

Decolonizing Municipal Heritage Programs: A Case Study of the City of Victoria's Heritage Program

**by
Julia Hulbert**

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Approval

Name: Julia Alta Dorothy Hulbert

Degree: Master of Urban Studies

Title: Decolonizing Municipal Heritage Programs:
A Case Study of the City of Victoria's
Heritage Program

Examining Committee:

Chair: Karen Ferguson
Professor, Urban Studies Program and
Department of History

Meg Holden
Senior Supervisor
Professor, Urban Studies Program and
Department of Geography

Patrick J. Smith
Supervisor
Professor, Urban Studies Program and
Department of Political Science

Sierra Tasi Baker
External Examiner
Indigenous Cultural and Design Consultant
Sky Spirit Consulting

Date Defended/Approved: April 15, 2020

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Abstract

This research examines the City of Victoria's heritage program, which comprises of civic plans, policies and associated agencies, to understand whether or not it can meet the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. I have argued that the City of Victoria's heritage program must be adapted to include intangible cultural heritage to support decolonization and the representation of Indigenous cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage offers an accessible way for the field of municipal heritage planning to become more inclusive and supportive to reconciliation.

Keywords: decolonization; Indigenous cultural heritage; heritage; municipal heritage planning; intangible cultural heritage

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All things worth doing in life take a community. This research was no different.

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Thank you to the participants who took time and energy to speak with me and contribute to this research.

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List of Acronyms

CoV	City of Victoria
CRD	Capital Regional District
FPCC	First Peoples' Cultural Council
HCA	Heritage Conservation Act
HCSAA	Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
LGA	Local Government Act
SGCHP	Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNESCO	United Nations Environmental, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Glossary

Character-defining Element	“The materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings that contribute to the heritage value of a historic place, which must be retained to preserve its heritage value” (Parks Canada, 2018, p. 5).
Cultural Resources	“Cultural resources encompass all of the tangible and intangible heritage and living cultural elements of a community” (ICOMOS, 2002, p. 22).
Heritage	Definitions for heritage vary widely. The following two examples best fit the context of heritage for this research: Heritage is a representation of the past and what matters in the present (Madgin, 2017). It “is a broad concept that encompasses our natural, Indigenous and historic or cultural inheritance” (ICOMOS, 2002, p. 22).
Heritage Character	Character is the “overall effect produced by traits or features which give property or an area a distinctive quality or appearance” (British Columbia Heritage Branch, 1995).
Heritage Designation	“Legal protection through passage of a bylaw (local or regional government) or Order in Council (provincial). Designation offers long term protection and allows regulation and control of alterations and demolition” (Heritage BC, 2019).
Heritage Program	Municipal heritage programs are typically comprised of a Heritage Register, management tools in the forms of bylaws, policies and plans, and public education and awareness programs delivered through advocacy organizations.
Heritage Value	“The aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present and future generations. The heritage value of a historic place is embodied in its character-defining materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings” (Parks Canada, 2018, p. 5).
Historic Place	“A structure, building, group of buildings, district, landscape, archaeological site or other place in Canada that has been formally recognized for its heritage value” (Parks Canada, 2018, p. 5).

Indigenous Cultural Heritage	Indigenous Cultural Heritage “includes both tangible and intangible expressions of culture that link generations of Indigenous People over time. Indigenous People often express their cultural heritage through “the person”, their relationships with country, people, beliefs, knowledge, law, language, symbols, ways of living, sea, land and objects all of which arise from Indigenous spirituality. Indigenous Cultural Heritage is essentially defined and expressed by the traditional custodians of that heritage” (ICOMOS, 2002, p. 23).
Indigenous Peoples	For the purposes of this research, Indigenous cultural groups will be referred to as Indigenous People, who “define themselves as sharing a common language, geographic territory and cultural knowledge, practices and values” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 6). “Indigenous Peoples are inheritors and practitioners of unique cultures and ways of relating to people and the environment. They have retained social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Despite their cultural differences, Indigenous Peoples from around the world share common problems related to the protection of their rights as distinct peoples” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 6).
Intangible Cultural Heritage	Also referred to as intangible cultural assets and intangible cultural resources. UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills– as well as instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 3).
Tangible Resources	Also referred to as tangible assets and tangible heritage; these resources are physical spaces and places. Tangible resources “includes buildings and historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future... and objects significant to the archaeology, architecture, science or technology of a specific culture” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 3).

Chapter 1.

Introduction

The roots of injustice lie in history and it is there where the key to the regeneration of Aboriginal society and a new and better relationship with the rest of Canada can be found.

George Erasmus, Address for the Launch of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People, 1996

1.1. Research Question

Through the lens of decolonization theory, how can the City of Victoria's heritage program adapt to meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*?

1.2. Study Purpose

The purpose of my research is to examine the City of Victoria's heritage program, which comprises of civic plans, policies and associated agencies, to understand whether or not it can meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* in its current state. Municipal heritage programs, such as the City of Victoria's, are enabled through the Province of British Columbia's Local Government Act (LGA). The LGA grants communities and municipal corporations the authority to protect, conserve and recognize the heritage value or character of a designated heritage building, district and cultural landscape.

