus groups. Ideally, half of the participants will be newcomers and the other half Indigenous, in each of two focus groups (four Indigenous and four newcomer participants in each focus group). If only a few individuals sign up for the focus group, then only one focus group will be held with a minimum of 6 participants and a maximum of 10 participants. Similarly, the focus group will have half Indigenous participants and the other half newcomer participants. To sign up for the focus group, individuals will have to provide their name, their e-mail address and if they are Indigenous or a newcomer.

After signing-up for the focus group during the 2nd IPW forum, individuals who sign-up will be contacted a few days later via e-mail and they will be provided further instructions about the focus group, such as date, time, location. If more than 16 individuals sign up for the focus groups, then the first 16 will be chosen, however, it will be important to maintain a mix of Indigenous and newcomer participants in each focus group. The sign-up sheet will ask individuals to indicate if they are Indigenous or a newcomer. If all 16 individuals who sign up are all newcomers or are all Indigenous, then, a second round of recruitment will be needed. In the second round I will ask IPW to post a poster in their office which will advertise the focus group (attached). The first focus group will be held when at least 6 participants are recruited, sometime before December 2018.

If ethics approval is not obtained before the 2nd IPW forum, I will ask IPW to post a poster in their office which will advertise the focus group (attached). As soon as a minimum 6 participants sign-up, they will be contacted via e-mail with instructions about the focus group. Ideally, half of the participants will be Indigenous, and the other half newcomers. The first focus group will be held before December 2018. If enough people sign up for two focus groups, then a second focus group will be held by the end of January 2019.

5. Will participants receive any compensation for participating (e.g. honorarium, course credit, food, parking)? Please provide justification for these compensation arrangements. ☒ Yes ☐ No

Participants will receive an honorarium of \$25. Participants will be expected to dedicate 1.5-2 hours to the focus group.

6. Does this study involve participants who are not legally or practically able to give their valid consent to participate?

☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, please indicate how you will recruit participants through those authorized to speak for them. How will you obtain assent from the participant themselves?

Only individuals who are over the age of 18 and who are practically able to give consent will be recruited for this focus group.

7. Are participants from a population that may be marginalized or vulnerable in the context of research? If yes, please explain how you will ensure participants do not feel pressure or obligation to participate. ☐ Yes ☒ No

There are no characteristics of the participants that make them especially vulnerable or requiring extra precautions for this focus group.

8. Are research team members in any kind of conflict of interest relationship with participants (ie. students, clients, patients, family members, sponsors)? If yes, please explain how you will ensure participants do not feel pressure or obligation to participate or perceive that they may be penalized for choosing not to participate. ☐ Yes ☒ No

The PI Roxana Akhmetova will have no prior contact with participants; any participant that the PI has any kind of a relationship with will not be invited to participate in this study.

9. Research Involving the First Nations, Inuit and Metis People of Canada

Will the majority of participants identify as First Nations, Inuit, and/or Metis?

☐ Yes ☒ No

Will the analysis of the research results use First Nations, Inuit, and/or Metis identity as a variable?

☒ Yes ☐ No

Will the interpretation of research results refer to First Nations, Inuit, and/or Metis people, language, history or culture?

☒ Yes ☐ No

If you answer yes to any of the questions, please review Chapter 9 of the TCPS2 and complete [Schedule A](#)

Privacy and Confidentiality

Please review the different types of information researchers may seek to collect, use, share and access based on the TCPS2 [Chapter 5](#).

- **Directly identifying information** – the information identifies a specific individual through direct identifiers (e.g., name, social insurance number, personal health number).
- **Indirectly identifying information** – the information can reasonably be expected to identify an individual through a combination of indirect identifiers (e.g., date of birth, place of residence or unique personal characteristic).
- **Coded information** – direct identifiers are removed from the information and replaced with a code. Depending on access to the code, it may be possible to re-identify specific participants (e.g., the principal investigator retains a list that links the participants' code names with their actual name so data can be re-linked if necessary).
- **Anonymized information** – the information is irrevocably stripped of direct identifiers, a code is not kept to allow future re-linkage, and risk of re-identification of individuals from remaining indirect identifiers is low or very low.
- **Anonymous information** – the information never had identifiers associated with it (e.g., anonymous surveys) and risk of identification of individuals is low or very low.

-
1. Will participants be anonymous in the data gathering phase of the research (ie. to the researcher or anyone associated with the research)? ☐ Yes ☒ No

If no, how will the identity of research participants be protected during and after the research?

During the data gathering phase of this master's research, the focus group participants will not be anonymous as other participants in the focus group will be aware of their participation. As such, within the group, the privacy and confidentiality cannot not be guaranteed. However, as a participant in my project, the identity of research participants will be protected during and after the research. Privacy of research contributors is highly valued. Only the principal investigator, Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner. All paper sign-up sheets with participants' personal information will be destroyed and the data will be transferred into a password protected/

encrypted file on my laptop and stored in Mamawipawin research space. The audio recording of the focus group, which may have personal data of participants will be destroyed immediately after the transcription of the audio file onto a password protected/encrypted file on my computer and in Mamawipawin research space. All possible personal data and attributes will be removed from the thesis, audio file transcription, and any summaries of the thesis/info sheets/research results, etc. If participants decide to be anonymous, they will be referred to as "Focus Group Contributor 1, 2, 3" etc. in all written material that relate to this thesis. If the participant agrees to be identified by their name, only the participant's first name will be used in the thesis.

