



Closing the Circle: Discussing Indigenous Homelessness in Canada

What We Heard at the National Indigenous
Gathering in Winnipeg

October 2019



Acknowledgements

In 2017 the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH), in partnership with Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre (Ma Mawi) and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (SPCW), held a Roundtable on envisioning an end to Indigenous homelessness in Canada. In a move toward closing the circle, participants from the initial roundtable, facilitators from End Homelessness Winnipeg (EWH), and the COH engaged in a second consultation session in October 2019. This gathering, which was referred to as the National Indigenous Gathering, was organized by an advisory group, which consisted of representation from End Homelessness Winnipeg, Siloam Mission, Aboriginal Coalition to End Homelessness Society, the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg and the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness.

Much of the organizing and convening for the meeting was led by Betty Edel, Manager, Prevention at End Homelessness Winnipeg. Betty planned the venue, catering, a group dinner, table facilitators and organized a tour of local services in Winnipeg. Betty also connected with a local Elder, trauma counsellor and a group of people with lived expertise of homelessness who were all invited to participate at the meeting. The organizing of the National Indigenous Gathering was a great success as a result of Betty's leadership.

The COH would also like to thank all of the participants of the Gathering:

Elder: Belinda Vandebroek

Trauma Counsellor: Don Robinson - Winnipeg Regional Health Authority

Facilitators: Betty Edel, Kris Clemens, Lissie Rappaport, Lucille Bruce-End Homelessness Winnipeg

People with Lived Expertise: Austin, Charlotte, Corrine, Crystal, Devin, Josephine Lee, Rachel, Sydney

2019 National Indigenous Gathering Participants: Bernice Kamano-Portland Hotel Society, Cindy Sue McCormack-Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton, Damon Johnston-Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg, Dodie Jordan- Ka Ni Kanichik , Fran Hunt Jinnouchi-Aboriginal Coalition to End Homelessness Society, Joyti Sandhu- Ndinawemaaganag Endaawaad Inc., Karen Watts-Ontario Aboriginal Housing Services, Lenora Moreland-Canadian Mental Health Association, Linda Lavallee-INHS, Lu'ma Native Housing Society, Marcel Swain-Lu'ma Native Housing Society, Mary Pearce-North Bay Indigenous Friendship Centre, Patrick Stewart-Our Voices Indigeneity and Architecture, Samantha Mark-Prairie Wild Consulting, Steve Teekens-Na Me Res, Tina Slauenwhite-Wabano, Sydney Bee-Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs



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The National Indigenous Gathering was made possible by funding from Hub Solutions, a social enterprise embedded within the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH). Income generated from Hub Solutions fee-for-service work is reinvested into the COH to support research, innovation, policy recommendations and knowledge mobilization. Learn more: www.hubsolutions.ca

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How to cite:

Canadian Observatory on Homelessness. (2019). *Closing the Circle: Discussing Indigenous Homelessness in Canada*. What We Heard at the National Indigenous Gathering in Winnipeg. Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press.

ISBN: 9781550146714



Background



In 2017 the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH), in partnership with Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata Centre (Ma Mawi) and the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (SPCW), held a Roundtable on envisioning an end to Indigenous homelessness. Indigenous service providers, advocates, and people with lived experience of homelessness came together to discuss the meaning of Indigenous homelessness and how we might go about defining and measuring its end. Discussions stemming from the roundtable resulted in a range of suggestions and next steps, key themes, and concerns.

Feedback from the Roundtable also revealed that we had misunderstood various Indigenous protocols surrounding the session, which resulted in some participants feeling uncomfortable and less willing to share openly. Further, some participants took issue with the project's aim of ending homelessness. Participants shared that any attempt to "end homelessness" is a Westernized approach, thus incompatible to an Indigenous worldview that encompasses a cycle for all things, rather than a linear or static end point.

The COH has taken time to listen and take heed of this feedback since the initial roundtable. We have taken active steps to better strengthen relationships and co-create welcoming spaces for Indigenous stakeholders. In a move toward closing the circle, participants from the initial roundtable, facilitators from End Homelessness Winnipeg (EWH), and the COH engaged in a second consultation session, the National Indigenous Gathering (the Gathering). Here, the COH played a supporting role to allow for an Indigenous informed and led consultation session that respected protocol reflective of the diversity within Indigenous communities.





