



2020 Survey of Canadians

REPORT 4: INDIGENOUS – NON-INDIGENOUS RELATIONS

Final Report

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Introduction

Background

Strains within the Canadian federation are nothing new. For over 150 years, questions have been raised about the fairness of the country's federal system of government, whether viewed in terms of the balancing of diverse provincial and territorial interests in national decision-making, the equitable sharing of the country's wealth and resources, or the respectful treatment of different cultures and peoples.

In the last few months of 2019 and the first few of 2020, a number of familiar fissures widened. The October 2019 federal election resulted in a government caucus and cabinet with no representatives from Saskatchewan and Alberta; an official opposition that was all but shut out in central Canada's two metropolises; and a resurgent Bloc Québécois as the third largest party in the House of Commons. This, combined with the lingering economic crisis affecting the oil and gas industry, and related frustrations about the slow progress in pipeline construction and a perceived disproportionate focus on climate change mitigation, fueled suspicion among many Albertans in particular that the federal system was rigged against their province's interests.

By the start of 2020, discontent was growing among a number of First Nations as well. The autumn election campaign featured discussion of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and the B.C. government adopted legislation implementing UNDRIP at the end of 2019. But this did little to forestall new conflict early in 2020 over plans to complete construction of a natural gas pipeline through the traditional territories of the Wet'suwet'en Nation. When the police attempted to dismantle a blockade erected in Wet'suwet'en territory, other First Nations and their supporters established their own blockades of railway lines in other parts of Canada, disrupting the movement of passengers and goods for several weeks. This served to highlight conflicting

interpretations within Canada of what exactly was required to advance reconciliation between the country's Indigenous Peoples and other Canadians.

It was against this backdrop that the Confederation of Tomorrow 2020 Survey of Canadians was conducted early in the year. The survey builds on the Confederation of Tomorrow 2019 Survey, conducted roughly 12 months earlier, by exploring the attitudes of Canadians toward the practice of federalism and their federal community. The study was conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research, in partnership with four leading public policy organizations across the country: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, the Canada West Foundation, the Centre D'Analyse Politique – Constitution et Fédéralisme, and the Brian Mulroney Institute of Government at Saint Francis Xavier University.

The 2020 study consists of a national public opinion survey of 5,152 Canadians (ages 18 and over) conducted online (in the provinces) and by telephone (in the territories) between January 13 and February 20, 2020. This sample included 603 individuals who identified as First Nations, Métis or Inuk (Inuit). Most responses were collected in the last week of January, prior to the escalation of the conflict over pipeline construction through Wet'suwet'en territory into a national crisis and, even more importantly, prior to the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic to Canada.

The survey sample was stratified to provide for meaningful representation in all 13 provinces and territories, as well as the country's Indigenous Peoples (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit). Results are weighted by several factors, including age, gender, region, home language, immigration status and Indigenous identity, to provide results that are representative of the Canadian population as a whole (margin of sampling error is not an applicable metric in surveys such as this one that relies on a non-probability sample).

About this report

This report is the fourth in a series that presents the results of this research. This report focuses on opinions about relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians, including reconciliation, expanded Indigenous representation in federal institutions, and Indigenous control over resource development on its traditional territories.

For three of the questions included in the survey, additional data were collected later in the year to provide a more current picture of Canadian public opinion:

- A question about control over development on Indigenous lands was repeated on an Institute survey conducted online, in partnership with Vancity (*A Better Canada: Values and Priorities after COVID-19*), with 3,008 Canadians between August 17 and 24, 2020.
- Two questions (one about relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, the other about the role of governments in reconciliation) were included (as commissioned research) on an online survey conducted by Environics Research with 2,023 Canadians between September 11 and 18, 2020.

All of the reports in this Confederation of Tomorrow series are available at www.environicsinstitute.org, along with detailed data tables that provide the results of each survey question across a range of regional, demographic and identity subgroups. All results are presented as percentages unless otherwise noted.

Technical note: Data for the three territories

In order to better present the survey results for each individual territory and for the North as a region, the survey sample for the three territories was weighted separately on the basis of gender, age, territory, education and Indigenous identity. When the results for the territories are combined with those for the provinces, the national survey weighting is used; however, results for individual territories or the North, when shown separately, are generated using the territorial weighting. This same territorial weighting was applied to data from the 2019 survey. Readers should note that, for this reason, territorial results for 2019 in this report may differ slightly from those found in the 2019 survey reports. This version should be treated as more authoritative.