Care will be taken by the principal investigator to ensure that direct quotations used do not contain information that may be potentially identifiable. Participants will also be informed that direct quotations will be used without identifying information. Direct quotations will be used that contain 'broad/general' information. For example: "Newcomers do not need to participate in reconciliation, because they do not know enough about Indigenous peoples." No personal stories, names, or other personal information will be included in the thesis. Such information will be removed from the quote if possible. If removing such information would not work, the quote will not be used.

2. Are there conditions in which privacy or confidentiality cannot be guaranteed (i.e., focus groups)? ☒ Yes ☐ No
If yes, please explain the precautions you will take to protect privacy and confidentiality.

To protect participants' confidentiality and privacy all identifiable information will be removed from the data gathered during the focus group. Access to research data will be available only the principal investigator, Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner. Participants will be asked if they give consent to be audio-recorded; the audio-recording will be destroyed as soon as it is transcribed. The digital transcript of the audio-recording will be password protected, stored on my laptop and in Mamawipawin research space in Isbister Building; only the principal investigator, Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner will be able to access it. All sign-up sheets with participants' personal data will be destroyed immediately after it is transcribed into a password protected file on my laptop. Personal data of participants (name, address/e-mail) will be stored in a password protected file in my computer and will be used in case participants' indicated that they wish to have a copy of my master's research. After the successful completion of my master's thesis, all participants' personal data will be deleted from my laptop.

3. Will participants be given the choice to waive their anonymity? Please elaborate. A participant's decision to waive anonymity should be explicitly documented, e.g., on the consent form or in a separate release form. ☒ Yes ☐ No

During the data gathering phase of the research, the focus group, participants will not be anonymous as other participants in the focus group will be aware of their participation. As such, within the group, the privacy and confidentiality cannot not be guaranteed. However, as a participant in my project, the identity of research participants will be protected during and after the research. Privacy of research contributors is highly valued. Contributors will have a choice regarding whether or not their name will appear in this Master's thesis. If the contributor chooses to keep their responses confidential, their name will not appear in the thesis. Instead, the contributor might be identified as "Focus Group Contributor 1, 2, 3" etc. Moreover, all other information which might potentially identify the contributor, such as dates, names, location of the interview, and personal identifiers, will not be included in the thesis. If participant gives permission to use their name in this thesis, only their first name will be used in the thesis and any other publications (info sheets/results sheet, journal publications).

4. Does this research include the use of [personal health information](#)? The [Manitoba Personal Health Information Act \(PHIA\)](#) outlines responsibilities of researchers to ensure safeguards that will protect personal health information. PHIA requires that all research team members who handle or are exposed to personal health information take the [University of Manitoba's PHIA](#) orientation and sign a pledge of confidentiality that acknowledges that they are bound by written policy and procedures. The University of Manitoba PHIA orientation and pledge signing must be completed by all research team members. Please attach copies of the signed pledge(s). ☐ Yes ☒ No

Indicate provisions that will be made to comply with PHIA.

N/A: this research does not use personal health information.

5. Who will have access to identifying information and how will the PI ensure that all research team members are aware of their responsibilities regarding participants' privacy and confidentiality? Assistants and other team members must complete an Oath of Confidentiality (include as an appendix).

I want to hire 1 paid note taker for the focus group, who will be present during all focus groups and will be taking notes on what the participants will be saying on my own laptop. Only me and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner will have access to identifying information. I will ensure that the note taker is aware of their responsibilities regarding participants' privacy and confidentiality by asking them to complete Module 5: Privacy & Confidentiality of the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans before the focus groups begin. In addition, the note taker will be asked to sign the Pledge of Confidentiality. The note taker will be taking notes on my personal computer, which

will be stored in a secure location after the focus groups are complete. The notes will be kept in a password protected file and the laptop will be kept in Mamawipawin research space in a locked cabinet to which only the PI and thesis advisor will have access to.

Data Management

Describe each type of data you will collect, access, create, store, or share during this study. Please complete these 4 questions for each type of data. If you have more than one, please click +/- to add or delete another set of the 4 questions.

Examples of types of data you might gather or create during your project include: audio recordings, paper questionnaires, photos, handwritten notes of observations, log-files of a participant's interaction with a computer program, a spreadsheet with all participants' questionnaire responses, raw transcripts of interviews, transcripts that have been checked/edited by the participants, edited video-clips that you hope to show at conferences, etc.