Structure of the National Indigenous Gathering

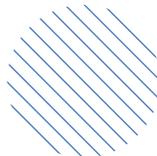
The meeting was held over two days at Wahbung Abinoonjiiag in Winnipeg, Manitoba. EHW crafted a meeting agenda for the consultation which included: a welcome and group introductions; small group work; a tour of local services and supports, and; setting priorities that emerged from the group work. Daily group “check ins” also took place, where participants could share any additional thoughts or ideas that they hadn’t yet contributed.

Day one was dedicated to discussing three key themes and their relevant questions. These included:

- 1. The Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada.**
- 2. Learning about local practices, challenges and solutions.**
- 3. Indigenous housing and homelessness planning and collaboration.**



Care was taken to de-identify any mentioned names to ensure that participants and their stories would be kept confidential in subsequent reports. It is important to note that these discussions were framed around an urban context and may not represent the views or experiences of those in rural or remote communities.





Key Themes



Key Theme 1: Colonization, Racism and Discrimination

Discussions about historic and current experiences of colonization, racism, and discrimination emerged throughout the Gathering. Participants discussed the impact of colonization, racism, and discrimination in the provision of programs and practices, policy development and implementation, funding, and relationships with government in relation to preventing Indigenous homelessness. Participants identified that colonial policies and systems are negatively effecting efforts to address Indigenous homelessness, which has a consequential impact on Indigenous people experiencing homelessness. One participant said:



People are struggling because they're lost from their spirit and disconnected. Not through anything they have done, a lot of people come from child welfare and residential school and have a lot of complex trauma, so they haven't had the chance to get a good start.

The ongoing impact of colonization was identified in several systems-level practices. Participants spoke of the current practices in their communities' homelessness systems, including the implementation of Point-in-Time Counts, assessment tools, and information management systems, such as the Homeless Individuals and Families Information System (HIFIS). One participant noted that these practices do not respect Indigenous worldviews and are not culturally relevant:



Who has control of my data, as an Indigenous organization?"

Relationships with various levels of government were described as occasionally problematic. Participants spoke about the dichotomy around participation in government-led spaces, where Indigenous people are either tokenized or excluded at their local homelessness planning tables (e.g., Community Advisory Boards). While there was acknowledgement of having a place and a voice at a national level, participants noted that it took many years of advocacy and education before a national Indigenous homelessness table was convened. One participant shared:



Sometimes being a service provider for Indigenous people, we're left out of the mainstream table. (Organization name), they started their governance table but once it was set up, they invited us. We decided not to be a part of them, to do it without them. You can't say you are true allies to homelessness when there's a disproportionate amount of Indigenous people experience homelessness. They invited me to join their Board of Directors after they formed. They said '... we don't have any indigenous people at our table, can you join our Board of Directors.' That's tokenism. If you want us at the table, ask us at the beginning. Right from the beginning if you want to create a coalition. It's not a full picture of homelessness if you don't have Indigenous people there.

Some participants shared their approach toward systems change within their communities, and at a broader level, to reflect the needs of Indigenous peoples. For example, advocating for an equitable share of resources and to lead the Indigenous Housing and Homelessness system:



When I think what's working for us, we have an Indigenous owned and led CE (CE stands for Community Entity which is a body that holds the contract for homelessness funding from the government)...That's been a significant empowering process for us because it allows us to have resources the way we see them owned and operated in our community. It allows us to network amongst ourselves, so we're not overshadowed by voices and opinions by people who don't get our community. That's been really helpful for us.



Participants expressed how important it was to have both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people speaking up about Indigenous housing and homelessness issues. Participants expressed that it is important for non-Indigenous people to acknowledge the ongoing impact of colonialism and racism when working with Indigenous communities. They identified that non-Indigenous people need to learn about the experiences and realities of Indigenous homelessness so that they can work on becoming allies and advocates, especially those with power and influence.



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Key Theme 2: Housing (range of supports needed, Indigenous-led housing, culturally respectful housing)

The need for housing and a lack of diversity of housing options was an emerging theme throughout the consultation. Participants noted the lack of diverse types of housing, such as accessible, low-barrier, transitional, and supportive housing, in addition to housing resources such as rent supplements. They shared that there should be equitable allocation of funding and resources for housing and supports for overlapping groups that require specialized attention such as youth, people with disabilities, women fleeing violence, 2SLGBTQ+, etc.

Participants further identified the need for supports that help people live independently and stay housed.

