"We're here, we're strong"

The Negotiation of Indigenous Cultural Heritage in the Contested Space of Vancouver

Dyone Dedden and Céline Kusters

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Word count	20920
Date	26 June 2019

All photos were taken by us during our fieldwork in Vancouver between 4 February and 12 April 2019.

"You know, learning my language, I feel like, is honouring my culture. Talking about my grandmother who went to Residential School, I feel like, is honouring my culture. Just inspiring young people to keep pursuing what they wanna pursue, like, you know, I feel like, is honouring my culture.''

Mitchell Saddleback

Acknowledgements

Our fieldwork in Vancouver and writing this thesis were experiences we will not soon forget. We are grateful to have had the opportunity to go on this journey that has enriched our lives in more ways than we could have imagined.

First, we want to express our gratitude to Jenifer Brousseau, who took us under her wing, shared her stories and truths with us no matter how personal, and took us with her everywhere she went. Having Jen as our informant has truly made our fieldwork an unforgettable experience. We do not know where we would have been without her incredible support. Jen, it was an honour to be your angels.

Second, we would also like to thank the entire cast and crew of *Beneath the Surface* for welcoming us and letting us be a part of their healing process. Thank you for letting us be a part of your most vulnerable moments. We would especially like to thank Mariel Belanger, who had her doubts about us at first but who welcomed us and supported us anyway.

Third, we are very grateful to our dear friends James Hunter and Curtis Ahenakew, who welcomed us with open arms and shared their most vulnerable stories with us. Thank you for the long and beautiful conversations we had and for making us laugh. We would also like to thank their friend James Harry, who took us on his daily round through Downtown Eastside, an experience we will never forget.

Fourth, we would like to thank the Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society for their help. We are especially grateful to Osiris Lopez and everyone else at the HIPPY program for letting us join their bi-weekly meetings.

Fifth, we want to express our gratitude to everyone else who took the time to be interviewed by us - Karen Duffek, Maggie Edwards, Savannah Walling, Yasmine, Dan Guinan, and Loretta Zahar.

Sixth, we are very grateful to our parents for their financial and emotional support, and to Tante Rie, who took us in and cared for us during our fieldwork.

Last but not least, we would like to thank Fabiola Jara Gomez for supporting us and helping us in the preparation of and during our fieldwork. We are also grateful to Roos Keja for her feedback and support during the writing process.

Content

Introduction

"They thought they buried us but they didn't realise we were seeds. Now we are growing."

Jenifer Brousseau[1]

"We would like to acknowledge that we are on the traditional, ancestral and unceded territories of the Coast Salish peoples of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh nations. We thank them for their hospitality.'' The audience, mainly consisting of high school students, listens attentively as the play continues to be introduced. They are told that there are tissues distributed throughout the room and that there are counsellors available if anyone needs to talk to someone. An Elder from the Musqueam Nation is introduced. He walks on stage with a drum in his hand. He wears traditional clothing and has a feather headdress on his head. He welcomes everyone on behalf of his nation and stresses the importance of the play, before raising his drum and singing a traditional song. Meanwhile, the actors backstage are preparing themselves for the big show. Some are anxiously walking back and forth, others are doing quiet breathing exercises. There is a healthy tension that fills the backstage area. Then the drumming stops. The Musqueam Elder walks off the stage. The sponsor logos that were portrayed on a big screen on stage disappear. A red light fills the room. Nature sounds start to echo. Then suddenly, everything turns dark. Olivia walks on stage. Showtime. A calm but loud voice echoes through the room. "Haily, M'girl. Oh beautiful child. Why are you here so soon? What is it that brings you here today?''

This is a description of the opening of the play *Beneath the Surface* that took place on April 12, 2019. The play was performed at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver for an audience of high school students, sponsors and other interested individuals. As it says on the front page of the script, *Beneath the Surface*, written and directed by Jenifer Brousseau, is "based on, too many, a true story''. It tells the story of a young Indigenous girl who commits suicide, without realising the full story behind her traumas. During our fieldwork, we were lucky enough to be a part of the process of *Beneath the Surface* and witness the importance of such art for the Indigenous community in Vancouver. Expressions and representations like this play are a way of healing from the extensive trauma the Indigenous communities in Canada have suffered, and, as we have witnessed excessively throughout our fieldwork, are still

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[1] Jenifer is the executive artistic director of imagi'NATION Collective and the writer and director of *Beneath the Surface*.

suffering every day. Though Canada is often considered progressive and tolerant, its history and present of colonialism show a different reality for the Indigenous people of the country. Their reality is one of excessive abuse, racism and exclusion, all of which are still evident to this day, and yet, barely anyone, including Canadians, know about or realise this reality.

One thing that has been highly impacted by everything that has happened is cultural heritage. Many of the diverse range of Indigenous cultural traditions and languages in Canada have disappeared or are slowly disappearing. Preserving what is left seems to be an important step towards healing from the beforementioned traumas. This healing has become an essential part of our informant's lives. In a city like Vancouver, a place where Indigenous people from many different nations and territories live together with many non-Indigenous people, preserving one's cultural heritage is a difficult task. This urban environment, where people with different backgrounds, values and ideas are bound together, is an arena for many processes of inclusion and exclusion. It is also characterised by different people claiming the space of the city, trying to create a place for themselves. How Indigenous people negotiate their cultural heritage within this context is the topic of our research. Our central question is as follows:

How does the Indigenous community in Vancouver negotiate its cultural heritage within the contested space of the city?

Our research is divided in the four sub-themes of cultural heritage, processes of inclusion and exclusion, reclaiming of space, and expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage. The sub-theme 'cultural heritage' focuses on colonialism, Indigenous traditions, cultural diversity, and cultural preservation. The sub-theme 'processes of inclusion and exclusion' focuses on colonialism, socioeconomic and health struggles, intercultural collaborations, racism/discrimination, resilience and reconciliation. The sub-theme 'reclaiming of space' focuses on colonialism, (acknowledgement of) territories, urbanisation, and homesickness. Lastly, the sub-theme 'expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage' focuses on the ways in which Indigenous cultural heritage is expressed in different areas such as art and theatre.

The fieldwork took place in Vancouver, Canada. We chose this city because it is one of the cities in Canada with the largest number of Indigenous people (Environics Institute 2011) and has approximately 181 Indigenous organisations (Government of British Columbia 2018). The fieldwork was conducted from the beginning of February until mid-April 2019. We mainly worked together with two Indigenous organisations, namely imagi'NATION Collective and Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society (VAFCS). imagi'NATION Collective is the

organisation behind *Beneath the Surface*, while VAFCS offers many communal activities and services to the Indigenous community in Vancouver, such as the HIPPY program. Our research is complementary, as we believe this is the best way to provide a full picture of the Indigenous perspectives on the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage. Our research is also descriptive, because we describe the ways in which Indigenous people in Vancouver negotiate their cultural heritage.

The issues that Indigenous communities face in Canada, especially regarding their cultural heritage and its negotiation in the city, have not been given much attention in academic writings (Smith and Akagawa 2008, xii). With our research, we want to solve this deficiency of attention. Besides, the academic writings that do give attention to these issues are not complete, as they do not have a holistic approach (Ibid.). As we are addressing the perspectives of Indigenous people themselves, the understanding of the aforementioned issues in academic writings will be improved. We thus also complement the existing literature. As mentioned before, various theoretical debates are addressed in our research, including debates on identity, space and place, and urbanisation. Our research combines these debates to gain a broader perspective on the issues of our research.

Moreover, the struggles mentioned above are also highly social issues and are the subject of recently upcoming social debates in Canada, including the debate on Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women (BBC 2019). As said before, for a long time, the struggles of the Indigenous communities of Canada have not been placed at a centre stage of public debate. It has only been recently that there has been more recognition for what has happened, but still many Canadians, let alone other people, do not know the extent to which Indigenous people in Canada have been traumatised and abused. Our research therefore has social relevance as it will educate people on these issues and will hopefully bring more social attention to them.

During our fieldwork, we mainly focused on participant observation as we noticed that this method was highly effective for gathering data in our context (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 2). The distrust of the Indigenous community towards non-Indigenous researchers, which will be explained later on, sometimes made it harder for us to connect with potential informants and to gain information. The participant observations were less formal, which made it easier for us to participate in activities and to gather information. Participant observation also helped us show our respect for their cultures. Especially in the process of *Beneath the Surface*, participant observation allowed us to "return the favour" and help wherever help was needed. Being a part of this process brought us closer to the cast and crew, which in turn helped us in gathering data.

Besides participant observation, we also used small talk as a method. We mainly used this method as a way of building rapport with our informants (Driessen and Jansen 2013, 250). Once we had this rapport, we used small talk to also maintain a more informal relationship with our informants and make them feel more comfortable around us. Similar to small talk, informal conversations also contributed to building rapport and maintaining a good relationship with our informants. This method was mainly used in the beginning of our research. It was a useful method to gain information, as it was informal and was mostly led by the informants, which made it easier for them to share their stories with us (Driessen and Jansen 2013, 250-251). Furthermore, we conducted thirteen informal, unstructured, and semi-structured interviews. Most instances, our informants were very eager to share their stories with us and so we only had to ask some questions to focus the interview on certain topics, but mostly we let them lead the conversation. Besides, due to these methods in which we gave our informants quite some freedom to share what they wanted to share, we gained more insight in the topics that were specifically important to them.

During our research, we encountered a few ethical dilemmas. At first we did not know to what extent we should share information about our research, like our (sub) questions. However, after some conversations, we decided to be more open with our informants and even show our questions to some of our (potential) informants. As noted above, because we are white Europeans and researchers, we were warned by some of our informants that there would be some trust issues towards us, and that we should be as open as possible about our research. This is the reason why we decided to be more open and show our questions. About halfway through our fieldwork, we also shared our interview questions with our main informant, Jenifer Brousseau. We decided to do this after we asked Jenifer for an interview on being Indigenous. She told us that although she knew we did not intend to do so, it was a rather insulting question. Fortunately, she is not easily insulted and she offered to help us by giving us advice on how to change our questions to prevent us from insulting anyone in the future.

The dilemma influenced our research in the sense that our decision to ask Jenifer for help helped us in gaining rapport and made it easier for us to gain access to the Indigenous community and maintain good relationships with our informants (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 48). This dilemma also shows that we struggled with the extent to which our own identity would play a role in our fieldwork, which we did not anticipate. Because of the aforementioned distrust towards us as white European researchers, our identity has influenced the process of data gathering. Although we were very lucky to have many informants who loved the fact that white Europeans wanted to learn about their cultures and stories, we also met people who were

more reluctant at first about opening up to us. Fortunately, we were able to overcome these reservations by helping them where we could and making it a two-way exchange of support.

In the subsequent chapters, we will elaborate on theory and our research data. First, we will discuss the literature study, which consists of a theoretical framework and a context. The theoretical framework focuses on theoretical debates and concepts connected to our research. These concepts include identity, space and place, the city and urbanisation, and cultural heritage. The theoretical framework is followed by the context, which focuses on Canada, and specifically Vancouver. This part elaborates on the demographics of Indigenous people in Canada, and specifically Vancouver, colonialism in Canada, Indigeneity in Canada and trauma within the Indigenous community in Canada. The literature study is followed by four empirical chapters based on our research findings. The first empirical chapter is about cultural heritage and will dive into Indigenous cultural traditions, their diversity, and preservation. The second chapter will discuss processes of inclusion and exclusion that the Indigenous community in Vancouver experiences. The third empirical chapter will focus on the reclaiming of space and place. The fourth and final chapter will focus on expressions of Indigenous cultures. After this, we present a conclusion and a discussion. Finally, we provide a bibliography and a reflection on the research.

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

Our research is about the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage by Indigenous people in Vancouver. Because the concept of identity will be our main theoretical lens, this theoretical framework begins with a discussion on identity and the related processes of identification, boundary making, and theories on trauma. Next, the two concepts of space and place will be explained from an anthropological perspective. We then continue by focusing on the anthropology of cities and the urbanisation of Indigenous people. The last part of the theoretical framework looks at Indigenous cultural heritage.

Identity and boundaries

Dyone Dedden

With regard to theories about the concept of identity, many approaches have been developed. Rummens (2003, 12) argues that identity can be described as a characteristic that can be applied to all human beings. It labels the self, as it answers the question: "who or what are you?" (Demmers 2017, 21; Rummens 2003, 22), but at the same time, it is used to define the relation with others (Eriksen 1995, 427). The first can be defined as a self-identity, while the latter can be defined as a social identity. Identity can thus be described as something that makes an individual different from others, as well as similar to others (Demmers 2017, 22; Jenkins 2014b, 18; Rummens 2003, 12). Rummens (2003, 13-15) further argues that an individual's identity consists of multiple categories. It is possible that some of these categories coincide (Rummens 2003, 13-15). Ethnicity can be considered such a category (Rummens 2003, 13). Demmers (2017, 26) argues "ethnicity is related to a sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry". In contrast, Baumann (1999, 59) argues that ethnic boundaries between groups rather than the belief in a shared culture need to be emphasised (Baumann 1999, 59). Multiple authors agree that identity and ethnicity should be considered in terms of processes, rather than objects (Rummens 2003, 12-13; Jenkins 2014a, 6, 10; Jenkins 2014b, 18). These concepts are dynamic, context dependent, and able to change (Rummens 2003, 25; Baumann 1999, 60; Demmers 2017, 23; Eriksen 1995, 428).

