

ya:yəstəl (working together) with 'letsémot (one mind/heart): Narratives of Resilience and Strategies for Resistance and Resurgence from Kwantlen First Nation, British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

ya:yəstəl (working together) with 'letsémot (one mind/heart): Narratives of Resilience and Strategies for Resistance and Resurgence from Kwantlen First Nation, British Columbia

Jessica Hewitt

This study explores the question ‘How can collaborative research contribute to Indigenous resistance and resurgence?’ Set in the context of the community’s broader vision of self-governance, I examine strategies and tools used by Kwantlen First Nation to consolidate and communicate their ongoing cultural connections to their lands and resources. The research process follows an Indigenous relational approach guided by Kwantlen First Nation’s seven traditional laws - šxʷəyəł (health), hiləkʷ (happiness), ʔəwə cen smetʰənen (humbleness), xʷililəq (generosity), syəwənət, šxʷwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəyéq (generations), qʷaltəl (forgiveness), tələnəxʷ (understanding). The research followed sought for ways to (re)work with previously conducted community-driven research through open-ended and ongoing conversations with Kwantlen First Nation leadership and staff, as well as opportunities to participate in community and cultural events. The thesis is comprised of two manuscripts. The first details the steps that have been taken by Kwantlen First Nation leadership to rebuild their community through reclamation of cultural protocols, governance systems and laws. Their struggles and successes are highlighted as well as the imperatives that inform their engagement with outsiders. The second manuscript is a co-authored piece with Kwantlen First Nation collaborators and my research advisor. It demonstrates how relational research can contribute to meaningful (re)storying of previously conducted community-driven research through the creation of digital tools (ArcGIS StoryMap). The advantages and limitations of this project are discussed as well as approaches and processes of collaboration. Overall, this thesis has sought to contribute tələnəxʷ (*understanding*) through syəwənət, šxʷwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəyéq (*generations*) of Kwantlen First Nation connection to S’ólh Téméxw (lands).

Keywords: Indigenous resurgence; Indigenous resistance; Unceded territory; Kwantlen First Nation; Customary cultural protocols; Indigenous cartography; Indigenous counter-mapping; relational research

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Contribution of Authors

Ashley Doyle, Tumia Knott, Derek Mitchell, Monica Mulrennan, and Tanner Timothy are co-authors to the ideas presented in Chapter 6, which through a lens of relationality, we presented our research journey, to offer other communities who wish to produce similar mapping visualizations with archival and historical data. In partnership, we developed the theory and contribute the details for this section. We met regularly to discuss our objectives and processes that produced the ArcGIS Storymap that aligns with Kwantlen First Nation community desires.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
ARMS	Alouette River Management Society
KLRSD	Kwantlen Lands, Resources and Stewardship Department
KTKP	Kwantlen Territory Knowledge Project
SWMP	Stave West Master Plan
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TUS	Traditional Use Study
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Chapter 1- Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

“This is not land we gave away, it was taken from us,” Chief Marilyn Gabriel’s voice boomed through the Kwantlen First Nation boardroom in 2018 when we all gathered with the Elders to discuss the beginnings of this research. This was Chief Gabriel’s 26th year leading Kwantlen Nation whose unceded territory is highly urbanized, located along the Fraser River in British Columbia.

The United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples’ (UNDRIP) recognizes the inherent right of Indigenous peoples’ to “maintain and strengthen their own cultural, spiritual, social and political structures” in response to centuries of colonisation - a form of resistance referred to today as ‘resurgence’ (United Nations, 2007). Canadian policies (i.e., Indian Act; Indian Reserve System), a capitalist resource-based economy, and cultural norms (i.e., paternalism; heteropatriarchy) have infringed upon this right, and facilitated the dispossession of Indigenous lands and lives (Arvin et al., 2013; Coulthard, 2014;). Settler-colonial urban settings produce particularly complex challenges for Indigenous assertions to territory due to an embedded discourse that naturalizes settler presence while attempting to erase Indigenous spatializations (Dorries et al, 2019). Colonial tools, such as mapping and land use planning have supported this naturalization limiting the Indigenous representation (Blomley, 2004; Blatman-Thomas and Porter, 2019). Meanwhile, settler-colonial cities remain spaces where Indigenous lifeworlds flourish.

Since contact with Europeans, Indigenous peoples have asserted sovereignty over their lands. Many Indigenous scholars discuss the indivisible connection between Indigenous culture and land, even in highly urbanized areas (Simpson 2014; Coulthard 2014). Settler-colonial urban environments remain contested spaces, where Indigenous presence, resistance and resurgence endure (Dorries, 2019). Presence refers to the survivance, “the continuance of stories, not mere reaction. . . [survivance] stories are renunciations of dominance” (Vizenor, 2008, p.1). Indigenous resistance is practiced through maneuvering through and confronting settler-colonial hegemony. Whereas, resurgence is a term used to identify the distinct political movement led by Indigenous peoples working towards self-governance. It calls for a ‘turn’ away from settler society and an inward strengthening of cultural, social, spiritual, and physical practices (Alfred 2015; Corntassel 2012; Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014). Due to the colonial imaginary that views urbanity as a place where Indigenous sovereignty and connections to territory are invisible, opportunities for Indigenous (re)assertions to lands and waterways require

complex strategies. Importantly, the cityscape remains a space where Indigenous peoples' lifeways [can and are flourishing].

This research aims to understand Indigenous resistance and resurgence from a community-centered point of view. I shed light on the strategies and tools of resistance and resurgence utilised by the contemporary Indigenous leaders of Kwantlen First Nation (located within the contemporary Province of British Columbia). These strategies have emerged from Kwantlen's intentional reclamation of traditional ways and teachings and have been applied to the First Nation's modern multi-scalar inter-governmental relations with neighbouring municipalities and State bodies. This approach defines Kwantlen leaders' efforts to strike a balance between their communities' inner work of cultural reclamation and healing, and external efforts to establish equitable and respectful relationships with representatives of the Canadian Settler-State (i.e., municipalities, provincial legislatures, and the Government of Canada). Applying an Indigenous counter-mapping lens throughout this research process has sought to provide tools for Kwantlen First Nation's (re)assertions of their territory. Set within Kwantlen First Nation's larger movement toward self-governance, this partnered research project also responds to a request from Kwantlen Lands, Resources and Stewardship Department (KLRSD) and the Kwantlen Band Council for tools that enhance the community's strategies to build *tálnəxʷ* (understanding) through *syəwənəł, šxʷwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəy'éq* (generations) to support our ongoing connection to *S'ólh Téméxw* (our lands).

1.2 Positionality

Consistent with Indigenous methodologies, it is important for me to situate myself within this research (Kovach, 2010; Smith, 2013). I am a woman of European and Indigenous ancestry. I can trace my European roots back to settlers who came to Canada three generations ago from Great Britain, the Netherlands and Scotland. My Indigenous ancestry stems on my paternal side from the Stó:lô peoples of British Columbia. I have had numerous conversations with my Great Aunt Donna about our family tree. She informed me that her earliest knowledge of our Indigenous ancestry goes back to the marriage of Mary Cusheon (Nanaimo) and Chief Casimir (Kwantlen) in the 1850's who gave birth to my Great -great grandfather Alexander Houston. Mary Cusheon subsequently remarried James Houston (gold explorer) who adopted her children. My family remained disconnected from Kwantlen First Nation until around 2010, when this history was uncovered through archival research done by my Uncle Randy and friend Linda

Mitchell to understand our Indigenous family history. My father reconnected with Kwantlen First Nation and became a member.

My interaction with Kwantlen First Nation was initiated through my late-father's reconnection. As I have lived in Montreal since 2010, my ability to be in the community has been limited by geographical distance. My father became interested in learning about Kwantlen First Nation history and was called by the leadership to serve on the Elders' Advisory Board. He made many friendships within the community. In 2014, I returned to the community with my father, met his friends and shared my Olympic silver medal with them. In 2016, my father's sudden passing shook the ground beneath my feet. Kwantlen First Nation held a burial for my father. My family gathered and was supported by Kwantlen First Nation cultural healers and the community who shared ceremony with us. This openness and generosity remain embedded within my heart to this day. It initiated a strong desire for me to further my connection with Kwantlen First Nation culture and history.

I graduated with a Bachelor of Human Environment in 2016. At the start of the 2017 academic year, I proposed a research partnership to Kwantlen First Nation focused on the potential of protected areas to strengthen their (re)connections to their traditional lands. The community responded that although this could be an interesting project, research focused on shedding light on the lived experiences of our ancestors and enhancing accessibility to past research would likely have a longer-lasting effect and more meaningful outcomes for the community.

I have struggled to place myself in this research and have concluded placing myself as both an insider/outsider (Dwyer, 2009). I am insider as I am a member of Kwantlen First Nation and have pre-existing relationship with many community members. At the same time, I feel I am an outsider because my connection is recent and because I did not grow up in the culture. This research has given me some space and time to explore my own reconnection due to the extended time I spent in the community and access to knowledge by working with historical/archival data.

1.3 Research Approach

My research approach is inspired by a combination of Kwantlen First Nation traditional laws and šx^whəli? (interconnected worldview). These laws have resurfaced in the community through ceremony and have been reclaimed by the community as ideals to live 'a good life' (Personal communication, Tumia Knott, 2020). Although these laws, shown in Figure 1, remain new to me,

I embrace them as an exercise in my ongoing learning. This corresponds to Fyre Jean Graveline’s assertion that, “we live in relationships to others, knowing is a process of ‘self-in-relation’ (1998, p.52).

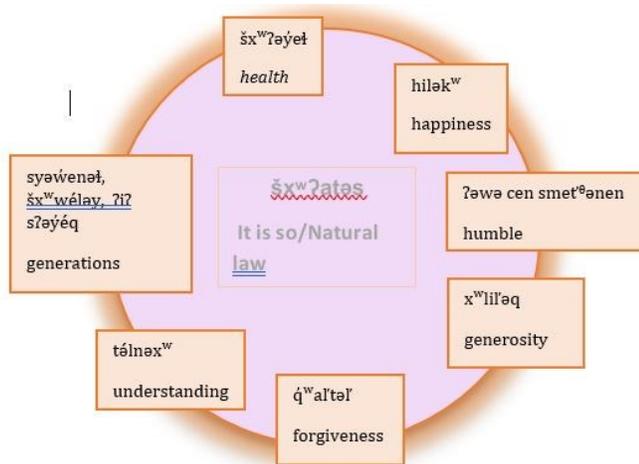


Figure 1 – Kwantlen First Nation traditional laws founded in interconnected worldview.
 Personal Communication, Tumia Knott and translation from linguist Fern Gabriel, 2020

My Kwantlen First Nation teachers have taught me that these laws stem from Stó:lô Creation stories that fell from the back of Transformers. Transformers symbolize an interconnected worldview as these sacred beings were able to shift between animal and human realms. The laws come from the teachings that tell us to seek balance in our everyday life (Personal communication, Luke Dandurand, 2020). I reflected on these teachings and the ideas around interconnectedness throughout this research. In moments of doubt, I have reached out to Kwantlen First Nation teachers for guidance and clarity. Pos and Brown (2005, p.274) discuss how, “making visible the [conceptual] luggage is an individual and collective process.”

Like Wilson’s approach in “Research is Ceremony” (2008), I have attempted to understand this research as, “a ceremony that brings relationships together” (p.8). This includes my own individual relationships as well as my relationships to the community as a whole intergenerationally. This also extends to the relationships that I have with the academic community whose words I have read and included in this research. It also explores the very meaning of research and my own personal relationship with it.

1.4 Research Objectives

This research sought to understand how Indigenous resistance and resurgence is being enacted on-the-ground by Indigenous communities in Canada. By focusing on one community - Kwantlen First Nation - I examine the opportunities and challenges facing Indigenous resistance and resurgence movements in Canada.

This research has three main goals:

- To understand strategies and tools of Indigenous resistance and resurgence;
- To inquire into collaborative approaches and processes that best support research partnerships with Indigenous communities; and
- To provide mutually beneficial outcomes for Indigenous communities and research partners.

1.5 Research Question

How can collaborative research contribute to Indigenous resistance and resurgence in settler-colonial urban settings?

1.6 Organization of Thesis

This is a manuscript-based thesis consisting of six chapters. Chapter One begins by introducing the research problem, and my research approach to addressing this problem given my particular positionality, and Kwantlen First Nation community context. Chapter Two introduces the key academic threads that have been utilized to contextualize this research including: Indigenous philosophy, settler-colonial urbanism, cartography, and decolonization literature. This literature serves to provide a foundational understanding of violence perpetuated by the settler-colonial state while at the same time highlighting Indigenous resistance and resurgence. Chapter Three describes my methodology, guided by Indigenous methodologies which informed the methods used (Kovach 2009; Smith, 2013; Wilson 2008). Chapter Four presents the first manuscript, which explores the strategies and tools used by Kwantlen First Nation in (re)asserting their connection to their lands and customary cultural protocols. This manuscript has been submitted to *The Canadian Geographer*. Chapter Six presents the second manuscript, an account of a relational research approach that explores how research can support re-storying of past community driven-research and contribute tools for (re)asserting Kwantlen First Nation connections to territory through the construction of an ArcGIS StoryMap. This manuscript is intended for publication in the *Cartographic journal*. Chapter Seven offers some concluding

reflections by situating the research as it aligns with the complex strategies used by Indigenous groups for (re)asserting their historical and ongoing connection to lands in urban settings.

1.7 Kwantlen First Nation community context

The Q̓wa:ńłə́h or Kwantlen peoples (which translates as 'tireless runner') are a division of the larger Stó:lô ('river people') peoples that live on the Pacific West Coast of British Columbia. Ancestral histories of the Stó:lô depict a chaotic time when animals and people could speak to and transform one another (McHalsie, Schaepe and Carlson, 2001). After some time, Xexa:ls, transformers, the four children of black bear appeared and travelled through the region (McHalsie, Schaepe, and Carlson, 2001). During their journey, Xexa:ls used their powers of transformation to punish those who acted badly by turning them into stone (ex.Lhxe:ylex; S'í'lix) and rewarded those who acted with generosity by transforming them into valuable resources, such as cedar, sturgeon and beaver (McHalsie, Schaepe, Carlson, 2001). In addition to these stories of transformation, the Stó:lô have origin stories of Tel Swáyel ("sky-born people) who fell to the Earth and brought order to it (McHalsie, Schaepe, Carlson, 2001). These Stó:lô Creation stories have survived colonization through intergenerational oral knowledge transfer and some have been in collaborative agreements between Stó:lô and academic researchers in what is known as the Stó:lô Atlas (Harris and Carlson, 2002).

Archaeological evidence of spearheads and tools places Stó:lô in the region as early as 11,000 to 10,000 years ago, during the early Holocene period (Schaepe, 2001). Prior to European contact, the Stó:lô population was between approximately 40,770 - 81,540 individuals (Schaepe, 2003). However, small-pox was introduced to the region by Europeans in 1782 with disastrous effects on the Stó:lô, reducing their population by two-thirds within six-weeks (Carlson, 1997:28). Data regarding the evidence of smallpox in the region is limited although journals of early explorers, fur traders, and missionaries do recount testimony of the disease (see Boyd, 1996). Additionally, oral history as told by Indigenous peoples has incorporated descriptive accounts of smallpox although they have been difficult to date. Currently, this evidence establishes smallpox in the Pacific Northwest occurred at two-time frames: (1) the late 1700s and (2) the early 1800s (Boyd, 1996). Disease origins remain theoretical, but evidence points to smallpox spreading to the Pacific Northwest either via the Kamchatka Peninsula or by Spanish ships from Mexico (Khlebnikov 1976; Boyd, 1996). Smallpox was identified and recorded historically among the Tlingit, Haida, Ditidaht, Northern, Central and Southern Coast Salish, Upper Chinookans, and Tillamook (Boyd 1990). Although there are not specific evidence from

peoples in the Lower Fraser River Valley. After various British explorations, the Hudson Bay trading post was established in 1827 in what is now known as Fort Langley (Birthplace of British Columbia). Salmon trade became the economic centre-point and fuelled further growth and expansion of colonial interests in the land (Schaepe, 2001). Around this time, Kwantlen First Nation elected to relocate their main village site (previously New Westminster) to their current location (Fort Langley), to be near the Hudson Bay trading post for economic purposes (Crockford, 2010). The creation and allocation of Kwantlen Indian reserves took place between 1858-1930; the colonial reserve system was in place 1858-1871 under the direction of Governor Douglas and Trutch, while the Federal reserve system operated from 1871-1930 under the direction of Commissioner Sproat. Throughout this time, Kwantlen reserves were resurveyed, reduced, and expropriated by both colonial and federal land agencies due to the expansion of the city and interest in land for farming and resource purposes. These reductions of land allocations took place without consultation or compensation to Kwantlen.