In addition to identifying types of housing structures, participants strongly noted that there was a need for housing that provides culturally relevant supports, policies, and practices that emphasize healing and promote rebuilding identity, spirit, and connection to one's respective Indigenous cultural practices. One participant shared:



“We have different barriers to overcome with ourselves and with the system, always having someone to talk to and go to when you need, always having support. They housed me for 9.5 years. I picked up a lot of stuff I lost before I came to Winnipeg, my arts, my beadwork, I brought that back to life. Opening up spiritually, things that I lost. I’m enjoying myself.”

Participants also discussed successes around housing in local urban communities. Indigenous-led housing programs were lauded by a few of the housing providers who attended the Gathering. Many people voiced a strong desire to have more Indigenous-led housing programs, though it was noted that there may be a lack of capacity for some organizations to take on this initiative.

Key Theme 3: Culturally Relevant Supports

Participants shared the importance of culturally relevant supports for Indigenous communities and individuals in order to gain a sense of belonging, rebuild their identity, and make connections to culture and spirit. The availability of cultural activities and opportunities



must be integrated across all types of supports that are offered, including mental health, substance use, and housing. Participants noted the necessity of having access to resources and/or funding to offer cultural and land-based activities. Participants further held that the availability of culturally and spiritually based supports, and embedding Indigenous knowledge and views, would decolonize current systems and services.



People are struggling because they're lost from their spirit and disconnected. Not through anything they have done, a lot of people come from child welfare and residential school and have a lot of complex trauma, so they haven't had the chance to get a good start. They're looking for something and they're looking for spirituality. My culture and my identity are my foundation.

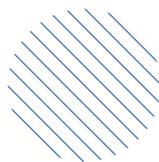
Indeed, throughout the consultation, the inclusion of culturally based supports in achieving successful outcomes among programs' service users was highlighted:



For the guys coming from corrections, generally speaking, mainstream correctional halfway houses, 25% are successful. Our success rate is 50%. What makes it work is the life skills programs, it's culturally based. We have a sweat lodge, land-based activities that are seasonal. We have a garden where they can learn about medicinal plants. It's that aspect of the program that makes it successful.



Participants shared their local and Indigenous-based data collection methodologies, as an alternative to a Westernized or bureaucratic model. These methodologies allow for more culturally relevant tools, including an emphasis on "spirit", resulting in culturally appropriate assessments and results.





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One of the things we're hearing a lot is "Indigenizing". It's a made-up word. If you're going to speak about Indigenizing anything, you better be ready to talk about spirit first. You have to talk about your spirit first if you want to Indigenize anything. Can you see how fast that talk would end in our colonized systems? Forms can be so frustrating. So many emotions go through these people.

...when I did my intake here in (community), my SPDAT was low. I was sent to a Christian organization...I didn't like being put into, getting a 4, he was a priest and he was trying to push their religion on me, and I didn't want to go there. I had no idea that indigenous-run organizations were here.

Key Theme 4: National Coordination and Collaboration

The Gathering identified a strong need for participants to collaborate, share their voices, and collectively advocate for solutions to Indigenous homelessness. They also spoke about working together to support individuals and/or groups that are working with government to inform the direction and development on Indigenous housing and homelessness. Opportunities for partnerships with various community, regional, and provincial-based advocacy groups were discussed, as participants desired coordinated advocacy efforts to impact systems-level change in government and with funders.

Participants believe that building a common language between communities and regions was required for a united voice on Indigenous homelessness issues. Participants emphasized that the role of people with lived or living expertise is a priority for national level advocacy and that Indigenous communities must be involved in the work.

Overall, a key takeaway was the collective desire to leverage learnings from the Gathering and to mobilize together as they continue to move forward.



We need more control, (and to) advocate at national level that there is policy that anything that is Indigenous that there is a body that is representative and will ensure that the engagement process will occur. (We) need to form some of our groups, front line groups need to feed in too.

Everything is so fragmented; coordination needs to be sorted so that people don't fall in cracks because of policies.



Key Theme 5: Indigenous Self-Determination

During the Gathering, Indigenous-led initiatives working toward reducing and addressing Indigenous homelessness were highlighted. Some participants shared their work, underway or completed, in response to colonial approaches to Indigenous homelessness. These stories of Indigenous leadership within communities echo the goals participants shared in the initial roundtable; that Indigenous-led programs, interventions, tools, and capacity development should be rooted in Indigenous cultures and spirituality, but also reflect an understanding of the diversity of Indigenous communities across the country.