The heritage of our built environment is understood to be an integral element of our personal, civic, and national identity; however, a discussion of whose heritage is being represented is often missing. Heritage is the legacy of culture; and as such, the dominant culture that drives the formation of the built environment is often the one whose history, narratives and values become championed and preserved (ICOMOS, 2002; Madgin, 2017). Within Canada, that culture is colonial in origin and nearly all of the systems that exist within the field of heritage management were born from colonialism (Prangnell et al., 2010).

Canada's relationship to its history and identity formation is complex. At the core is a deeply problematic and divisive history of colonialism, where policies of cultural genocide and assimilation shaped the nation's relationship to the Indigenous¹ Peoples of this land (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015; Sandercock, 1998, 2004; Peake & Ray, 2001). Canada's challenge, like many other postcolonial settler societies, is how to address the legacy of colonization while creating space for the multi-dimensional layering of cultures and peoples that constitute the nation today. At present, urban planning lacks the tools to adequately address the cultural implications and representations of these complex histories of injustice. The tools available through cultural resource management, heritage planning, and the management of monuments and memorials, have historically been dominated by the narrative of colonization—that of nation building and conquest. While the very foundation of Canada is the product of colonization, it is arguably not who Canadians aspire to be today.

1.3. Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action

In 2008, Canada established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as part of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement to address the historical and ongoing injustices committed against Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The seven-year process concluded in 2015 and produced 94 Calls to Action to lead the “process of reconciliation and renewed relationships that are based on mutual understanding and respect” (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, ‘FAQ’, 2015). Calls to Action 79 through 83 are directed towards this complex issue of mediating heritage and Indigenous cultural sovereignty. Under the heading of ‘Commemoration,’ five actions address the roles heritage, arts and culture have played in shaping our collective understanding to place and invite a new, trust-based dialogue on how they can be harnessed as tools for reconciliation going forward (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). Of these five actions, 79 is the most applicable to heritage programs and calls upon the

federal government in collaboration with Survivors, Aboriginal organizations, and the arts community, to develop a reconciliation

¹ Indigenous is capitalized throughout this document in accordance with the style used in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015).

framework for Canadian heritage and commemoration. This would include, but not be limited to:

- i. Amending the Historic Sites and Monuments Act to include First Nations, Inuit, and Métis representation on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and its Secretariat.
- ii. Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history.
- iii. Developing and implementing a national heritage plan and strategy for commemorating residential school sites, the history and legacy of residential schools, and the contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canada's history (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2016, p. 191).

Historically, Indigenous relations have largely been the responsibility of the federal government with municipalities taking a back seat. The TRC's Final Report (2015) identifies trust as the most significant challenge to First Nations and the Crown relations and calls for the broken trust to be repaired first through truth-telling and then reconciliation. Truth-telling is something that all levels of government must engage in as it concerns individuals, families, communities, provinces and the nation as a whole. Everyone has a responsibility. "The vision that led to that breach in trust must be replaced with a new vision for Canada; one that fully embraces Aboriginal peoples' right to self-determination within, and in partnership with, a viable Canadian sovereignty" (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015, p. 21).

Heritage and cultural history serve as a way to communicate stories and truths about the past and what is valued in the present (Madgin, 2017; Jameson, 2008; Fairclough et al., 2008; ICOMOS, 2002). Heritage plays an integral role in this by acting as a medium through which a collectively held understanding of trust can be established. Furthermore, heritage within a planning context, becomes the civically sanctioned and institutionalized cultural memory. To continue to exclude Indigenous cultural heritage from civic programs denies Indigenous cultural sovereignty.

The TRC's Final Report, "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling the Future", states that, "the ultimate objective [of reconciliation] must be to transform our country and restore mutual respect between peoples and nations" (Reconciliation Canada, 2015, p. 191). For this to be accomplished, new shared narratives and trust must be established (Reconciliation Canada, 2015; Gilpin, 2017; Monkman, 2016). Reconciliation is a means

to recognize “colonialism, power imbalances and the systems that perpetuate suffering, inequality and racism” (Todd quoted in Gilpin, 2017). Like decolonization, reconciliation is a process that necessitates the building of mutual respect; it requires creating or illuminating shared narratives that reflect both settler and Indigenous histories so that through recognition of difference and similarity there can be an understanding of the Indigenous and colonized worldviews. Decolonization is a process that centers “the concerns and worldviews of the colonized Other” (Chilisa, 2012 a, p. 14). It is critical to the reconciliation process as it serves as a means to break down the systems and worldviews that perpetuate otherness and marginalization of non-dominant cultural groups, such as Indigenous People in a Euro-Western context.