Through processes of identification, both individuals and groups are categorised. This results in boundaries between the own group and the other group (Jenkins 2014a, 13-14), or in other words, boundaries between 'us' and 'the Other' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 14). Eriksen (1995, 427-428) argues that the latter one is often considered a threat or an enemy. The concept

of identification is thus also related to the creation and maintenance of boundaries (Low 1996, 400; Rummens 2003, 11). Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 14) argue that this creation and maintenance of boundaries should be looked at as "processes of production of difference" in a space that is interconnected. These processes can be linked to unequal relationships (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 16). According to Demmers (2017, 24), the boundaries that result from processes of identification are based on membership and notions of belonging. Thus, with identity, rules are delineated about who is in and who is out. Indigenous people in Vancouver experience this boundary making between themselves and non-Indigenous people. Their identity shapes their everyday experience, as well as the value of their cultural heritage. To fully comprehend their Indigenous experience, it is necessary to understand processes of their Indigenous identification.

In addition to this, some authors argue that such notions of belonging should be looked at in terms of territorialisation. The establishment of identity is connected to territories (Low 1996, 394), since human beings and places are connected through the attachment of meaning to these places. Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 9), on the contrary, argue that such notions should be looked at in terms of deterritorialisation, rather than territorialisation. People are mobile, and may thus not be linked to a specific territory, which will also be mentioned in the next paragraph on space and place. If people are being detached from a place, the identity of these people is damaged (Gieryn 2000, 481). With regard to Indigenous people, the debate on deterritorialisation and territorialisation is important as it gives insight in the influence of the loss of territory and processes of urbanisation on their identity, and with that, the value of their cultural heritage.

Ong (1996, 738-740) links these notions of boundaries, based on belonging, specifically to the social construction of race. Similar to ethnicity, the social construction of race is also a type of identity (Rummens 2003, 13). Racial boundaries are based on ideas about civilisation (Ong 1996, 738, 740), and about the presumed inferiority of some races (Visweswaran 1998, 71). These ideas are connected to biological characteristics, both imagined and phenotypical (Ong 1996, 738). The processes of boundary making result in discrimination and processes of inclusion and exclusion (Ong 1996, 740). As Indigenous people in Vancouver experience boundary making, they thus also experience these processes of inclusion and exclusion.

According to Sotero (2006, 98-99), oppression of a minority group by a majority group is the beginning of historical trauma. Associated to this, oppressed groups can experience loss of cultural heritage and economic resources, displacement, and assault. According to Mohatt

et al. (2014, 132), this is also the case for Indigenous communities throughout the world. The aforementioned racial boundaries can therefore be connected to health issues, to which we return in chapter two. Important factors in this connection are historical trauma (Sotero 2006, 294), as well as intergenerational trauma (Elias et al. 2012, 1560). Indigenous communities in both the United States and Canada have experienced trauma as a consequence of ongoing colonialism (Kirmayer et al. 2014, 300).

Historical trauma can be described as a complicated trauma that is experienced within a specific group with a common identity. It can be experienced by different generations, as it started in the past and is still experienced in present-day (Mohatt et al. 2014, 128; Kirmayer et al. 2014, 307; Sotero 2006, 95). Even though the trauma is experienced by various generations in the Indigenous community, Mohatt et al. (2014, 128) argue that it cannot be defined as an intergenerational trauma. They argue that this kind of trauma can only be applied to a group of people who are genetically connected to each other, which is not the case for the Indigenous community. However, according to our findings, the term intergenerational trauma is actually applicable to the Indigenous community in Vancouver, which will be explained later on. We will therefore use both terms. Oppressed communities may focus on resilience as a response to historical and intergenerational trauma (Sotero 2006, 98; Mohatt et al. 2014, 134). As point of departure for this research, this resilience can be found in the focus of these communities on their Indigenous cultural heritage, in order to create a stable environment again (Denham 2008, 392-393).

Anthropology of space and place

Céline Kusters

Within anthropology, and social science in general, theories and analyses of space and place have remained relatively in the background (Low 2011, 391; Rodman 1992, 643; Gieryn 2000, 464; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 6). As Gieryn (2000, 466) argues, everything that social scientists study happens within space and place. Anthropologists are, both as scientists and as people, confronted with space and place just as much as they are with culture (Rodman 1992, 640). To acknowledge space and place within anthropological research is therefore of great importance.

According to Gieryn (2000, 465), space has no tangible physicality, nor cultural interpretation. Although the first claim is widely accepted in anthropology, other authors argue against the claim that space has no cultural interpretation (Low 2003, 9; 2011, 392; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 11). According to Low (2003, 9), space is where human knowledge and practice come to life. It always has meaning and is thus socially constructed (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 11; Low 2011, 392). Low (2011, 391) also claims that space is fluid and can change. Space is an area of contestation as it "functions as a central organizing principle'' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 7). This is because space is where power dynamics and sociocultural differences are formed and contested (Low 2011, 391). Low (2003, 14; 2011, 392) argues that it is not just society as a whole that creates space and its subsequent sociocultural differences, but that individual people create space based on their own experiences, using their own cultural beliefs, thoughts, values, and preferences to turn space into place. In other words, space is an arena for human action, of which place making is the result (Ibid.).

Space can thus be made into place (Ibid.). According to Gieryn (2000, 465), "place is space filled up by people, practices, objects and representations''. Place has three important characteristics that all need to be present in order to define something as a place. These characteristics are a specific location, physicality, and meaning (Gieryn 2000, 464-465). Place transforms space into something tangible and meaningful (Low 2003, 14). It defines social life (Gieryn 2000, 467). Just like space, place is also socially constructed, influenced by cultural, political and historical contexts (Rodman 1992, 640-641). More so than space, place is embedded with meaning that is defined by these contexts and by the narratives of the people located in the place (Rodman 1992, 641-642). As Rodman (1992, 644) argues, the agency of the people who have produced a place has to be acknowledged. According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 12) the common belief within anthropology is that place is unchangeable and fixed. However, according to us, place is in fact contested and fluid. As will be explained later through the experiences of Indigenous people in Vancouver, there is no end to making places. Meanings of places are renegotiated by both society as a whole and individuals (Gieryn 2000, 471).

The negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage in Vancouver takes place in the context of processes of inclusion and exclusion produced by the contested space of the city. This space is contested because there are different people making different claims to the space. When speaking of inclusion and exclusion processes that Indigenous people in Vancouver experience,

we mainly focus on the power dynamics over space and place making. Thus, in order to examine the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage, it is important to understand the processes of space and place making that influence Indigenous people. As said before, both space and place are areas for contestation through which cultural differences and power relations are constructed (Gieryn 2000, 474; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 7; Low 2011, 391). Creating space and place is bound to existing power dynamics, and thus to who has the power to give meaning to space and consequently turn it into place (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 20). Gupta and Ferguson (1992, 10) argue that cultures are not confined to places and highlight that, due to modern phenomena such as high mobility and globalization, space and places are becoming more blurred (Ibid.). However, as Gieryn (2000, 476-481) argues, place allows communities to be formed and maintained. The loss of a place can have a devastating impact on an individual's and the community's identity (Gieryn 2000, 476-481), as was the case for Indigenous communities in Canada, which will be explained in chapter five. We therefore argue that although communities may not necessarily be bound to a specific place, having a place strongly encourages the formation and maintenance of a community.

Anthropology of cities

Céline Kusters

The anthropology of cities is an area within anthropology that has developed a lot in recent years and has produced many definitions of 'the city'. Low (1996, 384) defines the city as the sociocultural embodiment of urban lives and their cultural experiences. However, Gieryn (2000, 469) argues that the city can be seen as "the result of a survival of the fittest'' that is formed by a struggle for place and control over place by different actors (Gieryn 2000, 469). This definition is more adequate for how we conceive of the situation of Indigenous people in Vancouver and will be used in this research. The most important aspect of the city is the people who live there, as they construct the meaning of urban space and place, and it is their cultural practices and power dynamics that shape urban environments (Gieryn 2000, 469; Low 1996, 400). Gieryn (2000, 469) further argues that cities are places, and thus, take on the shape of cultural meanings. As explained before, people have active agency in creating places, and cities are therefore not created by natural processes. It is people who create the power dynamics and social relations of the city (Gieryn 2000, 469). Brettell (2000, 134) argues "cities are

characterized by different histories, varying social relations and political economies, and often by distinct cultures and symbols''. These social dynamics and especially histories give cities a set of urban values that, for instance, influence the extent to which people are included and/or excluded (Brettell 2000, 133). All social relations are affected by these urban values (Brettell 2000, 134).

Low (1996) has created a theory in which cities can be divided into different categories, including ethnic city, divided city, and gendered city (Low 1996, 388-390). One of Low's categories that will be elaborated on is that of the contested city. Key aspects of this category are urban struggle as well as resistance. These struggles are often related to the quality of life or access to land. In other words, within the contested city, people are unsatisfied with how the control over space and place is divided. This does not always need to result in active resistance but does result in contestation, with different people making different claims to the same space (Low 1996, 391). Vancouver is a contested city as there are contesting views on to who the space of the city belongs and how it is distributed.

As said before, the people who live in the city define the city. Urbanisation is therefore an important process that influences urban spaces. In Canada, almost all members of minority groups live in cities, which contributes to cities' rich cultural diversity. Indigenous people are an important minority group living in Canadian cities (Cardinal 2006, 217), which will be further explained in chapter two. Indigenous peoples all over the world have many reasons for moving to the city, many of which are yet to be discovered due to a lack of data regarding Indigenous peoples (Cardinal 2006, 227; Peters 2002, 75). In the last decades, Indigenous urbanisation has increased substantially (Peters 2002, 75; Janovicek 2003, 548). Seeking more economic opportunities is a reason to move that returns in most literature (Cardinal 2006, 218; Janovicek 2003, 548; Peters 2002, 75). Janovicek (2003, 541-548) also mentions educational opportunities, fleeing violence, losing housing, and seeking better living conditions as reasons for Indigenous urbanisation. Cardinal (2006, 218) agrees and adds family ties as well as losing traditional land and resources to the list of reasons. Peters (2002, 87), however, stresses anthropologist Lurie's argument for Indigenous urbanisation. According to Lurie, Indigenous people do not so much consider urbanisation as moving to the city, but rather as moving within what are historically their territories, or their space. From this perspective, Indigenous urbanisation is a performance of traditional processes of place making (Peters 2002, 83).

In Canada, Indigenous urbanisation happens at twice the rate of non-Indigenous urbanisation. As more and more Indigenous people are moving to the city, the spatial and social divisions of cities change (Peters 2002, 75), and consequently, a city's urban values change

(Peters 2002, 82). This cultural change can be experienced by many non-Indigenous people and governments as problematic, which may result in interventions (Peters 2002, 82). Moreover, there have been many assumptions from non-Indigenous people about the experience of Indigenous people when they move to urban areas. The main of which is the assumption that Indigenous people will experience culture shock as their cultures are supposedly not appropriate for urban life (Peters 2002, 79). Assumptions and responses like this affect Indigenous urban experiences and may impact further Indigenous urbanisation, both positively and negatively (Peters 2002, 85-86). These assumptions characterise the power dynamics that Indigenous people experience after urbanisation. When Indigenous people in Canada move to the city, they move to a space where their identity makes them a minority, and where, to some extent, they have to adapt to the majority, non-Indigenous people. These power dynamics also contribute to Vancouver as a contested city.

Indigenous cultural heritage

Dyone Dedden

Heritage can be defined in multiple ways. Brown (1998, 197) defines heritage as the result of "the creative production of human thought and craftsmanship". Smith and Akagawa (2008, 6) add to this that heritage can be defined in terms of cultural practices. The concept heritage can mainly be explained as the idea that various cultural practices, customs and properties are threatened and need to be protected (Alivizatou 2011, 37-54). According to some authors, heritage should thus be looked at as an expression, rather than an object (Brown 1998, 197; Smith and Akagawa 2008, 6). Additionally, Alivizatou (2011, 46), describes heritage as changeable and influenceable cultural processes, rather than expressions. Other authors argue that heritage results in the creation of meaning for identity as well as for place, through processes of inclusion and exclusion (Smith and Akagawa 2008, 7, 294). Because of all these different views on the concept of heritage, there cannot be a single notion of heritage in which all values in the world are embedded (Smith and Akagawa 2008, 5). The dominant Western conception is that heritage is a concept with a universal meaning, whereas it is often based on Western values (Alivizatou 2011, 53; Smith and Akagawa 2008, 1).