Some participants shared how they work collaboratively with Indigenous partners to create culturally appropriate intake or assessment tools informed by Indigenous views, teachings, and methodologies. Participants discussed creating their own Indigenous homelessness definitions and adapting Point-in-Time Counts to reflect an Indigenous worldview. Other participants expressed their success in forming an Indigenous Community Entity and Community Advisory Board to ensure that Indigenous peoples hold and control decision-making roles within such entities.

Indigenous communities expressed frustration with a top-down, Western model – embodied through non-Indigenous led organizations and government agencies. The persistence of colonial systems continues to deny Indigenous self-determination when addressing homelessness and marginalizes respective Indigenous teachings, traditions, practices, and customs. For this reason, participants expressed the necessity of an actualized Indigenous National Housing Strategy to reorient addressing homelessness to the priorities of Indigenous peoples. They acknowledged the commitment made by the Government of Canada to create and execute an Indigenous strategy, but are yet to see any concrete actions taken.



Being open to their ideas and listen to them. How are they going to work with you, if you don't listen to them? The youth...they know what was up. They know the gaps, struggles, barriers and solutions too.

When we talked with people with lived experience, there's a fear base on providing their information. Coordinated Access System, for non-Indigenous communities, fear of being taken to jail or thrown in prison because they're sharing their stories. We need to provide more safe systems. What it comes down to is trust and relationships. When people are looking for help, wherever they're at with their journey, it's always helpful when there's trust and relationships.



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Key Theme 6: Supporting First Nations, Métis and Inuit and Urban Indigenous Homelessness

Some participants spoke about the need to partner with Indigenous distinction-based advocacy groups -- organizations that work specifically to address the needs of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit group(s). The participants saw opportunities to collaborate with these organizations as a means to strengthen their efforts to respond to Indigenous homelessness.



We created our own strategy in (community) for First Nations homelessness, partnered with (national Indigenous organization), to roll out a First Nations strategy here in (urban community) that will influence us in addressing homelessness

Participants voiced the need to support distinction-based groups to enable these organizations to better understand Indigenous homelessness. Distinction-based groups can be engaged specifically to address the concerns of people who migrate from rural communities to urban centres. They highlighted that people who leave their home communities often end up experiencing homelessness, in part, due to the lack of affordable housing.



When they come from on reserve, it's very hard and they face many barriers.

Some participants expressed that Urban Indigenous people should be recognized as a distinction-based group given the high number of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people living in urban areas as compared to reserve communities. One person noted that of the 85% of First Nations people live off reserve, a large percentage can have more complex and costly needs. There is a national group of Indigenous homelessness leaders who have been working with the federal government to accept and support Urban Indigenous people as a fourth distinction group so that resources and funding can be directed to support this need.



Key Theme 7: Funding

Funding, its allocation, and its lack thereof was a common thread throughout the Gathering. Participants were concerned with non-Indigenous led funding decision-making (e.g. government agencies) that is unfamiliar with the needs of Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness. Competitive funding processes are part of a colonial system that further harms Indigenous communities.



They're acting like it's their money and they don't want to give it out. It's not a handout, it's a hand up.

Participants spoke about the lack of resources and funding resulting in competition between organizations. Participants agreed that there is a need to allocate more resources to Indigenous communities. This is key as Indigenous populations are disproportionately over-represented among homeless populations across Canada, but whose communities and organizations are chronically underfunded. Current competitive funding processes must be decolonized to eliminate systemic barriers such that they no longer perpetuate homelessness and housing instability for Indigenous peoples and communities.

To this end, some participants suggested advocating for an Indigenous-specific funding program, rather than accessing a portion of existing funding programs.



There aren't enough resources to deal with the array of needs. The need is outgrowing the resources. We have so many kids in care that are aging out of care but we're not building enough housing.

One example of this is a funding scheme where communities receive a proportional access of housing and homelessness funding based on either the representation of Indigenous persons in their community, or an established agreement with a funder to deliver housing programs.



We signed a 5-year agreement with (Housing Organization) to provide culturally supporting housing to Indigenous women. Our budget reflects the language of what we need. We need the elder, we need the cultural crafts person. That's embedded into our budget.