Today Kwantlen's traditional territory is demarcated by boundaries that (see Map 1 in Chapter 5) extend from Mud Bay in Tsawwassen in the south, to the northern end of Stave Lake to the north, east to Mission and west to New Westminster and areas of Richmond. Kwantlen have relied on their territory for sustenance through fishing, hunting, and gathering plants and medicines (Mohs, 1995). Currently, Kwantlen First Nation has 317 band members, 77 of which live on-reserve. In 1994, Chief Marilyn Gabriel became Chief and began numerous initiatives to rebuild culture in the community (see Chapter 5). More details of Kwantlen First Nation history are provided through the StoryMap project, discussed in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 2 – Literature Review

A recent publication by Asch, Borrows and Tully (2018) entitled *Resurgence and Reconciliation: Indigenous Settler and Earth Teachings* identifies resurgence and reconciliation as two approaches that support the path toward decolonization in Canada. Resurgence is primarily concerned with the internal strengthening of Indigenous culture and movement toward self-determination, as communities revitalize traditions, practices, and systems. Working in parallel, the reconciliation approach focuses on harmonizing the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. As will be discussed, there is substantial complexity and contradiction between these two approaches. This is related to deep-rooted injustices of the colonial system and the geo-political diversity of the country, among other factors.

In this chapter I review recent scholarship related to: Indigenous people's identity in relation to land; the structure and process of settler-colonialism; and Indigenous response in the form of resistance and resurgence. In the first section, I provide an overview of Indigenous philosophy and worldview as it relates to land-connections. The second section provides a brief overview of the structures and mechanisms of settler-colonialism and how they relate to Indigenous dispossession and disenfranchisement, with particular attention to land-use and colonial mapping projects. This is followed by an overview of current theory and strategies being applied by Indigenous leaders toward decolonization in Canada, with a focus on Indigenous resistance, resurgence, and counter-mapping to assist in the (re)assertion of Indigenous connections to territories and resources. These three sections merge to create context for understanding this case-study of how on-the-ground Indigenous resurgence opportunities and challenges are being realized.

2.1 Indigenous land-connections

2.1.1 Indigenous worldview

Since time immemorial, many Indigenous Peoples have maintained strong connections to their traditional territory. Although there is a diversity of experiences among individual Indigenous peoples and Nations, there is also wide recognition of characteristics that are common to Indigenous Peoples across the globe. Leroy Little Bear (2000) of Kainai First Nation highlights this point in his statement that, "there is enough similarity among North American Indian philosophies to apply concepts generally" (p.79). In his seminal work, *God is Red* (1972), Vine Deloria Jr., a Lakota philosopher, makes the observation that one of the most symbolic differences between Western and Indigenous philosophy is the perception of land. Deloria

writes, “American Indians hold their lands – places – as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point.” By contrast, Deloria argues that Western philosophy understands the world through a *temporal* lens in which knowledge stems from ideas of “progress” (Vine Deloria Jr., 2003). Thus, Indigenous philosophies are rooted in a worldview that is “holistic and cyclical and firmly grounded in a particular place” (Little Bear 2000, p.78). In Canada, Indigenous peoples share a common source of knowledge defined as, “a distinct system of knowledge with its own philosophical attitudes towards Mother Earth and the Circle of Life, a sense of kinship with all creatures” (RCAP, 1996, p.526-527). Generally, it is recognized that this sense of kinship forms a deep respect for the land, which is emphasized through practicing gratitude, reciprocity (Berkes, 2012) and responsibility (McGregor, 2014). Elder Albert Marshall of Mi’kmaq Nation speaks to the engrained responsibility that current generations hold for future generations in the following statement:

We have to find a way to be mindful as how we go about exercising our inherent responsibilities of ensuring that no action that we take will ever compromise the ecological integrity of the area. Nor compromise the cleansing capacity of the system. Because our overall objective is to ensure that the next seven generations will also have the same opportunities that we have, of not just being able to sustain themselves and harvest the gifts from the creator, but also be able to enjoy and learn from her just as our ancestors have learned from her. (Indigenous Circle of Experts, Eastern Regional Gathering, June 2017, p.37).

Glen Coulthard, a member of the Dene Nation recalls a significant contribution made by Phillip Blake of the Dene Nation during the Mackenzie River Valley Pipeline Inquiry in the 1970s. Blake explained the interrelated Indigenous perspective of land in terms of “land-as-resource central to our material survival; land-as-identity, as constitutive of who we are as a people; and land-as-relationship” (Watkins, 1977, p.7-8). Blake further described how Indigenous peoples’ distinct view of land may play an integral role in the survival of settler societies:

I strongly believe that we do have something to offer your nation, however, something other than our minerals. I believe it is in the self-interest of your own nation to allow the Indian nation to survive and develop in our own way, on our own land. For thousands of years, we have lived with the land, we have taken care of the land and the land has taken care of us. We did not believe that our society has to grow and expand and conquer new areas in order to fulfill our destiny as Indian people.... I believe your nation might wish to see us, not as a relic from the past, but as a way of life, a system of values by which you may survive in the future. This we are willing to share. (Watkins, 1977, p.7-8).

Shawn Wilson (2008), Opaskwayak Cree scholar, suggests that it is the relationship Indigenous peoples have with the land that allows for the maintenance of a life balance represented through

culture, language, and spirituality. Glen Coulthard, reiterates this point when he states that being connected to place is, “a way of knowing, experiencing and relating with the world.” (2010, p.79) Upholding heterogeneous ways of seeing and being in the world is critical for maintaining foundations for an ethical society and supporting Indigenous peoples’ inherent right to maintain their distinct lifeworlds.

2.1.2 Indigenous well-being and land-relationships

Many Indigenous leaders and scholars argue that a return to land-based practices is essential to maintaining and strengthening cultural identities which in turn contributes to collective wellbeing and resiliency. However, there has been only limited academic and policy attention towards the idea of “connectedness to land” as a determinant of health for Indigenous Peoples in Canada (Wilson, 2003; Richmond and Ross, 2009; Parlee & Furgal, 2012). Sheila Watt-Cloutier, Inuit human-rights activist, has argued that the preservation of Arctic conditions is necessary for maintaining the personal and collective identities of Inuit. In an interview by Kahane (2014) in the *Globe and Mail*, Watt-Cloutier speaks to this aspect of Inuit identity:

The land, ice and snow is a training ground for developing your sense of self and your character. You’re being taught patience. You’re being taught how to be courageous and bold at the right times. You’re being taught how to withstand stressful situations and to have sound judgement and wisdom. You’re not only learning how the world works, but you’re learning how you work. In institutional schooling, those things are very separate, but in hunting culture, they’re holistic (Interview of Watt-Cloutier by Kahane, 2014, para. 4)

Heather Castleden (2009), a non-Indigenous geographer, utilized a community-based participatory research approach to understand and document the Huu-ay-Aht First Nation’s unique worldview that has persisted through decades of colonialism. The study documented “Hishuk Tsawak”, a worldview held by the Huu-ay-aht First Nation that translates roughly to “Everything is one/connected.” Stemming from a Nuu-Chah-nulth Creation story, Hishuk Tsawak is learned and lived through the spirituality and daily practices of the Huu-ay-aht peoples. Hishuk Tsawak acknowledges a time of equality and interconnectedness between humans and animals illustrated by the following teaching:

Our creation story [begins at] a time when the animal world transformed into humans. At the creation moment for Huu-ay-aht some of the animals decided to stay in the human form and the rest went back to the animal world . . . We are one and the same . . . Hishuk Tsawak—everything is one. (John, participant as quoted by Castleden 2009)

Hishuk Tsawak informs a sacredness and political order for the people to follow that is based on a deep respect for all living beings. Castleden (2009) explains that Hishuk Tsawak is “embedded in both the physical and social locations of the Huu-ay-aht (p.799).” This notion illustrates the interaction between Huu-ay-aht and land.

Similarly, Naomi Adelson, a non-Indigenous medical anthropologist who works with the Whapmagoostui Cree Nation, has explored the relationship between Indigenous health and land. Adelson observed how the Cree visions of ‘being alive and well’ are intrinsically linked to Cree foods, land, hunting traditions and lifestyles which ultimately shape their identity as a distinct people. Susan Hill (2008), a Haudenosaunee author, suggests that the revitalization of Haudenosaunee land ethics is crucial to maintaining and strengthening identity. Leanne Simpson (2008), Nishnaabeg artist and activist, similarly argues that children require a strong connection to land to maintain unique Indigenous knowledge systems that connect them to their heritage. These authors contribute the interrelated nature of land as relationship, and the holistic perspective of wellbeing that comes from being connected to place-based culture. Grounding Indigenous philosophy within this research is useful for shedding light on the distinct relationship that Indigenous peoples’ have with their lands and how resurgence efforts are embedded within reconnecting with these ideals.

2.2 Indigenous peoples and the state

2.2.1 Mechanisms of settler-colonialism

Various scholars have examined the power-relations embedded within settler-colonialism (see Wolfe, 1999, 2006; Veracini, 2010; Morgensen, 2011). Although this literature has been useful for building my overall understanding, only a selection of the studies most relevant to my specific case-study are highlighted below. Notably, Wolfe (1999) has highlighted that, “settler colonizers came to stay: invasion is a structure not an event (p.96)”. Understood in this way, colonization is not a thing of the past, but is rather a contemporary phenomenon. Dhamoon (2015) builds on this by asserting settler-colonialism as “not only a structure but also a process, an activity for assigning political meanings, and organizing material structures driven by forces of power” (p.32) Veracini (2010) discusses how settler-colonialism remains largely invisible and suggests that there is benefit in uncovering its supporting functions. Coulthard (2014) makes the important observation that land rather than labour remains the central issue of Indigenous settler-relations.

The following sections focus on land representations through the lens of cartography and urbanization and their interaction with settler-colonialism. Making visible the ideology and power behind these tools sheds light on naturalizations that have been responsible for injustices perpetuated against Indigenous peoples. Particular attention is given to the double-sided nature of land-use planning for its ability and failure to acknowledge Indigenous occupation and make space for cross-cultural learning. Gaining insight into the ways that colonial tools have functioned over time are useful for understanding the multifaceted aspects of this research.

2.2.2 Colonial mapmaking and Indigenous peoples

Maps are defined broadly as “graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes or events in the human world” (Harley and Woodward, 1998, (p.1). Eades (2015) identifies the four interrelated aspects of map formation – identity, distribution, assertion, and reclamation. Identity refers to the way in which someone relates to the world. Distribution is concerned with how one identifies and manifests in space. Assertion is when a specific group of people anchor themselves in a significant space. Lastly, reclamation refers to the action when a group seeks to restore a degraded identity (ibid). At its root cartography remains multifaceted, the interaction of these aspects has resulted in the privileging of certain political, social, economic, and cultural representations. The following section discusses the assumptions that have informed colonial cartography, as well as its expansion and influence over Indigenous peoples’ assertions in Canada. This is followed by a review of literature that identifies and describes techniques and practices utilized by Indigenous peoples to (re)assert and reclaim connection to space and territory.

Various scholars have identified the differences between mapping and map-making (see Sparke, 1998; Rundstrom 1999; Eades 2015). Rundstrom (1991) argues that mapping often performed by oral-based Indigenous peoples has tended to place greater value on processes than product. Expressions of performance can be observed in various ways such as song, dance, and storytelling (Caquard, 2013). This type of mapping by Indigenous peoples has been around since time immemorial and is linked to expressions of individualized cultures interacting with a specific place (Turnbull, 2003; Cameron 2011).

In contrast, text-based practices (generally rooted in European ideologies) have tended to place higher value on mapmaking both as a product as well as a representation of certain ideals. Beginning in the late 17th century, colonial expansion reached the Americas. Newcomers brought with them certain ideals that continue to influence contemporary settler-colonial states

such as Canada today. Colonial cartographic ideation is rooted in British legal ideology which viewed lands through the lens of science and a capitalist resource-based economy. The system of colonial mapping used mathematic mechanisms such as grids and lines to identify borders, values, uses and commodification of lands (Chapin et al. 2005a; Wyatt, 2008; Hall, 2015; Eades 2015). Lands that were viewed as underproductive or underutilized were designated *terra nullius* (*nobody's land*) and assumed by the colony for the benefit of the state (Bryan and Wood, 2015). Colonial mapmaking was a *de facto* practice where “Blank spaces on maps fulfill criteria for appropriation” (Eades, 2015, p.81). This legal classification of land, “provided the necessary legal conditions for Indigenous communities to be forcefully excluded and marginalized from their territories” (Castleden et al., 2012; p.161). As discussed below, colonial cartographic ideologies remain dominant and are deeply imbedded within the Canadian legal system. It is therefore useful to understand how maps continue to underrepresent and minimize Indigenous occupation on the landscape as is occurring on Kwantlen First Nation traditional territory.

2.2.3 *Settler colonial urbanism*

Viewing the interaction between settler colonialism and urbanization through a critical lens helps to build understanding of how cities are politically and socially constructed (see Baloy 2016, Edmonds 2010, Freeman, 2013 Grandinetti 2019, Hugill 2017, Kipfer 2018, Luz and Stadler 2019, McClintock 2018, Monteith 2019, Porter and Yiftachel 2019, Simpson and Bagelman 2018, Tomiak 2017; Veracini 2012). Colonial cities in Canada were established “as key centres of military and administrative coordination, staging areas of incursion into continental interiors, markets and entrepots for extracted raw materials, residential collection points for missionaries, settlers and imperial agents, as well as theatres for performances of imperial strengths” (Hugill, year, p.3). Urban environments remain contested spaces where Indigenous peoples struggle for land justice, recognition, and cultural survival (Blatman-Thomas and Porter, 2018).

Willems-Braun (1996) offers insights into how colonial reimaginings of land as a resource disrupt Indigenous land-relationships. Limiting Indigenous access to their territories has created colonial accumulation of wealth supported by extractive economies such as logging and fishing (Harris, 2004). Concurrently, politico-legal systems enforced on Indigenous lives justified settler regimes and sovereignty over lands (Rifkin, 2009). These political-legal systems racialized and regulated Indigenous peoples' lives limiting their ability to perform political, cultural, and legal autonomy (Barker, 2005). (See Chapter 5, section 5.1 for a review of literature on racialized settler spaces). Anderson (2005) addresses the underlying racialization of Indigenous rights to

the city. He notes “the justice of the Supreme Court of Canada have based the logic of their Aboriginal rights to precisely test the degree to which Aboriginal communities are able to differentiate themselves from broader Canadian norms. Yet there is little about urban Native communities that is different enough-according to judicial tests- to warrant protection by the Supreme Court of Canada” (2005, p.317-318)

Settler colonial urbanism is ongoing and functions through the naturalization of settler presence and invisibility of Indigenous occupation (Veracini, 2011; Strakosch and Macoun, 2012). Narratives of the city as fully “settled” (Blomley, 2004) or *urbs-nullius*, “urban space void of Indigenous sovereignty, presence and land rights” is at the foundation of this naturalization (Coulthard, 2014, p.175). Upholding extensive private property rights, renaming of places and technocratic planning are all elements of settler-colonial cities in Canada (Edmonds, 2011) (see Chapter 5, section 5.2 for a review of literature on property and Indigenous dispossession). Mapping and surveying are tools used to support the naturalization of settler-colonial spaces (Blomley, 2004; Dorries et al., 2019). Tuck and Yang (2012, p.6) point out how, “for settlers, Indigenous peoples are in the way and, in the destruction of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous communities, and over time through law and policy, Indigenous people’s claims to land under settler regimes, land is recast as property and as resource. Indigenous peoples must be erased, must be made into ghosts.” Due to Kwantlen First Nation’s geographical location, the community has been experiencing challenges that occur within a settler-colonial urban setting. It is therefore useful to understand the ways in which the community and leadership have been navigating and confronting settler-colonial urbanism.