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible with the support of a number of organizations and individuals. The Environics Institute would like to thank all of its partners on the project, and in particular Keith Neuman (Environics Institute) and Charles Breton (IRPP) for their assistance with question wording and methodology. The study partners would like to acknowledge the contributions of Darcy Zwetko and Rick Lyster at Elemental Data Collection Inc., and Steve Otto and Cathy McKim for their excellent work in the final report production. Finally, much appreciation is expressed to the 5,152 Canadians who took the time to share their perspectives on the Confederation of Tomorrow.

Executive Summary

How do Canadians view relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in their country today? How has this changed over the year, and how do perspectives compare across the country and among groups within the population? On the issues covered in this survey, there is little public consensus – opinions are spread among those with a more pro-Indigenous perspective, those with an opposite view, and those who have no clear opinion either way.

On balance, however, Canadians express dissatisfaction with the status quo, and voice support for more actions to address outstanding issues facing Indigenous Peoples, such as representation in federal institutions and control over traditional lands. Moreover, this perspective has solidified over the course of the year, as the country has become more cognizant of its legacy and current reality of racism directed at Indigenous Peoples and others.

Current state of relations

Canadians are divided in their assessment of current relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people, and opinions have become more negative about the state of such relations between January and September of this year. This change may well be the result of the blockade in Wet'suwet'en territory early in the year, as well as emergence of racism as a major issue (sparked initially by events in the U.S. this spring, and then quickly spreading into Canada). Notably, Indigenous and non-Indigenous people share a similar view of the current state of relations between their communities, although the former are more likely to express a definitive view (both positive and negative), while the latter are less apt to have a clear opinion.

Reconciliation

Canadians are more likely to believe their governments have not gone far enough – as opposed to having gone too far – in terms of advancing reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, and this view has strengthened throughout the year. A majority agrees that individuals like themselves also have a role to play in bringing about reconciliation; those holding

this view outnumber those who disagree by a three-to-one margin. On this question, however, Canadians express greater uncertainty than a year ago, possibly due to growing awareness of the systemic basis of anti-Indigenous racism and what this might mean for individuals who want to make a difference in addressing it.

Despite the public's generally negative view of current relations and government inaction, Canadians are more optimistic than pessimistic about the prospects for meaningful progress toward reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples in their lifetime. And it is Indigenous Peoples themselves who are the most positive (they are twice as likely as non-Indigenous people to say they are very optimistic about such progress). Optimism about the future is also most evident among Canadians under 35 years of age.

Indigenous representation in federal institutions

By a two-to-one margin, Canadians support new measures to ensure Indigenous representation in federal institutions, including a seat in the federal cabinet, a representative at all First Ministers meetings, and additional seats in the House of Commons. Such support is evident across the country, but is most widespread in Quebec and least so in Saskatchewan.

Control over development on Indigenous lands

Among the many unresolved issues with Indigenous Peoples, the most contentious may be control over development on traditional lands. This has been at the centre of conflict since the beginning of colonization, and continues to the present day with the blockade in Wet'suwet'en territory in opposition to pipeline development.

While the resolution of such conflicts awaits legal and political solutions, Canadian public opinion is clearly on side with Indigenous interests. Two-thirds believe that Indigenous communities should have the final say in resource development on their traditional lands, compared

with only one in four who disagrees. Moreover, such support has solidified between January and August of this year, indicating that the blockade controversy earlier in the year has not dampened public support for Indigenous control over traditional lands.

Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives

On many of the questions covered in this report, there are some differences in the degree of certainty expressed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people: Indigenous Peoples are often more strongly in agreement or disagreement with a given proposition, and non-Indigenous people are often more unsure. But what is more striking is that the two groups do not find themselves on opposite sides of the issue. For example, only a minority of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people say that governments have gone too far to try to advance reconciliation; and majorities within both groups agree that there should not be natural resources development on Indigenous land unless the Indigenous community that lives there agrees.

Current relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians

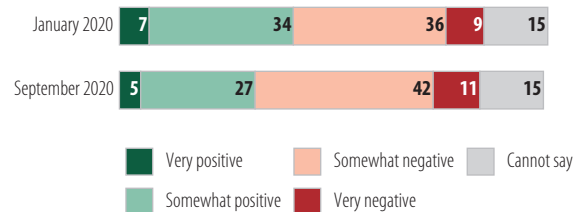
Canadians are divided in their view of relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people, and opinions have shifted in a negative direction between January and September of this year. Indigenous and non-Indigenous perspectives are notably similar.