Heritage is connected to processes of identification, through processes of inclusion and exclusion (Smith and Akagawa 2008, 7), since it can be considered a "selection process" (Smith

and Akagawa 2008, xii). Therefore, boundaries and social identity can be established through the performance of cultural practices (Alivizatou 2011, 40). Alivizatou (2011, 40) argues that heritage is connected to identity through the focus on the protection of identity, which can be considered a limited source. Identity, and performances that are connected to identity, need to be used ethically (Alivizatou 2011, 40). Heritage with regard to identity can be looked at in both positive and negative terms. In positive terms, heritage can strengthen feelings of community. However, certain ways of dealing with heritage can also lead to genocide and the cleansing of ethnic groups (Smith and Akagawa 2008, xii), which will be elaborated on in the paragraph on postcolonialism in Canada. In short, Indigenous cultural heritage influences Indigenous identity, and vice versa. This relation should be acknowledged when discussing either Indigenous cultural heritage or identity.

Brown (1998, 197) argues that Indigenous people throughout the world describe heritage in terms of knowledge and the performance of this knowledge. As already mentioned, the definition of cultural heritage can be connected to the protection of cultural practices. However, there is a debate on whether heritage should be preserved or not. According to Gone (2013, 696-697), Indigenous cultural practices should be preserved since participating in these practices attributes to the treatment of traumas. Alivizatou (2011, 43) describes an increase of criticism towards this focus on protection. Questions are raised about the ownership of the protection of cultural practices. Ownership over Indigenous cultural heritage was coercively taken away by non-Indigenous people, and Indigenous people now feel the need to reclaim this ownership (Brown 1998, 199).

On the other hand, Alivizatou (2011, 44) mentions arguments that Indigenous movements may exclude non-Indigenous people, while fighting for the preservation of their heritage. It can also be argued that non-Indigenous ownership over Indigenous cultural heritage can be considered a prolongation of colonialism (Alivizatou 2011, 40). Thus, cultural heritage facilitates processes of inclusion and exclusion of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people that go both ways. Furthermore, Alivizatou (2011, 42, 55) argues that cultural heritage should be renewed, rather than preserved, which could happen through globalisation. Moreover, it can also be argued that Indigenous cultural heritage is being preserved and at the same time being renewed. As mentioned above, cultural heritage can be described as changeable and influenceable. As a consequence of the urbanisation of Indigenous people to Vancouver, which brings Indigenous culture into the new space of the city in which it is not the dominant culture, Indigenous cultural heritage is being preserved as well as renewed.

Chapter 2: Context

In the context, we connect theory to our specific case study of Indigenous people in Vancouver. We do this by looking at the demography of Indigenous people in Canada and specifically in Vancouver, Indigenous identification processes in Canada, processes of colonialism in Canada, and trauma within the Indigenous community in Canada.

Vancouver's Indigenous community

Dyone Dedden

According to the Canadian government, people are identified as Indigenous if they are First Nations, Métis or Inuit, or if they are Registered or Treaty Indians, in other words Status Indians. Moreover, they are also identified as Indigenous if they are members of an Indigenous band. Registered Indians are registered as Indigenous through the Indian Act (Statistics Canada 2018). The Indian Act will be further explained later on. They can register themselves by proving their Indigenous ancestry (Government of Canada 2018). Treaty Indians are members of a First Nation band that have an agreement with the Canadian government (Statistics Canada 2018). In 2016, the census of the Population Program counted that 4.9 percent of the population, which equals 1.67 million people, identify themselves as Indigenous throughout Canada. The census also counted the number of First Nation communities and came to at least 630 communities throughout the country (Government of Canada 2017). The census of the city Vancouver counted 631,486 inhabitants in 2016, of which only 17,335 people identify as Indigenous (Statistics Canada 2018).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Indigenous people are an important minority group living in Vancouver. Cardinal (2006, 218) argues that even though the number of Indigenous inhabitants is small, this population is of great importance to the city, as they are strongly connected to the history of Vancouver, since they are the native inhabitants. The ways in which this is expressed in the urban space will be further elaborated in the empirical chapters. The feelings of Indigenous people, especially of First Nations, towards belonging to an Indigenous nation are strong in Vancouver (Environics Institute 2011, 23). Although there are not many Indigenous people compared to non-Indigenous people living in Vancouver, there are multiple Indigenous organisations that organise specific activities.

Indigenous identification processes in Canada

Dyone Dedden

As already mentioned, identity is dynamic rather than fixed. Lawrence (2003, 4) adds to this that identity can be described as processes of negotiation about history as well as about authority over identities. This can especially be applied to Indigenous people in Canada. Indigenous people link identity to processes of colonisation as well as to compromises regarding collective identity (Lawrence 2003, 4). This can be seen when looked at the term 'Indian'. A tension between the racial term 'Indian' and Indigenous identity can be observed (Lawrence 2003, 5). 'Indian' is strongly connected to the identity of Indigenous people. The term was forced on Indigenous identity during colonialism. Indigenous people were racially categorised through this term, while group boundaries between Indigenous people were ignored (Lawrence 2003, 4). The Indian Act of Canada, which will be explained below, contributes to this classification (Lawrence 2003, 3-4).

This racial classification not only ignored boundaries between Indigenous people, but also created boundaries between Indigenous people and non-Indigenous people in Canada. These boundaries were based on notions of civilisation. Because of their Indigenous identity, Indigenous people have been experiencing exclusion since colonisation (Blackburn 2009, 66). Indigenous people were, and still are, excluded and discriminated against based on ideas of 'civilisation'. Non-Indigenous people considered Indigenous people uncivilised and in need of protection, until they had completely given up their Indigenous identity (Blackburn 2009, 67-68), which disturbed processes of identification (Lawrence 2003, 4). Through policies and actions based on these assumptions, Indigenous people have experienced a loss of cultural heritage.

Furthermore, the concept of identity can be linked to the concept of belonging (Blackburn 2009, 70). Indigenous identity differs from other minority identities through its processes of identification, as its identification emphasises the demand for autonomy (Blackburn 2009, 66). The rights of Indigenous people to specific territories have long been ignored (Blackburn 2009, 68). Pieces of originally Indigenous land were given to Indigenous people "as "gifts" from the Crown and not in recognition of prior aboriginal ownership" (Blackburn 2009, 68). Due to modifications in the Indian Act, the rights of Indigenous people are no longer completely ignored. However, groups of Indigenous people are still in conflict with non-Indigenous people about the distribution of space (Ibid.).

Colonialism in Canada

Céline Kusters

There has been a long history of colonialism since the European settlers first came to what is now Canada in the early 1600s (CBC 2017). This history includes forcing Indigenous people to leave their territories and live on reserves, which will be further explored in chapter five. Other examples of colonialism in Canadian history include the Indian Residential School System, the Indian Act and the Sixties Scoop, all of which will be explained later. All of which are also examples of how descendants of European settlers tried to enforce what Indigenous people consider the cultural genocide of Indigenous cultural heritage, which will also be mentioned in chapter three. Although it can be said that these developments are postcolonial, in the experiences of Indigenous people colonialism is still very alive in Canadian society. Because we aim to describe the experiences of Indigenous people, we will refer to these processes as colonialism in our thesis.

Besides daily experiences of discrimination, colonialism in Canada has mainly been characterised by three larger developments: the aforementioned Indian Act, the Indian Residential School System and what is being referred to as the Sixties Scoop. The Indian Act is a set of laws that has been revised many times since its first implementation in 1876. The act affects all parts of Indigenous life (Leslie 2002, 23-25), and has as its main goal to better the living conditions of Indigenous people (Leslie 2002, 27). However, thoughts on how this improvement has to be achieved have been an area of contestation, as for many years policy makers believed the best way for Indigenous people was to assimilate into Canadian culture and to 'get rid of' Indigenous cultures (Leslie 2002, 25).

An important example of these assimilation tactics is the Indian Residential School System, which first came into being in the mid-1880s and lasted for over a century. This is where 150,000 Indigenous children spent most of their childhood (MacDonald and Hudson 2012, 431). The purpose of these schools was "to help Aboriginal people to adapt better to life in a white-dominated country'' (MacDonald and Hudson 2012, 431). However, the system soon turned its focus on forced assimilation and led to cultural genocide, which threatened Indigenous cultural heritage. Within these schools, Indigenous children were faced with many forms of abuse, lack of medical care, lack of food, and hard discipline (MacDonald and Hudson 2012, 431). A notorious quote from Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott in 1920 shows the hard thoughts that maintained the system: "I want to get rid of the Indian

problem … Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politics and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department'' (MacDonald and Hudson 2012, 431).

Another important example of the assimilation tactics is the period that is known as the Sixties Scoop, which took place from the 1960s to 1990s. During the Sixties Scoop, many Indigenous children were taken from their homes and forcefully adopted by non-Indigenous families or put into foster care (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 14). Similar to the Residential School System, the Sixties Scoop resulted in a loss of culture, language and identity, as well as internalised racism and isolation from society (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 14). There have been many other legislations and policies that are examples of colonialism in Canada, including legislation to stop Indigenous urbanisation as it was seen as a threat to Canadian society (Peters 2002, 77). All these legislations and policies have contributed to entrenched trauma in the Indigenous communities in Vancouver (Elias et al. 2012, 1560), which will be explained in the next paragraph.

## Indigenous trauma in Canada

Céline Kusters

The Indigenous communities in Canada have been exposed to many traumatic events as a consequence of colonialism, including but not limited to the beforementioned Indian Residential School System and the Sixties Scoop. The subsequent traumas can be said to be both historical and intergenerational. These traumas are not related to one historic event but rather extend over a longer period of time with different traumatic events accumulating (Elias et al. 2012, 1560). Even to this day, trauma is entrenched in the power dynamics that shape Indigenous experience in Canada (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50). The continuing traumatic events that cause these traumas include assimilation policies that resulted in the disruption of culture, language and identity, the Indian Residential School System, high levels of physical, mental and sexual abuse, and alcohol and substance addiction (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50). Other effects include individual effects such as mental health issues, disrupted relationships, trust issues, and isolation. On a larger level, effects include childhoods that are defined by abuse and neglect, poverty, no stability, racism and other forms of inequality (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50-51). In other words, these traumas do not only affect individuals, but also

communities (Bombay, Matheson and Anisman 2009, 14). Even though these traumas thus have such disruptive effects, they are not well known. Moreover, non-Indigenous people, communities and organisations mostly deny any responsibility for the traumas. This denial further entrenches the traumas in Indigenous experience (Haskell and Randall 2009, 66).

This complicated context is the context of our research, in which trauma is an important part of the experience of Indigenous cultural heritage. The next chapters will further explain this relationship through our empirical data.

Chapter 3: Indigenous Cultural Heritage

Empirical chapter - Dyone Dedden
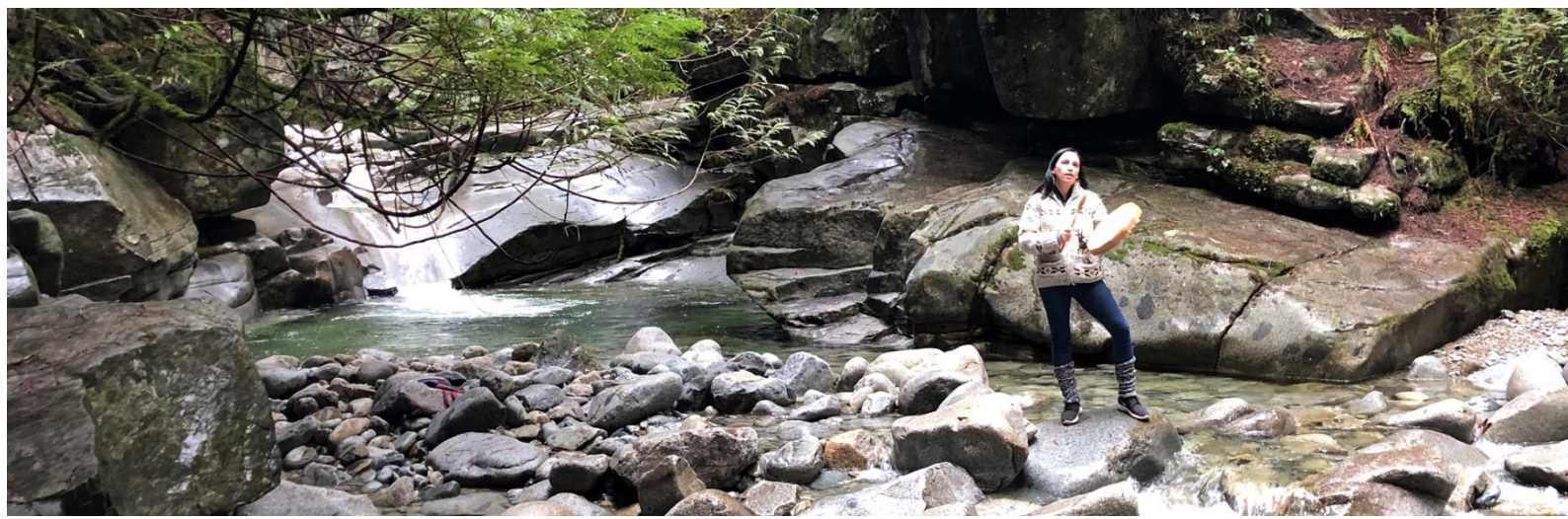
This chapter is about Indigenous cultural heritage. It will first explain the differences between nations. After this, the loss of Indigenous cultural heritage will be described. Finally, the preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage by both organisations and individuals will be explained.