Themes Requiring Further Exploration

Throughout the two-day consultation process, several concerns were raised by participants. Unfortunately, the limited time period did not allow for a comprehensive discussion of all the themes that emerged. The following section identifies themes that warrant further exploration and discussion.

Equity Seeking Groups

Participants mentioned the need to advocate for the rights of those with intersectional identities, such as Indigenous peoples who identify as 2SLGBTQ+, youth and youth leaving care, and/or those with disabilities. This includes the discrimination that 2SLGBTQ+ individuals face when seeking housing, and/or the lack of accessible housing for people with disabilities, to name a few. Dedicated housing is needed to respond to the experiences of these groups.



(Community organization) helped me a lot. Without them, even they had a hard time looking for housing for me. I have a large family. I'm raising 6 of my kids. It's hard to find accommodations for people with disabilities. I'm aiming to change.

Youth, specifically youth leaving care, were recognized as a group that often flows out of the children's services system and into the homelessness system. Youth would benefit from prevention and early intervention.



Youth coming out of care...have no tools, where to find resources, how to get ID. Get them while they are young so that we don't have any future problems. Teaching them while they are young about resources. They are the future and we should be working with them.

Participants expressed the need to listen to youth to learn about gaps and solutions to housing and homelessness. In addition to engaging youth, participants voiced the importance of engaging people with lived experience in conversations about solutions to homelessness. Participants asserted that Indigenous peoples that have lived and living experience should be central to discussions and decisions about their specific needs and concerns.



Prevention

The topic of prevention was briefly mentioned. While there were no specific conversations about what prevention might look like, some participants shared thoughts that could be further explored such as targeting youth, or the benefit of an unconditional and supportive mentor for young people.



Start with the youngest ones – family, life. Between teenagers and adulthood, we lose all the community stuff—they are still coming into and falling into the cracks.

As a person with lived experience, if it wasn't for mentors who saw something in me, it was that investment that saved my life. If those people weren't here lending a hand when I was kid, I wouldn't have made it.

Defining Indigenous Homelessness

One of the targeted discussions at the Gathering focused on the Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada (Thistle, 2017). Most of the participants felt that this definition was informative but not practical. A few participants of the Gathering, who also make up a national Indigenous group on homelessness, shared that they were working on their own definition for use with funders and government. These participants voiced the need for a definition that is more functional for Indigenous communities. There was general agreement, though, that the definition is an important educational tool for non-Indigenous people to learn about the ways that Indigenous people experience homelessness.



(It's) important to keep highlighting the distinction between Indigenous and non-Indigenous homelessness.

(The Definition of Indigenous Homelessness in Canada) helps us delve deeper into the issues (and the) backdrop of reasons why things are different.





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While participants mentioned that the definition was not practical for Indigenous communities, they agreed it should be used among non-Indigenous communities. They noted that learning is a part of Reconciliation and that the definition could be used for building awareness.



(It's) good to have it for non-Indigenous people to open their minds and help them understand

National Priorities & Commitments

Participants also identified priorities for the next year for both their individual communities and for Indigenous peoples experiencing homelessness across Canada. The following list has been organized thematically, and is not presented in any specific order.

1. Indigenous-led and Self-determination

- a. Ensure that Indigenous representation makes decisions on Indigenous funding/programming (e.g. more Indigenous-led CEs and CABs)
- b. Review intake tools, especially HIFIS and Point-in-Time Count, from a cultural perspective or Indigenous lens
- c. Look at nationally adopted tools (e.g. HIFIS and Point-in-Time Count) to determine how to ensure tools are culturally informed
- d. Explore how to mobilize data and numbers into action plans for housing
- e. Explore concerns regarding data security (e.g. who has control of data in Indigenous vs. non-Indigenous organizations)

2. Equity Seeking Groups

- a. Further explore:
 - Accessibility issues nationally (accessibility standards)
 - Overlapping identities: discrimination/racism facing 2SLGBTQ+ populations
 - Preventing youth homelessness
- b. Advocate for resources to respond to the lack of diverse types of housing (e.g., accessible, low-barrier, transitional, and supportive) and the lack of equitable housing resources for specific groups within Indigenous communities such as youth, people with disabilities, women fleeing violence, and 2SLGBTQ+



3. Funding

- a. Flexible funding (e.g., land-based activities and cultural activities)
- b. Funding for families and to stay together (or friends visiting)
- c. National funding for new and retrofit housing that is reflective of the needs of respective Indigenous cultures (e.g. ventilation for smudging, having low barrier standards)
- d. Ensure that homelessness funding is connected federally
- e. Explore how to access National Housing Strategy funding