+	1. Please identity one type of method you will use.	2. For this method, what type of information will you have (i.e directly identifying, indirectly identifying, coded, anonymized, anonymous)?
	Audio recordings	Directly identifying
	3. Where will this type of information be stored? If applicable, how will this information be secured during transportation of data? What precautions will be taken in storing this data and its eventual destruction/disposition?	4. What will ultimately happen to this data? How long will you keep it? If you will destroy data, when (MMYY)? If it will be archived or made accessible to the public and/or other researchers, provide details.
	This information will be stored on the recording devise until it is transcribed onto my computer, immediately after the focus group. This transcript will be safeguarded by password and encryption on my laptop. The audio recording will be deleted from the audio recorder as soon as the information is transcribed.	All records will be viewed by the principal investigator and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner and will be destroyed immediately upon successful defense of my master's thesis by 0619. This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova
+	1. Please identity one type of method you will use.	2. For this method, what type of information will you have (i.e directly identifying, indirectly identifying, coded, anonymized, anonymous)?
	Digital notes of observations	Directly identifying
	3. Where will this type of information be stored? If applicable, how will this information be secured during transportation of data? What precautions will be taken in storing this data and its eventual destruction/disposition?	4. What will ultimately happen to this data? How long will you keep it? If you will destroy data, when (MMYY)? If it will be archived or made accessible to the public and/or other researchers, provide details.
	This information will be stored on my computer which will be safeguarded by password and encryption. Digital files and transcripts that have had identification removed will be maintained on my laptop.	All records will be destroyed immediately upon successful defense of my master's thesis by 0619. This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner.
+	1. Please identity one type of method you will use.	2. For this method, what type of information will you have (i.e directly identifying, indirectly identifying, coded, anonymized, anonymous)?
	Focus Group Sign-up Sheet	Directly Identifying
	3. Where will this type of information be stored? If applicable, how will this information be secured during transportation of data? What precautions will be taken in storing this data and its eventual destruction/disposition?	4. What will ultimately happen to this data? How long will you keep it? If you will destroy data, when (MMYY)? If it will be archived or made accessible to the public and/or other researchers, provide details.

	This information will be initially on a piece of paper. Immediately, after this information will be transferred onto a password protected file on my laptop and the paper copy will be destroyed.	The paper copy will be destroyed immediately after the information is transferred onto a password protected file on my laptop. The electronic file will be kept until the successful completion of my master's thesis by 0619. This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner.
+	1. Please identify one type of method you will use.	2. For this method, what type of information will you have (i.e directly identifying, indirectly identifying, coded, anonymized, anonymous)?
	Field notes	Anonymous
	3. Where will this type of information be stored? If applicable, how will this information be secured during transportation of data? What precautions will be taken in storing this data and its eventual destruction/disposition?	4. What will ultimately happen to this data? How long will you keep it? If you will destroy data, when (MMYY)? If it will be archived or made accessible to the public and/or other researchers, provide details.
	This information will be stored on my computer which will be safeguarded by password and encryption. Digital files and transcripts that have had identification removed will be maintained on my laptop.	All records will be destroyed immediately upon successful defense of my master's thesis (0619). This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner.
+	1. Please identify one type of method you will use.	2. For this method, what type of information will you have (i.e directly identifying, indirectly identifying, coded, anonymized, anonymous)?
	Consent Form	Directly identifying,
	3. Where will this type of information be stored? If applicable, how will this information be secured during transportation of data? What precautions will be taken in storing this data and its eventual destruction/disposition?	4. What will ultimately happen to this data? How long will you keep it? If you will destroy data, when (MMYY)? If it will be archived or made accessible to the public and/or other researchers, provide details.
	Consent Forms will be stored separately from interview data so that no connection can be made between participant's identity and interview data. The data will be kept in a secure location, in a locked room, and will be accessible only by the researcher or thesis supervisor.	Consent forms will be stored until successful completion of my master's thesis. These forms will be destroyed after 0619. This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner.
5. What could the consequences be if the wrong person got access to this data?		
If the wrong person got access to this data they could share this information with other individuals; they could contact focus group participants via e-mail, phone, or by searching the name of the focus group participant on-line.		

Informed Consent Process

- Describe the consent process. Where and how will consent be obtained? If consent will not be obtained, justification must be provided.

Participants will have all potential uses of the focus group explained and informed consent will be attained for each possible scenario (audio file or in print). Beyond this, all participants will be asked at the beginning of the focus group for their voluntary participation and informed consent to be part of this project. A consent form will be provided to each participant prior to the commencement of the focus group where they will be asked if they wish to be anonymous in my master's thesis and if they wish to be audio-recorded.

- For participants who are not able to provide their own consent, provide the steps for how informed consent will be obtained. Typically assent forms should be provided for children under the age of 18.

No one under the age of 18 or anyone who is not able to give consent will be recruited for the focus group.

Deception

1. Will deception be used? Deception refers to the deliberate withholding of essential information or the provision of deliberately misleading information about the research or its purposes. Withholding the hypothesis is not deception. If yes, provide detailed information on the extent and nature of deception and why the research could not be conducted without it. This description must be sufficient to justify a waiver of informed consent. How will debriefing be provided to participants? When and by whom? Provide justification if debriefing will not be given. ☐ Yes ☒ No

N/A: deception will not be used in this master's research.