2.2.4 Reconciliation

Reconciliation is a concept that is understood to have various meanings depending on one’s perspective. To some it is the attempt to improve social-relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous; to others it is the specific calls to action outlined by the TRC; and to others it means healing communities and families (Wilson et al., 2019). Dupre (2019) highlights how reconciliation starts with uncovering and scrutinizing truth of the processes involved in colonization as well as our place in the world. A recent book entitled “Research and Reconciliation: Unsettling Ways of Knowing Through Indigenous Relationships” (Wilson et al., 2019) addresses the various ways that research can contribute to this uncovering. Importantly, the authors describe research is “a relationship with ourselves, one another, the land, spirit and

with ideas...research and reconciliation are both ultimately about processes of growing, learning, and changing” (ibid, p.xii).

Land-use planning is a mechanism that has been used by the state to dispossess Indigenous groups from their land. Sandercock (1998b) has discussed how certain cultural identities are often rendered invisible within state planning contexts. Other scholars have identified the social and political exclusionary practices of Indigenous groups embedded within land-use planning (see Beebejan 2004; Harwood, 2005, Yiftachel 2009). Langton (2001) argues that this exclusion stems from the substantial ontological and epistemological differences held between settler society and Indigenous peoples with respect to human-environment relations. Ngarindjerri Elder, Tom Trevorrow, provides a powerful statement of his stance on land-management: “our traditional management plan was: don’t be greedy, don’t take more than you need, and respect everything around you. That’s our management plan- it’s such a simple management plan but it’s so hard for people to carry out” (Murrundi Ruwe Pangari Ringbalin 2010) (See Chapter 5 for a further review of literature on land-use planning).

Numerous scholars have identified the ‘split personality’ of state-led planning in relation to its ability to provide space for Indigenous self-determination and reclamation (Hibbard, Lane and Rasmussen, 2008; Matunga 2013). Transformative spaces have at times been realized in planning and its ability to produce environments of cross-cultural learning, and an enhanced understanding of Indigenous customary law (Berke et al., 2002; Sandercock and Attili 2010). However, there is growing scholarship that highlights Indigenous groups have enhanced access to resources and decision-making processes in environmental planning settings compared to urban planning contexts (Edmonds 2010; Porter 2013). Importantly, Edmonds (2010) notes urbanization as a key colonial process. Meanwhile, Howitt describes the need to view urban land-use planning as a space that needs to account for notions of co-existence with foundations of mutual recognition. He views co-existence as “being-together-in-place with an explicit acknowledgement that the geographies of settler contexts are constructed through social and geographical imaginaries in which the presence of others produces a sense of place that is simultaneously of belonging and alienation” (2006, p.49) Notions of coexistence have been difficult to achieve, especially in urban contexts, they require the acceptance of multiple overlapping jurisdictions and governance systems (Tully, 1995). Indigenous communities involvement in land-use planning has been experienced to varying degrees and is therefore useful for capturing stories of the potential role that it has to play in reconciliation.

2.3 Indigenous Resurgence

2.3.1 Characteristics of Indigenous Resurgence

Tuck and Yang (2012) remind us that true decolonization “brings about the repatriation of Indigenous land and life,” and “is not a metaphor” (p.1). Simpson describes Indigenous resurgence as, “a movement away from trying to transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the Indigenous inside through nation-building” (Simpson, 2011, p.8). For her, nation-building draws from the Nishnaabeg philosophy, theory and stories which actively engage with human-land relationships. Simpson (2014, p.32) highlights the urgency of maintaining these relationships when she states, “our bodies should be on the land so that our grandchildren have something left to stand upon.” Similarly, Jeff Corntassel, a political scientist and member of the Cherokee Nation, suggests that the foundation of resurgence can be understood as, “rejecting the performativity of the rights discourse geared towards state affirmation and recognition and embracing a daily existence conditioned by place-based cultural practices” (2012, p.89). Indigenous resurgence is a relatively recent phenomenon that has been undertaken by the academic community. Gaining insight into how Indigenous thinkers are explaining and identifying Indigenous resurgence is useful for understanding our case study with Kwantlen First Nation.

2.3.2 Counter-mapping

Influenced by Foucault and Derrida, Harley (1988) argued that maps are not neutral documents. This spurred the emergence of critical cartography as academics began to analyze the relationship between power and mapmaking. In the 1990s, Peluso (1995) coined the term ‘counter-mapping’ to describe the effort of Indigenous groups to, “appropriate the state’s techniques and manner of representation to bolster the legitimacy of ‘customary’ claims to resources” (p.384). Ultimately, the cartographic tools used by Indigenous peoples to reclaim and strengthen understanding of their connection to lands has been an instrumental strategy of resistance. Counter-mapping has taken various forms but generally attempts to capture and represent Indigenous perspectives and voices.

Various scholars have discussed counter-mapping and its impact for Indigenous groups (Herlihy 2003; Sletto 2009; Palmer 2013). Herlihy (2003) brings attention to the strength of participatory mapping practices as they challenge Eurocentric norms of cartographic processes by empowering Indigenous peoples in the mapping process. Harris and Hazen (2005) add that because participatory mapping uses a bottom-up approach, power differentials are minimized in

the data collection process. Importantly, Sletto (2009) adds that Indigenous counter-mapping provides alternative perceptions of space due to the complex place-based relationships that Indigenous groups have with their homelands. These perceptions of space have often been difficult to represent through Western cartographic expression due differing epistemologies and perceptions of boundaries held by most Indigenous groups (Thom 2009) (See Chapter 6, section 6.2 for a more in depth of Indigenous cartography and counter-mapping).

The involvement of Indigenous groups in mapping in Canada has been intensifying since the 1970s. Known as Traditional Use Studies (TUS), cartographic efforts have had influence over Canada's legal system. One notable example is the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project (ILUOP) which involved 34 communities and 1600 individuals, and produced 209 maps (Freeman, 2011). Usher (2003) highlights the precedent of this report as mapping was done by communities and used Inuit historical narratives and traditional knowledge to assert their connections to their lands and resources. Bryan and Wood (2015) discuss how the comprehensiveness of this study played a key role in the strengthening Inuit negotiations of the Nunavut Land Claim Agreement. Another example in Canada can be observed in the TUS mapping conducted by Nisga'a in the 1970s that influenced the Supreme Court of Canada's decision in the *Calder* case affirming "*pre-existing right of possession*" of the lands in question (Calder et al. v. Attorney-General of British Columbia 1973; Bryan and Wood 2015). TUS mapping has been important for Indigenous groups in Canada gaining rights and access to their territories. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, Indigenous communities whose ancestral homelands overlap with highly urbanized areas face particular challenges of recording and documenting ongoing connections to lands.

Some important examples of Indigenous counter-mapping efforts in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia are useful as they share similar geographical locations to Kwantlen First Nation. The first, The'wá:lí Community Digital Mapping Project, was a collaborative project that involved the The'wá:lí community and researchers. It mapped the community's connection to waterways, mountains, community origin stories, community connections, colonial change, sites of significance, economic activity, environment and history, and storied places. Essentially, the project sought to provide an alternative vision to spatial representation and engage with a non-Indigenous audience in sharing The'wá:lí histories and land-relationships. The project can be viewed at <http://thewalimap.ca/>. The second project, tə sʔa:nł syəθəs can be viewed at the following link: <http://old.musqueam.bc.ca/applications/map/index.html>. It used technology to explain significant sites to the Musqueam community which are expressed through the inclusion

of Həŋqəmiŋəm (downriver) Halkomelem dialect expressed on the map textually and audibly. Both projects show commonality with Indigenous mapping efforts being realized with Kwantlen First Nation as they include language, placenames and historical changes to the landscape as a result of colonization.

2.3.4 Indigenous Resurgence and Cityscape

Various scholars have discussed the ways in which Indigenous peoples are resisting colonial spatialization and producing their own spaces in the city (see Blomley, 2004; Tomiak 2017; McReary and Turner 2018). Indigenous resurgence within the cityscape requires complex strategies that rely upon asserting connection and enacting responsibility to their territories within and beyond urban spaces (Baloy 2011; Hokowhitu 2012; Wilson and Peters 2005). Vizenor (2008) makes an important point about Indigenous survivance stories which he articulates as, “the continuance of stories are not mere reaction... survivance stories are renunciations of dominance” (p.1). Dorries (2019) calls for a shift in Canada’s discourse and policy regarding the urban Indigenous population as it tends to focus on a damage-centered view of Indigenous life in the city. In her study of racism, Dorries (2019) presents us with many examples of how Indigenous life is flourishing in Winnipeg. For example, community organizations such as Ka Ni Kanichhihk, Thunderbird House and Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre, are all centres that support culturally relevant services and Indigenous placemaking in Winnipeg (Cormier 2010; McKenzie and Morrissette 1993). Finally, Dorries (2019) argues that unsettling settler-colonial urbanism requires “multi-faceted interventions, including examining the cause of violence against Indigenous women while also foregrounding the role of women in making Indigenous space” (p.27). Essentially, what is needed is a balancing between understanding the mechanisms that allow for settler-colonial urbanity to naturalize itself as well as the resistance strategies used by Indigenous peoples to reclaim the city.

CHAPTER 3 – Methodology

3.1 Introduction

I came into this research during a grieving phase in my life. My desire to reconnect to Kwantlen First Nation stems, in part, from a longing to stay connected to my father. To witness what he witnessed and to connect. The more that I listened, the more I related to peoples' stories, humor, and way of being. This has been a personal journey for me to strengthen my own connection to history, community, and lifeways. I have learned of the resilience and resistance of my ancestors who fought for these lands. And the strength that has emerged from the cultural reclamation occurring in the community over the past 25 years. My relational research approach is rooted in my desire to honor my father and my connection with community. It extends to my use of Indigenous methodologies which are imbued with Indigenous ways of knowing and being (Wilson 2008; Kovach 2009; Smith, 2012). Indigenous methodologies have informed my research methods (cultural protocols, talking circles, ongoing conversations, (re)storying past community research, participating in cultural activities). My methods have been important as they have led to co-design, co-authorship, and co-production of this research. They have also sought to contribute meaningful research outcomes that align with community objectives and process.

3.2 Indigenous methodology

Linda Tuhiwai Smith, a Māori scholar, made the observation that research is one of the, “dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (1999, p.1). It is also something that is deeply political (Kovach, 2009). As dominant research processes typically centered on Western values, research has often produced negative consequences for Indigenous peoples due to its extractive nature and lack of Indigenous inclusion (Wilson, 2008). It is crucial to address the ways in which research is approached, designed and data is analyzed in order to ensure research is ethical and beneficial for Indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009).

Wilson (2008) encourages research paradigms that support the inclusion of Indigenous philosophies in understanding the interrelated nature of identity, health and healing as well as wellbeing. In his book, *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, Wilson identifies Indigenous research paradigms (IRP) as a distinct approach and process in comparison with dominant research processes. An IRP is informed by Indigenous philosophies of an interconnected and relational worldview (Wilson, 2008). IRPs are made up of ontology (the way

we view reality), epistemology (how we think about this reality), axiology (ethics and morals), methodology (how we go about gaining more knowledge about this reality), and tools (Wilson, 2008). In terms of Indigenous ontology, reality remains relational. Wilson (2008) asserts this notion suggesting that the world is seen as a “web of connections and relationships” (2008, p. 73-74). Following this notion, Indigenous epistemology is flexible as there is no distinct truth but rather, “different sets of relationships” (Wilson, 2008, p.8). Indigenous axiology finds its roots in relational accountability, as researchers we are answerable to “all of our relations” (Wilson, 2008, p.8). Within a research experience, Indigenous methodology should operate with the goal of “building more relations” (Wilson, 2008, p.79).

Margaret Kovach is of Plains Cree and Saulteaux ancestry and a member of Pasqua First Nation located in southern Saskatchewan. In her most recent book, *Indigenous Methodologies: characteristics, conversations and contexts*, Kovach (2009) discusses ways in which the inclusion of Indigenous knowledge systems within research works towards decolonizing research processes. Through this work, Kovach acknowledges the need to develop methodological options in accordance with specific Indigenous communities and their needs. She argues that this process requires an introduction of research approaches and processes that include Indigenous ways of knowing. She further suggests that as Indigenous knowing is “internal, personal, experiential, creating one standardized, externalized framework for Indigenous research is nearly impossible and inevitably heartbreaking for Indigenous peoples” (2009, p.10).

3.3 Research ethics

The Community Council of Kwantlen First Nation and Elders Advisory Board approved a research partnership with me in September 2017. This occurred prior to drafting a research proposal to allow me to follow proper customary cultural protocols of Elder consensus, ceremony, and drumming songs. I also have ethics approval from Concordia University’s Research Ethics Unit and my research adheres to Chapter 9 of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Humans*. Participants were asked to give their written or recorded oral consent prior to interviews. Additionally, participants were contacted prior to publication to ensure their testimony could be shared. Further, this research has supported Kwantlen First Nation interests by incorporating the community into all levels of the research process - co-design, co-authorship, and co-production of knowledge. A final review

of this research by participants and Chief and Council has confirmed its accuracy and their consent for publication.

3.4 Research Methods

Over the course of this research, I visited the community three times. This included an initial visit of one week in September 2017 consistent with customary cultural protocols of Elder consensual approval. I subsequently spent an extended three-month period (2018) in the community when I documented and gathered materials for this research. My last visit to the community occurred in January 2020 and focused on a review of my research output (ArcGIS StoryMap). The following sections will briefly outline the intricacies of my community visits, how I gathered and analyzed data and how these relate to the meaningful outcomes of this research.

3.4.1 Conversations prior to drafting research proposal

Before drafting a research proposal, my supervisor Dr. Monica Mulrennan and I discussed the importance of including the community from the earliest stages of this research. Following our discussion, I reached out to my friend Tumia Knott, Kwantlen First Nation Band Council member. At this stage in the research, I simply asked whether Kwantlen would be interested in having me do research with the community. Tumia invited me to participate in a monthly Elders Advisory Meeting to introduce my academic background and listen to Elders concerns.

3.4.2 First visit – Elders Advisory Meeting

I visited the community in September 2017 to discuss the beginnings of this research. Held in Kwantlen First Nation band office, this meeting included 15 Kwantlen First Nation community Elders, Chief and Council and a few youthful members. I gifted the Elders with a Tim Horton's coffee card and provided funding to Chief and Council to cover costs of a catered meal. The meeting opened with a prayer song sung by a youth in the community, Michael Gabriel. I introduced myself to those who I had not met before and gave nods to friends and family members around the table. I began by speaking about my background in human-environment studies and how I had been accepted into a Master's program in Geography at Concordia. My eyes welled up with tears when I began speaking about my dad and how I wanted to reconnect and give back something meaningful as gratitude for the community's support. The Elders were then invited to speak about their concerns in a customary talking circle which allowed for a free flow of information. They spoke about encroachment, urban development, unaffordable housing, and the lack of awareness in settler-society that these lands are their ancestral homelands. I

listened. After everyone had a chance to speak, Chief and Council asked the Elders whether they would like to have a research partnership with me, they agreed. We shared a meal of fish, salad, potatoes, and chocolate cake. This gave me a chance to catch up and share with people. It was nice, it felt like home. This meeting allowed the research to follow customary cultural protocols of the community – drumming, gifts, and Elder consensual approval.

3.4.3 Second visit – Extended stay

I arrived on Kwantlen First Nation territory July 8, 2018. I pulled into my Great Aunty Donna's driveway at night, my headlights shone on the Canadian flag she had hanging from a tree. I got out of the car the air smelled thick with cedar. I was here to do "research," and set off to get a better understanding of what that meant.

Conversations on the land, in homes and offices

My extended stay in the community served as a way for me to focus on strengthening relationships. I reached out to community members to ask whether they would be interested in being part of this research. I listened to many different stories and had interviews with 15 individuals. Participants included Elders, Kwantlen First Nation government staff and community knowledge-holders. We met in homes, on the land and in Kwantlen First Nation offices. One day I sat by the Fraser River with an Elder and he talked for 2 hours straight. He told me why everyone on the reserve hung blankets in their windows. It was the remnants of people fearing the Indian agents who surveilled their home lives. Blankets were hung so that ceremony could continue, in secret. Another day, I heard from a residential school survivor who had been abused. I learned about the challenges of returning to the reserve after living in the city. I learned about family disputes. I listened.