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) affirms “Indigenous Peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture;” and that, “states shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities” (United Nations, 2008, p. 5). In May of 2016, Minister of Indigenous and Northern Affairs, Carolyn Bennett, announced Canada’s full and unequivocal support of UNDRIP and the implementation of the TRC’s Calls to Action (Fontaine, 2016; Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2017; Government of Canada, 2018). The Canadian Government “recognizes that all relations with Indigenous Peoples need to be based on the recognition and implementation of their right to self, including the inherent right of self-government” (Government of Canada, 2018). While the federal government’s position is publicly in support of reconciliation and UNDRIP; in reality, government’s actions are lagging. In 2017, then Justice Minister Jody Wilson-Raybould stated that the federal Liberal government would endorse a private member’s bill to support the implementation of the UNDRIP; however, to date that has not occurred (Tasker, 2017). This misalignment of words and action is echoed across the political realms where governments state one thing publicly in support of reconciliation but have yet to make policy changes to implement the Calls to Action. In 2019, the Province of British Columbia adopted UNDRIP, becoming the first province in Canada to do so.

1.4. Municipal Heritage Planning

Heritage planning, also called preservation planning or conservation planning, is a subfield of urban planning that focuses on the retention of the historic built environment (Fairclough et al., 2008; Kalman, 2014). While there are distinctive differences between the term conservation and preservation; within the practice of heritage planning they are used interchangeably. Heritage conservation is defined as “all aspects of retaining and enhancing historic places—a term that describes buildings, towns, landscapes, archaeological sites, and other places that hold historical, aesthetic, cultural, social, spiritual and/or scientific meaning to a community—what we call heritage significance” (Kalman, 2014, p. 4).

The practice of municipal heritage planning is a relatively new discipline. In Canada, it emerged in response to the post-WWII development boom. Municipal heritage planning is typically situated within a community development planning department and is tasked with identifying and protecting tangible cultural assets in the form of buildings and monuments (Kalman, 2014). Since the field first gained momentum in the 1970s, heritage planning has largely been concerned with material culture (buildings, sites and structures) and “manag[ing] change wisely” (Kalman, 2014, p. 4); however, with the recent emergence of social and cultural planning in the early 2000s, the scope of municipal heritage programs—administered by heritage planners—has broadened to include cultural values that support the management of tangible assets, through the recognition of the value in the continued use of a place (Government of Canada, 2001). The City of Victoria follows this same model, where the civic heritage program is administered by heritage planners within the Department of Sustainable Planning and Community Development.

Municipalities are creatures of the province and subject to their respective legislations. For the Province of British Columbia, the Local Government Act (LGA) advises on the municipal administration of heritage programs and is highly prescriptive in what the program can address. Part 27 of the LGA empowers municipalities to create Community Heritage Commissions to advise local government on the protection, conservation and recognition of the value or character of a ‘heritage’ property. The legislation to protect heritage is confined to ‘real property,’ which is defined as buildings, structures and other improvements affixed to the land— tangible assets. The Legislation

affords natural landscapes protection “with respect to a site that has heritage value or heritage character related to human occupation or use” (British Columbia Local Government Act, 2015). Therefore, the LGA only enables the protection of tangible assets and thus municipal heritage programs are almost exclusively limited to tangible cultural assets and exclude peoples, cultures and communities that do not have a physical representation within the built environment. In consequence, this limitation explicitly excludes representations of non-Western peoples, cultures and communities, like Indigenous Peoples (Prangnell et al., 2010; Stevens, 2017).

Municipal heritage programs function to protect and preserve the built environment that has been assigned value due to its aesthetic, architectural and cultural history. The aesthetics and architectural significance—that which is tangible—have continued to dominate the means through which value has been assigned. Non-Western cultures do not view and privilege tangible assets in the same way that Western cultures historically have done (Prangnell et al., 2010). This is problematic as the physical culture of a municipality is integral to its identity, and as I will show in this research, there are real implications to equity, human rights and cultural visibility that affect reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples. The challenge with heritage is that it can act as “unifying force, emphasizing a nation’s shared identity” but it “can also be used it in negative ways” including promoting “community involvement in wars, for ethnic cleansing or even genocide” to “forcing groups to adopt the dominant culture [which] and can lead to the destruction of cultural identity” (Langfield et al., 2010, p. 9). Heritage can be used as a tool for community building, job creation, a point of inspiration to bridge cultural differences and foster social diversity, but it also has been used as a way to reform public attitudes to a different political agenda (Langfield et al., 2010). In turn, there “is a real connection between heritage and human rights” (Langfield et al., 2010, p. xiv).

Municipal heritage programs serve as the foundation for civic culture and are important tools of cultural identity formation and thus play an important role along the path to reconciliation. As outlined in the following Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework, power is both held and created through the official history that civic heritage programs support. The stories and narratives through which that history is told can either become obstacles to creating new shared truths or tools to illuminate the history of injustice that has accompanied colonization. Systematically, cultural organizations have privileged colonial culture and history over non-white settler histories including Indigenous Peoples’

histories (Prangnell et al., 2010). While there is a growing understanding of this inequality and changes are underway to address them, largely the dominant narrative within heritage organizations is still that of white settler culture (Dion, 2008; Peake & Ray, 2001). As Todd rallies, “the only way to address that [gap] is to address colonialism and our history of white Canadian and white settlers believing themselves to be the founders of this country” (quoted in Gilpin, 2017). This foundation myth is deeply tied to lineage, property and paternalism—pillars of the early days of heritage planning (Fairclough et al., 2008; Prangnell et al., 2010).