Feedback/Dissemination

1. Steps should be taken to provide participants with a brief, non-technical summary of research results as soon as possible after the data collection phase of the study is completed should they want it. Provide your plans for providing project results to participants. Participants should be given a choice of how they wish to receive a summary and should be told approximately when (MMYY) to expect it.

Participants will be given the opportunity to provide their name and e-mail/mail address at the end of the focus group if they wish to have a copy of the results section of my research. Participants will be told that this information will be available in April 2019. Identifying information will be eliminated from the research summary, such as location, date of focus group, and the names of participants' who chose to be anonymous will be referred to as "Focus Group Contributor 1, 2, 3" etc. Participants will receive a brief, non-technical summary of the research by June 2019 via e-mail.

2. If your publications will refer to individual participants, how will they do so (e.g., by their real name, by a pseudonym, by a general descriptor such as "one female student" or "one factory worker")? How will information from or about your participants be presented (e.g., summary statistics for the whole group, direct quotations from their interviews)? This should also be clear in your consent form.

If the focus group participant chooses to be anonymous, they will be referenced in the thesis, as "participant A", "participant B", etc., otherwise, the first name of participant will appear in the thesis. Information from/about the participants will be presented as a direct quotation. Care will be taken by the principal investigator to ensure that the direct quotations used do not contain information that may be potentially identifiable. Participants will also be informed that direct quotations will be used, without identifying information. Direct quotations will be used that contain "broad/general" information, such as: "newcomers do not need to participate in reconciliation, because they do not know enough about Indigenous peoples." No personal stories, names, other personal information will be included in the thesis. If such information is possible to remove from the direct quote without jeopardizing the meaning of the quote, such information will be removed. If the meaning of the direct quote become unclear without the identifying information, the quote will not be used.

3. List all types of venues where you plan to disseminate your results (e.g., thesis, journal articles, conference presentations, reports to sponsors). This should also be clear in your consent form.

I plan to disseminate my research results to study participants, to the Winnipeg community at-large during an information session (1-2 page summaries), to Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (5-10 page summary), the entire thesis on MSpace, and in scholarly journals.

Withdrawing

1. How and when are participants informed of their right to withdraw? What procedures will be followed for participants who wish to withdraw at any point during the study?

Participants will be informed at the beginning of the focus group of their right to withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences. If a participant wishes to withdraw from the focus group they will be thanked for their contribution thus far and they will be given their honorarium. If the participant wishes to withdraw from the focus group after the focus group is finished, the participant may do so by contacting the PI via e-mail which will be given to participants during the focus group. Participants will be informed that they are able to withdraw after they have participated in the focus group, but before any results are analyzed (anytime before 1218). The \$25 honorarium will be provided as soon as the participant has consented to participate in the focus group. Even if the participant decides to withdraw during the focus group you will receive the honorarium.

2. Please indicate what will be done with the participant's data and any consequences which withdrawal may have on the participant.

In case a participant decides to withdraw from the focus group, their data and any responses that are recorded digitally and on paper will be deleted and destroyed/disregarded from the research. Participant will not experience any consequences of withdrawing from the focus group.

3. Is there a deadline after which the nature of your data analysis would make it impossible for participants to withdraw? Please provide a MMY.

After December 2018 the nature of my data analysis will make it impossible for the focus group participant to withdraw their data.

Risk and Benefits

1. What are the expected benefits of the research? What are the indirect benefits for participants participating in the research? What are the direct benefits for participants participating in the research?

Expected benefits of the research: increased awareness of how to build bridges between Indigenous-newcomer peoples and what both communities think about Indigenous reconciliation.
Indirect Benefits: increased awareness of research that is being done on Indigenous-newcomer relations, increased awareness of the opinions/thoughts of Indigenous and newcomer peoples on reconciliation.

2. What are the risks (psychological, physical, emotional, social, legal, economic, or political) to participants, or to a third party? Provide a description of the risks, the steps that will be taken to reduce or eliminate them, and the steps that will be taken to improve any actual harm to participants, including (if appropriate) providing a list of helpful resources.

Participants will be exposed to minimal risks as would occur in everyday life during this focus group. I will seek guidance of my thesis advisor to ensure that Indigenous cultural norms are adhered to. I will seek guidance of Immigration Partnership Winnipeg to ensure that certain ethnocultural norms are adhered to. Participants may feel uncomfortable expressing their personal views about sensitive topics. Participants will be told at the beginning of the focus group they are not obligated to express their personal views on a certain topic if they feel uncomfortable.

3. Is there a possibility that abuse of children or persons in care might be discovered in the course of the study? If yes, current laws require that allegations of certain offenses against children or persons in care be reported to legal authorities. Indicate the provisions that have been made for complying with the law. Please make sure to inform participants of this in the consent form. ☐ Yes ☒ No

N/A: the research is focused on Indigenous-newcomer interactions and discoveries about person in care/child abuse are not expected to arise during the focus group.