How do Canadians as a whole describe relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people in this country today? Public opinion is divided, but has worsened over the year. In January, opinions were largely split with four in ten (41%) describing relations as very or somewhat positive, compared with 45 percent who said they are somewhat or very negative; the remaining one in six (15%) could not say either way. In September, the proportion describing relations as positive declined to 32 percent (down 9 percentage points), with negative sentiment rising to 53 percent (up 8). Notably, few Canadians express strong views either way, with no more than one in ten describing relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people as either very positive or very negative.

This worsening view of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people is apparent in every region of the country, with the smallest decline in Manitoba and

Current state of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people

January – September 2020



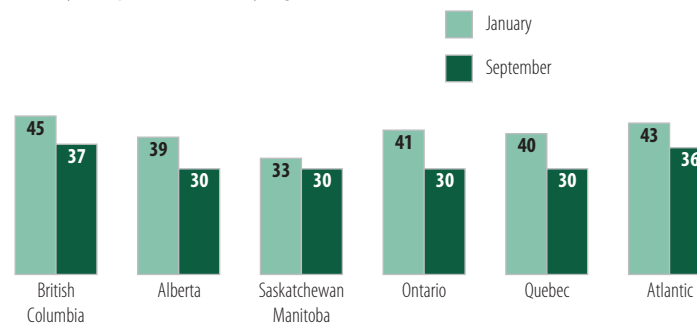
Q.34

Would you describe the current relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people in Canada today as very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative?

Saskatchewan (30%, down 3 points) where opinions were already the least positive. Perspectives on this question are now similar across Canada, with more positive views expressed in B.C. (37%) and Atlantic Canada (36%), compared with 30 percent elsewhere.¹

Relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people are positive

January – September 2020, By region



Q.34

Would you describe the current relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people in Canada today as very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative?

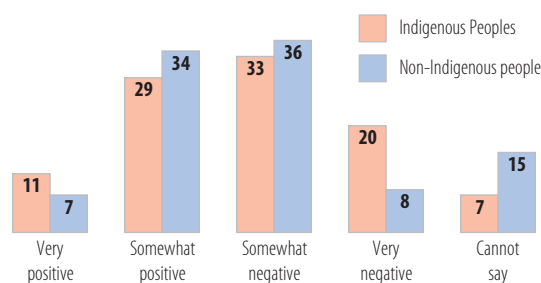
¹ The territories were not included in the September survey, so a comparison for this region is not available.

Notably, responses to this question in January were very similar between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people; in both cases, four in ten described relations as very or somewhat positive, with Indigenous people more likely to say they are very positive or very negative.² Non-Indigenous people, not surprisingly, were twice as likely to have no clear opinion to offer. Among Indigenous Peoples, a positive view of relations is least evident among those who identify as Métis (34% positive, versus 62% negative), and are residents of small towns and rural areas (38%, versus 55%). In contrast, Indigenous people living on-reserve express the most positive sentiments (60% positive, versus 34% negative).³

Opinions about relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians do not vary noticeably across gender, age groups, or by education or household income (although people with less education are more apt to offer no response to the question). First generation Canadians (those born in another country) are most likely to describe relations as positive (49%, versus 38% who say negative), especially those who have been in Canada less than 20 years (55%, versus 31%).⁴

Current state of relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people

January 2020



Q.34.

Would you describe the current relations between Indigenous Peoples and non-Indigenous people in Canada today as very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative?

² These results are based on the January 2020 survey, which included an oversample of Indigenous respondents. The September survey sample did not include a sufficient number of Indigenous respondents to support an analysis.

³ It should be noted that the Indigenous on-reserve sample is relatively small (n=74), so the precision of results for this group is less than that for other subgroups identified.

⁴ These results are also based on the January survey.

Reconciliation and the future

Canadians are mixed in their view of whether governments have done enough or gone too far to advance reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. But a majority believes that individuals like themselves have a role to play in advancing this goal, and are optimistic that progress can be made in their lifetimes.