While the historic built environment has a tremendous capacity to record, interpret and communicate the history of a place, the stories they tell are often confined to that of nation building and development, products of colonization; leaving out many important histories that reflect the diversity of peoples and cultures that constitute the nation today. Traditionally, municipal heritage planning has focused on managing “change wisely” (Kalman, 2014, p. 4). While this perspective does persist, the field is shifting into “a social practice, part history and part planning” where the goal “is not fixing or saving old things but rather creating places where people can live well and connect to meaningful narratives about history, culture, and identity” (Kaufman, 2009, p. 4). Therefore, it is critical that municipal heritage programs, which protect and guide narratives of place, not become agents of political or social direction but rather adapt to afford all peoples the same privilege of having their cultural heritage reflected back to them.

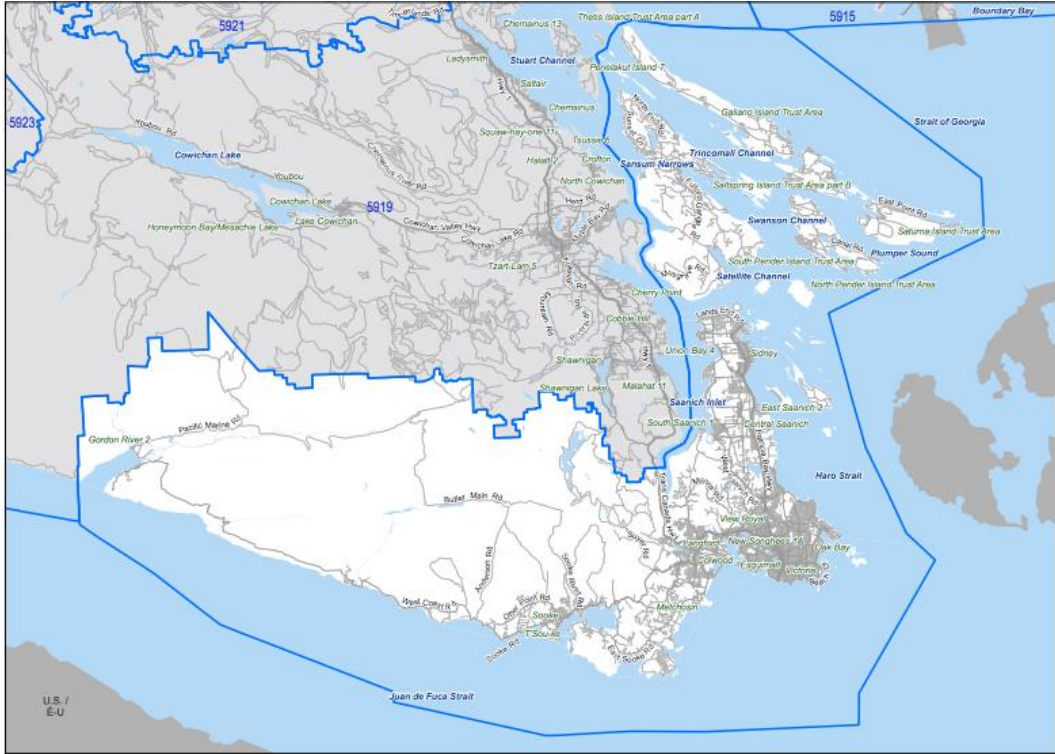
1.5. City of Victoria’s Municipal Heritage Program

The City of Victoria’s cultural identity is tied to its colonial built environment (Edmonds, 2010). For nearly a century, Victoria has promoted itself as “more English than England itself” (Smith, 2012, p. 67). From the early days of Victoria’s tourism industry, the City has crafted a persona as a “quaint, “jolly good” capital” and credits the combined efforts of government agencies and the City’s Chamber of Commerce for promoting the capital city as a “little bit of old England” (Smith, 2012, p. 67). Victoria’s English identity arguably remains current today and this can be seen in the many different charitable organizations, festivals and events that celebrate the City’s settler history (Commonwealth Historic Resources Ltd., 2002; Edmonds, 2010). A fulsome