Sockeye fishing on the Fraser River

I took the time to visit the land, especially the places I remembered growing up. I walked along the trails on the land of my great great grandfather at Derby Reach. During my stay, I was lucky enough to witness the biggest Sockeye salmon run in a long time. I had always dreamt about going gillnetting on the Fraser River, as a kid I listened to the stories of my grandparents who talked about their younger days on the boat. I was invited by a Kwantlen fisherman and his friend for a day gillnetting for Sockeye. I met them on the dock early in the morning, while it was still dark outside. We travelled upriver as the sun began to peak through the horizon. Once we got to our spot, the fisherman turned off the engine and threw out the gillnet and we drifted

downriver. We all waited in anticipation watching for the corks to bob, it signaled when fish hit the net, nothing happened. It was calm, the water was like glass, but most of all I remember it being quiet. The sounds of the city seemed to drift away. Sure enough, after about 10 minutes of waiting, our corks started bobbing rapidly. We caught a lot of fish that day and everyone went home happy. Being in the community was exciting, everyone had smiles on their faces and fish were plentiful. I learned how to can fish from my Uncle's partner. I came away with 32 jars of Sockeye, half of which I shared with my brother. Growing up my Grandma always supplied our family with Sockeye that she canned herself and I never paid much attention to how she did it. Since she's been gone, I have been missing having this fish, there's nothing quite like it, it's so wholesome.

Intergovernmental meetings with Chief and Council

I was invited by Chief and Council to join them on two intergovernmental meetings. The first meeting occurred on August 28, 2018 between Kwantlen First Nation, Katzie First Nation, the mayor for the City of Maple Ridge and the Alouette River Management Society (ARMS). We piled into an 18-passenger van on the Reserve and traveled to the Alouette watershed. The meeting began with a drumming song, followed by Western protocols and a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) which was signed by all participants to work together to support the return of Salmon to the river.

Another meeting occurred September 3, 2018 between Kwantlen First Nation, Katzie First Nation, District City of Mission officials and BC Minister of Forest, Lands and Natural Resource Operations. We travelled to the heart of the territory and the Stave River watershed where a great deal of Kwantlen First Nation artifacts have been found. This was a final meeting between participants who had been collaborating over the years to develop the Stave West Master Plan (SWMP) with a long-term vision to enhance tourism capacity, economic development, and sustainable forestry practices in collaboration with Kwantlen First Nation and Katzie First Nation (SWMP, 2015). At the time of this meeting, Doug Donaldson (Minister FLNR) had not ceded any economic opportunities to Kwantlen First Nation but since this meeting has designated tree licenses to the community. We gathered at the entry point of the Stave West recreation area and a drum song initiated the meeting. Throughout the day we travelled through the territory visiting sites to witness improvements that had been made to the area. On our way back home, we stopped and had a pasta lunch. Both trips were essential in giving me a chance to connect with places of importance as well as gain firsthand knowledge of how Kwantlen First Nation

leadership operate in intergovernmental meetings. These trips also strengthened my relationships with the community.

I participated in cultural activities throughout my stay, including weekly language classes and ceremony. I also met with KLRS staff to discuss possible research topics and learn about their day-to-day operations. Both were useful in strengthening my relationship with individuals who came to have a greater role in this research. Chapter 5 provides more details on the findings that emerged from my extended stay in the community, and the narratives of resistance and resurgence that inform Kwantlen efforts and aspirations at various scales. See Annexe for photographs taken during my extended stay in the community.

3.4.4 Ongoing conversations

My extended stay gave me the opportunity to strengthen relationships with Kwantlen First Nation community members and staff. When I returned home (Montreal) I had ongoing conversations with Ashley Doyle, KLRS Manager who had proposed an ArcGIS StoryMap for this project. She detailed the usefulness it could have in enhancing access to past community-driven research. Ashley shared past community research with me (GIS, ethnographic and archival data) and as the project progressed additional Kwantlen First Nation staff have contributed to this project. Chapter 6 provides an overview of the steps that were taken to produce the StoryMap and how it has aligned with Kwantlen First Nation objectives and interests. I visited the community one last time in January 2020 to review the progress made on the StoryMap. Further details of the methods used for this aspect of the research can be found in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5 – ‘Letsémot (one mind/one heart): Kwantlen First Nation Resilience, resurgence, and strategies for engaging with the urban cultural edge

Abstract

Emerging from a collaborative research project with Kwantlen First Nation, this article provides a community-centered narrative about ways in which Indigenous Nations in highly urbanized areas are confronting settler-colonialism in Canada today. This paper responds to the questions, “How are Kwantlen First Nation upholding their traditional teachings and governance systems, and how do these systems shape and influence the ways in which Kwantlen engage with their non-Indigenous neighbors in the urban environment?”. Interviews with Kwantlen leadership and members highlight community resilience and shed light on internal and external struggles and successes.

5.1 Introduction

Seven generations, that's a lot of generations ahead and a lot of us are living our past seven generations - our grandmother or great-grandmother. We suffered, but we maintain strength and now we're going to tell the truth. (Kwantlen First Nation Elder Cheryl Gabriel, Personal Communication, August 20, 2019).

Colonial historical imaginaries of Indigenous peoples as ‘primitive’ contribute to contemporary constructions of them as ‘out of place’ in urban or ‘modern’ environments (McClintock, 2013). Informed by early European ideas, stereotypes of ‘authentic’ Indigenous people were often synonymous with these racialized “otherings” which were used to segregate them physically and socially (ibid). Massey (1995: 285) has attributed these “otherings” to the production of racialized physical spaces (i.e., Indian Reserves) as well as politically racialized social spaces. Within the urban setting, spatial organization has led to loss of Indigenous materially (physical presence, structures, places) and memories (existence, heritage, experience) (Matunga, 2013). Settler-colonial urbanism is an ongoing process as colonists and their processes have remained and replaced already existing Indigenous processes (Wolfe, 1999). However, settler-colonialism remains incomplete (Ford, 2013) as Indigenous peoples’ “laws and lands survive and fight back” (Blatman-Thomas and Porter, 2019). Indigenous urban resistance and resilience is observed through various placemaking activities that Indigenous peoples participate in which seek to restore cities as Indigenous ancestral homelands (Nejad, 2019). Racialized “otherings” have been difficult to dismantle from the institutions that govern Indigenous lands and lives. It is

therefore useful to consider ways in which these colonial imaginaries are shifting to include Indigenous voices, processes and nationhoods as equal partners in the decision-making processes happening in the city.

In a settler-colonial setting, such as Canada, examining ways in which Indigenous communities resist hegemony is useful for capturing stories of resilience. The “contact zone - a social space where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of power” (Pratt, 1991, p.34), connects to the concept of *cultural edges*, as sites where Indigenous communities adaptively respond to and influence politics (Turner et al, 2003; Mulrennan and Bussieres, 2018). Focusing on one particular place (the ‘birthplace’ of British Columbia, Fort Langley) and one Indigenous community (Kwantlen First Nation, my own community), this research tells a story of Indigenous resistance and resurgence and strength to maintain who we are in the place where their ancestors lived. This case study highlights the complexity of the geo-political situation facing Kwantlen due to concentrated urban development and resource-use being conducted on their traditional territory. This case study traces these cultural edges to reveal how Kwantlen First Nation have been performing acts of resistance by marking their territory both physically and figuratively using their *cultural contractual protocols* which are based on the resurgence of their *seven laws of life teachings*.

I begin by identifying and describing the ways in which urbanization functions in relation to the dispossession of Indigenous peoples. I then explain how Indigenous life projects and land-use planning are both useful conceptual and practical tools for analyzing the ways in which Indigenous communities are confronting these dispossessions. Indigenous life projects provide grounding as a conceptual tool that speaks to the embodiment of place, while, land-use planning is a Western tool used to organize space. Through a juxtaposition of these conceptual tools, I seek to establish a balanced perspective of challenges and opportunities for Indigenous re-assertions to territory in urban environments. As this is a case-study, I then examine the ways in which Kwantlen have been reclaiming culture and how Indigenous life projects have influenced their ability to build understanding through land-use planning partnerships. I conclude by reaffirming that Indigenous life projects in an urban setting seek to unsettle and repossess; land-use planning partnerships may have utility in reconciliation efforts when they include opportunities for Indigenous repossession.

5.2 Indigenous Peoples' in Urban Environments

Blatman-Thomas and Porter (2019) argue that colonial relations in the city are performed through forces of property privatization in three ways: “as object, redress and land” (p.12). Property as an object is something that is owned, ordered, and remade by colonial constructions of naming, grids, surveying, mapping, identifying and creation of geographical boundaries, titling and land registration (Porter, 2010; Yacobi and Tzfadia, 2019). Stranger-Ross (2008) argues that in this way cities “are themselves tools of conquest.” Porter and Barry (2016) add that cities are sites in which dispossession is an ongoing phenomenon due to the power of authority that municipalities hold over land-use planning initiatives. Property as redress is land that is given back from the State to Indigenous peoples but only through State-led processes or external pressures which renders Indigenous people governable subjects (Povenelli, 2002). Property as land is tied to the relational ontology that land is a “field of relationships of things to each other (Coulthard, 2014, p.61). In this sense, land is not something that is “owned” but rather exceeds possession (Blatman-Thomas and Porter, 2019). Reframing land as as a relationship unsettles the embedded settler-colonial narratives of ownership. This extends to urban environments where Indigenous peoples are resisting settler-colonialism through the reclamation of cultural practices in support of their (re)assertion to territory. Initiatives such as placemaking are performative acts of resistance which enhance Indigenous visibility in the cityscape.

5.3 Indigenous life projects in the city

A focus on the everyday practices and activities of Indigenous peoples in the city captures evidence of Indigenous “life projects” (Blaser, 2004). This concept is described as “being about the possibility [of Indigenous peoples] defining the direction they want to take in life, on the basis of their awareness and knowledge of their own place in the world” (Blaser, 2004 p.30). It is a useful concept because it emphasizes Indigenous agency in decision-making processes. Bartlett et al. (2012) recognize a sense of kinship that extends to a deep respect for the land which is emphasized through practicing gratitude and reciprocity (Berkes, 2012). McGregor (2014, p.15) emphasizes that it is the inherent responsibility of Indigenous peoples to maintain their relationships with “all of creation,” place-based attachment and relationships extend to urban environments.

Connecting and sharing these Indigenous life projects with settler counterparts in governance and business remains challenging due to the pervasive nature of settler-colonialism. In

response to the Delgamuukw decision [1997], para.186 Judge Lamer stated: “let’s face it, we are all here to stay.” Indigenous communities have sought out partnerships and allyship with neighbors. Within Indigenous life projects, the politics of partnership are beneficial to building understanding (Blaser, 2004, p.16). Bruno Barras (quoted by Blaser 2004, p.45) expands this point further:

We have to make the whites understand our values. Without understanding there is no communication. Without communication there is no mutual respect. We are simply asking for this: let us respect each other. We are really tired of things being done to us without ever being asked for our opinion. This is at the root of our problems. We do not want anyone to speak for us.

Building understanding is a main strategy of Indigenous life projects as it can enhance Indigenous access to power, although this is often overlooked in research and scholarship. Here it is valuable and functional because of its application to the daily-lived experience and struggles of Indigenous Nations seeking equal partnership. Similarly, Porter and Barry (2016) discuss the role that land-use planning has in negotiating, contesting, and reframing Indigenous agency within the city. Their research used a real-life case study involving the Tsleil-Waututh Nation which revealed the community’s commitment to partnership as a way of dealing with the complexity of their traditional territory overlapping with multiple jurisdictions and concentrated urban development. Through partnership, Tsleil-Waututh advocated for their rights, governance structures, laws, and cultures (ibid). In comparison with other First Nation governments, Tsleil-Waututh have aimed to develop internal institutional capacity which has enhanced State acknowledgement of their authority and jurisdiction over their traditional territory (ibid). The circumstances and strategies used by Tsleil-Waututh are quite similar to those explored in this case study and land-use planning is similarly an on-the-ground experience of how Indigenous communities can and are working toward sovereignty through land-use planning partnerships.

Jojola (2008, 42) describes Indigenous planning as “the formulation of a theory in action ... [as] a radical re-examination of contemporary planning practice through long-term learning, the empowerment of community voice and the advocacy of culture and tradition.” Walker et al. (2013) maintain that Indigenous planning focuses on five key outcomes: improved environmental quality and quantity; political autonomy and advocacy; social cohesion and wellbeing; economic growth and distribution and cultural protection and enhancement. Indigenous life projects in the city are enacted through placemaking practices such as naming, public art and ceremonies (McGaw et al. 2011). The inclusion of Indigenous protocols, methods

and values within placemaking processes seek to unsettle settler-colonial cities (Nejad et al., 2019). However, Nejad et al. (2019) argues that the city's spatial production which often privileges Western concepts and representations lacks proper inclusion and engagement strategies that allow for notions of co-existence. To properly recognize government-government relationships, land use-planning requires a stronger commitment to "live together in mutually respectful, mutually agreeable and mutually beneficial ways on Indigenous lands" (Ladner, 2018, p.12).

5.4 Methodology

I would not be here without their resilience. The furthest I can trace my Kwantlen family history is back five generations as I am the descendant of Mary Cusheon of Nanaimo and Chief Casimier of Kwantlen. Although I have been largely disconnected from Kwantlen First Nation for much of my life, over the past ten years I have begun to explore this connection. This research has not only been an academic venture but has also been a personal journey in returning to a community and place where my ancestors lived. Kwantlen First Nation have opened their hearts, minds, and spirits to me over the past 10 years. During this research experience—I listened, I learned, I cried, I laughed, and I found some sort of peace along the way. Importantly, I came in not trying to solve a problem, but rather, spent an extended stay with the community—practicing ceremony, sitting by the river, drinking tea, going fishing, learning how to can fish, all while listening to the stories they had to tell.

In the early stages of thinking about my research topic, I approached Tumia Knott, a band councillor and family friend, to discuss whether Kwantlen would be interested in joining in a research partnership. Tumia then invited me to an Elders' advisory meeting on September 6, 2018 to introduce myself and listen to Elders concerns. Elders' advisory meetings, these are regular sittings and are part of Kwantlen's traditional governance system. This initial meeting allowed me to connect with Kwantlen members with whom I had not met before and to visit with family and friends I had not seen in a while. A monetary gift and coffee cards were shared with the Elders and we shared a meal. In a sharing circle - Elders spoke of the encroaching urbanism and their anxiety about being able to maintain their cultural, spiritual and ecological responsibilities to lands and waters. This meeting served as a first step and relational approach to understanding the Elders' perspectives with respect to the research design and protocol.

The results of this article rely heavily on testimony from present-day Chief and Council and shed light on the ways in which daily operations function at a governmental level within the

community. Community-partner quotations have been introduced and remain lengthy to capture their voices in a respectful manner (Mulrennan et al., 2012).

I returned to the community for an extended stay of four months. Throughout this stay, I engaged in two additional Elders' advisory meetings, 11 face-to-face conversational interviews, 2 participant-observation trips with Chief and Council to the Stave River Valley and various community events including language classes and salmon fishing on the Fraser River. Participants included Elders, representatives of the Kwantlen Nation government, Kwantlen staff and community members. Throughout the research process I used a conversational method, as it allows for Indigenous autonomy over the research process (Kovach, 2010). In collaboration with Kwantlen, a focus of the research process was the co-production of a map to show the cumulative impacts of colonial intrusions on Kwantlen's traditional territory. This map has since been handed over to Kwantlen (See Chapter 6).

I conducted analysis of the interviews throughout the transcription and analysis process. I highlighted themes throughout and organized them accordingly. Follow-up interviews were conducted to gain further insight into the themes that did emerge. Interviewees were provided with a final review opportunity to ensure the accuracy and integrity of their shared testimony.

I position myself as both an insider and an outsider (Dwyer, 2009) in this research. In some ways I am an insider in this research as I have ancestral connection to Kwantlen. Some of my personal friends and family are active members on the *Kwantlen Elders Advisory Board*. However, in many ways I am an outsider, as I did not grow up in the culture, language, or practices. This research has been a valuable personal journey for me allowing me to gain insight and knowledge throughout the process.