Role of governments

The principle of reconciliation between Indigenous Peoples and Canada was brought to the forefront by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which in 2015 issued a final report that includes 94 Calls to Action. Many of these actions are directed at concrete steps that governments need to take to make reconciliation a reality in Canada.

How do Canadians view the actions of their governments in advancing reconciliation between Indigenous Peoples and other Canadians? As with other questions in this survey, there is no consensus.

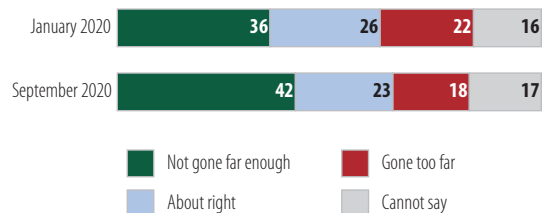
In January, a small plurality (36%) said that governments have not gone far enough in taking steps to realize reconciliation, compared with 22 percent who took the opposite view (that governments have gone too far). The remainder felt the actions or progress made by governments have been about right (26%) or had no clear opinion to offer (16%).

Views on this question have shifted noticeably over the course of the year, likely in response to the growing attention on racism against racialized and Indigenous people in Canada, as well as the USA. In September, an increasing proportion (42%) expressed the view that governments have not done enough to advance reconciliation (up 6 points from January), with fewer (18%) now saying that governments have gone too far.

This trend toward seeing governments as not doing enough is evident across the country, and is most pronounced in B.C. (41%, up 11 percentage points since January) and Quebec

Have governments done enough to achieve reconciliation?

January – September 2020



Q.36.

In your opinion, have governments in Canada gone too far, or have they not gone far enough in trying to advance reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples?

(46%, up 9). Canadians now say governments not doing enough versus too much by a margin of at least two-to-one in all regions, except in the Prairie provinces where the balance is tilted slightly in the other direction (29% not far enough, versus 34% too far).

Not surprisingly, dissatisfaction with too little government progress on reconciliation is most widespread among Indigenous Peoples, with six in ten (63%) saying governments have not gone far enough, compared with 14 percent who believe they have gone too far. This sentiment is especially pronounced among those who are First Nation (70%, versus 9%). Thus while only a minority of both Indigenous (14%) and non-Indigenous people (23%) think that governments have gone too far in trying to achieve reconciliation, there is a considerable gap in the proportions (63% and 34%, respectively) that think they have not gone far enough.⁵

Across the population, dissatisfaction with the lack of government progress on reconciliation is most pronounced among Canadians under 35 years of age (42%, versus 20% who say they have done too much), in comparison with those ages 45 and older (32%, versus 24%).

⁵ These results are drawn from the January 2020 survey.

Role of individual Canadians

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission's 94 Calls to Action also identified ways in which Canadians as individuals can become active participants in the process of reconciliation. To what extent do Canadians embrace this role?

More than half (55%) of those surveyed say they believe individual Canadians have a role to play in efforts to bring about reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in this country, of which 38 percent feel strongly about this. Fewer than a third as many (17%) take the opposite view, that individuals do not have such a role (10% of which feel strongly in their opinion). This three-to-one margin notwithstanding, the current results reflect a decline in sentiment from 2019 when 64 percent of Canadians endorsed an active role (44% strongly), compared with 14 percent who took the opposing view.⁶ The proportion choosing not to offer an opinion increased by six points, to 28 percent. This suggests increasing uncertainty among Canadians about what they can or should do as individuals to support the vision of reconciliation.

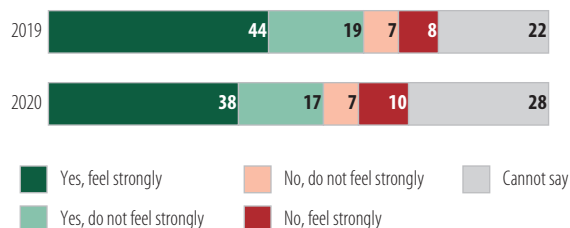
The public sentiment about Canadians' role in reconciliation is generally shared across the country – majorities in all groups agree on this (if not with equal strength). Those who feel *strongly* about this responsibility are most likely to live in the territories (64%), and identify as First Nations (60%) or Métis (56%).

Strong endorsement is also more evident among Canadians 18 to 24 years of age (45%), those with a university degree (43%), and residents of Nova Scotia (43%) or B.C. (41%), while this view is least apt to be shared in Quebec (33%). Notably, in no group does more than one in five express the view that individuals *do not* have a role in reconciliation.