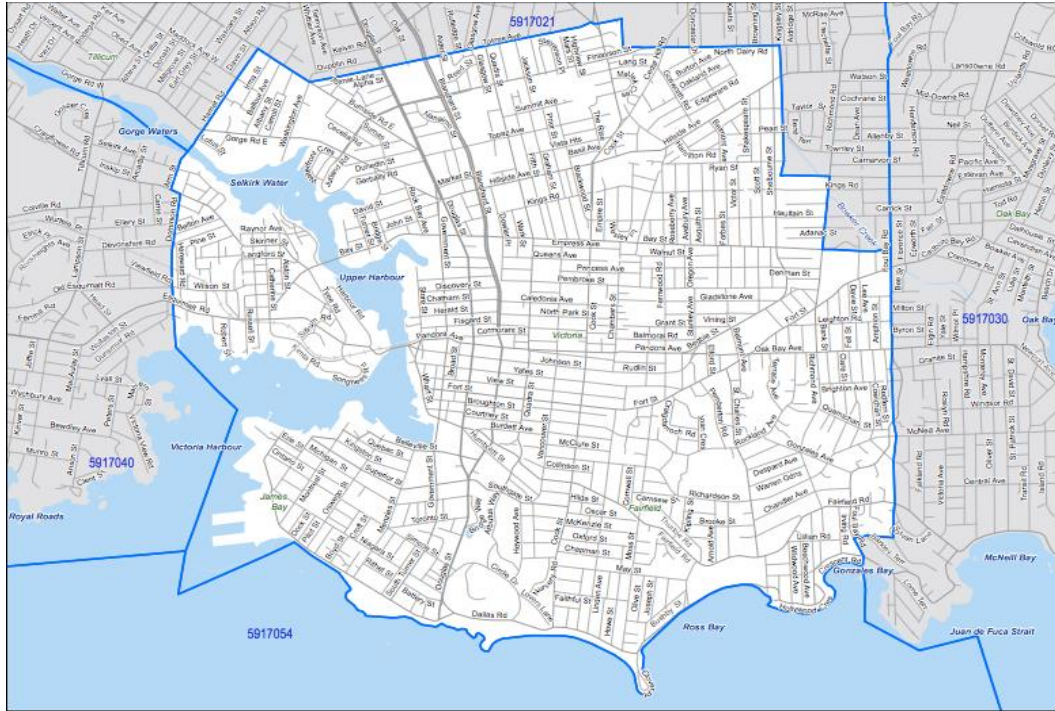
review of Victoria's current non-profit organizations and heritage landscape is provided in Chapter 4.

The purpose of this research is to examine the City of Victoria's heritage program to understand whether or not it can meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action* in its current state. The City of Victoria's heritage program was established in the 1970s and is one of the oldest and most successful programs in Canada. It is comprised of a Heritage Register, guidelines, plans, policies and bylaws, and non-profit advocacy groups that administer grants and deliver educational programming. The City has an established record of support to preserve and celebrate its settler history and has been the recipient of national awards in recognition of the City's and publics' efforts to do so (Segger, 1996; Cleverley, 2014; Commonwealth Historic Resources Ltd., 2002).

Fox's 2011 research on the evolution of Victoria's heritage program concluded that "the particular trajectory of heritage conservation policy is highly dependent on the social, political and economic context of the locality" (p. ii). Victoria's locality is a complex urban landscape built on the territory of the Lekwungen Peoples. As Map 1 and 2 illustrate, the City of Victoria is a relatively small municipality of only 19 km² with a population of just over 92,000, located on the lower peninsula of the larger 2,340 km² Capital Regional District (CRD). The CRD has a total population of 383,360 people and occupies the traditional territories of nine Indigenous Nations, each of whom have their own "unique histories, cultures and economies" (Helps, 2019; Statistics Canada, 2016, 2017). The City of Victoria is built on the traditional territorial lands of two Nations, the Lekwungen (Songhees) and Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nations—both of whom have active claims to the land and reserves within and adjacent to the municipality (see Map 3 and 4). As the provincial capital, Victoria receives over 3 million visitors annually and serves as the cultural heart of the CRD. Many of the cultural organizations that serve the region are located within Victoria's boundaries, including multiple heritage organizations (City of Victoria, 2017).



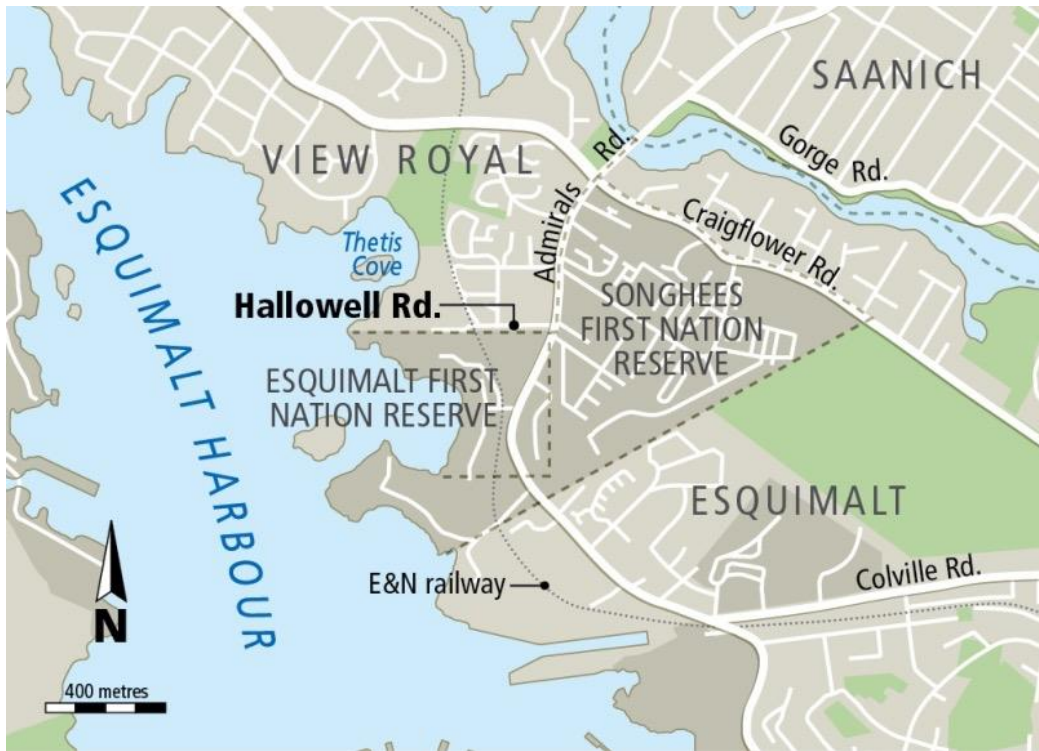
Map 1. Capital Regional District. Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016; hydrography from National Geographic Database, 2016.