5.5 Early Entanglements between Kwantlen and Settlers

The *Q̓wa:ǰáəǰ* or Kwantlen people (meaning 'Tireless Runner') are a division of the larger Stó:lô ('River People') peoples that live on the Pacific West Coast of British Columbia. Ancestral oral histories place the Stó:lô in the Lower Fraser River Valley since "the beginning of time," when the animals and people could speak to one another (Carlson et al., 2001). Archaeological evidence of spearheads and tools places Stó:lô in the region as early as 11,000 years ago, during the early Holocene period (Schaepe, 2001). Prior to European contact, the Stó:lô population was estimated at between approximately 40,770 - 81,540 (Schaepe, 2001). However, small-pox was introduced to the region by Europeans in 1782 with disastrous effects

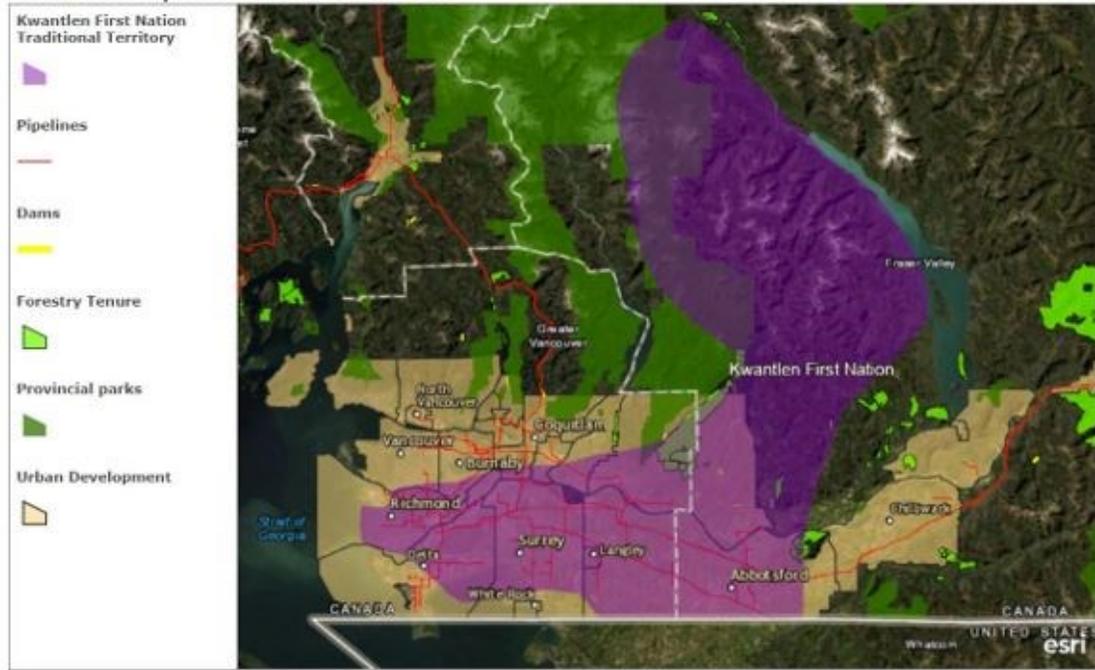
on the Stó:lô, reducing the population by two-thirds within six-weeks (Carlson et al., 2001). After various British explorations, the Hudson Bay trading post was established in 1827 in what is now known as Fort Langley. Salmon trade became the economic center-point and fuelled the growth and expansion of colonial interest in the land (Schaepe, 2001). Around this time, Kwantlen moved their main village site (previously from what is now New Westminster) upriver to its current location, a fishing village, to be closer to European settlements for trading purposes (Crockford, 2010).

The creation and allocation of Kwantlen Indian reserves took place between 1858-1930 initially through the colonial reserve system (1858-1871), under the direction of Governors Douglas and Trutch, and subsequently through the Federal reserve system (1871-1930), under the direction of Commissioner Sproat (Crockford, 2010). Throughout the latter period, Kwantlen reserves were resurveyed, reduced, and expropriated by colonial and federal governmental land agencies, to accommodate the expansion of the city and settler interest in land for farming and resources. These unilateral reductions made to Kwantlen's land allocations were conducted without consultation or compensation.

Kwantlen's traditional territory extends from Mud Bay in Tsawwassen in the south, to the northern end of Stave Lake to the north, east to Mission and west to New Westminster and includes areas of Richmond. Kwantlen territory overlaps with five municipalities - Langley, Maple Ridge, Surrey, New Westminster, Mission (see *Map 1*)¹. This means that approximately 42% of their traditional territory has been heavily urbanized. These incursions are among other impacts such as forestry, hydro-electric dams, industry, provincial parks, oil, and gas pipelines and many more. Although their traditional territory is still used for cultural activities such as fishing, harvesting plants and practicing ceremony, incursions have limited Kwantlen's access to their wide-ranging land-base, further impacted by cumulative impacts. Additionally, their ability to economically develop their reserve lands is limited because they have no services and require environmental remediation from historical land leases that were designated by the Government of Canada. Kwantlen membership currently amounts to 317 individuals; 72 which live on reserve land (StatsCan, 2018).

¹ Disclaimer: This is currently the Traditional Territory boundary identified by Kwantlen First Nation, although it has shifted over time and also overlaps with other nearby Indigenous Nations.

Cumulative Impacts Kwantlen First Nation



Earthstar Geographics | Esri, HERE, Garmin

Map 1 – Kwantlen First Nation Traditional Territory and Cumulative Impacts

5.6 Kwantlen First Nation Resurgence

Over the past 150 years, Kwantlen First Nation have lost a substantial amount of their heritage. Successive waves of disease depleted the population size which contributed to loss of land and traditional knowledge. As settlers encroached on Kwantlen First Nation's traditional territory, government policy (i.e., the Indian Act, residential school system) resulted in community dislocation from their lands and disrupted long established customary systems.

Kwantlen First Nation have taken numerous steps to reclaim and recover cultural activities and practices. While the focus of this article is on progress made by the leadership over the past twenty-five years, it is important to recognize that there many community members are responsible for Kwantlen First Nation's cultural resurgence including fishermen/women, carvers, artists, song carriers, basket weavers, medicine harvesters, language holders, educators, hunters, survivors, Elders and healers.

In 1994, Marilyn Gabriel (Stakwsan) was named hereditary Chief of the Kwantlen Nation by her late-father Joe Gabriel. Early on, Chief Gabriel made it her mission to "lead the community with

a full heart (Marilyn Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2018).” As part of her leadership strategy, Chief Gabriel named two council members - Les Antone (Statlo) and Tumia Knott (Kwaitek) to assist her. Together these leaders moved into their one room band office trailer on McMillan Island and began to call on the members to envision how to rebuild the community. Their actions are an extension of the desires and efforts of past leaders to be regarded as a sovereign Nation.

The following section emphasizes how reviving culture has provided the foundation for which Kwantlen Nation operates on a day-to-day basis, both within their governance structure and the way in which they engage with other non-Indigenous governmental bodies in an urban context. Being connected to culture, raising awareness and advocating for rights has enhanced Kwantlen First Nation’s ability to gain acknowledgement across their traditional territory. This has included restoring teachings, reclaiming traditional names, restoring traditional governance structures, focusing on meaningful relationships, and marking their territory through ceremony and art. Reclaiming this knowledge has enhanced Kwantlen First Nation’s ability to bridge *understanding* and develop partnerships with representatives of governmental agencies. This *understanding* and these partnerships have included components of cultural protocols, teachings, ceremony art and language.

The following section relies on testimony from community leaders who have been involved in this journey of rebuilding their Nation from 1994 to the present.

5.6.1 *Reclaiming teachings*

Early on, Kwantlen First Nation’s resurgence focused on their return to and strengthening of the *seven laws of life* traditional teachings. These teachings had been practiced by only a handful of people in their private dwellings due to cultural activities being regarded as unlawful and subject to colonial surveillance. To regain these teachings, Kwantlen First Nation leadership called on cultural teachers who had held onto this knowledge in secret to guide them in regaining their traditional ways. Re-learning these teachings has been an ongoing process within the community, and community members are still returning and strengthening their ties to the culture. Kwantlen First Nation Elder Lekeyten (Personal Communication, 2018), reminds us of the persistence and power of the *laws of life* in the following statement: “Those seven circles have always been there, they all have a law behind them. The first is the law of health. The second is happiness and the 3rd law is generations and next is generosity, humbleness,

forgiveness and the seventh law is understanding. With each law there is a strong teaching, the seven laws of life.”

The *seven laws of life* now serve as the foundation for which Kwantlen First Nation members as well as the Nationhood operates on a day-to-day basis. The restoration of these teachings is not so much a strategy for Kwantlen First Nation, as a reminder of how to live “a good life” (Personal communication, Tumia Knott, 2020). These *seven laws of life* are the foundation of many other facets of Kwantlen’s reclamation, such as their governance structure and partnership strategies.

Traditionally Kwantlen First Nation spoke downriver Halkomelem dialect known as Həŋqəmiŋəŋ. However, part of the community’s language resurgence has included all three dialects of Halkomelem - Həŋqəmiŋəŋ (downriver), Halqəməyəlem (upriver), and Hulqumínum (island). This thesis has therefore included all three dialects to honor and represent the ongoing language learning happening in the community. Research participants have often used these dialects interchangeably which illustrates the dynamism of Halkomelem and the desire for unbounded learning.

5.6.2 *Collective impact*

An important milestone of Kwantlen First Nation’s resurgence was reclaiming the traditional name of their community in 1994. The colonial government named the community “Langley Indian Band #5²” as it was a common across the province to assign Indigenous communities jurisdictional affiliations. Chief Marilyn Gabriel learned of the name “Kwantlen” to describe her peoples through cultural teacher and Canadian jurist Steven Point. This name translates to “tireless runner” and was reclaimed by Chief Gabriel in 1994. Marilyn Gabriel speaks to the importance of reclaiming the name Kwantlen for the community, as well as spiritual practices and healing in the following:

Taking back our traditional name created a lot of beautiful things for our people. They became hungrier for the culture, teachings and our traditions. I borrowed a lot of tools from other communities, such as sweat lodge and the Eagle feather with the belief that whatever is going to help my people heal, I am going to use, and it has been working. - Chief Marilyn Gabriel (Stakwsan) (Personal Communication, 2018).

² This is not to be confused with Langley #5 which is still the Reserve land name of a parcel held by Kwantlen First Nation.

5.6.3 *Individual impact*

In addition to these collective measures, the Kwantlen Nation have begun to reclaim the traditional names of members that are passed down through generations. Generally, names come from the land and are essential in solidifying a person's role in the community. They serve to define relationships between individuals and with oneself (personal communication, Gabriel, 2020). Since 1994, Chief Gabriel, in collaboration with Kwantlen First Nation leadership and membership, has "replaced" names for approximately forty Kwantlen First Nation members and plans to continue the process. Chief Gabriel describes the transformation that has occurred as a result with renamed individuals being reconnected to their ancestors and to the land. According to Chief Gabriel, "We had two big naming ceremonies, one was in 1995 and the other was in 2015. We replaced 18 traditional names on our members at each ceremony. It changes people, being connected to home, connected to their culture, their traditions, and teachings. These teachings have saved us and will continue to save us" (Marilyn Gabriel, Personal Communication, 2018).

5.6.4 *Restoring traditional governance system*

An important step in Kwantlen's Nation building has included a return to a traditional governance system. As part of this structure, there is now an *Elders' Advisory Group* which started in 2001 and meets monthly to discuss community affairs and issues. Although this has been a challenge, due to disconnections related to historical colonial policies, such as the residential school system and criminalization of cultural governance systems, a record number of twenty-five Elders now attend these meetings. Returning to this system has facilitated greater involvement and integration of the Elders' collective knowledge into community planning and visioning for the future. Each meeting begins and ends with a Kwantlen prayer song, provided by cultural workers, which call ancestors to the gathering. Elders sit around a large table and everyone is invited to speak on the issues at hand to ensure that every voice at the table is of equal value. Chief Gabriel speaks to the importance and evolution of the Elders Advisory Group; "In the beginning we had to teach our Elders how to be Elders; some of them are off reserve, disconnected. But now, they are playing such a vital role in our governance system. We learn from them, they are so full of knowledge and when they are together, they're so awesome."

5.7 Developing Partnerships

As Kwantlen have gained strength in *understanding* their own cultural practices, they have increased their asserted of rights across their traditional territory. Urban settings tend to create cultural edge environments of encounter where ideas and concepts can be shared and at times transformed. When dealing with municipal, provincial, and federal governments on development and resource-issues, Kwantlen Nation have experienced a range of different responses in inter-governmental relations. At one extreme, “Kwantlen First Nation leadership have observed a shift towards increased acknowledgement and *understanding* of Kwantlen Nation as a self-governing jurisdiction and of their rights to the surrounding lands” (Personal communication, Tumia Knott, 2020). These shifts have been realized in areas such as urban planning where partnership agreements have been struck. However, Kwantlen Nation has only limited experience of partnerships that are based on mutually beneficial government-government relationships, all of which are in their early stages of development. Kwantlen Nation has adopted a culturally grounded approach to building diplomatic relationships. Their approach is founded in customary protocols which utilize cultural tools, such as Stó:lô traditional law, *customary cultural protocols*, teachings, ceremony, art, language, and traditional ecological knowledge to build *understanding* between neighboring Nations. The following section will highlight their approach to building intergovernmental relationships as well as the principles of a “good relationship.” As Indigenous Peoples with distinct legitimate systems of law which came from living in relation with each other and “all of creation,” Kwantlen First Nation have placed emphasis on rebuilding these systems both internally and externally.

5.7.1 Developing Partnership through sharing Traditional Law 7 *tálnəx*^w (*understanding*)

Kwantlen First Nation have relied heavily on their traditional law of *understanding* as part of their approach to building awareness of their rights across their traditional territory and for sharing their culture with non-Indigenous neighbors. In many instances, Kwantlen First Nation have had to fight long and hard to have their voices heard at many tables due to the concentration of urban development and the jurisdictional complexity involved. Time is an important factor when building trusting relationships. Les Antone (Statlo), a Kwantlen First Nation council member, notes, “It takes a lot of work and a lot of time- we started early enough in the game to get that *understanding* before we moved ahead. We build allies respectfully just as our Elders say. One of our great laws is *understanding* and so we are building *understanding* between our Nations” (Personal Communication, 2018). Tumia Knott, Kwantlen Band Councilor, acknowledged the challenges that the past era of Kwantlen leadership had in building *understanding* between

Nations due to the lack of consultation policies and the exclusion of Kwantlen from development projects happening on their territory. She believes that “we are in a new era of First Nation leadership” (Personal Communication, 2018) . She is confident that they are starting to see a real shift in consciousness of non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. Her views on building *understanding* through relationships are outlined in her statement:

It is so important to what we do, building relationships in a ‘good way’. I personally hold it as part of our legacy as Kwantlen people. I see the value and strength that comes from sharing and trying to build understanding. That is how I look at relationships and that’s what we try to do and honor as best we can. The past era of leadership was not able to enter into the kinds of dialogues we are having today. (Tumia Knott, Personal Communication, 2018).

The Kwantlen Nation recognize that a critical tool for building *understanding* between Nations has been the inclusion of their *customary cultural protocols*. During consultation meetings, Kwantlen First Nation call on their song carriers to enact these protocols. Typical consultation processes are innately Western, linear and follow short timelines. By starting meetings with ceremony, Kwantlen First Nation’s approach “grounds and connects people to the place we’re doing work and breathes life and light into the process” (Tumia Knott, Personal Communication, 2020).” Tsatsomtun, which translates as “Thunder”, is a cultural advocate and song carrier, he describes the importance and teaching behind the drum:

Songs are good medicine. A lot of our culture resides in our language, our actions come from our language and our language comes from the Earth. The drum is the centre-point of social gatherings, the centre-point of ceremonies and it’s considered a tool that we use. It’s not really a musical instrument, it’s a tool that we use to carry our prayers, the drum, it’s like a diaphragm, like a microphone. Those vibrations carry those prayers. When you look at the back of the hand drum, you’ll notice there’s a circle, and the handle has the four directions, and it’s all laced up using wavy lines. Those lines represent lightening, it’s because lightening is the only thing that touches the Earth and the heavens at the same time. While you’re singing, you’re passing those vibrations on, it’s straight to the Creator. That’s a bit of the teaching behind the drum and to me it’s very sacred. It’s the heartbeat of our people. (Dennis Leon, Tsatsomtun, Personal Communication, 2018).

Kwantlen have focused on building foundations for ‘good relationships’ through sharing their perspectives in various ways. Extensive time is necessary for these kinds of relationships to be established with inter-governmental agencies. Sharing *cultural protocols*, such as drumming and sharing of teachings, guides engagement processes that otherwise operate through a Western,

linear and short-term timeframe towards a more holistic, cyclical and relational Indigenous process.