Other Approvals

1. When conducting research with distinct populations (e.g. teachers, nurses, members of a church), organizational and/or community permission may be required. If applicable, how will this be obtained? Please provide copies of any letters of permission received or sent to an organization/community.

N/A: research is conducted with individuals who self-identify as an Indigenous person living in Winnipeg and recent newcomer.

PDF forms can be filled-in and saved locally to your PC.
Option 1. Completed online, save to your personal computer
Option 2. Save to your PC, open and complete offline

Return to:
Human Ethics Coordinator
humanethics@umanitoba.ca

Save As

Print Form

Reset Form

April 2018



Appendix B: STUDY INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Thesis Title: The Role of Recent Newcomers to Canada in the Reconciliation Process with Indigenous Peoples

Student Researcher: Roxana Akhmetova- Master's Student, e-mail: [REDACTED]

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Kiera Ladner, Associate Professor, e-mail: [REDACTED]

Sponsor: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council; Tri-Council Top-Up Award- University of Manitoba Faculty of Graduate Studies

You are invited to participate in my Master's thesis research project about reconciliation and the role that newcomers can play in reconciliation. Participants are asked to share their thoughts on the importance for recent newcomers in engaging and building stronger relationships with Indigenous peoples. The significance of this research lies within thinking about reconciliation and what constitutes meaningful reconciliation; how Indigenous peoples and newcomers can build stronger relationships; and if newcomers should participate in reconciliation.

This consent form is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please, take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

The focus group will take about 1.5-2 hours to complete. Please note that the focus group will be audio-recorded with your permission (see next page). Minimal risk is associated with your participation in this focus group, i.e. potential harm is no greater than that which one might experience in the normal conduct of one's everyday life. As a token of appreciation for your participation in this focus group, you will be given a \$25 honorarium. The \$25 honorarium will be available as soon as you have consented to participate in the focus group. Even if you decide to withdraw during the focus group, you will receive the honorarium. If you wish to withdraw from the focus group after the focus group is finished, you may do so any time before December 2018, by contacting Roxana Akhmetova via e-mail: [REDACTED]

Some information that participants state during the focus group could appear as a direct quotation in my master's thesis. Care will be taken by Roxana Akhmetova to ensure that direct quotations used do not contain information that may be potentially identifiable. No personal stories, names of other people, or other personal information will be included in the thesis. Such information will be removed from the quote. If removing such information would make the quote incomprehensible, the quote will not be used.

Expected benefits of the research: increased awareness of how to build bridges between Indigenous-newcomer peoples and what both communities think about reconciliation. Indirect Benefits: increased awareness of research that is being done on Indigenous-newcomer relations, increased awareness of the opinions/thoughts of Indigenous and newcomer peoples on reconciliation. Participants will be exposed to minimal risks as would occur in everyday life during this focus group. Roxana Akhmetova will seek guidance of my thesis advisor to ensure that Indigenous cultural norms are adhered to. Roxana Akhmetova will seek guidance of Immigration Partnership Winnipeg to ensure that certain ethnocultural

norms are adhered to. Risks: participants may feel uncomfortable expressing their personal views about sensitive topics. Participants are not obligated to express your personal views on a certain topic if they feel uncomfortable.

Your privacy is highly valued. If you choose to be anonymous, your name will **not** be used in this project. In Roxana Akhmetova's master's thesis, and in all future publications, if a participant decides to be anonymous, they will be referred to as "Focus Group Contributor". Furthermore, all other information which could potentially be used to identify you as a respondent, such as dates, times, location of the focus group, and personal identifiers, will not be included in the thesis.

Please, select the confidentiality of your responses:

- ☐ **YES**, I wish to be identified by name in this Master's thesis
- ☐ **NO**, I do not wish to be identified by name in this Master's thesis

Please, acknowledge the use of audio recording equipment during the focus group:

- ☐ **YES**, I consent to have this interview audio-recorded

Your Signature: _____

I wish to take this opportunity to reassure you that regardless of the choice you make, the data will be kept in a password protected file and will be accessible only by the researcher and thesis advisor, Dr. Kiera Ladner. Audio recordings of this focus group will be stored on the recording device until it is transcribed onto my computer, immediately after the focus group. This transcript will be safeguarded by password and encryption on my laptop. The audio recording will be deleted from the audio recorder as soon as the information is transcribed. The focus group transcript and digital notes of observations of the focus group discussion will be stored on my computer which will be safeguarded by password and encryption. Digital files and transcripts that have had identification removed will be maintained on my laptop. All records will be destroyed immediately upon successful defense of my master's thesis by 0619. This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner. Consent Forms will be stored separately from interview data so that no connection can be made between participant's identity and interview data. The data will be kept in a secure location, in a locked room, and will be accessible only by the researcher and thesis supervisor. Consent forms will be stored until successful completion of my master's thesis and will be destroyed after 0619.