Map 2. City of Victoria. Sources: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2016; hydrography from National Geographic Database, 2016.



Map 3. Traditional Territories of the six Lekwungen Families, Songhees Youth Group, 1999, Image Source: Lisa Helps, 2018.



Map 4. Map illustrating the boundaries of the Songhees First Nation and Esquimalt First Nation Reserve. Source: Times Colonist, 2017.

In the CRD, 5% (17,245) of the population is Indigenous (Government of Canada, 2017). The Songhees First Nation has 630 members, governed by an elected Chief and Council (Songhees First Nation, 2016). Approximately 400 people live on the Songhees Nation's 60-hectare Reserve #1A, located adjacent to the Victoria West neighbourhood (Map 3). The Esquimalt Nation is significantly smaller with 150 members living on their reserve—located outside of the main inner harbour area, and approximately 100 living off reserve (Esquimalt First Nation, 2010). Across Canada, over half of Indigenous People live in metropolitan areas off reserves (Statistics Canada Report, 2016, 2017). See Map 3 for an illustrated representation of the Lekwungen Families' traditional territories and Map 4 that reflects the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nation current reserve boundaries. It is important to note that while the act of colonization dispossessed Indigenous People from their land, they were not displaced entirely (Blomley, 2005, p. 114).

Since the Truth and Reconciliation Commission started their work in 2008, there has been a cultural shift across Canada to understand and address the country's relationship to its colonial history and the impacts it has had and continues to have on Indigenous, Metis and Inuit peoples. Mayor Helps (2019) commented that,

There has been progress towards reconciliation and local Indigenous nations have demonstrated a cultural and economic resurgence, but inequality, inadequate housing and social services, and limited economic development persist as obstacles to achieving full reconciliation.

Changes to the City of Victoria's policies and procedures concerning land, culture and rights reflect this trend. In the City's most recent Official Community Plan (2012), they state that city policies and programs should "seek opportunities to partner and collaborate with the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations on initiatives that acknowledge and celebrate the traditional territory and cultural values of First Peoples" (Reddington, 2016). Examples of this in public art and neighbourhood planning projects are evident (City of Victoria, various years); however, as I will illustrate, there remains a gap in the City's heritage program. I argue that the heritage program is foundational to the development and memorialization of Victoria's civic cultural identity and therefore neglecting to update the heritage program continues to present barriers to the reconciliation and redress process. While reconciliation is about the building of

relationships through shared truths, redress is about reparations being made to satisfy reconciliation.

In recognition of Canada's 150th anniversary, the City declared 2017 to be "A Year of Reconciliation," stating that it is "an opportunity for the City of Victoria and residents throughout the region to demonstrate our local ongoing commitment to reconciliation" (City of Victoria, 2016). The City acknowledges that truth "does not necessarily lead to reconciliation," and that action is needed to move beyond recognition and to begin the complex healing process (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015, p.7). Action is redress. As the City's heritage program has not been significantly updated since 2015 and does not address reconciliation, I will explore how Victoria's current heritage policies and programs affect the City commitments to reconciliation and provide recommendations for changes to the program to support the Truth and Reconciliation process with the Lkwungen (Songhees) and Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nations.

1.6. Positionality

I am a first-generation Canadian settler of European decent and am conscious of the associated privileges this affords me as a researcher, academic and professional, and have endeavored to take inspiration from decolonized Indigenous research methodology as a means to moderate the impacts of my own ontological assumptions. Indigenous research tools support the "restoration and development of cultural practices, thinking patterns, beliefs and values that were suppressed but are still relevant and necessary to the survival and birth of new ideas, thinking, techniques and lifestyles that contribute to the advancement and empowerment of the historically oppressed and former colonized non-Western societies" (Chilisa, 2012 a, p.14).

Many Indigenous scholars state that for research to be truly decolonized, the research should be conducted by people with Indigenous ancestry, use Indigenous methodologies, and adopt an Indigenous ontological lens for analysis (Smith, 1999; Chilisa, 2012 a b). To adopt a fully decolonized research methodology is beyond my means both as a researcher and a graduate student due to timelines and available resources; however, as detailed in Chapter 3, the research and analysis design has been modeled after decolonized Indigenous research methodology as I believe that to be my responsibility as a researcher. The intent of this research is to highlight the

continuation of colonial systems that present barriers to the Truth and Reconciliation process, to learn from Indigenous cultural resource managers working to decolonize systems of oppression, and to support marginalized people whose history, culture and stories are not yet reflected in our municipal heritage programs.