Vancouver, a melting pot

As explained in chapter one, there are multiple descriptions of cultural heritage. Some authors (Alivizatou 2011, 46) argue that cultural heritage should be defined as changeable and influenceable processes. Others argue that cultural heritage should be defined in terms of cultural practices that are threatened and need to be protected (Smith and Akagawa 2008, 6). The latter one corresponds with the description of Indigenous cultural heritage of our informants.

As mentioned in chapter two, there are hundreds of different Indigenous communities throughout Canada (Government of Canada 2017), with thousands of different Indigenous languages, according to our informants. Curtis Ahenakew, a cultural outreach worker at the Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society (VAFCS), says there are about fifty different dialects in just British Columbia. Multiple informants therefore emphasise that cultural heritage can be completely different per nation. Indigenous communities should therefore not be generalised. The informants argue that not every nation has the same traditions. It is also possible that multiple nations have the same tradition but carry it out differently. The Indigenous tradition of smudging, which is a cleansing method, is an example of this. As we have noticed during multiple events and meetings, many informants smudge on regularly. Most of the informants use a shell, with traditional medicine in it. The traditional medicines are sage, tobacco, sweetgrass and cedar. They burn the medicine, and then, to "cleanse" the body and the room, they spread around the smoke. Jenifer Brousseau and Curtis Ahenakew mentioned that the traditional medicine that is used differs per nation. The protocols around smudging are also different for different nations. Both of them told us while they were smudging, that according to some nations women should not smudge during their period, as their bodies are already cleansing themselves naturally. However, in other nations, women can smudge during their period, but they should not use a feather during smudging.

James Hunter, a community navigator and a cultural outreach worker at VAFCS, told us that Vancouver can be described as a melting pot, because of all these different Indigenous

cultures that come together in one city. "So everybody kind of mixes together, under one, you know, Indigenous culture, but we are all different," he said. Yasmine is a student from Native Education College (NEC), a school that teaches Indigenous people all kinds of skills as well as Indigenous cultural heritage. She also mentioned that Vancouver is an amazing place to learn about cultural heritage of various Indigenous communities, not only their own. This learning about different Indigenous cultural heritage is important to our informants, as they lost a majority of their cultural heritage.

The loss of Indigenous cultural heritage

"Well it's our identity, it's my identity, it's my ancestor's identity. The preservation of that and our languages is definitely on the forefront of what needs to be done for our people in a sense of where we are, where we stand in this colonial system, being oppressed and having so much poverty in many reserves", says Morgan Whitehead, a cast member of the aforementioned play *Beneath the Surface*. This quote shows how important the preservation of cultural heritage is for Indigenous communities. As argued in chapter one, oppressed groups can experience a loss of cultural heritage (Mohatt et al. 2014, 132). This also applies to Indigenous communities throughout North America, as argued by many of our informants. Mariel Belanger, another cast member of the same play, adds to this "And for us, like anybody, to go back to their cultural ways of being and knowing that their ancestral cultural ways of being. We don't live in that reality anymore. Everything right down to our food has been colonised." These quotes show that colonialism played, and still plays, a huge role in the loss of Indigenous cultural heritage as mentioned in the previous chapter.

The cultural heritage of Indigenous communities throughout North America has been colonised for decades. As argued in chapter one, certain ways of dealing with cultural heritage can lead to genocide and ethnic cleansing (Smith and Akagawa 2008, xii). Curtis Ahenakew and Loretta Zahar, a counsellor at VAFCS, describe the process of colonialism as cultural genocide. According to multiple informants, the Canadian government tries to keep the Indigenous communities silent about their history and the struggles they have encountered. The informants argue that, as a resolution to the aforementioned 'problem with Indigenous communities', they were put away, so that they were hidden, they were forced out of sight.

Indigenous communities across North America have been experiencing colonialism through multiple institutional events. Olivia Lucas, a cast member of the play *Beneath the*

Surface, mentions that she is a 'non-status Indian'. She explained to us that an Indigenous person can be labelled as a non-status Indian, when one chooses to be non-status, or when a female Indigenous ancestor married a non-Indigenous man. If this sort of marriage happened, the status of that Indigenous woman was taken away by the government. This meant that this woman and all her descendants were considered 'non-status Indians', just like Olivia herself. However, if it is the other way around, if an Indigenous man married a non-Indigenous woman, the non-Indigenous woman was granted status. In Olivia Lucas's words: "And that was the government's way of taking the Indian out of the Indian." The government took away the status of Indigenous women because the women pass on cultural heritage, and this rule prevented this from happening, Olivia explains.

Besides this, another important example is the Indian Residential School System, as mentioned in chapter two. As explained in chapter two, thousands of Indigenous children grew up in these schools, which were set up to "get rid of the Indian problem". The schools forced Indigenous people to assimilate (MacDonald and Hudson 2012, 431). Multiple informants told us that Indigenous people were physically, sexually and mentally abused by the school staff. Indigenous children were no longer 'allowed' to be Indigenous, they were forced to forget their cultural heritage. Various informants told us that Indigenous people were not allowed to speak their languages or practice their traditions. As a result, just like most of the informants, many Indigenous people are not able to speak their language. Curtis Ahenakew says that the only thing that these children could remember was that they have Indigenous blood, everything else was completely forgotten. Another example that played a big role in the loss of Indigenous cultural heritage is the foster care system, which is also explained in chapter two. As a consequence of the Sixties Scoop, Indigenous children were forced to forget their cultural heritage and to take over non-Indigenous cultural traditions and languages, as multiple informants told us.

Many communities thus forgot about their cultural heritage. Other communities did not forget about their cultural heritage and sought other ways to keep their cultural heritage alive. The North American Act from the 1860s stated that Indigenous communities were not allowed to practice their cultural heritage, James Hunter mentioned. This is one of the reasons that multiple communities, among which James Hunter's community, were forced to go underground, keeping their practices secret. This is still the case nowadays. Because of this secrecy and the loss of Indigenous cultural heritage as a consequence of colonisation, Indigenous communities are traumatised, which is also mentioned in the previous chapters.

As argued in chapter two, through assimilation policies Indigenous people experience traumas, which results in a disruption of culture, language, and identity (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50). It is also argued that this trauma can be experienced by multiple generations, as it started in the past and is still experienced (Mohatt et al. 2014, 128; Kirmayer et al. 2014, 307; Sotero 2006, 95). Most of the informants mention this loss of cultural heritage as one of the most devastating consequences of colonisation. In order to be able to deal with these traumas, many informants argue that Indigenous people turn to drugs and alcohol. In James Hunter's words: "They are also trying, you know, trying to pass those pains that they got, through alcohol through drugs, or whatever helps." Multiple informants consider this the main reason why there is a lot of substance abuse throughout the Indigenous community in Vancouver.

The preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage by organisations

As mentioned above, there is a lot of substance abuse in Vancouver as a consequence of the trauma that the Indigenous communities experience. However, there are also people that are dealing with traumas in another way. As argued in chapter one, when Indigenous communities are focusing on their cultural practices, they are healing (Gone 2013, 696-697). This can also be seen in Vancouver. Many of our informants are support workers in various Indigenous organisations. An organisation that plays an important role in this healing process of the Indigenous community in Vancouver is VAFCS. VAFCS offers many different services to Indigenous people, including, but not limited to, counselling services, social services, cultural services and educational services. The centre also offers all kinds of programs and organises many events that focus on supporting the Indigenous community in the city, for instance through focusing on Indigenous cultural heritage. An example of such an event is the Pow Wow Family Night, which is organised every Tuesday. Pow Wow is a traditional gathering event from the East Coast, during which multiple people are singing, drumming, making traditional music, and doing traditional dances. Most of the people who are dancing have props, such as feathers and shawls. Besides Pow Wow, VAFCS also organises the weekly West Coast Family night to honour West Coast nations. Both events are open to everybody, including non-Indigenous people, who wants to visit, participate and/or observe. The following fieldwork notes will give an impression of one of these West Coast Family nights.

There are sounds of laughter. Some people are standing, others are sitting. They are talking to each other. It is a large room with high walls. The walls are filled with Indigenous

art. Button blankets and wooden boards with Indigenous animals are displayed. All of these artworks are in the colours red and black. The room is filled with chairs and tables. The tables are filled with food and drinks. The chairs are set up in a square in the middle of a room, with one side left open. On that side, there are four chairs and a microphone. There are two men sitting on the chairs. One of these men has a drum. It seems like the people are waiting for something. There is a lot of background noises. Then suddenly the man with the drum starts to sing and drum. Some of the people are starting to whisper, others are listening quietly. Meanwhile, various people are walking in and out of the room. A few people are getting food. As soon as the man stops with singing and drumming, the people talk louder again. Another man starts to talk through the microphone: "There are multiple nations in the room today. If somebody wants to share a story or sing a song, you are welcome to do this". More and more people are entering the room. There are now three man sitting on the chairs in the front. One of them starts to sing, while two others are drumming. Two other men are joining the group. One of them also starts to drum, while the other is eating a donut. Then they all stop singing and drumming. There are sounds of laughter.

Besides these two weekly events, VAFCS also organises other events, such as the Six Nations Event - Spring Solstice. This event is mainly focused on the Six Nations, but people from other nations are also allowed to attend. It is a traditional ceremony that is organised to celebrate the beginning of Spring. People from the Six Nations are invited to tell traditional stories and to make music. This event will be further explained in chapter five. During all these events, various children are present. Some parents are encouraging their children to participate through dancing or making music, and even if the children are not participating, they are absorbing it, just by being present and listening. These events are thus not only a way of practicing Indigenous traditions, it is also a way of teaching Indigenous traditions to those who want to learn more about their nation's traditions and/or a way of sharing these traditions with people from other nations, or with non-Indigenous people. Through these kinds of events, VAFCS not only preserves Indigenous cultural heritage, but also stimulates a reconnection to Indigenous cultural heritage.

Besides organising these kinds of events, VAFCS also has a program that focuses on stimulating Indigenous children to learn more about their cultural heritage. This program is called the Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters, or HIPPY program. Not only do children learn more about their cultural heritage, their parents learn as well. The classroom of HIPPY has various objects that teach both the children and the parents, including books on Indigenous animals and symbols as well as Mother Earth, multiple posters with Indigenous

teachings on them, and various toys of Indigenous animals, tipis and canoes. The HIPPY program also provides the parents with homework for their children, and tools that the parents can use at home, including Indigenous games and language cards. Osiris told us that the program has about fifteen different languages, like Nisga'a and Ojibwe, on the language cards. Jessica, a participant of the program as well as a home visitor, says that she and her son can count to ten and say a few phrases in her language thanks to this program. Besides this, HIPPY organises Families Group meetings every other week. In some of these meetings, the children are emphasised, in others the parents. During a meeting that focused on the children, Curtis Ahenakew taught the children to say 'hello' in various Indigenous languages. He also taught them traditional songs, while letting the children beat drums. When the meetings are focused on the parents, it is mainly about giving them more knowledge on difficult topics, such as budgeting.

Another organisation that focuses on preserving Indigenous cultural heritage is imagi'NATION Collective. imagi'NATION Collective incorporated Indigenous cultural heritage in the play *Beneath the Surface*. Rhys, a character played by Mitchell Saddleback, says thank you in various Indigenous languages after his speech on the struggles that Indigenous communities have faced and still face. The aforementioned traditional Indigenous medicine were also incorporated in the performance of the play. Everybody who was involved in the play had a medicine bundle during the performance. A medicine bundle is a bundle filled with traditional medicine, and is given to a person as a form of gratitude. Besides, there was cedar on the stage. Furthermore, at the beginning of the performance, an Elder performed a traditional song, as mentioned in the introduction. At the end of the performance a traditional Fancy Dance from the East Coast was performed. The Fancy Dancer danced on the stage and waved with her regalia, while wearing traditional clothing. These are examples of material expressions of cultural heritage.

The preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage by individuals

As mentioned above, many of our informants consider the preservation of cultural heritage everything. According to Dan Guinan, the president of NEC, cultural heritage cannot be performed, it is lived. By living their cultural heritage, Indigenous people are starting to heal from their traumas. According to James Harry, an outreach worker at VAFCS, culture even saves lives. Unfortunately, as mentioned above, a lot of Indigenous cultural heritage is lost.

Despite this, Mariel Belanger told us that she is "reactivating the muscles, the muscle memory, and reactivating the gestures, so that my body knows what it already knows. Like our bodies already know our histories right. We already have all of that knowledge trapped within our muscles, but our muscles haven't been moved in those ways."

As mentioned above, according to chapter one, some authors (Smith and Akagawa 2008, 6), as well as most of our informants, argue that cultural heritage can be defined as cultural practices that need to be protected. Language is an important part of cultural heritage for the majority of our informants. Many languages are forgotten as a consequence of colonialism. In Mitchell Saddleback's words: "Our language was beaten out of us. I always say my mom should have been able to talk to me in her language, and sing me songs and tell me stories. But that didn't exist. And I've had people so well you can just go to school and learn it. Well that's not the point. I already should have been able to speak." Some languages have survived, or at least partly. Because of this, it is now possible to learn Indigenous languages through virtual reality, which works because one gets to speak and hear the language. It is operational, according to Curtis Ahenakew. Others are trying to learn their language by talking to Elders. When asked if he speaks his language, Mitchell Saddleback answered: "I try to, I know it a little bit. I try to know as much as I can. Every time I go home I speak to the Elders and I try to come back with a new word."

Besides language, many people in the community protect their cultural heritage through living their traditions. There are many examples of this. Jenifer Brousseau incorporates her traditions in her life through being a part of an Indigenous music group, M'Girl. We visited a performance of this group at a conference. One of the members of M'Girl said: "We have been reconciling for a long time with our families and communities. It is our duty as song holder to honour those who shared their songs with us." She also told us that the people in the room are witnesses, rather than an audience. The group drummed and sang both ceremonial and social songs. In between the songs, the women told us stories about their songs, but also about certain traditions, such as Pow Wow, or protocols on the use of drums.

Even though the Indigenous community lost a big part of their cultural heritage, both organisations and individuals are now trying to preserve their cultural heritage and encourage the reconnection to this cultural heritage. However, this happens in a context of processes of inclusion and exclusion. The next chapter will dive into these processes.

Chapter 4: Processes of Inclusion and Exclusion

Empirical chapter - Dyone Dedden

This chapter is about the processes of inclusion and exclusion that the Indigenous community in Vancouver experiences. These processes are strongly connected to boundary making processes. First, the economic opportunities in Vancouver will be explained. Then, the differences between generations will be explained. Processes of inclusion will be described next, followed by processes of exclusion. Finally, these processes will be linked to the creation of boundaries.

Opportunities in Vancouver

According to James Hunter, many Indigenous people are moving to Vancouver for the opportunities in the city, because the economic possibilities on reserves are not as good as in the city. Yasmine also mentioned that she moved to Vancouver because of the economic opportunities, as she is from a small, isolated town where she did not have as many opportunities. These reasons are also mentioned in chapter one (Cardinal 2006, 218; Janovicek 2003, 541-548; Peters 2002, 75). Some are able to grab these opportunities, however, not everybody is. These opportunities, or lack of opportunities lead to processes of inclusion and exclusion, and the other way around. More reasons why people move to Vancouver will be presented in chapter five.

According to many informants, especially the generation that did not directly experience the Residential Schools and the Sixties Scoop is grabbing the opportunities in the city. They argued that this generation has learned from the mistakes that their parents and/or grandparents made when they were growing up, as James Hunter said: "We have seen both sides, good and bad." Among this generation, hope is an important and meaningful word, which is mentioned by both James Harry and James Hunter. Many informants show that this generation, that does not include the direct survivors of the Residential Schools, is learning about their cultural heritage, while teaching their children at the same time. At the same time, according to some informants, more and more Indigenous children are following an education. These children can thus live their traditions, and at the same time, they are also becoming more educated. If they move back to their homes, they can bring their knowledge back to their communities, which will make these communities wealthier, James argued. Many informants of the first generation away from the Residential Schools, like James Hunter, James Harry, Curtis Ahenakew and Jenifer Brousseau, are using the traumas they suffered and still suffer as a tool to help other people with their healing process.

Processes of inclusion

There are multiple Indigenous organisations that contribute to the processes of inclusion of the Indigenous community. An important example in this process of inclusion is the aforementioned Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society (VAFCS). There are multiple support workers who help other Indigenous people. James Harry walks around Downtown Eastside daily, a neighbourhood that consists of mainly homeless people and substance addicts. According to James, the Indigenous community is overrepresented in this area of the city. Beside support workers, VAFCS also provides programs that support the Indigenous community in various ways, including the aforementioned HIPPY program.

Surrounded by posters with Indigenous teachings on them, toys, and books for children, while sitting on small chairs at a small table, Osiris told us that this program does not only preserve cultural heritage, it also assists Indigenous parents on multiple topics, such as budgeting, libraries, and eating habits. These topics are mainly covered during the Families Group Meetings. During these meetings, the parents receive information on these topics, and maybe even more important, they are connected to people who can help them even further. Besides, Jessica mentioned that most of the parents are "the first generation away from the Residential Schools, or sometimes second, and that can still create a lot of pain and a lot of uhm, just barriers, with navigating the school system." As argued in chapter two, these trust issues are linked to the beforementioned trauma the Indigenous community experiences (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50-51). Osiris mentioned that, during the meetings as well as the home visits, the parents learn the language that is used in schools, so that they can understand the children's teachers. Both Jessica and Osiris therefore argue that this program makes the parents more confident and stimulates the trust towards the school system.

Moreover, the program needs Indigenous home visitors, so it provides employment as well. Most of the home visitors have been participating or participated in the program themselves, like Jessica. Moreover, according to Osiris, a majority of the mothers in this program is isolated. As said in chapter two, this isolation is a cause of the aforementioned trauma they experience (Haskell and Randall 2009, 50-51). Osiris says that they are also isolated because of poverty, as they cannot pay for the transportation, or because of lack of confidence. By reimbursing travel expenses and by making the parents feel more confident, the program stimulates these mothers to go out and participate in society. Besides parents, the children also benefit from this program, Osiris argued. The children need to do homework daily. Because of this, children are already used to doing homework, which makes school

easier. Osiris mentioned that it is proven that the chances of dropping out of school are decreasing as a result of this program. The HIPPY program thus contributes to inclusion of both parents and children in society.

Besides Indigenous organisations, non-Indigenous organisations in Vancouver also contribute to the inclusion of Indigenous people in society. For instance, the Museum of Anthropology is improving the inclusion of Indigenous people in the art world. Karen Duffek told us that the museum cooperates with various Indigenous communities throughout British Columbia. Chapter six will explain this cooperation even further. Besides the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver Moving Theatre is also a non-Indigenous organisation that improves the inclusion of Indigenous people. Vancouver Moving Theatre was founded by Savannah Walling and Terry Hunter. It produces many theatre shows and projects that highlight Indigenous stories and struggles. An example of this is the Storyweaving Project. This project is organised in order to provide information about the past of Indigenous communities, and how this is experienced nowadays, through stories, music and dances. This is done by various Indigenous people. This organisation thus provides employment for these people. Besides, Vancouver Moving Theatre also collaborated with VAFCS for this project.

Processes of exclusion

"The only way to end the pain is death", says Curtis Ahenakew. Curtis tried to commit suicide when he was fifteen years old. He almost jumped from a bridge, but he "was stopped by the metaphysical ancestors." Besides Curtis, Jenifer Brousseau also mentioned that she tried to commit suicide at age fourteen. Jenifer and Curtis are not the only people from Indigenous communities who tried to commit suicide. James Hunter told us that the suicide rates of Indigenous communities is high.[2] The informants argued that this high rate is connected to the intergenerational trauma from colonialism, and more specifically the Residential Schools and the Sixties Scoop.

As mentioned in chapter one, substance abuse is linked to this intergenerational trauma, according to multiple informants. They argued that numerous Indigenous people have an

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[2] "Suicide among First Nations youth (aged 15 to 24 years) across Canada is five to six times higher than among non-Indigenous peoples."

https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/suicide-among-indigenous-peoples-in-canada

alcohol and/or drugs addiction as a coping mechanism. Curtis Ahenakew, James Harry and Morgan Whitehead experienced this themselves. This substance abuse can be seen in the neighbourhood Downtown Eastside. James Hunter argued that many people end up here when moving to Vancouver. When people end up in this neighbourhood, they have a small chance of having equal opportunities in society, or in other words, they are not able to fully participate in society. Furthermore, according to Osiris, many Indigenous children drop out of school. She said that this is because of the beforementioned anxiety towards the school system. This means that these children are not becoming educated. Moreover, James Hunter told us that Indigenous people are overrepresented in prisons. According to him, Indigenous people are three percent of the population in Canada but twenty percent of the prison population. All these factors contribute to the exclusion of the Indigenous community.

The Indigenous community in Vancouver is also being excluded through discrimination. Our informants experienced much discrimination when they went to school. Jenifer Brousseau said that she went to a school where there were barely any Indigenous people. She felt excluded, and she was bullied, until a group of Indigenous girls came to her school. These girls helped her to fight the bullies, and she immediately felt like she belonged to a group. Mitchell Saddleback also told us that he has experienced much discrimination, even by just walking on the street. The discriminating acts increased when he grew his hair: "And I feel like since I started growing my hair there's a lot of people who don't take me seriously. Since I've moved to Vancouver, five people have thrown things at me from moving vehicles. And all of them missed, a couple of them where like liquids, but it's scary. It's very scary. Like someone died a few years ago because someone threw a trailer hitch at a woman and she died."

Olivia Lucas, who is both Métis and black, also experienced discrimination on different schools. With regard to her elementary school, she said in an interview with us: "And so everyone was either white, you know maybe like the occasional Asian, maybe an Indian, and then me, there weren't any black people. It was like no black kids. And so I was like black. they all kind of saw me as black, even in elementary school like I was called the N-word. I was called like so many things. and it's so funny, because today people are like girl you ain't no black." At the same time, she was also told that she is not Indigenous enough to do some acting jobs, or in her words: "But yeah I've encountered people who were like, you know you shouldn't be doing that, it's not your place. There's Native people that need those roles." Because of this, she experienced struggles with her identity: "Because I'm not like full Native or I'm not. Yeah there was a whole identity, ethnicity issue for a long time." So, during her life, she experienced

discrimination because of her ethnicities, but at the same exclusion from both the Indigenous community and the black community.

Boundary making

As mentioned in chapter one, these processes of inclusion and exclusion are linked to the creation of boundaries (Ong 1996, 740). Boundaries are created between non-Indigenous people and Indigenous people, and these boundary making processes are stimulated by both communities. As also said in chapter one, these boundaries are made to separate the 'own group' from the 'other group' (Jenkins 2014a, 13-14). This applies to the boundary making processes in Vancouver. Boundaries are created by non-Indigenous people through the exclusion of Indigenous people from society, through discriminating them, as described above. Boundaries are also created by Indigenous people. When James Harry walks around Downtown Eastside to support homeless people or drug addicts, he "walks around the alleys and I make my way, I interact with, I look for our people, to help our people''. He thus specifically focuses on supporting the Indigenous community within Downtown Eastside. This is also the case for VAFCS, as Osiris said: "The majority of the programs that they have here is for us to serve the Aboriginal community." James Hunter also prefers to work in Indigenous organisations, because he feels more comfortable, and he can relate more to his co-workers in these kinds of organisations. Besides, he argued "I want to help my own people."

However, boundaries are not only created in terms of support work, boundaries between non-Indigenous people and Indigenous people are also created in daily life. James Hunter told us that many Indigenous communities prefer it when Indigenous people have children with each other: "They are still marrying within. Keeping it real, we encourage that." Furthermore, boundaries are also created within Indigenous communities. Some informants told us that those who were part of the Sixties Scoop, and have thus grown up outside their Indigenous community, are being discriminated by the Indigenous communities, because they do not know 'enough' about their cultural heritage. Through cultural heritage, boundaries are thus created, as argued in chapter one (Alivizatou 2011, 40).