The planned date for the completion of this Master's thesis is April 2019. If you would like to receive a brief, non-technical summary of the research, it can be sent to you by e-mail by June 2019.

- ☐ **I would like to receive a summary of this research**

Your e-mail address: _____

Your participation in this focus group is completely voluntary. Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors,

or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation in this focus group.

Student Researcher: Roxana Akhmetova, e-mail: [REDACTED]

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Kiera Ladner, e-mail: [REDACTED]

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator, University of Manitoba, 208-194 Dafoe Road, Winnipeg, MB Canada R3T 2N2 at (204) 474-7122 or by e-mail humanethics@umanitoba.ca.

Participant's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Researcher's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix C: Questions to be Posed to Participants During the Focus Group:

1. Have you ever heard of the term reconciliation?
 - a. If yes, what does the concept of “reconciliation” mean to you?
 - b. If yes, have you ever contributed to the reconciliation process (at school, work, online, in the community)?
2. Do you think recent newcomers have an obligation to learn about Indigenous peoples, reconciliation, Indigenous histories?
3. What do you think makes reconciliation meaningful?
4. Do you think recent newcomers and refugees have responsibility to contribute to reconciliation? Why do you think so?
5. Imagine if a friend came up to you, and they were a recent newcomer to Canada, they wanted to do something for reconciliation, what would you suggest they do? How can newcomers contribute to and participate in reconciliation? For example, at work, in schools, in public spaces, online?
6. What role do you think education plays in reconciliation for recent newcomers?
7. How can recent newcomers learn more about Indigenous peoples and educate themselves? Whose role is it to educate newcomers to Canada? Is it the responsibility of newcomers, Indigenous peoples, the government of Canada, or non-Indigenous Canadians?
8. Would you consider a recent newcomer a settler and/or colonizer?
 - a. If yes, then would a recent newcomer be a settler and colonizer in the same way as Canadian born non-Indigenous peoples or early European settlers?
9. How can recent newcomers and Indigenous peoples build stronger relationships with each other?

**Appendix D: Cover Letter with Corrections Made for Protocol J2018:054 (HS22030):
Interactions and Collaborations Between Indigenous Peoples and Recent Newcomers in an
Age of Reconciliation**

Principal Investigator: Roxana Akhmetova

Advisor: Dr. Kiera Ladner

Purpose of the Research:

Protocol Submission Form - Page 2: Ethnographic field notes will be taken during Immigration Partnership Winnipeg meetings that pertain to Indigenous-newcomer relations. A letter of permission has been obtained from IPW's director and community engagement coordinator to attend such meetings and to take notes of my own thoughts, ideas, and opinions (attached). No personal information, such as names or direct quotes, will be gathered during these meetings. Opinions/statements/viewpoints will not be attributed to any individual. Rather, I will observe the naturally occurring interactions and conversations among members of IPW meetings and take notes of my own thoughts and opinions of such conversations. Only my own thoughts/opinions/viewpoints will be written down. These notes, which are my own thoughts/opinions/viewpoints about Indigenous-newcomer relations, will then be integrated into my thesis.

Participants

Protocol Submission Form - Page 3: If ethics approval is obtained before the 2nd IPW Indigenous-newcomer forum, a sign-up sheet will be made available at the forum which will describe the focus group and allow interested individuals to sign up. If enough participants sign up for two focus groups, then a maximum of 8 participants will be invited to participate in each of two focus groups. Ideally, half of the participants will be newcomers and the other half Indigenous, in each of two focus groups (four Indigenous and four newcomer participants in each focus group). If only a few individuals sign up for the focus group, then only one focus group will be held with a minimum of 6 participants and a maximum of 10 participants. Similarly, the focus group will have half Indigenous participants and the other half newcomer participants. To sign up for the focus group, individuals will have to provide their name, their e-mail address and if they are Indigenous or a newcomer.

After signing-up for the focus group during the 2nd IPW forum, individuals who sign-up will be contacted a few days later via e-mail and they will be provided further instructions about the focus group, such as date, time, location. If more than 16 individuals sign up for the focus groups, then the first 16 will be chosen, however, it will be important to maintain a mix of Indigenous and newcomer participants in each focus group. The sign-up sheet will ask individuals to indicate if they are Indigenous or a newcomer. If all 16 individuals who sign up are all newcomers or are all Indigenous, then, a second round of recruitment will be needed. In the second round I will ask IPW to post a poster in their office which will advertise the focus group (attached). The first focus group will be held when at least 6 participants are recruited, sometime before December 2018.

If ethics approval is not obtained before the 2nd IPW forum, I will ask IPW to post a poster in their office which will advertise the focus group (attached). As soon as a minimum 6

participants sign-up, they will be contacted via e-mail with instructions about the focus group. Ideally, half of the participants will be Indigenous, and the other half newcomers. The first focus group will be held before December 2018. If enough people sign up for two focus groups, then a second focus group will be held by the end of January 2019.