Since 2019, the decline in the proportion that believes Canadians have a role in reconciliation has taken place in all parts of the country, with the notable exception of Alberta.⁷ This shift in opinion since 2019 has taken place almost entirely among non-Indigenous Canadians (with

Do individual Canadians have a role in bringing about reconciliation?

2019 – 2020



Q.38.

Do you believe that individual Canadians do, or do not, have a role to play in efforts to bring about reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples?

those who say individuals have a role declining from 64% to 54%), in contrast with Indigenous Peoples, for whom views have changed very little over this time frame (68%, unchanged since 2019).

⁶ The 2019 results are from the 2019 Confederation of Tomorrow survey, which included the same question.

⁷ This question was also included in two previous surveys conducted by Environics in 2008 and 2016, but the results are not directly comparable because they were conducted as telephone interviews; telephone and online surveys often produce different results because of the nature of respondents' interaction with the survey. Telephone surveys (as interviews) typically elicit more socially desirable responses, while online surveys (which are self-administered) result in a higher proportion not providing any answer to questions. Results from the two previous surveys show a higher proportion endorsing Canadians' role in reconciliation and a much lower percentage not providing any response.

Optimism about the future of reconciliation

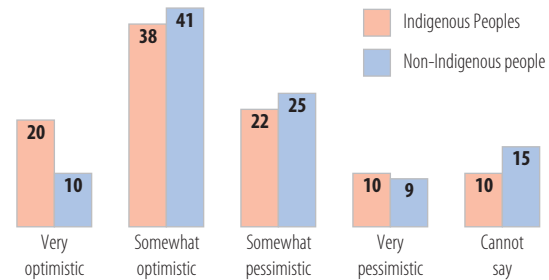
How do Canadians feel about the prospects for meaningful progress on reconciliation? The balance of opinion is positive, but not strongly so. Just over half say they are very (11%) or somewhat (41%) optimistic that there will be meaningful progress on reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in their lifetime, compared with one in three who are somewhat (25%) or very (9%) pessimistic. One in six (15%) do not offer an opinion.

Optimism about progress on reconciliation is somewhat stronger among Indigenous Peoples than other Canadians, especially among Inuit (70% optimistic) and those living on-reserve (79%). This sentiment is also widespread among residents of the territories (68%) (which include a large Indigenous population), as well as among Canadians 18 to 24 years of age (64%), as well as among those who are first generation in the country (59%) and allophones (65%) (these last two groups highly overlap).

This optimistic sentiment is least apt to be shared by residents of Manitoba (46% are optimistic, versus 42% pessimistic) and Saskatchewan (44% versus 43%). As on other questions, the absence of a clear opinion either way is most closely tied to education level; in this case, the proportion that cannot say is almost three times higher among those without a high school diploma (29%) than among those with a university degree (10%).⁸

Prospects for meaningful reconciliation happening in your lifetime

January 2020



Q.39.

Are you very optimistic, somewhat optimistic, somewhat pessimistic, or very pessimistic that there will be meaningful reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in your lifetime?

⁸ This question was included on the 2016 Environics Institute telephone survey of non-Indigenous Canadians, with the results not directly comparable because of the difference in survey mode (see previous footnote). That survey found a much higher proportion expressing optimism (68%) and a much lower percentage offering no opinion (2%); the pessimistic group was only marginally smaller (30%).

Indigenous representation in federal institutions

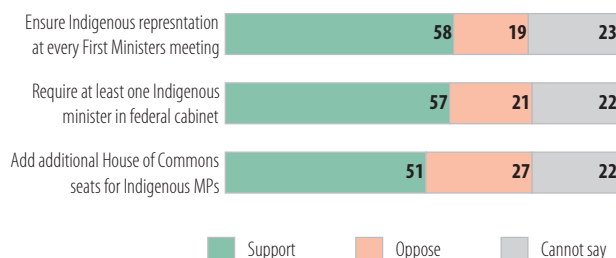
By a two-to-one margin, Canadians express support for new measures that would ensure Indigenous representation in federal institutions, including the federal cabinet, First Ministers meetings, and the House of Commons.