Reconciliation and resilience

Even though the abovementioned processes of exclusion and discrimination are still ongoing, there are also reconciliation initiatives happening. Jenifer Brousseau has experienced this reconciliation on school. She had to sit in the middle of a room, and then non-Indigenous people apologised to her for everything she and her ancestors went through. That meant a lot to her, and she still becomes emotional when thinking about it. Besides this, when the play *Children of God*, which will be explained in chapter six, was performed, there were banners in the hallway with information about reconciliation initiatives on it. However, not everybody agrees with the way reconciliation is done. According to Curtis Ahenakew, the government uses reconciliation to apologise, but at the same time, to keep the community silent. As argued in chapter one, resilience can be a response of the Indigenous community to its trauma (Sotero 2006, 98; Mohatt et al. 2014, 134). This is also the case for the Indigenous community in Vancouver, as resilience is an important factor within the process of reconciliation, according to many informants. Multiple informants say that they want to let everybody know that they are seeds and that they are still growing. Despite the struggles they have encountered, they let their voices be heard. After the play *Children of God*, during the Q&A, it was said that the Indigenous community emphasises that people should not view them as weak, but rather as powerful people who did not let their suffering be in the way of their progress.

The Indigenous community in Vancouver experiences processes of inclusion and exclusion. Indigenous people are included through Indigenous organisations, but also through non-Indigenous organisations. However, there are processes of exclusion through discrimination by non-Indigenous people, but at the same time by Indigenous people. Processes of inclusion and exclusion in Vancouver are thus very complex and extent over multiple communities. Boundaries are thus made by multiple communities in all kinds of ways.

Chapter 5: The reclaiming of space

Empirical Chapter - Céline Kusters

xʷəńiwən ceːp kʷθəθ nəẃeyəɬ
ʔəḿi ceːp kʷətxʷiləm ʔi ʔə tə ńa šxʷməθkʷəy̓əma?ɬ
təməxʷ, tə sxʷʔaméts tə shəńqəmińəmqən.

Remember your teachings
Welcome to the ancestral homeland of the
həńqəmińəḿ speaking Musqueam people.

This chapter is about the reclaiming of space and place by Indigenous people in Vancouver. It will first explain how Indigenous people in Canada lost their space on a community level, before exploring how they are trying to reclaim this space in Vancouver now. It will then explore how Indigenous people in Vancouver lost their space on an individual level through urbanisation, and how they are trying to create a place for themselves after moving to Vancouver.

Loss of space

Once upon a time, when humans lived in a great Sky Land, a woman, who would become known as Sky Woman, fell from the heavens through a hole in the sky. After what seemed like an endless fall, a flock of birds caught Sky Woman and brought her to the ocean, landing her on the back of a turtle. The sea animals who had gathered around the turtle wanted to help Sky Woman. They proceeded to swim to the bottom of the ocean, one by one, to bring back earth to place on the back of the turtle so that Sky Woman could survive. All failed, until Muskrat, a tiny animal who was not taken seriously by anyone, took a chance and dove to the bottom of the sea. He succeeded and returned with the earth, placing it on the back of the turtle. The earth, with the care of Sky Woman, then proceeded to grow and became the island of Turtle Island. The many different nations that came to live on Turtle Island created a place for themselves by developing their ways of being and practicing their cultures, until the European settlers arrived.

As explained in chapter one, space is where power dynamics and sociocultural differences are created and contested (Gieryn 2000, 474; Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 7; Low 2011, 391). These power dynamics are about the power to claim space, give it meaning, and turn it into place (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 20). When the European settlers came to Turtle Island, they claimed the space of Turtle Island as their own. According to many of our informants, they had no regard for the people already living there. In the words of our informant Curtis Ahenakew: "They stole it. They came in like thieves. They just came and stole it.'' The settlers turned Turtle Island into what is now known as the continent of North America In the experiences of the people of Turtle Island, the settlers robbed them from their place, subjected them to new power dynamics and forced them to let go of their traditional ways of being, leaving a devastating impact on the communities to this day.

Following their loss of place, the Indigenous people of Turtle Island had to live on what are known as reserves. "That's the land they kind of pushed us on to,'' as James Hunter

explained. Most of these reserves were not close to the original territories of the nations, and they were thus forced to completely start over. Although they were forced on these new spaces and had nowhere else to go, over the years even bits of these spaces were claimed by others. Up to today, the Indigenous people of Turtle Island cannot own the lands on the reserves, nor can they buy or sell it. In other words, they were forced into a new space, and although they occupy the space, they cannot claim it.

Reclaiming space

As a consequence of this history of losing space and place, Indigenous people have a very different perspective on the division of the land of what used to be Turtle Island than non-Indigenous people. In the many conversations and interviews we had during our fieldwork, the people we spoke to still refer to North America as Turtle Island, which in some ways can be seen as an attempt to reclaim their original space. They refuse to call the space by the name it was given by the people who claimed it from them, thereby honouring what are traditionally their territories. These feelings were best described by our informant Mitchell Saddleback. "I don't think Canada exists. I don't believe it to be a real thing. I don't think borders should exist. This is Turtle Island, you know. What is a Canada?''

In researching how Indigenous people reclaim space, Vancouver and surroundings, which are originally Coast Salish territories, are an especially interesting case study compared to other parts of the country. As mentioned in the previous chapters, we were lucky enough to attend the bi-weekly meetings of the HIPPY program at Vancouver Aboriginal Friendship Centre Society (VAFCS). The first meeting we attended, the program coordinator Osiris Lopez opened the meeting by saying: "Before we begin, I would like to acknowledge that we are on the unceded territories of the Coast Salish peoples of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh nations. We thank them for their hospitality.'' A couple of days later, we went to the beforementioned musical *Children of God*, part of the Talking Stick festival, which will be explained in chapter six. Before the show started, a woman came on stage and started with the following words: "Before we start the show, we would like to acknowledge that we are on the traditional, ancestral and unceded territories of the Coast Salish peoples of the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh nations. We are grateful to them for welcoming us.''

We quickly noticed that this acknowledgement of territory was done at almost every event we attended, both big and small. This is what makes the Coast Salish territories unique,

because they are the only territories in Canada that have been publicly acknowledged as the unceded territories of Indigenous nations. The acknowledgement of these territories at events can be seen as an effort to reclaim space. However, not only is this acknowledgement done by Indigenous peoples, the City of Vancouver has also officially acknowledged the territories of the Coast Salish nations. This is an important step in the reconciliation and healing process of Indigenous people in Canada. It is an acknowledgement of their history and the loss of their space by, in their eyes, the people who stole their space from them.

There are many other ways in which Indigenous people are reclaiming space in Vancouver. Indigenous organisations are an important part of this. There are many Indigenous organisations, each of them offering different services to Indigenous people. One of the most important organisations in Vancouver is the beforementioned VAFCS. As mentioned in the previous chapters, VAFCS offers many different services and programs and organises many events for Indigenous people. As explained before, a place has three important characteristics: location, physicality, and meaning (Gieryn 2000, 464-465), and VAFCS has all three. It offers a place for Indigenous people to come together, practice their cultures, connect with their communities, get help where needed and learn. Having a place helps to maintain a community and VAFCS does just that. During our many visits to the centre and our participation in the HIPPY program, we noticed the importance of VAFCS for Indigenous people in receiving services they would otherwise not have access to.

Another example of Indigenous organisations that offer space for Indigenous cultural heritage is the Skwachàys Lodge, which offers Indigenous artists a long-term residency so they can pursue their art in Vancouver without having to worry about having a place to stay. In exchange, they have to work at the Lodge for eight hours a month, which could be services like providing cultural workshops for the hotel guests, helping out with the inventory, or working on the lodge's social media presence. The gallery, which is located right at the entrance of the lodge, offers artists a possibility to sell their art, but also sells art from other artists who do not necessarily stay at the lodge. Moreover, as mentioned before, the lodge also has a smudge room and a sweat lodge so artists can smudge and sweat when they want. Like VAFCS, the Skwachàys Lodge has become an important place for sharing Indigenous culture. It offers a safe space for artists to practice their culture and sell their art, and also offers them a support system after moving away from their community to live in the city.

Moving to the city

As said in chapter one, Vancouver is a contested space, with different people making different claims to the space of the city. It is also a "melting pot'' of many different people with different cultural backgrounds coming together and sharing the space, including many different Indigenous cultures, as was said in chapter three. One important factor that adds to this context is Indigenous urbanisation. Although our research took place in Vancouver, none of our informants actually grew up in Vancouver. They had all moved there at some point in their lives for different reasons, and this adds another dynamic to the city and to processes of claiming space. From seeking better economic opportunities, as said in chapter four, to pursuing art, to wanting a change, our informants had a large range of reasons to leave their home and move to Vancouver. Moving to the city, however, brings one in a new environment with new challenges that requires the creation of a place to feel at home. Besides larger processes of space reclaiming on a community-level, individuals are thus experiencing processes of place creation when moving to the urban environment of the city.

Once moved to Vancouver, a big issue Indigenous people face is the different Indigenous cultures in their new environment. Especially when moving from the East Coast, the culture shock can be quite big. Many people we talked to expressed feelings of homesickness and talked about going home one day. In other words, even though Vancouver is where they live and work, it is not their home. James Hunter is a great example of this. James is from the Mohawk nation in the East and moved to Vancouver twenty years ago. In the many conversations we had with him, he always talked about 'home' when referring to the East. He also expressed how different West Coast culture is from his own and how he is still learning local protocols. However, he tries to stay connected to his culture as much as possible and wants his children, who grew up in Vancouver, to have that same connection with the East, which further exemplifies the differences between Indigenous cultures as explained in chapter three.

"How do you teach your children your culture?'' we asked him one day. "Oh good one, because I'm so far away from it. We just talk about it. You just talk about it. Lots of talk talk talk. And even nowadays, social media, you can always Google. I'll find stuff for them to read. (…) And you know always when I can get my hands on stuff from back home I give it to them.'' He also tries to connect both his children and himself to people from the East as much as possible. "You meet people from back home and you go to their house for dinner. Even a group we met at the social, we have our own Facebook page and we're gonna meet for dinners

and have little meetings every couple months.'' Even though he tries to stay connected to his cultural background while in Vancouver, he still gets homesick. James tries to go home once a year. "When I go home it's totally, I go back and I'm a totally different person. I feel different. It's hard to explain. I get homesick but I always know there's a home to go to, which helps.''

Halfway through our fieldwork, James asked us to help out at the previously mentioned Six Nations Event - Spring Solstice, which was an event to celebrate the beginning of Spring and to honour and celebrate Six Nations culture, which is also James's cultural background. The event was held at the gym of VAFCS. There were posters of the 'Three Sisters' – squash, corn and beans – that were made by James's daughter. In front of the posters were a series of tables filled with all kinds of food. The rest of the room was filled with a U-form of chairs and on the other end of the room was a microphone. Although it was a Six Nations event, people from all nations were welcome to join. There was singing, dancing, eating, and storytelling. People from the West Coast welcomed the Six Nations people, and the Six Nations people reminisced about their home and culture. When we talked about the event with James a few weeks later, it was clear how important such events are to make people feel at home in a space that is not their home. "It was nice because I was meeting people from back home. I kind of reconnected with my home out here. So that was a big deal.''

James is not the only person we talked to who wants to go home. Mitchell Saddleback moved to Vancouver from Alberta ten years ago to pursue art. Similar to James, Mitchell also notices many cultural differences between his home in the prairies and the West Coast. There is different protocols, art, traditions and language. Mitchell tries to honour his culture as much as he can by doing protocol from his home, learning his language and doing ceremony when he visits home, inspiring youth to pursue art and talking about his grandmother, a Residential School survivor. In other words, like James, he is trying to make his own place in a space where he is not familiar with the culture. Although he is happy here and busy with his career, he does want to go home someday. "But I know I have a lot of work I need to do here in Vancouver. But I do definitely see myself going home because that's where my roots are. That's where my tradition is. That's where my culture is. Like it's very different. It's almost a culture shock to come from Alberta to here because West Coast, there's huge differences between living on the prairies and living on the coast.''

Indigenous people in Vancouver have lost their space in two ways: forcibly through colonialism on a community level, and through urbanisation on an individual level. As noted

before, a loss of place can have a devastating impact on a community and its cultural heritage, as was the case for Indigenous communities in Canada. They are now trying to reclaim space and create a place for themselves. However, this is not an easy process. Visible expressions of cultural heritage are a way of reclaiming space, and the next chapter will explore this.

Chapter 6: Expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage

Empirical Chapter - Céline Kusters

This chapter is about the ways in which Indigenous cultural heritage is expressed in Vancouver. It will first explore the lack of Indigenous representation. It will then continue to discuss how Indigenous cultural heritage is expressed through the visible art in the city, before zooming in on the example of the Museum of Anthropology. Lastly, Indigenous expressions in theatre and other performing arts will be discussed, mainly by focusing on *Beneath the Surface*.