Privacy & Confidentiality

1. Protocol Submission Form - Page 5 and Informed Consent Form- Page 1: Care will be taken by the principal investigator to ensure that direct quotations used do not contain information that may be potentially identifiable. Participants will also be informed that direct quotations will be used without identifying information. Direct quotations will be used that contain 'broad/general' information. For example: "Newcomers do not need to participate in reconciliation, because they do not know enough about Indigenous peoples." No personal stories, names, or other personal information will be included in the thesis. Such information will be removed from the quote if possible. If removing such information would not work, the quote will not be used.
2. Advisor's name has been added to Informed Consent Form- Page 3; Focus group Questions Sheet- Page 2; Protocol Submission Form- Page 5; Pages 6 and 7 did not allow highlighting or to make the added text more identifiable: added to question 4 in sections: "Audio recordings", "Digital notes of observations", "Focus Group Sign-up Sheet", "Field notes".

Data Management

1. Protocol Submission Form - Page 7: Storage and Disposition of Field Notes and Consent Forms is added in the data management section of the form. Pages 6 did not allow highlighting or to make the added text more identifiable: "All records will be destroyed immediately upon successful defense of my master's thesis (0619). This data will not be made available to anyone besides PI Roxana Akhmetova and thesis advisor Dr. Kiera Ladner." Protocol Submission Form - Page 7: Added: storage and disposition of Consent Forms.

Feedback/Dissemination

1. Protocol Submission Form - Page 8: Added: "Participants will receive a brief, non-technical summary of the research by June 2019 via e-mail." Added to Informed Consent Form- Page 3: "If you would like to receive a brief, non-technical summary of the research, it can be sent to you by e-mail by June 2019."
2. Protocol Submission Form - Page 8: Altered sentence: "I plan to disseminate my research results to study participants, to the Winnipeg community at-large during an information session (1-2-page summaries), to Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (5-10-page summary), the entire thesis on MSpace, and in scholarly journals."

Withdrawing

1. Protocol Submission Form - Page 8 and Informed Consent Form- Page 1: If the participant wishes to withdraw from the focus group after the focus group is finished, the participant may do so by contacting the PI via e-mail which will be given to participants during the focus group. Participants will be informed that they are able to withdraw after they have participated in the focus group, but before any results are analyzed (any time before 1218).
2. Added to Informed Consent Form- Page 1 and Protocol Submission Form - Page 8: Focus group participants will be informed that the \$25 honorarium is provided even if they decide to withdraw during the focus group. The honorarium will be provided as soon as the participant has consented. This way, they are not obligated to stay until the end of the session.

Other Approvals:

1. A letter for IPW has been created and signed (attached).
2. The location of the focus group is not set yet. It is possible that the focus group will be held at the IPW office. This focus group is not affiliated with or is funded by IPW. IPW has agreed to spread the word out about my focus group and hang the focus group poster in their office. They have also informally agreed to provide space for my focus group, however, this is not definitive. The focus group might be held at the University of Manitoba. This focus group and the information that is gathered from it is only for the purposes of finishing my master's thesis and is not intended to directly support any IPW work.

Schedule A

1. It might become important for my research to differentiate between what Indigenous participants and what newcomer participants think about reconciliation. As a result, individuals who sign up for the focus group will indicate if they are indigenous or newcomer, and they will do so once again at the beginning of the focus group. I will consult the Indigenous Consultation Circle about the questions that I will ask the focus group participants and other things that I need to be mindful of while conducting my focus group. Indigenous Consultation Circle is made up of Indigenous peoples from different communities and is part of IPW. I have also consulted my advisor, who is Indigenous, and she has provided her input on this focus group. I will also consult Immigrant Advisory Table, which is a group that is part of IPW, about this focus group.
2. When participants sign-up for the focus group, they will be asked to indicate if they are Indigenous or a newcomer. Nothing more specific than that will be asked, unless the participant voluntarily provides this information. At the very beginning of the focus group as the audio is being recorded, each participant will be asked to state their name and if they are Indigenous or newcomer. This will make it easier to match the person's voice to their name. In addition, I will keep notes of participant's comments and write down who says what. Nothing more specific than 'Indigenous/newcomer' will be asked of the focus group participants.

Appendix A:

1. The poster has been re-done (attached).

Appendix D

1. The number of questions mentioned (15 – 20) was removed from Appendix D.
2. Informed Consent Form - Page 1: “No risk” has been removed and the sentence has been modified to state the following: “Minimal risk is associated with your participation in this focus group...”. Informed Consent Form - Page 2: Sentence has been modified: “Participants will be exposed to minimal risks as would occur in everyday life during this focus group.”
3. Informed Consent Form - Page 1: Deleted: “will be told at the beginning of the focus group they”. Sentence has been modified: “Participants are not obligated to express their personal views on a certain topic.”
4. Informed Consent Form - Page 1: The sentence has been modified: Some information that participants state during the focus group could appear as a direct quotation in my master’s thesis. Care will be taken by the principal investigator to ensure that the direct quotations used do not contain information that may be potentially identifiable such as names and personal stories. I will only include broad statements as direct quotes, such as: “Indigenous peoples and newcomers should be working on building bridges between each other, because this will be best for both communities”. If a focus group participant adds any personal stories, names, dates, or other potentially identifiable information, it will be removed and only the portion of the quote that has no such information will be used. If this is not possible to remove such information, the quote will not be used.
5. Informed Consent Form - Page 2: Deleted: “Direct benefit: honorarium”.
6. Informed Consent Form - Page 2-3: Added to consent form when and what data will be destroyed in MMY.
7. Informed Consent Form - Page 2: Sentence changed to “Please, acknowledge the use of audio recording equipment during the focus group”. Removed the option to opt-out of being audio-recorded. If a participant does not wish to be audio-recorded they will be thanked for their attendance and given their honorarium.