Along with building *understanding* through the building of relationships, art has played an important role in physically marking and communicating Kwantlen First Nation's perspectives on the land within the city. Local artist, Q'woy'tic'a describes her public artwork of sturgeon that graces the walls of Langley City Hall:

I'm always wanting to bring awareness to nature, our natural resources and whatever decisions they are going to be making [about] how that might affect the land and the people because everything is connected, and it has a ripple effect. I think by showing what's important to me because we can only actually speak for ourselves ... to show my perspective might influence others. Some people might think that sturgeon are ugly, people have their own interpretations. Hopefully getting people to see through a First Nation's perspective. (Phyllis Atkins, Q'woy'tic'a, Personal Communication, 2018).

Kwantlen First Nation has emphasized their traditional teaching to build *understanding* of their perspectives and responsibilities to the land through relationships, drumming songs and art.

5.7.2 *Developing partnership through sharing Traditional Law 4 - x^wlil'eq (generosity)*

Sharing ceremony has played an important role in the development of partnerships. By focusing on the traditional law of *generosity*, Kwantlen First Nation have witnessed shifts in the consciousness of people that they are working with. Les Antone (Statlo) describes such a situation when working with the Provincial Ministry of Transportation on an ecosystem restoration project:

We blanketed them and did ceremonies with them at the beginning to thank them for their work. We still talk and invite them out to our ceremonies, and they invite us to their ceremonies too, when they're cutting ribbons in Vancouver, they ask us to drum and sing from them and to do the witnessing ceremony, so we've changed them that way too and that makes it complete. (Les Antone, Statlo, Personal Communication, 2018).

Reciprocity often requires an ongoing communication between Kwantlen and those that they continue to work with in the urban context. Kwantlen First Nation artists have been acting as leaders for the community as they have participated in various large-scale public art projects across the territory. Physically marking the territory is storytelling through art as it brings awareness to Kwantlen First Nation perspectives of the natural world as well as the teachings of generosity. Local artist, Q'woy'tic'a (pronounced K-why-deet-za), which translates to "I wear the

clouds like a blanket,” describes the importance of bringing awareness through generosity in the following statement:

I always want to represent the community in a good way, mark the territory because people need to know about us. You're in our traditional territory but I want to do it in a respectful way, and I don't want to be angry or in your face about it, just through art, through beauty, showing them who we are in a good way. To be kind, to be inclusive, to be respectful, just to show them we are still here, we're your neighbors. Phyllis Atkins, Q'woy'tic'a, Personal Communication, 2018).

5.7.3 Principles of a good relationship

Building *understanding* is the foundation for any healthy relationship. Through *understanding* a relationship can advance if both parties understand each other. In some instances, Kwantlen leadership believes that they have built this *understanding* with a few governmental agencies across their territory. One such example is the creation of the Stave West Master plan, a collaboration between Kwantlen First Nation, Matsqui First Nation, Leq'a:mel First Nation, the District of Mission and the Province of British Columbia. The Stave West Master Plan emerged from a dialogue between the municipal, provincial, and local First Nation governments who sought protection of environmentally and culturally important sites, archaeological sites, and forest from illegal activities. The plan involved early dialogue with Kwantlen leadership and was founded on the traditional law of generosity, Mekw' wa't a'xwest ikw' elo' (everyone shares here). It has taken nearly fifteen years but has resulted in a “good relationship” with economic benefits for Kwantlen First Nation as they received forestry tenure as part of the tripartite governance model of sharing (Stave West Master Plan, 2017, Accessed online December 2020). Mutually beneficial agreements such as these require “good relationships” which are built on trust, commitment, and consistency. Integral to this is the openness and willingness of Western governments to enter dialogue with Indigenous governments who have rights and interest in the projects happening on their territory. As Chief Marilyn Gabriel explains, this requires respect:

To have no painted ears when we're talking with our heart about how sacred our land is up in Stave, that's the heart of our territory, that they listen. Listen to how important that sacred land is to us and how sad it is that we don't have it anymore, because it is sad. And that is why we must work together (Yuyistill) and that we have to be at the table (Lutsemot) one mind/one heart. (Marilyn Gabriel, Stakwsawn, Personal Communication, 2018)

Along with respect, Kwantlen First Nation have shifted the balance when dealing with governmental agencies by bringing forward and sharing their teachings, language, and

ceremony into partnership agreements. When documents are signed there needs to be an inclusion of Indigenous language as it signals Kwantlen First Nation support of the project. These inclusions are evidence of a deeper sense of approval and more equal foundations. Chief Gabriel discusses the importance of having language and teachings within governmental agreements:

For me, going back to our traditions is good for our people and that is how I operate when I do government partnerships. I won't sign a document until people work with our team to implement our language. Even if it's just a few words like *ya:yəstəl* (working together) or *Letsémot* (one heart, one mind), these are powerful words and teachings. I want my children and grandchildren to know that we were part of this document. It wasn't just a Western document it was also ours. That is what a relationship is, we work together so we can share, including our language and teachings is important. (Marilyn Gabriel, Stakwsawn, Personal Communication, 2018)

5.7.4 *Challenges to partnerships*

Developing partnerships remains a challenge for Kwantlen First Nation. As explained by Tumia Knott, “there is a spectrum of relationships that we have across our territory. There are some discussions on issues that we've been having for 20 years. I think it takes an openness and willingness for individuals and organizations to enter into dialogue with us as issues arise.” For example, the City of Langley continues to allow urban development on one of Kwantlen First Nation's historical settlement sites, along the Nicomekl River, without adequate archaeological licenses. These licenses would grant Kwantlen First Nation access to new sites where newly recovered artifacts could be used to prove historical occupation. In instances where Kwantlen First Nation have been included in dialogue with municipal, provincial, and federal governments, they are often viewed as ‘stakeholders,’ rather than as ‘rights holders’. Extensive private property development on Kwantlen traditional territory erodes their ability to enact their responsibilities to their lands and waters.

5.8 Discussion

The majority of Kwantlen First Nation's traditional territory remains under the control of Western systems of power and process. In comparison to Indigenous communities in remote and northern parts of Canada, Indigenous groups in the south face particular challenges as their territories are often thoroughly urbanized and settled. These concentrations provide many challenges to proving long-standing historical occupation of lands and are controlled through complex political systems. In many ways, the expansion of urban areas continues to draw upon

tools such as mapping and surveying that do not adequately represent Kwantlen's historical and continued occupation. Land-use planning fails to adequately address Kwantlen's rights to the lands that are occupied by settlers and which continue to be developed. For example, none of the municipalities of Langley, Surrey, New Westminster, Maple Ridge or Mission have included Kwantlen First Nation in their community land-use planning sessions. However, there are a few cases, such as the Stave West Expansion Plan, between municipal and provincial governments that have meaningfully involved Kwantlen First Nation in a government-government relationship.

In response to the cumulative impacts of urban development on Kwantlen lives and lands, Kwantlen First Nation have been working to assert their "life projects" of self-determination. A central focus for Kwantlen First Nation is their commitment to the restoration of their customary governance systems. These systems are built on the tenets of place-based traditional law. Kwantlen First Nation have availed of the cultural edge effect to permeate cultural boundaries and build *understanding* through sharing their vision and "life projects." An example of this penetration is observed in the successful co-production of the Stave West Plan Expansion Plan centered on guiding principles of sharing created economic, social, and political benefits. By focusing on building "good relationships," based on mutual respect, Kwantlen First Nation were able to advocate effectively for the inclusion of their systems. Although there has been some progress, the Stave West Expansion Plan is a grounded example of how state institutions have the potential to transform. Evidence of transformation is realized through the inclusion of Indigenous language, cultural protocols of ceremony and drumming and consensual decision making.

Over the past twenty-five years, Kwantlen leadership have made tremendous efforts to revitalize culture within their community. Jeff Cornthassel emphasizes that Indigenous resurgence is "about reconnecting with homelands, cultural practices, and communities, and is centered on reclaiming, restoring, and regenerating homeland relationships" (2012, p.153). Early stages of Kwantlen First Nation's resurgence efforts have focused on reclaiming the name "Kwantlen" and revivifying cultural teachings, practice, and governance systems. Like many Indigenous governments, the restoration efforts of Kwantlen are relatively recent and mostly focused on reclaiming their knowledge, language, and customary laws. Leanne Betasmoke Simpson, a Michi Saagig Nishnaabeg scholar, insists that a focus on building Indigenous nationhood is key to building healthy and strong communities and can be accomplished by "moving away from trying to transform the colonial outside into a flourishing of the Indigenous inside" (Simpson, 2011, p.52). However, Kwantlen First Nation seems to be striking a balance between

strengthening their internal systems while still engaging and sharing with state institutions. Kwantlen First Nation leadership remain committed to renewing dialogue with non-Indigenous institutions as an extension of their life projects. These resurgence strategies have resulted from strong leadership as well as support and respect from the *Elders Advisory Board*. Moreover, these resurgence efforts have informed relational strategies that Kwantlen First Nation have used to advocate for their rights on issues where development and impacts continue on their traditional territory. By returning to and including *customary cultural protocols*, which involve ceremony, language, song, and art, Kwantlen First Nation have raised the consciousness of their Indigenous governance within State and corporate entities. This includes the Stave West Transformation Project, and other development projects that continue to operate on their traditional territory.

5.9 Conclusions

This article drew on the concepts of Indigenous life projects and land-use planning to explore Kwantlen First Nation resurgence and resistance to settler-colonial urbanism. The concept of cultural edges is also used to highlight the Kwantlen First Nation strategy of using customary cultural protocols when working with intergovernmental organizations. I have attempted to demonstrate how Indigenous resurgence serves as the foundation for which Indigenous communities are finding balance and healing. Additionally, how retuning to customary ways of knowing and operating can and are providing communities enhanced access to resources while at the same time raising the consciousness of Indigenous perspectives and interconnected worldview. Together resurgence and resistance strategies founded on cultural reclamation confront settler-colonial urbanism by reframing the cityscape as an Indigenous place.

Kwantlen's land-use engagement strategy has been sincerely guided by a culturally-grounded value system and relational perspectives which has influenced their visibility in urban landscapes. They remain steadfast with their long-term visions of self-governance and mutual respect. I give the final words to Chief Marilyn Gabriel (Stakwesan):

It's time for our people to take our rightful place, to stand as government-government as it should have been many years ago. So, we hold our hands up, to those who have been working on partnerships. Our people, our Elders will say "this land is sacred", everything around you have spirit, maybe if you know that, you'll put it in your heart and take better care of it and that's all we're asking. When you come to our lands and enjoy it, respect it, take care of it.

CHAPTER 6 –Reconciliation research: re-storying Kwantlen First Nation land-relationships through GIS StoryMap

Abstract

Reconciliation research can serve to re-story Canada as an Indigenous place by uncovering Indigenous connections to territory. Drawing on a collaborative mapping project led by Kwantlen First Nation, we explore how reconciliation research centered on the application of a digital mapping tool - ArcGIS StoryMaps – is supporting Kwantlen First Nation efforts to re-story their connections to the lands and waters of the Lower Fraser River Valley. We outline the contours of our research partnership, highlighting our commitment to co-design and co-production, and to providing meaningful outcomes for Indigenous partners that extend beyond the research project itself.

6.1 Introduction

Informed by a Eurocentric worldview, colonial maps are spatial representations that privilege the colonial imagination, in support of imperatives directed to the acquisition and accumulation of lands and resources (Reynolds, 1987). As a result, mapping throughout North America, and around the globe, has served as a powerful tool to dispossess Indigenous Peoples by rendering their lands “terra nullius” (Reynolds, 1987; Attwood 2004). This hegemonic force has transformed Indigenous geographies: distorting, erasing, and fragmenting Indigenous occupation and connections to territory (Sparke, 1999; Turnbull 2008).

Southern Cheyenne cartographer Annita Lucchesi describes ancestral mapping as “any mapping or cartographic praxes developed by Indigenous ancestors who were not explicitly engaged with colonialism in their cartography” (2018, p.13). These practices were expressed through carving, storytelling, song, and dance (Pearce and Louis 2008; Hunt and Stevenson 2017). However, the expansion of colonial and imperial interests across North America not only caused a rift in the relationship between Indigenous peoples and their lands but reimagined those places through the imposition of colonial mapping practices (Lucchesi, 2018). The significance of the latter, according to Runderstrom (1991), is that Indigenous cartography values process whereas colonial mapping focuses on the product. Similarly, Sletto (2014) argues that Indigenous mapping practices privilege process, memory, and performance over

objectification. Louis et al., (2012) add that Indigenous cartography practices ontologically differ from Western practices resulting in the subordination of their cartographic translations.

Canada's *Truth and Reconciliation Commission's* (2015) 45th Call to Action urged the Government of Canada to "repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous lands and peoples, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and terra nullius" (TRC, 2015). Reconciliation research can be understood as a mode toward this objective, supporting work toward the "reparation of Indigenous land and life" (Tuck and Yang, 2012 p.20). Wilson further emphasizes that research must work in the spirit of "harmonizing relationships or bring relationships into equilibrium" (2020, p.10). Louis and Grossman suggest that "building mutually beneficial relationships with Indigenous nation's are a challenge for geography as a discipline to overcome its colonial and imperial past, and a unique opportunity to remake itself" (2009, p.4). Leeuw and Hunt (2018) echo this view in their call for geographers to re-imagine their role by materially supporting the decolonization efforts of Indigenous communities.

This co-authored manuscript explores how reconciliation research can assist in decolonizing the gaze through the application of a digital mapping tool (ArcGIS StoryMaps) in support of Kwantlen First Nation efforts to re-story their connections to the lands and waters of the Lower Fraser River Valley. We begin by introducing ourselves and our research team. Next, we outline how this research project came about, our relational approach to this research and how it aligns with Kwantlen First Nation cultural protocols as defined by the šxʷʔatəs (Seven Traditional Laws): šxʷʔəyəł (*health*), hiləkʷ (*happiness*), ʔəwə cen smetʰənen (*humbleness*), xʷliiləq (*generosity*), syəwənət, šxʷwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəyéq (*generations*), ɔʷaltəl (*forgiveness*), télnəxʷ (*understanding*). We explain how our relationships, built on trust and respect, have engaged with previously conducted community-driven research, and resulted in meaningful outcomes for the community. We describe our collaborative research journey and the contributions that led to the Kwantlen StoryMap Project, including an examination of the strengths and weaknesses of the project. We vision that this in-depth perspective may be useful for other Indigenous communities who wish to construct similar mapping visualizations. We conclude by reaffirming that our relational approach has produced valuable outcomes for Kwantlen efforts to re-assert ongoing connection to territory. Finally, we reaffirm the importance of relational reconciliation research that contributes to building télnəxʷ (*understanding*) through syəwənət šxʷwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəyéq (*generations*).

6.2 The Research Team and Partnership

This co-authored manuscript is a reflexive account of a three-year research partnership with Kwantlen First Nation. The research focused on the application of community based StoryMapping (Koster et al., 2012) as a decolonizing research method. Like Abolsolon and Willet (2005), we locate ourselves to maintain our accountability to this research. We also make explicit the ethics and values that have supported the co-creation of research questions and processes contributing to mutually beneficial outcomes (Mulrennan et al., 2012). Kwantlen First Nation's seven Traditional Laws have served as guiding principles throughout the research process, providing our foundations for being, acting and reacting. Following Macbeth, our approach to this research began "with skepticism about how research has been done in the past and inquires into alternatives" (Macbeth, 1998, p.37). An early commitment of the project was to recognize, engage and bring forward research that had been previously conducted by and for the community.

The co-authors brought different perspectives and connections to the research project. First author, Jessica Hewitt, conducted this research as part of the requirements of her MSc degree. Jessica's maternal background consists of Canadian settlers who came from the Netherlands and Scotland while her paternal family-tree comes from England and First Nation ancestry. She has lived much of her life disconnected from her community, Kwantlen First Nation, but has connected over the past seven years. Trained in Human-Environment and Cartography, Jessica saw an opportunity to connect her academic training with her interest in getting to know more about her ancestral ties to Kwantlen First Nation. Tumia Knott, co-author and community partner to the project, grew up in her community as a member of Kwantlen First Nation. After graduating with a law degree (LLB) in 1994, Tumia became a band councillor and is now the co-director of Seyem, Kwantlen First Nation's business group. She has been involved in many community-driven economic development projects and was instrumental in facilitating the engagement between researchers. Co-author Monica Mulrennan is a non-Indigenous Professor of Human Geography with almost three decades of experience working with Indigenous partners in community-led research. Monica had input to this research through her role as Jessica's thesis advisor. The research team also included the following community-partners: Ashley Doyle, Kwantlen Lands, Resources and Stewardship (KLRS) Manager; Tanner Timothy, KLRS GIS Analyst; Derrick Mitchell KLRS Director of Operations. Their contributions to this research are outlined below. We all serve as co-authors for this article resulting from our participation in the research project from approach, to design, and process.