How should Indigenous Peoples be represented in Canada's federal government and related institutions? Over the past decade, Indigenous representation has increased through the political process. In 2015, a record number of 11 Indigenous MPs were elected to the House of Commons, with two being appointed to the federal cabinet. Currently, there are 10 Indigenous MPs (none in cabinet), along with seven Indigenous members of the Canadian Senate. These numbers reflect clear progress over previous governments, but there are no formal requirements or mechanisms in place to ensure Indigenous representation in federal institutions (as there are in some countries like New Zealand). The survey addressed this issue by measuring public support for each of three specific measures for institutionalizing Indigenous representation at senior levels of federal institutions.

INDIGENOUS PARTICIPATION IN FIRST MINISTERS MEETINGS. Close to six in ten (58%) Canadians support a new requirement to invite Indigenous leaders to every meeting of the country's First Ministers, compared with 19 percent who oppose this change, and another 23 percent who offer no opinion. Endorsement of this measure is strongest among Indigenous Peoples (79%) and residents of the three territories (80%; 86% in Nunavut). Across provinces, this view is also more evident among Quebecers (62%) and Ontarians (61%), and less so in Saskatchewan (51%) and British Columbia (50%) – although, even in these provinces, support outweighs opposition by roughly a two-to-one ratio. Public support for Indigenous participation in First Ministers meetings is most widespread among younger Canadians and those with lower household incomes.

Measures to ensure Indigenous representation in federal institutions

January 2020



Q.40a-c.

Currently there are no specific requirements or measures to ensure that Indigenous Peoples are fully represented in the institutions of the federal government. Would you support or oppose each of the following ways in which this representation might be strengthened?

INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATION IN THE FEDERAL CABINET.

A modest majority (57%) of Canadians say they would support a new requirement that there be at least one Indigenous Minister in the federal cabinet. The remainder either opposes such a requirement (21%) or do not offer an opinion either way (22%).¹⁰

Once again, support for this measure is most widespread among Indigenous Peoples (82%, versus 55% of non-Indigenous Canadians), and especially those who are First Nations (85%).

Across the country, support for an institutionalized Indigenous cabinet position is most evident in the territories (73%; especially in Nunavut at 79%). Opinions do not vary significantly by province, but support for this measure is highest in Quebec (59% support, versus 15% oppose) and lowest in Saskatchewan (51%, versus 30%). Endorsement of this measure is also strongest among women (60%, versus 52% among men), Canadians 18 to 24 years of age (64%) and those with household incomes under \$60K (62%).

⁹ These results are roughly comparable to the same question on a previous Environics Institute survey conducted with non-Indigenous Canadians in 2016, in which 76% expressed support, versus 18% who opposed and 5% who offered no opinion. The lower "no opinion" response reflects the fact that the 2016 survey was conducted by telephone, a survey mode that typically results in fewer respondents not offering a clear opinion. This pattern is also evident in other comparisons referenced in this report.

¹⁰ In 2016, the results (by telephone) were 73% support, versus 22% oppose and six percent no opinion.

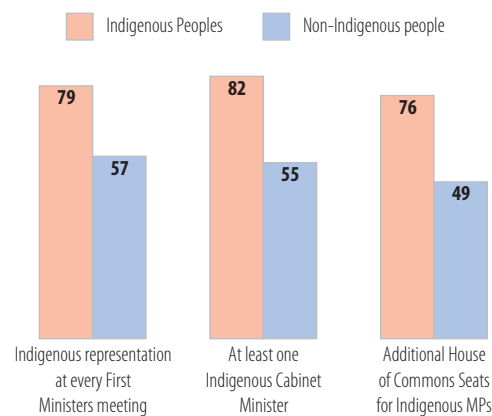
ADDITIONAL INDIGENOUS SEATS IN PARLIAMENT.

Since 1867, New Zealand's Parliament has reserved specific seats designated for Indigenous (Maori) representatives. One in two (51%) Canadians supports adding additional seats to the House of Commons that would be reserved for Indigenous representatives, versus 27 percent who oppose this, and 22 percent who offer no opinion.

As with the other new measures covered, support for this new measure is most widely supported by Indigenous Peoples (76%; 81% First Nations) and those who live in the territories (67%; 77% in Nunavut). As well, support is more evident in Quebec (51%, versus 17% oppose) and least so in Saskatchewan (41%, versus 38%), along with the rest of Western Canada. Similar to the other two measures tested, support is higher among those who are younger and less affluent.

Support measures to ensure Indigenous representation in federal institutions

January 2020



Q.40a-c.