**INDIGENOUS PEOPLES and
RECENT NEWCOMERS**
are INVITED to JOIN A FOCUS GROUP

Participants will be asked a series of questions on the role that recent newcomers can/should play in reconciliation and on the importance of Indigenous-newcomer bridge-building.

October 13, 2018


10:00 am-12:00 pm

To Sign-Up/More Info e-mail Roxana Akhmetova at

rokhmetova@umanitoba.ca

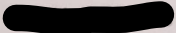
This focus group is a part of Political Science Master's research at the University of Manitoba. Participants will be compensated \$25 for their time and input. Thesis Advisor: Dr. Kiera Ladner, e-mail: kiera.ladner@umanitoba.ca. This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba: (204)-474-7122; e-mail humanethics@umanitoba.ca


Appendix F.1: A Letter from Immigration Partnership Winnipeg Confirming the Role of the Investigator as a Volunteer Research Assistant and Confirming Permission to Undertake the Research


UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Roxana Akhmetova
Political Science Master's Student
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

August 7, 2018

 Director of IPW
Immigration Partnership Winnipeg
432 Ellice Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 3J9

Dear 

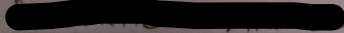
In this letter I seek to confirm my role as a volunteer research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (IPW). Moreover, I seek your approval to attend IPW meetings and to collect ethnographic field notes during IPW meetings. During these meetings, I will be writing down my own thoughts, ideas, and experiences as they pertain to Indigenous-newcomer bridge-building for my master's research at the University of Manitoba. The title of my master's research is "Interactions and Collaborations Between Indigenous Peoples and Recent Newcomers in an Age of Reconciliation".

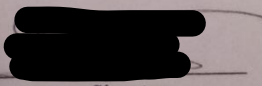
Please, be advised that I will not be gathering names or any confidential information of the participants of these meetings. The type of information that I will be integrating into my thesis during IPW meetings will be my own observations and thoughts and no direct quotes, names, or any other identifying information will be gathered for my thesis.

Please, indicate below if you confirm the role of Roxana Akhmetova as a volunteer research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg:

☒ YES, I confirm the role of Roxana Akhmetova as a volunteer research


Please, sign below to confirm your approval of Roxana Akhmetova to collect ethnographic field notes during IPW meetings:


Name


Signature


Aug 7, 2018
Date

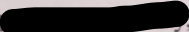
Appendix F.2: A Letter from Immigration Partnership Winnipeg Confirming the Role of the Investigator as a Volunteer Research Assistant and Confirming Permission to Undertake the Research


UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

Roxana Akhmetova
Political Science Master's Student
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

August 7, 2018

 Community Engagement Coordinator
Immigration Partnership Winnipeg
432 Ellice Avenue
Winnipeg, MB R3B 3J9

Dear ,

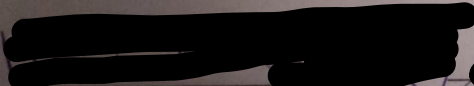
In this letter I seek to confirm my role as a volunteer research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg (IPW). Moreover, I seek your approval to attend IPW meetings and to collect ethnographic field notes during IPW meetings. During these meetings, I will be writing down my own thoughts, ideas, and experiences as they pertain to Indigenous-newcomer bridge-building for my master's research at the University of Manitoba. The title of my master's research is "Interactions and Collaborations Between Indigenous Peoples and Recent Newcomers in an Age of Reconciliation".

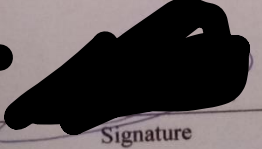
Please, be advised that I will not be gathering names or any confidential information of the participants of these meetings. The type of information that I will be integrating into my thesis during IPW meetings will be my own observations and thoughts and no direct quotes, names, or any other identifying information will be gathered for my thesis.

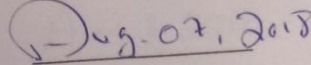
Please, indicate below if you confirm the role of Roxana Akhmetova as a volunteer research assistant with Immigration Partnership Winnipeg:

☒ YES, I confirm the role of Roxana Akhmetova as a volunteer research

Please, sign below to confirm your approval of Roxana Akhmetova to collect ethnographic field notes during IPW meetings:


Name


Signature


Date