This research partnership with Kwantlen First Nation was initiated through Jessica's connection to the community. Through her early engagement an opportunity was identified to contribute to the community's efforts to come to terms with complex historical and contemporary colonial influences responsible for the undermining of their cultural connections to their lands. This research responds to Kwantlen Lands Resources and Stewardship (KLRS) and Band Council's request to build *tálnəx^w* (understanding) through *syəwənenəł šx^wwéləy ʔiʔ sʔəyéq* (generations) of Kwantlen First Nation history and connection to their *S'ólh Téméxw* (lands). Particular attention was given to engaging with past community driven research. The outcome was a digital tool (ArcGIS StoryMap) that contributes to re-storying and unsettling colonial geographies.

6.3 Context

6.3.1 Historical Context

The *Q̓wa:náłəh* (tireless runner) or Kwantlen peoples are a division of the larger *Stó:lô* ('river people') Peoples that live in the Pacific West Coast of British Columbia. Ancestral histories of the *Stó:lô* depict a chaotic time when animals and people could speak to and transform one another (McHalsie, Schaepe and Carlson, 2001). After some time, *Xexa:ls*, transformers, the four children of black bear appeared and travelled through the region (McHalsie, Schaepe, and Carlson, 2001). During their journey, *Xexa:ls* used their power of transformation to punish those who acted badly by turning them into stone (ex, *Lhxe:ylex*; *S'í'lix*) and rewarded those who acted with generosity by transforming them into valuable resources such as cedar, sturgeon and beaver (McHalsie, Schaepe, and Carlson, 2001). In addition to these stories of transformation, the *Stó:lô* have origin stories of *Tel Swáyel* (sky-born people) who fell to the Earth and brought order to it (McHalsie, Schaepe, and Carlson, 2001). These *Stó:lô* Creation stories have survived through intergenerational oral knowledge transfer and are beginning to be published in collaborative agreements between *Stó:lô* and academic researchers in what is known as the *Stó:lô* Atlas.

Archaeological evidence of spearheads and tools places *Stó:lô* in the region as early as 11,000 to 10,000 years ago, during the early Holocene period (Schaepe, 2001). Prior to European contact, the *Stó:lô* population was between approximately 40,770 – 81,540 individuals whose territory extended throughout the Pacific Northwest (Schaepe, 2003). Kwantlen's traditional territory extends from Mud Bay in Tsawwassen in the south, to the northern end of Stave Lake to the north, east to Mission and west to New Westminster and areas of Richmond. Kwantlen have relied on their territory for providing sustenance through fishing, hunting, and gathering plants and medicines (Mohs, 1995).

Kwantlen First Nation Traditional Territory Map



Earthstar Geographics | Esri, HERE, Garmin, FAO, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NRCAN, Parks Canada

Map 1- Kwantlen First Nation Traditional Territory

The introduction by Europeans in 1782 of small-pox to the region had disastrous effects on the Stó:lô, reducing their population by two-thirds within six-weeks (Carlson, 1997:28). Following numerous British explorations, the Hudson Bay trading post was established in 1827 in what is now known as Fort Langley. Salmon trade became the economic centre-point and fuelled further growth and expansion of colonial interest in the land (Schaepe, 2001). Around this time, Kwantlen First Nation moved their main village site (previously New Westminster) upriver to this location (now formally known as Fort Langley), a Kwantlen First Nation fishing village, to be closer to Europeans for trading purposes (Crockford, 2010).

The creation and allocation of Kwantlen Indian reserves took place between 1858-1930. Reserves that had been created under the colonial reserve system were surveyed and resurveyed countless times, mapped and remapped, reduced, and expropriated by colonial and federal land agencies. The colonial reserve system in the Lower Fraser River Valley was implemented between 1858-1871, under the direction of Governors Douglas and Trutch. Between 1871-1930, the Federal Reserve System was imposed under the direction of

Commissioner Sproat. During this time period, Kwantlen's land-base shrank significantly from 422,000 hectares to 485 hectares (current reserve land-base). Although the community maintains an ongoing connection to their traditional territory, their ability to benefit economically from their land-base is limited. Since the establishment of the reserve system, Kwantlen First Nation leadership have sustained their protests for additional and better-quality lands.

6.3.2 Contemporary Context

Over the past 150 years Kwantlen First Nation have lost a substantial amount of their heritage. State legislation and policy (i.e., the Indian Act, residential school system) contributed to this loss by undermining their access to lands and resources and prohibiting their practice of customs and traditions. However, Kwantlen First Nation have taken numerous steps toward cultural reclamation. In 1994, Chief Marilyn Gabriel reclaimed the name *Q̓wa:ḥłəḥ* (tireless runner) for her people. Previously, the community was known as Langley Indian Band #5³. Reclaiming this name initiated a cultural resurgence within the community over the past twenty-five years. The Kwantlen First Nation government now operates according to their Seven Traditional Laws and utilizes an Elders Advisory Board of consensual decision-making processes.

Part of Kwantlen First Nation's strategy for cultural reclamation has involved a program of historical research. The Kwantlen Territory Knowledge Project (KTKP) is part of the ongoing effort by the community to consolidate information pertaining to Kwantlen-land relationships (Section 6.3.3). The StoryMapping project that is the focus of the present study contributes to this effort by presenting interactive visualisations of KTKP data in an online digital format. As an exercise in counter-mapping, Kwantlen's StoryMap Project addresses the colonial reorganisation of Kwantlen's territory by representing cultural ties to territory. Additionally, it examines the legacy of colonial spatializations and the influence of reordering Kwantlen community's lands and lives. Re-mapping land alongside evidence of Kwantlen First Nation's resistance has powerful potential as a tool that can reveal colonial dispossession and disruption, while supporting Indigenous self-determination and cultural reclamation. The application of contemporary technology has the capacity to make cultural knowledge, and community identity and history accessible to multiple generations of Kwantlen's community.

³ As this was the jurisdictional name given to the community by the colonial government.

6.4 Research Methods: The Story of a Relational Project

It is crucial to address the ways in which research is approached, designed and data is analyzed to ensure research is ethical and beneficial for Indigenous communities (Kovach, 2009). Research that follows Indigenous methodologies uses customary cultural protocols (i.e., Elder Consensual Agreement, talking-circles) and engages with communities at the earliest stage of the research process (Mulrennan et al., 2012). Negotiating a research partnership with Indigenous communities can allow for data sharing which further supports Indigenous objectives and interests (ibid). The following section sheds light on the steps involved in the relational approach undertaken throughout this research project.

6.4.1 Kwantlen First Nation Research Protocol with Community Elders

In 2018, Jessica reached out to Tumia to discuss how to engage the community in a research partnership. Tumia invited Jessica to attend a monthly Elders Advisory meeting to introduce her research background and listen to Elders concerns. Monica was able to support Jessica's preparation and her travel to Kwantlen First Nation through a research grant.

The Elders Advisory meeting opened with a Kwantlen First Nation drum song. This not only serves as a cultural protocol but also grounds us in the work we are about to do and calls on ancestors for guidance. At the meeting, Jessica spoke to her training and interests in Human Geography and Cartography. Elders were asked to share their suggestions for a research project in a sharing circle focused on their concerns about the state of their territory and community. Many Elders shared their anxieties about not being able to responsibly care for their lands as settler development continues on their territory at an alarming rate. Elders also spoke about the lack of awareness within settler society of Kwantlen First Nation history and connection to the territory. Jessica asked and was granted permission by the Elders to enter into a research partnership with the community. As the research project evolved, many opinions and voices have provided guidance, but this initial meeting served as an important first step.

6.4.2 Working with past community-driven research

After receiving permission from the Elders to participate in a research partnership, Ashley Doyle, shared the Kwantlen Territory Knowledge Project (KTKP) with Jessica. This was an important step in connecting Jessica to a rich source of previously conducted community-driven research.

For the past twenty years Kwantlen First Nation have been consolidating information about their history and connection to their territory and resources. There are numerous ethnographic, historical, and oral histories that have been gathered and analyzed. This is an ongoing effort by the community. In 2011, KTKP which was funded by Kwantlen First Nation and academic partners, was completed, and presented to the community by a team of external researchers - archaeologists, historians, cultural heritage analysts, and a Kwantlen First Nation linguist. KTKP includes an analyzed review of ethnographic, historical, and archival data that identify and map Kwantlen First Nation history, occupation, and activities in the Lower Fraser River Valley. It includes three major reports: The Cultural Heritage Site Report (109 pages), Colonial Reserve Report (88 pages), Federal Reserve Report (98 pages) as well as a corresponding ArcGIS database. This data has been instrumental in rebuilding understanding of the historical extent and usage of Kwantlen First Nation's territory and cultural heritage information. While this research is comprehensive it relies on colonial documentation of Kwantlen First Nation and their presence on the landscape through text, drawings, surveys, and maps. The absence of Indigenous perspectives and spatial representations is a major limitation of this research.

6.4.3 Circling back to a meaningful research topic

Early on, Jessica reviewed the data to gain insight into what research had been done in the community. Ashley suggested that an ArcGIS StoryMap might be an engaging and accessible tool for communicating the contents of KTKP to community members. ArcGIS StoryMap technology only became available in 2012 and was therefore not part of the original research plan for KTKP. At first Jessica dismissed this idea feeling the need to conduct a research project that involved 'new' and 'original' knowledge. This is a common feeling with researchers as academic funding and publication venues privilege research that breaks new ground, even if reworking old ground aligns more closely with Indigenous community desires or needs. Jessica and Ashley met regularly and discussed the possibility of other research topics, many of which resonated with the concerns expressed by the Elders at the advisory meeting, including protected area establishment, land-use planning, elk stewardship practices and watershed restoration projects. As Jessica considered the merits of each of these, during a moment of reflection she recalled Ashley's earlier suggestion of a StoryMap. Like Jessica, Monica saw the potential of Ashley's idea to meet the community's need for Indigenous cartographic representation of colonial land transactions. This iterative approach to our research design was consistent with our commitment to relational research and our collective objective of producing research outcomes that are meaningful and beneficial to the community. The StoryMap project

also provided Jessica a rich opportunity to learn more about her own history through the research process.

6.4.5. Guiding Research Principles: Kwantlen's Seven Traditional Laws

Kwantlen First Nation's Seven Traditional Laws (See *Figure 1*) guided the research process. Meeting and talking with Elders, community-members, and leaders, revealed the importance of these Laws and how they have resurfaced in the Kwantlen Nation community. According to Tumia, the Seven Traditional Laws serve as a foundation for how we look at the world and an ideal that we live up to. Although each of these Laws has been important in guiding this research, their contributions are not categorical, but rather presented here to allow for individualized interpretations. The following sections highlight occasions during the research process that were informed by particular Traditional Laws.

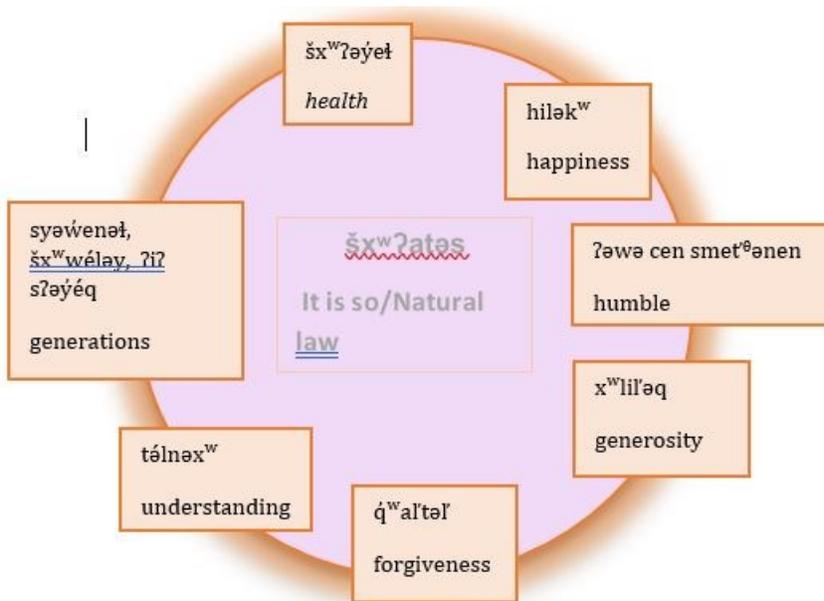


Figure 1 – Kwantlen First Nation traditional laws founded in interconnected worldview. Personal Communication, Tumia Knott and translation from linguist Fern Gabriel, 2020

6.5 Kwantlen StoryMap Project

This section is intended to guide other communities who may wish to produce similar visualizations of their ongoing connection to their traditional territory. An iterative process was helpful as it accommodated inputs from research team members while allowing the project to advance and support the limited time commitments of community research partners.

Constructing the StoryMap along a chronological timeline assisted the project goal of revealing the continuity of Indigenous presence on the landscape while also uncovering significant colonial events that were met by Indigenous resistance. Mapping methods are discussed below to show how the organization of data balanced the need to protect sensitive sites while still expressing the extent of use of the territory.

6.5.1 Process and Method: Collaboratively Digitizing the Kwantlen Territory Knowledge Project

During one Research Team meeting, Tumia had a strong emotional reaction to a colonial map that underrepresented and distorted Kwantlen First Nation's presence on their homelands. According to Tumia, "the way that these maps are drawn are so inconsistent with our way of seeing the world. Everything is ordered by lines, borders, and numbers. You can tell that this way of thinking has been imposed on our people" (Personal Communication, Tumia Knott, 2020).

The main goal of the Kwantlen StoryMap project has been to communicate Kwantlen First Nation's ongoing connection to their territory and resources, and to analyze how colonial mapmaking in the region minimized and attempted to erase Kwantlen First Nation's connection to territory. The following section highlights the methods used to build the StoryMap and how previous community-based research was analyzed and consolidated. This is followed by an introduction to StoryMap contributors and a description of their roles and processes. Finally, the Result Section sheds light on the collaborative nature of StoryMap construction and how our individual contributions have combined to create a comprehensive timeline of Kwantlen First Nation connections and experiences prior to, and because of, settler-colonialism.

Collaborating through an iterative process

As the project got underway, the research team discussed and clarified expectations and accuracy of information. Ashley suggested regular meetings to identify StoryMap objectives and strategies. She invited Tanner Timothy, Kwantlen First Nation GIS Analyst and Derrick Mitchell, KLRS Chief Operating Officer to join in these conversations.

The research team's group-effort helped clarify sensitive information and borders drawn on colonial maps and extended the scope of the StoryMap project to include a more detailed and descriptive account of Kwantlen First Nation historical presence. Tumia, Ashley, Tanner, and Derrick have contributed time, energy and intellectual property. The following outlines the process of constructing the StoryMap and how each co-producer contributed.

Mapping Methods

The project began with a chronological approach that divided the StoryMap into six major Sections: *Introduction to Kwantlen First Nation*, *Kwantlen First Nation Occupation*, *Settler Encounters*, *Colonial Reserve Period*, *Federal Reserve Period* and *Reserve Land Impacts*. The *Introduction to Kwantlen First Nation*, and *Settler Encounters* Sections provided context for the StoryMap timeline, details of which are discussed (Section 6.6.1 and 6.6.3). *Kwantlen First Nation Occupation* showed the earliest evidence of Kwantlen First Nation presence on the landscape (Section 6.6.2). *Colonial Reserve Period* and *Federal Reserve Period* provided an overview of Kwantlen First Nation reserve designations and forced reductions throughout time (Section 6.6.4). Lastly, *Reserve Land Impacts* presented the government transactions that have produced a legacy of challenges for reserve land development (Section 6.6.5).

Raw GIS data was categorized as either sharable (e.g., settlement sites) and sensitive (e.g., sacred sites), allowing maps to be developed according to the data's sensitivity. In some instances, the GIS data was converted from polygon into point form to show extensivity while maintaining protection (ex, heatmap of cultural sites). KTKP data included ethnographic and archival data that provided colonial perspectives of the land as well as Kwantlen First Nation perspectives, supported by narratives, maps, and survey records. Additionally, data included evidence of Kwantlen First Nation resistance to colonial interference presented through testimony and petitions. Altogether data for the StoryMap was synthesized and organized according to a timeline to communicate the complex entanglements between Kwantlen First Nation and colonial/federal actors.