Currently there are no specific requirements or measures to ensure that Indigenous Peoples are fully represented in the institutions of the federal government. Would you support or oppose each of the following ways in which this representation might be strengthened?

Control over development on Indigenous lands

A clear majority of Canadians believe that Indigenous communities should have the final say in resource development on their lands. This view has solidified over the year, indicating that support has not been dampened by the controversy over the blockades in support of the Wet'suwet'en Nation.

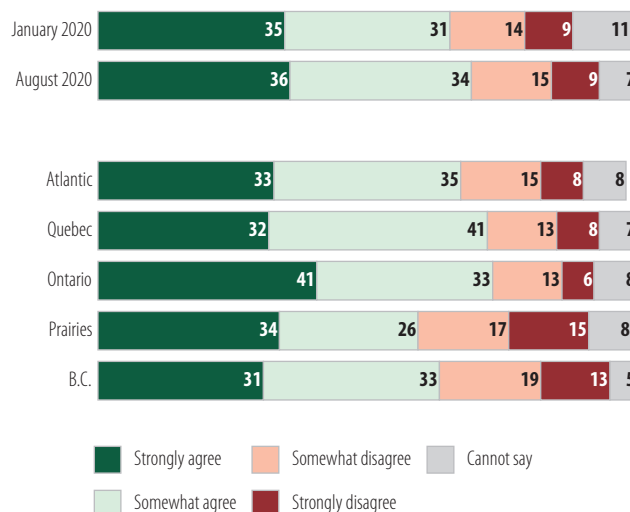
An historic and current flashpoint in Indigenous-non-Indigenous relations is the development of natural resources on the traditional territory of Indigenous Peoples. The Canadian economy was built largely on resource extraction, and this continues to be a major engine of growth (especially in the oil and gas sector). The most recent controversy has been the contested development of a new natural gas pipeline through the traditional territories of the Wet'suwet'en Nation in B.C., leading to blockades in early 2020.

Previous Supreme Court decisions confirmed that governments have a "duty to consult" with Indigenous Peoples before engaging in development on their territories, but there is no clear legislative or regulatory basis upon which to decide whether Indigenous Peoples have a final say in what happens on their territories, or how this final say is to be expressed, resulting in ongoing disagreement and conflict.

In terms of Canadian public opinion, there is a clear preference toward favouring Indigenous rights over development as a matter of principle. In January two-thirds strongly (35%) or somewhat (31%) agreed that "no one should be allowed to develop natural resources on Indigenous land unless the Indigenous community that lives there agrees", compared with fewer than one in four who somewhat (14%) or strongly (9%) disagreed (another one in ten had no opinion either way).

Resource development should not take place on Indigenous lands without Indigenous consent

January – August 2020



Q.22h.

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that No one should be allowed to develop natural resources on Indigenous lands unless the Indigenous community that lives there agrees.

Majorities of both Indigenous (83%) and non-Indigenous (65%) people agree that the consent of the Indigenous community is required in order to proceed with resource development in such cases, but agreement is both higher overall and much stronger in the case of Indigenous Peoples: 64 percent of Indigenous Peoples *strongly* agree, compared to 33 percent of non-Indigenous people.

Given that these results were collected prior to the controversy over the Wet'suwet'en Nation blockade that generated national attention, the question was repeated in August to determine whether or not the blockade and subsequent events may have shifted public opinion. This more recent survey confirms the previous one, with an even larger proportion of Canadians agreeing with the statement (69% agree, versus 24% who disagree). The following analysis is based on the August survey, except where noted.

Support for Indigenous communities' control over resource development on their lands is the majority view across the country, including every province and major demographic group. *Strong* agreement with the statement is most pronounced among Canadians 18 to 24 years of age (61%), as well as among Indigenous Peoples (70%) and residents of the territories (78%).¹¹ A dissenting opinion is most evident among residents of the Prairie provinces (33% somewhat or strongly disagree), B.C. (32%) and PEI (36%). The most divided part of the country on this question is Saskatchewan, where 57 percent agree that Indigenous communities should have the final say about resource development on their lands (of which 32% strongly agree), compared with 37 percent who disagree (of which 20% strongly disagree).

¹¹ Results from Indigenous Peoples and territory residents are from the January 2020 survey, since these groups are not sufficiently represented in the August survey. All other results in this paragraph reference the August 2020 survey.