This research began and took form on the lands of the unceded traditional territories of the xʷməθkwəy̓əm (Musqueam), Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish) and Sełílwətaʔ/Selilwitulh (Tseil-Waututh) Nations in Vancouver, British Columbia, where I have lived, worked and studied for the past decade—hay ce:p əa.² The work was informed by the lands and people of the Lkwungen (Songhees), Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) and W̱SÁNEĆ (Saanich) Nations in Victoria and Saanich where I spent my formative years. I am deeply grateful to have been a visitor on their lands for over two decades and for the opportunities I have been afforded to listen and learn. Throughout my undergraduate degree at the University of Victoria I took courses in Ethnobotany where I was introduced to the concepts of Traditional Ecological Knowledge, cultural heritage, and where I met Lkwungen elders whose presence remains in my heart and mind today. Before moving to the western edge of Canada, I was born and grew up in Treaty 6 Territory, in Edmonton, Alberta. The transience of my early life and education at the University of Victoria and later at Simon Fraser University have informed this research and my pursuit to understand how we relate to place and the role the stories represented and embedded in our environment play to connect people to place, and ultimately to home.

Within this research, I am endeavouring, to the best of my ability, to position an Indigenous way of viewing the world. My own professional and personal history informs my research positionality and it is important to be clear and respectful of the privilege I hold as a white woman of settler ancestry and be transparent of how this has impacted my research. As I discuss in Chapter 3: Methodology, I worked as a cultural planning consultant with the City of Victoria throughout 2016-2017 on their Create Victoria: Arts and Culture Master Plan Update and the policy analysis work and community engagement I conducted become the foundation for this subsequent academic research.

² Translates as ‘thank you’ in hul’qumi’num (First Peoples Cultural Council, First Voices, n.d.).

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

Shrouded in both darkness and light... history as memory helps us to locate ourselves in the continuing present while imagining alternative futures that are meant to serve us as beacons of warning and inspiration.

Gerda Lerner, 1997, Chapter 4 in Friedmann, 2000, p. 471

The following chapter lays out a theoretical framework to contextualize my research question of how the City of Victoria's heritage program can adapt to meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. The framework consists of three themes, Theme 1: Defining Heritage discusses the complexity of the cultural resource management field through the evolving definitions of heritage; and explains how heritage planning shapes our collective relationship to place. Theme 2: The History of Heritage Planning reviews the evolution of the heritage planning field from one concerned only with material assets to a dynamic and inclusive field of study that has the capacity to support reconciliation and redress. Theme 3: Settler Colonialism discusses the role of intangible cultural heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage as tools for empowerment and examines the relationship between racism and cultural erasure of Indigenous Peoples through settler colonialism and decolonization theory.

2.1. Theme 1: Defining Heritage

Heritage is both a field of discourse and an analytical lens used within the practice of cultural resource management (Winter, 2014). Heritage, heritage planning, cultural assets, cultural values, cultural planning, intangible assets, tangible assets, intangible values, tangible values and heritage programs are all components of the cultural resource management field (Kalman, 2014; Winter, 2014). For the purposes of this research, I will use the terms heritage studies and cultural resource management interchangeably. It is important to note that "cultural heritage management should be seen as a discourse that is mobilized for different social and political ends" (Fairclough et al., 2008, p. 7). The history of the field's development, its current functionality and mandates reflect these social and political pressures. Heritage planning is commonly understood to be "a process of conscious, purposeful remembrance for the political,

cultural or economic needs of those in the present; it involves a subjective representation of valued objects, significant persons, places and symbolic events of the past, closely allied with issues of identity and power” (Marschall, 2008, p. 347).

2.1.1. Defining Heritage

Defining heritage is a difficult task, depending on who you ask, what corner of the world you reside in, and what your ontological stance is, you will arrive at a different definition. It has been defined as both the “representation of the past” to reflect “what matters in the present” (Madgin, 2017) and as “a broad concept that encompasses our natural, indigenous and historic or cultural inheritance” (ICOMOS, 2002, p. 22). How a definition of heritage is arrived at is as much informed by the era, discipline and author’s positionality as it is defined by the political and nationalist aspirations of the society to which it was delivered (Fairclough, 2008; Langfield et al., 2010). The federal department responsible for administering Canada’s heritage conservation and commemoration programs, Parks Canada, defines heritage as “the aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present and future generations” (2018). What remains constant throughout the various definitions of heritage is that cultural value is a defining characteristic. Whether it is a traditional approach to heritage that is grounded in tangible assets like archaeology, preservation and conservation, or in a more contemporary approach where intangible assets like dance, song and knowledge systems are incorporated; cultural value remains at the heart of this field of study (Smith, 2006; Fairclough et al., 2008).