Lack of representation

"My […], my grandma went to Africa and she went to go do this retreat and go help build a school and the African children were like what are you? We can't tell what you are. And she was like I'm Native American, I'm an Indian, I'm First Nations, and they were shocked. They were like we thought white people killed you guys. We didn't know you existed. Because if you look at how we're represented, we're not real. We're just like a prop, we're a fantasy. It's like Lord of the Rings. We don't exist to people.'' Mitchell Saddleback told us. A few weeks earlier, we had a conversation where Jenifer Brousseau told us how her ex-husband, who is British, saw her as Pocahontas because that was the only representation of an Indigenous woman he had seen. This also made us think of all the times we told our friends and family about our research topic and how they would always respond with: "I didn't know Canada had Indians, too.'' All these examples of how little knowledge people outside of Canada have about Indigenous people, show that there is a lack of Indigenous representation. However, this lack of representation is also present within Canadian society. Schoolbooks barely mention Indigenous people, let alone tell the history of what happened between them and the European settlers. Moreover, although the government has apologised for what happened in Residential Schools, they barely talk about it. As was mentioned in chapter four, Curtis Ahenakew explained, "reconciliation means saying sorry but don't ever talk about it again''.

There is not only a lack of knowledge about Indigenous history, but also about Indigenous cultures. The knowledge that people do have is often wrong and leads to a wrong use of Indigenous traditions, clothing and artefacts. The history of Stanley Park in Vancouver is a good example of how Indigenous people are misrepresented. This popular park in the city has a long history of "obliterating the Indigenous history of this land'', as Savannah Walling put it, who also told us about what happened. When this park was first formed, there were still many Indigenous people who lived on that land. However, their presence was not acknowledged. The excuse was used that these lands used to be Indigenous but that the people

who lived there were just squatters. They were then forced to leave their homes to make room for the park. Indigenous art was brought in but this art was not the art of these territories. In other words, by bringing in this art, the communities were wrongly represented. It was only recently that the City of Vancouver acknowledged the Indigenous presence and history of Stanley Park. As said in chapter one, identity and connected performances need to be used in an ethical way (Alivizatou 2011, 40), but the history of Stanley Park is an example of how these performances are not used ethically.

The totem poles in Stanley Park are now a popular tourist attraction, which was also very clear when we visited them. The site was filled with tourists doing photoshoots in front of the totem poles. Indigenous artefacts becoming a tourist attraction, what would our informants think of that? "As for the totem poles in Stanley Park, I'm sure it started as a tourist thing but the whole Stanley Park, there was communities in there.'' James Hunter told us. "So the totem poles, that was a village and there was a beach over. That beach, that was the community. If people keep in mind those totem poles represent a community.. But if it's the community, or whoever the artist is, if they approve it then it's okay. If some guy just makes it himself, that's called cultural appropriation.'' In other words, when visiting sites like the Stanley Park totem poles, people need to keep in mind its history and the community needs to approve.

Indigenous art in the city

A few days before our fieldwork would officially begin, we decided to explore the city that would be our home for the next three months. It was a grey and rainy day, and for a big city like Vancouver, the streets were awfully quiet. As we were walking past an empty area between the large buildings, our eyes were suddenly caught by a colourful wall, the colours of which stood out even more on this grey day. A large Indigenous painting was painted on the side of this building. The mint green background is complemented with a large colourful symbol in the middle of the wall. Yellow, orange, red, orange, yellow, blue, dark blue – the colours seemingly transition into one another. On the bottom, a white triangle with a black symbol in its centre, and a lighter mint green line surrounding the triangle. On top, on a blue background, an eagle spreading its wings as though it is looking over the city, protecting it. In the middle of the wall there is a text that would stay with us for the duration of our fieldwork. "There is no one to care, if you do not care.''

This mural was the first of many expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage we would find throughout the city. From totem poles and murals to items in gift shops – Indigenous cultures seemed to be visible in many places throughout Vancouver. Sometimes we were looking for them, like when we went to Stanley Park to see the famous totem poles. Other times we would be getting off the bus, walking towards the rehearsal space of *Beneath the Surface*, and then randomly encounter an Indigenous mural in a neighbourhood you would never expect to find one. Even the campus of the University of British Columbia, also home to the Museum of Anthropology, is filled with expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage. For instance, there are multiple totem poles distributed over the campus space. However, what amazed both of us even more, is that every road sign on campus is followed by the hən'q̓əmin̓əm̓ word, the language of the Musqueam people, and its meaning. For example, the road sign for Memorial Road also featured the word šxʷhək̓ʷmət. Below this word in smaller letters was the explanation: "that which is used to remember them''. As the art and languages of the nations of these territories are displayed, these are examples of how performances of identity are being used in an ethical way.

The Museum of Anthropology

The more expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage through murals and such we saw throughout our fieldwork, the more questions we had. Who are they made by? Are artefacts like totem poles really just art? Are masks just art? Are the "Indigenous'' gifts in gift shops really "Indigenous''? We soon found out that the murals were made by native artists, commissioned by the City of Vancouver to make the city more beautiful. The fact that native artists made them is an important factor for expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage. "As long as the art is done by natives, approved by natives, by the artists.'' James Hunter told us. "Especially the totem poles because they're supposed to be ceremony. Masks, like, West Coast they sell them in tourist shops. I don't believe in that. Like, back East, our masks are purely ceremony, like even in a museum you'll barely see them because they're not for that. But out here, they're everywhere.'' Totem poles and masks are thus not just art to be looked at, they are important artefacts used in ceremony.

This raised another question for us. From our visit to the Museum of Anthropology in the beginning of our fieldwork, one important thing we remembered from their extensive First Nations collection is the many totem poles and masks that were displayed. The Great Hall, the

first space of the museum, is full of totem poles – small or tall, colourful or just wood, they are all there. They also have many masks and other First Nations artefacts. James's remark on how these artefacts are more than just art made us wonder: to what extent does the Museum of Anthropology collaborate with Indigenous artists and communities for its First Nations collection? We contacted the museum and were lucky enough to be able to talk to Karen Duffek, who is the museum's curator for Contemporary Visual Arts and the Pacific Northwest.

At the end of the anti-potlach law[3], the Museum of Anthropology acquired a large amount of First Nations regalia that came directly from First Nations families and communities. The fact that they came directly from these communities has become an extremely important part of the museum. "The fact that we have those connections has allowed us to work with these families ever since, like either to document the collection or build histories around them, to talk about why they're here and to kinda explore that relationship and do something constructive with it.'' This relationship between the Museum of Anthropology and First Nations communities is still extremely important, especially in making sure the objects are not solely art to look at, but have their purpose preserved. "So we have that policy of preserving the life of an object as opposed to only the physical object. So that's really exciting and positive and helps to rebuild relationships again, in another way. Many families are happy that the museum cares for the objects and they know they have access whenever they want.''

What is especially remarkable about this activation policy the Museum of Anthropology has, is that the artefacts are brought back to the communities whenever they need them and they can do with them what they want. "So trying to create these pure, sterile spaces for the artefacts, we don't care too much about that anymore. We'll go happily into someone's home and put the stuff on the table. People will look at them, talk about them, record them, whatever.'' The artefacts can either be brought to the communities or the families can visit them at the museum whenever they want. Because travelling to Vancouver is expensive, the museum financially supports these visits to the museum. Families and communities always have access to what the museum has. Not only is the entire collection of the museum available online, there is also an online network, called the Reciprocal Research Network, that allows the digital access to thirty museums. The fact that the Museum of Anthropology works so closely together with First Nations families and communities is very important for the

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[3] Karen explained that from 1885-1951, the anti-potlatch law forbade the performance of the Indigenous traditional ceremony of potlatch.

representation of Indigenous cultural heritage in public places like museums, and is another example of using such performances ethically.

Performing arts

Besides cultural expressions in art, theatre and other performing arts are also important spaces where Indigenous cultural heritage is expressed in Vancouver. The Talking Stick Festival is a good example of this. The annual festival consists of a large range of Indigenous performances in dance, theatre, song, speech, poetry and art. Judging from the way our informants talked about it, the festival plays an important part among the Indigenous community in Vancouver. Fortunately, the festival took place during our fieldwork and we were able to attend a few events, one of which was the aforementioned musical *Children of God*. This musical told the story of a Residential School survivor and showed both his experiences in the school and how they have affected him later in life. During the Q&A after the show, it became evident how important such performances are for Indigenous people. There were multiple people talking about their own experiences with Residential School. One man even opened up about being the last living survivor of his friends and how his experiences made him a bad father. To have his story represented through this musical was extremely important to him in overcoming his trauma and keeping the memories of his friends alive.

Readings of plays are another big part of Indigenous expressions of cultural heritage in the performing arts. One of these readings was a reading that both Jenifer Brousseau and Olivia Lucas were a part of, and the other actors were all Indigenous, too, as was the organisation and the writer of the play. The play they read for was based on the beforementioned story of Sky Woman. In other words, not only was everyone involved Indigenous, the story was also an Indigenous story. Another event we attended was a series of readings at the Women in Film Festival that was part of the Tricksters and Writers program. Through this program, Indigenous women were encouraged and guided in playwriting. The event featured readings of five plays written by Indigenous women, including Jenifer Brousseau and Mariel Belanger. The program thereby encouraged Indigenous female representation in the performing arts sector.

Beneath the Surface

Throughout our fieldwork, we have been lucky enough to have been a part of the process of the play *Beneath the Surface* and to have witnessed first-hand the importance of such art in healing from trauma. The play is about a young Indigenous girl named Haily who has to deal with many traumas and commits suicide, without realising that the people who gave her those traumas all had their own traumas, too. It addresses many issues that are important for Indigenous people, including trauma, mental health, suicide, addiction. Although these are important issues, they are barely talked about. Jenifer Brousseau, writer and director of *Beneath the Surface*, has told us many times why these issues need to be addressed. "We need to talk about these things that we don't really talk about if we want to heal.'' Having these issues expressed in a play like *Beneath the Surface* is a big step in the healing process of Indigenous communities. As the on ground counsellor told the cast during rehearsals, "you have no idea how many lives you're going to save with this play.'' That being said, the fact that there was a counsellor available for cast and crewmembers also shows the emotional weight of being part of such a play. This especially became clear during the many emotional moments during rehearsals, such as the following.

"I'm sorry, Haily. Suicide is a choice you can't take back.'' The Creator's voice echoes through the room. Silence. Jenifer leads Olivia to the back of the stage. The rehearsals of *Beneath the Surface* are taking place at the theatre room of a high school. The stage and the walls surrounding the stage are bright green and look chaotic. Although this décor is from a previous play that took place in this room, it somehow fits the ambiance of *Beneath the Surface*. The stage is divided into the different scenes – a living room, a bedroom, another living room, and a locker room, with enough space in between to create a high school hallway. In front of the stage there is a chair for Haily's scenes in the Spirit World. The many props are no longer in their original places and are now spread out all over the stage from the last scene, the scene in which Haily completely breaks down and tears her room apart before committing suicide. Jenifer walks back on stage, looks around, looks at her script and thinks for a minute. "Okay cast, let's all come back here, we need to hug our Haily.'' One by one, the cast members walk back on stage, no one speaks. Jenifer turns to Olivia. "How are you feeling?'' "I'm good, I just didn't fully go there this time.'' The cast members walk to the centre of the stage. Olivia stands in the middle as her cast mates surround her and hold each other close. For a little while, the room is completely silent, but this silence speaks more than a thousand words. Then suddenly, Olivia completely breaks down in tears.

This is just one of many emotional moments during rehearsals and other parts of the process. Even the first time we met Jenifer and other cast members during one of the audition rounds, it was immediately evident how important this play was for them personally in their own journeys of healing. During rehearsals, we were able to interview some of the cast members, who were all very open about what the play means to them. "I guess for myself it's really gonna help me interpret my own feelings that I was feeling when I was younger, to really revisit that but in a safe way.'' Morgan Whitehead told us. Mitchell Saddleback, who has been a part of this play for four years, also explained how important it has become in his life. "It means a lot. This is one of the most important productions I have ever been a part of, easily. This work is healing. I met Jen at a very difficult time in my life and I joined imagi'NATION Collective when I was at my lowest while living here in Vancouver and it really helped me get back on my feet. Yeah, I'm a better person because of it.'' Performances like *Beneath the Surface* are thus not only healing for the people who see them, but also for the people involved.

In a context of a loss of space, a loss of most of their cultural heritage, and processes of inclusion and exclusion, becoming visible is an important first step in the healing process of the Indigenous communities in Canada. In Vancouver, Indigenous people are taking this step through expressions of their cultural heritage in art and the performing arts, among other things. Being visible not only reconnects Indigenous people and connects non-Indigenous people to Indigenous cultural heritage, it is also a way to reclaim space.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter, our conclusion and discussion will be presented. We will first give a summary of the previous chapters, before moving on to our overall conclusion of our research. We will end with a discussion in which recommendations for future research will be discussed.