6.5.2 Product and Outcome - Kwantlen First Nation Occupation, Dispossession and Resistance in the Lower Fraser River Valley

This counter-mapping project has supported Kwantlen First Nation's reclamation strategies by including their perspectives, language, ceremony, and significant sites, all which contribute to representing the community's ongoing connection to land. The next section outlines the various contributions of the research team that led to a richer account of this history. It provides details on how past community-driven research may have utility in re-storying research to benefit Indigenous (re)assertions to traditional territory.

StoryMap Section I: Introduction

The StoryMap *Introduction* situates Kwantlen First Nation in the Lower Fraser River Valley. Imagery of a respected Elder giving thanks to the Fraser River during the First Salmon ceremony, and an embedded audio-clip of a Kwantlen First Nation drum song grounds the reader within the community and their lands. According to Derrick, the combination of imagery, audio, and text, “transported him to the banks of the Fraser River during the ceremony.” Tumia recommended including graphics to communicate significant events, and archaeological evidence demonstrating Kwantlen First Nation’s historical occupation in the region. She identified this as a way of connecting the reader to Kwantlen First Nation’s enduring history. We view this section as important for effectively communicating Kwantlen First Nation perspective to settler society and as a tool for community members to learn more about their history.

StoryMap Section II: Kwantlen First Occupation

StoryMap Section 2 is intended as a tool for connecting the community and its neighbors with the Traditional Laws of *Generations* and *Understanding*. The maps display areas of importance in the Halq’emeylem language, which communicates the community’s historical and ongoing connection to their territory. This component of the StoryMap provides accessible and engaging visualisations of the knowledge held within the community and synthesized in KTKP documents. It is useful for building *understanding* within the community and settler-society.

This Section introduces the reader to available data on Kwantlen First Nation history prior to, and during, early contact with European settlers. Three significant maps were developed: the *Kwantlen First Nation Traditional Territory Map*, the *Kwantlen Settlement Map*, and the *Cultural Heritage Site Map*. The *Kwantlen First Nation Traditional Territory Map* shows the vast extent of territory used prior to European contact. Although a large majority of the territory is still used by Kwantlen First Nation, the ability of the community to economically benefit from this land is limited. This map includes a layer that shows the remaining reserve land-base under Kwantlen First Nation authority today. Although the territory is shared with many other Indigenous Nations this map was created to show the far-reaching land-base of Kwantlen. The *Kwantlen Settlement Map* illustrates the locations and significance of historical settlement sites and transportation routes. This map was developed using Halq’emeylem placenames for sites, to bring value to the community and as a “way of re-storying these places” stated Ashley. The development of the *Cultural Heritage Site Map* resulted from research team discussions which identified the community’s desire to produce a map conveying traditional use of the territory. This map

includes cultural heritage information such as traditional gathering sites, hunting areas, fishing locations, sacred sites, settlement sites, and transportation routes. Tanner recommended that this map be developed using a heatmap format to protect sensitive information.

StoryMap Section III: Settler Encounters

Jessica felt that it was necessary to provide additional context for significant events that have occurred with respect to Kwantlen First Nation's interaction with settlers. This section visualizes four major points of encounter between the community and settlers: smallpox epidemic, unceded lands, the establishment of Fort Langley, and the Indian Reserve System. Each of these events had a significant impact on the community's well-being and access to lands and resources.

StoryMap Section IV & V: Colonial Reserve Period & Federal Reserve Period

The next two sections of the StoryMap discuss Kwantlen First Nation Reserve lands. Data was gathered from two major reports from KTKP: the *Colonial Reserve Report*, and the *Federal Reserve Report*. Jessica created various maps that showcase how, where, and by whom Kwantlen First Nation reserve lands were allocated, reduced, and eliminated. Embedded imagery and text related to Kwantlen First Nation petitions and testimony of State Government interference and territorial encroachment support the content of these maps.

We believe that this section will be important for connecting the community to the longstanding experiences with colonial mapmaking. It will support efforts to gain *understanding* of the ways in which Kwantlen First Nation leadership have resisted colonial authority over their homelands and to connect past *generations* to the current community. Tumia underlined these sections' usefulness in communicating the inconsistent nature of colonial and federal decision-making in the Lower Fraser River Valley. Similarly, Tanner highlighted how this section may be a powerful way for the community to understand the power behind mapping. He stated that "this is an important exercise for bringing awareness to how the 'Master's tools' [colonial mapmaking] have been used against the community." Additionally, Ashley mentioned how, "it's surprising to me how throughout history how Kwantlen reserve lands have been resurveyed so many times by the government."

StoryMap Section VI: Reserve Land Impacts

The final StoryMap Section communicates the more recent impacts that have occurred on the remaining reserve land-base. Impacts included railways, roads, highways, pipelines, and historic land-leases. The fragmentation of the landscape and concentration of contaminated sites has caused substantial degradation to the remaining reserve land-base. This Section sought to communicate the legacy of ongoing colonial activities. Kwantlen First Nation will be pursuing various land claims and this Section should provide an effective tool for enhancing the communication of the specific interferences on reserve lands.

6.6 Challenges and Lessons Learned

While overall this research has been a very positive experience, there have been some challenges along the way, especially with respect to the geographic distance between the primary author's home base in Montreal, far from the community. These challenges were partly overcome by regular (and costly) travel to the community. In addition, lack of data presented a substantial challenge to the research. Although the data consolidated on Kwantlen First Nation history is useful for locating settlements, it was entirely produced by colonial and government agents and surveyors, and therefore reproduces highly politicized colonial perspectives and objectives. Kwantlen First Nation has not undertaken their own Traditional Use Study (TUS) as of yet due to various challenges.

We emphasize that research can provide meaningful outcomes when attention and time are spent on co-creation of objectives and processes. Trust has been an important element of this project; this was particularly important because sensitive data was shared between community partners and researchers. Likewise, ongoing communication has been useful in clarifying objectives and the accuracy of information visualized in the StoryMap. The work has benefitted from an iterative review process, which allowed for enhanced involvement of contributors.

6.7 Discussion

Counter-mapping projects provide a tool for advancing of decolonizing efforts. The inclusion of Indigenous language and placenames is a powerful method of communicating the significance of locations to communities (Smith, 2009). Traditional naming also serves as an exercise in correcting Western designations of these places, emphasizing the history, identity, and tenure of these places (McGurk and Caquard, 2020). Analyzing colonial mapping practices and the absence of, or marginalized presence of Indigenous occupation and land-use contributes to

building understanding of how mapping has been used to rearrange and reimagine Indigenous lands and lives.

This article has sought to highlight the value of reconciliation research. Respectful relationships underpinned our research objectives, approaches and processes. Following customary cultural protocols and Traditional Laws, we maintained relational accountability throughout the research (Wilson, 2008). Recognizing our individual strengths and been open and aware of the value of different perspectives has provided a holistic reflexivity to our group-work. We believe that these elements assisted in producing tangible benefits for the community that will live beyond the research itself. As Indigenous communities across Canada strive to regain and reclaim their cultures, languages, traditional practices, and connections to land, partners can provide material support and research labor that contribute to ongoing decolonization efforts (Hunt and Leeuw, 2017).

Ultimately, we view this project as an exercise in reconciliation research in action (Wilson, 2020). Our commitment to following Indigenous research paradigms focused on relationships and attention to community needs has resulted in the development of an ArcGIS StoryMap that has longevity. As storytelling remains an important part of Indigenous cultures (McIvor 2010; Dawson et al., 2017), digital visualization, such as StoryMaps, can be powerful tools in sharing stories of occupation, dispossession, and resistance more broadly.

6.8 Conclusion

We document here the efforts of a research partnership to support the aspirations of an Indigenous community to enhance awareness of their located history and the significance of their connections to their lands. Through early engagement with customary cultural protocols, we sought to respond to Indigenous research paradigms. Throughout the research process, we have attempted to centre our relational approach and engage an iterative research process that was sufficiently flexible to accommodate the ongoing inputs of researchers and community contributors while also allowing the project to advance and meet expected timelines for completion. Based on our experience, we believe ArcGIS StoryMaps hold potential as a tool for advancing decolonizing efforts. Previous community-driven research can be re-storied through traditional naming and using evidence of Indigenous resistance to colonial encroachment. In short, a commitment to relational research, combined with the technological capacity of ArcGIS StoryMaps, has the potential to produce research that is meaningful and beneficial to both Indigenous communities' partners and researchers.

Chapter 7 – CONCLUSION

Urban spaces in settler-colonial contexts, such as Canada, present particular obstacles for Indigenous communities (re)asserting their connection to territory. Almost 250 years of Indigenous resistance requires a community-centred perspective that sheds light on the visibility of Indigenous governance and diplomacy enacted on-the-ground. Exploring Indigenous life projects in encounters with settler society highlights the agency and resilience of Indigenous peoples. Cultural edges as sites of encounter and interaction have been and continue to be availed of by Indigenous peoples as spaces where Indigenous life projects can be realized, through the negotiation of a greater role for indigenous partners in decisions about lands and resources.

With this research, I have attempted to show the complex strategies used by one particular Indigenous community to (re)assert their connections to territory. Central to this is a balancing between Indigenous inner strengthening work realized through cultural reclamation and external efforts to establish equitable relationships with neighbors. The experience of Kwantlen supports how cultural reclamation can provide healing, strength, and influence politics by creating the conditions for transforming settler structures. Their efforts affirm cultural reclamation as a powerful mechanism for reshaping and reframing naturalizations of settler-colonial urban contexts. Cultural reclamation is shown to extend to research itself as, Indigenous connections to territory are represented through digital mapping technology, re-storying past research and uncovering historically significant places and events. In doing so, this research demonstrates the power of stories to reimagine the cityscape as an Indigenous place where Indigenous presence is ongoing and flourishing.

I hope I have provided some new understanding for the ways that research, when focused on relationality, can contribute meaningful outcomes for Indigenous communities and respect stories of resilience. I am honored to carry this story and have come away with a deeper understanding of my cultural connection and practices. I believe research that is co-designed with Indigenous communities, will also be respectful to their interests and fulfill their needs. In this way, research that privileges stories of Indigenous resistance and resurgence will support their (re)assertions of territory.

7.1 Main findings

(a) Indigenous resurgence through place-based cultural reclamation

My research has identified key strategies of Indigenous resurgence that have resulted in individual and collective healing for the Kwantlen First Nation. These have included: reclamation of traditional name; (2) reclamation of traditional teachings; and (3) reclamation of traditional governance structures. These strategies are interconnected and serve to further ground Kwantlen in their ancestral homeland.

(b) Indigenous resistance through enacting resurgence

Through the exploratory research with Kwantlen, Indigenous resurgence is shown to influence and support Indigenous resistance strategies. Indigenous resurgence can shape and inform renewed interactions of Indigenous communities with intergovernmental agencies. The negotiation of such partnerships through strategies that extend to the sharing of customary cultural protocols – Indigenous laws, songs, and art – are performative acts of resistance. This seeking to build mutual understanding and reciprocity are foundational to culturally grounded diplomacy. Seeking ‘good-relationships’ based on respect, listening, commitment and consistency are integral to Kwantlen efforts to build partnership.

(c) research that follows a relational approach can contribute to Indigenous resistance and resurgence

Relational research focused on co-design and co-production with Indigenous community partners is well placed to align with community interests and needs. This approach extends to engaging with past community-driven research as a valuable starting point for engaging efforts re-story connections to traditional territory. Iterative processes hold much promise in research partnership contexts as they respect limited time commitments and allow for enhanced involvement of all partners in the research process.

7.2 Limitations and strengths of research

A limitation of the current research has been the availability of data and information that reflects Indigenous perspectives, histories and spatialities. The construction of the ArcGIS StoryMap availed of archival and historical data commissioned and collected under the colonial gaze. W the KTKP research project was comprehensive, there was limited data that spoke to Kwantlen First Nation perspective. It is hoped that when Kwantlen First Nation undertake their own TUS, the StoryMap will be edited and enriched by data that addresses this limitation.

Some of the strengths of this research include our commitment to fulfilling customary cultural protocols and the enrichment that I have personally experienced as a result of this project. This research has greatly strengthened my reconnection with my community and supported my

immersion in cultural practices. A particular highlight for me was sockeye salmon fishing on the Fraser River. Connecting to the Fraser River through fishing for sockeye reconnects me to important places as well as to my ancestors of past generations. Being able to bring these fish back and share them with my family was especially meaningful. When I was a child, my grandmother would always provide my family with canned sockeye. When she passed, our family lost our connection to the fish we so deeply love. This act of providing for and sharing with my family through sockeye is something special that I will carry with me.

7.3 Future research and final thoughts

In terms of future research, my findings and conclusions would greatly benefit from an in-depth ethnographic oral history project involving Kwantlen First Nation knowledge keepers. This could be integrated to the ArcGIS StoryMap to provide a more thorough understanding of Kwantlen First Nation place-based connections. Recording the voices of community members speaking about significant sites, on the land, would also enrich the StoryMap, although protocols for the sharing of sensitive information would need to be carefully established.

My experience writing this thesis from the vantage point of my community has been transformative at a personal level. To convey a sense of the power of this for me, I would like to end with a story written by Stó:lô author Lee Maracle. I came across this story in the final days of writing my thesis and feel it speaks to my own experience while leaving room for other interpretations. It goes:

A mouse had long lived in terror of the eagle, who was always trying to catch and eat him. The eagle could see great distances but not great detail at close range, and that was what had allowed the mouse to survive thus far though the odds were against him. To avoid being eaten, the mouse lived close to or under the ground; he was forced to dig holes and live mostly in tunnels, so that his knowledge of the outer world was greatly limited -- but the close-up world he knew he knew intimately. Still he yearned to see more of the world, and that was why he jumped as high as he could, but he could only get so far off the ground and then always fell back to earth. One day the mouse was cornered by the eagle. He knew that he was about to die and agreed to sacrifice his life and be eaten if the eagle would only take him high, high up so that he could see the world from that broader perspective before his life ended. The eagle assented to the mouse's last request. But when the eagle flew up with the mouse in its talons, the mouse was transformed into a second eagle, and became the mate of the first eagle. Their offspring -- present day eagles -- thus know both eagle and mouse medicine. They can see even small details from a great distance. Although they soar through the air, they still know and are connected to the ground. -- Stó:lô author, Lee Maracle as quoted by Freeman (2010), p.xix

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Annex

Figure 1 – Back of boat on the Fraser River

Figure 2 – Kwantlen First Nation community member looks on at the gillnet.



Figure 3 – Sun peaking through the horizon on the Fraser River.

Figure 4 – View from the back of the fishing boat.



Figure 5 – Gillnet all wrapped up.

Figure 6 – Container full of fresh Sockeye salmon.



Figure 7 – Land at my family’s farm Derby reach

Figure 8 – Great Great Grandfather Alexander’s house at Derby Reach.





Figure 9 – My Aunty with a Sockeye Salmon.

Figure 10 – Sockeye Salmon being prepared for dinner.





Figure 11 – Canned Sockeye Salmon.

Figure 12 – Learning how to can Sockeye Salmon.



Figure 13 – Elder holding a giant Spring Salmon.

Figure 14 – Great Aunt Donna celebrating her birthday.

Figure 15 – Vacuum sealed Sockeye Salmon filet.



Figure 16 – Indigenous language educator at her work- place.

Figure 17 – Kwantlen First Nation tapestry.

Figure 18 – Henqeminem language chart.



Figure 19 – Stave West welcoming sign.

Figure 20 – Close-up of sign.





Figure 21 – Chief Marilyn and Gabriel with Doug Donaldson

Figure 22 – Kwantlen First Nation leadership enacting cultural diplomacy.





Figure 23 – Chief Marilyn Gabriel performing a welcoming ceremony at the Alouette River Management Society partnership

Figure 24 – Chief Marilyn Gabriel signing MOU to return salmon to Alouette Rivershed

Figure 25 – Kwantlen First Nation performing customary cultural protocols in partnership development.





Figure 26 – Learning how to can Sockeye.

Figure 27 – selfie with a Kwantlen youth.



Figure 28 – View of the Fraser River from the fishing boat.

Figure 29 – Selfie with Kwantlen First Nation Elder and community members with vacuumed Sockeye.



Figure 30 – Photo of an eagle nest at Alouette River Watershed.