4. National Advocacy and Collaboration

- a. Involve people with lived expertise, including at the systems level, to commit to ensuring people with lived expertise are at the table and that everyone's voice is connected when talking about lived expertise
- b. Advocate to change policies that do not match local priorities
- c. Explore opportunities for a First Nations advocate
- d. Get local input to the CABs, CEs, and advocate that these decision-making tables are representative of Indigenous peoples and do not perpetuate tokenism
- e. Advocate for a National Indigenous Housing Strategy
- f. Collaborate with the newly hired National Indigenous Homelessness Coordinator
- g. Explore commitment to re-convene the Gathering 3 times per year

5. Cultural and Holistic Supports

- a. Include culture and knowledge in programs (e.g., taking people outside the city limits, connecting them with their families, sweat lodge excursions)
- b. Create supports that connect physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being (particularly regarding disability) through implementing a holistic rather than individualized response

6. Fostering Indigenous Research and Practices

- a. Respect and implement Indigenous research methodologies, including Indigenous evaluation protocols
- b. Ensure researchers possess core cultural competencies (e.g., knowledge about residential schools, complex trauma, 60s scoop)
- c. Look at best practices as guided by OCAP research principles and continue to work with Indigenous researchers, such as Keepers of the Circle



A Continued Commitment from the Canadian Observatory on Homelessness (COH)

Participants outlined the work and responsibility required of the COH in order to be considered an ally within Indigenous communities. Allyship was discussed as something determined by Indigenous communities, not as a title that organizations grant themselves.



...Someone who calls themselves as an ally isn't an ally, but when the community identifies them as an ally. We recognize them first. Do we want to recognize COH as an ally?

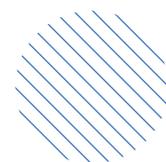
Participants discussed how the COH could improve its relationships with Indigenous communities. The COH is grateful for the opportunity to continue to meet and collaborate with Indigenous communities, and will continuously strive to ensure the work is grounded in protocol that respects the diversity within Indigenous communities.

For example, participants explored the COH's approach to partnership and relationship building, governance and leadership representation, and research strategies. Participants suggested drafting an Indigenous research protocol to guide the COH on ethical compliance when working with Indigenous communities. Participants shared that this document could act as a trust building exercise, set a foundation for building relationships, and ensure that the COH works collaboratively with Indigenous communities in a culturally-informed and culturally-relevant way.

Participants indicated that the COH governance and leadership structure would benefit from increased representation of Indigenous people as advisors and influencers. The participants also recognized the COH's impact on policy change and believed that as a result, the COH should voice the concerns of Indigenous communities to those with power.



...you have an ear...share what we are saying today to change policy

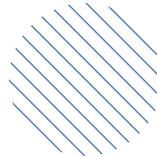




The COH is dedicated to listening to this feedback and will work to improve its approach and practices. Participants emphasized that research must: be influenced by Indigenous communities; reciprocal; reflective of the needs of Indigenous priorities; mutually beneficial and empowering for Indigenous communities, and; respect Indigenous sovereignty.



People come in and ask questions of people but give nothing back.





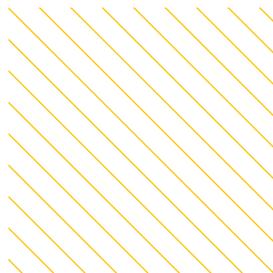
Conclusion and Next Steps

This report highlights the interest and necessity to continue this work nationally. From this consultation, it is clear several gaps in addressing Indigenous homelessness must be revisited from a culturally minded, trauma-informed, and historically-informed perspective.

Moving forward, next steps as prioritized by participants include creating an Indigenous-led network in order to continue the work they have started together. There is excitement to leverage the new National Indigenous Homelessness Coordinator who could support the coordination and collaboration of the group moving forward.

The COH's next steps are to re-evaluate its research practices with Indigenous communities and begin the work around decolonizing homelessness research.

Participants of the Gathering have generously provided the COH with further steps on the long path toward Reconciliation. We are grateful and eager to continue working alongside Indigenous communities toward improving the state of Indigenous homelessness in Canada.





Reference

Thistle, J. (2017.) *Indigenous Definition of Homelessness in Canada*. Toronto: Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press