Summary

In chapter one, theoretical debates linked to our research were presented. One of these debates was the one on identity. Identity can be considered a dynamic process. Identity can be divided into social identity and self-identity. Social identity means that people identify themselves with regard to others, while self-identity means that people identify the self. Identity is linked to both inclusion and exclusion. Through identification processes, society is being categorised and boundaries between groups are created. These processes of boundary making may lead to historical and/or intergenerational trauma. At the same time, identity creates a feeling of belonging. This feeling of belonging may be linked to a specific space. Space is where power dynamics and social cultural differences are formed and contested. Both society and individuals create space. Space can be made into place, which is space embedded with meaning. A loss of space and place can have a devastating effect on both an individual's and a community's identity.

A city is formed by a struggle for place and control over a place that involves different actors. People construct the meaning of urban space. This meaning is expressed through urban values that are created by social dynamics and histories. People can move to the city for various reasons. For Indigenous people, urbanisation brings them into a space where their identity makes them a minority. Indigenous urbanisation also affects Indigenous cultural heritage. There is no single notion of cultural heritage. On the one hand, heritage is considered dynamic, while on the other hand, it is mainly characterised as practices. Cultural heritage is connected to processes of identification and inclusion and exclusion. By using cultural heritage, boundaries can be created. There is a debate as to what extent cultural heritage should be renewed or preserved. Indigenous urbanisation both renews and preserves Indigenous cultural heritage.

In the second chapter, theoretical debates connected to our research, were placed within the context of Canada, and more specifically, Vancouver. The Indigenous community is just a small part of the Canadian population. Vancouver is one of Canada's cities with the largest Indigenous community. The Indigenous community has encountered many processes of

inclusion and exclusion. These processes come forth from processes of identification, through which the Indigenous communities were racially categorised, based on notions of civilisation. Due to these identification processes, the Indigenous communities in Canada have encountered many struggles that included a long period of abuse, specifically through the Indian Residential School System and the Sixties Scoop. These experiences have led to many intergenerational and historical traumas that Indigenous communities still feel. These traumas have had many consequences both on a community-level through high levels of abuse, poverty, and racism, and on an individual level through mental health issues, trust issues and isolation.

The third chapter explored Indigenous cultural heritage. Indigenous cultural heritage is different for every nation, and should therefore not be generalised. However, one thing that Indigenous communities have in common is the loss of their heritage as a consequence of ongoing colonisation. This happened through the Indian Residential School System and the Sixties Scoop, in which Indigenous people were abused and forced to forget their cultural heritage. Mainly because of this, our informants argue that Indigenous communities are traumatised. In order to heal from this trauma, a focus on cultural heritage is necessary, according to both our informants and chapter one. This happens through organisations, such as VAFCS that offers programs, like the HIPPY program, and organise events, such as Pow Wow Night, that incorporate cultural heritage. Besides organisations, individuals are incorporating their cultural heritage in their daily lives. They do this through learning their language or through being part of an Indigenous music group, like M'Girl.

The fourth chapter discussed processes of inclusion and exclusion. Multiple informants argue that the first generation away from the Residential Schools are improving their circumstances through learning about their cultural heritage and teaching their children. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous organisations are important parts of the inclusion processes. Through support workers, they help the people in the Indigenous community that are in need to be helped. Besides, these organisations provide employment. However, the Indigenous community is also being excluded from society. The Indigenous community has high rates of suicide and substance abuse, as well as school dropouts and overrepresentation in prisons. Multiple informants explain that they experience discrimination in school or in daily life. The discriminating acts and other processes of exclusion are linked to boundary making processes. Boundaries are made between non-Indigenous people and Indigenous people, by both communities. Even though the community is experiencing the processes of exclusion, there are also reconciliation initiatives going on. Resilience has also become an important part of the Indigenous community.

The fifth chapter explored the loss of space and efforts to reclaim this space. In the experiences of Indigenous people in Canada, their territories were taken from them when the European settlers came to Turtle Island. In other words, their space was claimed by others. They are now trying to reclaim their space in multiple ways, including still using the term 'Turtle Island' when referring to North America and not considering Canada a country. The official acknowledgement of the unceded territories of the Coast Salish nations is another example of how Indigenous people are reclaiming their space in Vancouver. Organisations such as VAFCS and the Skwachàys Lodge also offer a safe place for Indigenous people in Vancouver. Besides a loss of space and place as a consequence of colonisation, many Indigenous people in Vancouver also experience a loss of place through urbanisation. It is hard to create a place for them in the city because, among other things, of the difference in traditions and protocols between nations. Many of our informants expressed homesickness and wanting to go back 'home' eventually and they thus do not consider Vancouver their 'home'. They are thus experiencing two kinds of losses of space – on a community level through colonisation, and on the individual level through urbanisation.

The sixth chapter explored the ways in which Indigenous cultural heritage is expressed. On the one hand, there is a lack of representation and sometimes misrepresentation. They are often left out of history books, and their struggles, let alone their cultures, are barely talked about. When they are represented, there is often the issue of misrepresentation. However, there are also plenty of examples where Indigenous cultural heritage is ethically expressed. They are often involved in this themselves, which seems to be an important prerequisite for expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage. In Vancouver, expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage can be seen everywhere through the many murals and totem poles. The Museum of Anthropology shows how expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage can come to be through Indigenous and non-Indigenous collaboration. Theatre and other performing arts are another important platform for Indigenous cultural expressions, of which *Beneath the Surface* is an incredible example. Expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage in all forms are important for Indigenous communities as they make them visible. Visibility is an important step towards cultural preservation, space reclaiming and healing from trauma.

Conclusion

As is argued in chapter one, cultural heritage is connected to identification through processes of inclusion and exclusion. This can also be applied to the Indigenous community in Vancouver. In their experience, they are being excluded from participating in society based on their identity, ever since colonisation. The Indian Residential School System specifically contributed to this. Most of our informants experience an intergenerational trauma as a consequence of this. This means that their ancestors are direct survivors of the Residential Schools, but they also experience the resulting trauma themselves. Besides this, many Indigenous people are experiencing discrimination based on their Indigenous identity on a daily basis. This is contributing to the traumas that they already have.

However, by means of its cultural heritage, the Indigenous community in Vancouver is trying to heal from these traumas. Because the Indigenous community is making an effort to heal, the community enables itself to participate in society. Participating in society has long been difficult for the Indigenous community because they are directly excluded by non-Indigenous people. However, through mental health issues, trust issues and feelings of isolation that these processes of exclusion have created, they are even further excluded. The first and second generation away from the Residential Schools are starting to focus on healing from their trauma. By talking about their issues, they are not only healing each other but also themselves. Moreover, they are also healing through reconnecting to their cultural heritage. People are learning about their cultural heritage themselves and, at the same time, they are teaching others and helping them to reconnect. Through this healing, they are able to overcome the issues that processes of exclusion have created, and in that sense, are able to try to participate in society again.

To this generation, cultural preservation is considered an important way to overcome traumas and heal. An important part of preserving cultural heritage is to be visible to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and this visibility is easiest achieved through expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage. The community is starting to become more and more visible through arts and performing arts. These are platforms where struggles of the Indigenous community can be shared, but at the same time, they are being acknowledged and respected. These expressions in Vancouver help Indigenous people to reconnect to their cultural background and encourages non-Indigenous people to acknowledge the Indigenous presence in the city. This also means that they are starting to be more included in society.

Besides reconnecting to their cultural heritage, visibility of Indigenous communities also leads to the reclaiming of space. The fact that the Indigenous communities lost their space when the settlers came to Turtle Island is experienced by Indigenous people as one of the most important causes for today's struggles and their traumas. Losing a place has a devastating impact on a community, which was clearly the case for the Indigenous community in Vancouver. Having a place is connected to feelings of belonging, and thus, losing a place also affects the extent to which someone feels at 'home'. Cultural heritage reconnects people to their history and identity, and preserving this heritage can therefore also create feelings of belonging. So, through preserving their cultural heritage, Indigenous communities are reclaiming their space, and creating a place.

In short, the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage in Vancouver takes place in a context of processes of inclusion and exclusion. The Indigenous community in Vancouver faces continuous struggles and is confronted with boundaries between them and non-Indigenous people every day. These struggles are a consequence of colonialism through which they not only lost their space, but also a big part of their cultural heritage. The generation after the last Residential Schools is now trying to fight back against the processes of exclusion and traumas they experience, and cultural preservation seems to be the answer. However, because their cultural heritage has been invisible for both non-Indigenous and Indigenous people for so long, visibility is an important step towards cultural preservation. This visibility is achieved through expressions of Indigenous cultural heritage, which then encourage space reclaiming, another important step for Indigenous healing and cultural preservation. The response to the formation of boundaries and the processes of inclusion and exclusion taking place in Vancouver is thus preserving Indigenous cultural heritage, and to achieve that, expressing this cultural heritage and reclaiming space are important steps.

However, the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage is a very complex process. As mentioned several times before, there is no single notion of what cultural heritage entails. However, it is the meaning that Indigenous people attribute to their cultural heritage that matters. For them, cultural heritage is a way to give meaning to their lives, to their history, and to their identity. In Vancouver, the negotiation of Indigenous cultural heritage by the Indigenous community is embedded in a context of many different processes, including urbanisation, different nations coming together, space reclaiming, and inclusion and exclusion. Through these processes, Indigenous cultural heritage cannot only be preserved, but is also renewed in a way. From an anthropological perspective, it is a very complex process. However, describing such complex processes will always be of great importance.

Discussion

Although we think our thesis has covered many struggles that the Indigenous community in Vancouver faces, one issue that is missing from our thesis is that of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG). Although some of our informants did mention it, we decided not to focus on this topic because we believed it was a too sensitive topic to talk about for our informants and because our conversations were already covering so many sensitive topics. However, we do consider this as an extremely important issue that plays an extremely important part in the lives of Indigenous people in Canada. We also believe it needs further research and could also be connected to many topics we discussed in this thesis, including inclusion and exclusion, boundaries, identity, representation and (failure of) space claiming. Especially in light of the recent conclusion of a government inquiry that Canada is guilty of a race-based genocide against Indigenous women (BBC 2019), this topic would be worth researching.

We suggest for future research on Indigenous communities in Canada to take MMIWG and its impact in mind. We have multiple suggestions of topics concerning MMIWG in Canada. First, the extent to which this issue influences efforts to preserve cultural heritage, reclaim space and heal from trauma would definitely be worth researching. We would also suggest to consider the role the media plays in covering such topics and the influence this has, which could also be interesting to research in connection to discrimination or the Indian Residential School System. Connected to this is the use of the term 'genocide' and to what extent using this term is important for Indigenous communities in their healing processes. Lastly, we suggest future research to take in mind what role government inquiries and research on issues like MMIWG have on Indigenous communities and efforts to overcome their struggles. These are just some of many possibilities of including MMIWG in future research on Indigenous communities in Canada.

During our fieldwork, we mainly focused on interviewing Indigenous people. We chose this focus mainly because of lack of time. Besides, we were also not sure if it is possible to talk with non-Indigenous people about the struggles that the Indigenous community experiences. We did interview a few non-Indigenous people, but they were also working for Indigenous people or organisations. Because of this, we only grasped the perspectives of the Indigenous community itself, or those who play an important role for the community, and not the perspectives of the people outside the community. For future research, we suggest to analyse the perspectives of the people who are not directly involved in the community, and especially

of those who live close to Indigenous organisations. Besides this, even though we did research the perspectives of Indigenous people who are affected by the Indian Residential School System, we did not have contact with direct survivors of Residential Schools. We suggest to research how this group of people experiences the loss of their cultural heritage, processes of inclusion and exclusion, and processes of space claiming and place creating.

We researched how the Indigenous community in Vancouver negotiates their cultural heritage. So, we did research in an urban environment. We decided to do this because of lack of time. Besides, it is hard to get access to reserves as outsiders. We suggest for future research to analyse how communities on reserves negotiate their cultural heritage, and to compare this with communities in the city. Besides this, we researched if our informants felt like they belong in the city. As mentioned before, we noted that many informants, like James Hunter, want to go back to their reserve. They experience feelings of homesickness. As we did not do research on reserves, we suggest to research what role the processes of inclusion and exclusion and processes of space claiming and place creating play on reserves, and how these affect the desire to move to the city. After analysing this, we suggest to analyse the differences and/or similarities between communities that are living on reserves and those who are living in the city.

Vancouver is a special place with regard to Indigenous cultural heritage. During our fieldwork, we quickly noticed that the Indigenous presence in Vancouver is very strong. Indigenous people are proud to be Indigenous and are making serious efforts to be seen. Moreover, they are also being acknowledged way more than in other cities in Canada, which is clear through the acknowledgement of their territories. This makes Vancouver a unique context to do this research, and our research can therefore not be generalised to other cities. However, it would be interesting to see how Indigenous communities in other cities negotiate their cultural heritage. We therefore suggest for future research to also focus on other cities where the Indigenous presence is not as visible.

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