As a field of discourse, heritage can be dated back to 1666 and emerged with the development of archeology (Cleere, 1989; Fairclough et al., 2008). The discipline privileged physical assets, things that could be held and preserved through science and policy, and “elevated the role of archaeologist” (Prangnell et al., 2010, p. 140) as the primary expert in heritage resource management (Waterton, 2005; Waterton and Smith, 2008). While the field has evolved over the last three and a half centuries, the privileging of physical, tangible assets continues. Even Parks Canada still defines “the heritage value of a historic place [as] embodied in its character-defining materials, forms, location, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings” (2018, p. 5).

Canada's national approach to heritage was formalized with the creation of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) in 1919. HSMBC was created by the Parks Canada department to advise and interpret sites of historical significance to the country as a whole. The program was solely predicated on tangible assets and evolved out of a quest for national identity formation—reflecting a colonial vision for Canada. The founder of the Board, J.B. Harkin, intended for the commemorative body to “educate Canadians” and “stimulate patriotism” (Harkin, 1914 as quoted in Taylor, 1983, p. 24). The HSMBC is emblematic of a willful remembrance and positioning of history to serve a greater cultural narrative of nation-building and subsequently became the foundation from which provincial and municipal heritage programs developed (Oliver, 2008; Arsenault et al., 2010).

The field's myopic focus on tangible culture characterized much of the late twentieth century and was driven by political agendas. “The ownership and interpretation of the past” was a “key issue” within the developing field (Fairclough et al., 2008, p. 7). In the last two decades, a notable shift has occurred, and a more pluralistic interpretation of cultural value has been adopted allowing for heritage planning at international and national levels to expand and include landscapes and intangible cultural heritage (Fairclough, 2008; United Nations for Indigenous Peoples, n.d.; Kalman, 2014). In 2005, the Smithsonian Institute identified a substantial gap in the research on Heritage Studies and set out to articulate and reflect upon this evolving field of study.

The interdisciplinary field of Heritage Studies is now well established in many parts of the world. It differs from earlier scholarly and professional activities that focused narrowly on the architectural or archaeological preservation of monuments and sites. Such activities remain important, especially as modernization and globalization lead to new developments that threaten natural environments, archaeological sites, traditional buildings and arts and crafts. But they are subsumed within a new field that sees ‘heritage’ as a social and political construct encompassing all those places, artefacts and cultural expressions inherited from the past, which because they are seen to reflect and validate our identity as nations, communities, families and even individuals, are worthy of some form of respect and protection (Langfield et al., 2010, p. xiv).

Alongside the expanding view of Heritage Studies, the profession of heritage planning itself began to recognize its role as a cultural process (Smith, 2006). This idea can be seen in the evolving interpretation of the role that municipal heritage programs play in

sculpting cultural relationships to place and has direct implications to the representation and preservation of Indigenous cultural heritage.

2.1.2. Defining Intangible Cultural Heritage

In the field of Heritage Studies, the United Nations Environmental Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) serve as the international leaders (Langfield et al., 2010). Over the past fifty years, these organization have continued to advance a more holistic understanding of cultural resource management and have initiated critical conversations on place, authenticity, intangible cultural heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage (Ruggles & Silverman, 2009; UNESCO, 2003). UNESCO defines cultural heritage as the “legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations” (United Nations for Indigenous Peoples, n.d.).

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH), which can also be referred to as intangible assets, intangible heritage and intangible resources, is defined as “all forms of traditional and popular or folk culture” (ICOMOS, 2002, p. 23). According to ICOMOS, intangible cultural expressions are:

transmitted orally or by gesture, and are modified over a period of time, through a process of collective re-creation. They include oral traditions, customs, languages, music, dance, rituals, festivals, traditional medicine and pharmacopeia, popular sports, food and the culinary arts and all kinds of special skill connected with the material aspects of culture, such as tools and the habitat (2002, p. 23).

With ICH, cultural value is given prominence in a way that is not tied to material assets and allows for alternate ways of valuing culture, a fundamental right of Indigenous People according to UNDRIP (2008).

2.1.3. Defining Indigenous Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS defines Indigenous cultural heritage (Indigenous CH) as

both tangible and intangible expressions of culture that link generations of Indigenous People over time. Indigenous People often express their cultural heritage through ‘the person’, or their relationships with country,

people, beliefs, knowledge, law, language, symbols, ways of living, sea, land and objects all of which arise from Indigenous spirituality. Indigenous cultural heritage is essentially defined and expressed by the Traditional Custodians of that heritage (2002, p. 23).

This definition reflects an Indigenous worldview that is predicated on a cyclical “vision of history” allowing for many interpretations and representations of place, values and assets, rather than the Western linear understanding of history (Vecco, 2010, p. 324).

An Indigenous vision of history recognizes that the “constructions of place reach deeply into other cultural spheres, including conceptions of wisdom, notions of morality, politeness and tact in forms of spoken discourse, and certain conventional ways of imagining and interpreting the... past” (Basso, 1996, p. xv). While place can be culturally constructed, it is personally experienced as a reaction to outside forces and memories. Elder Dr. Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams of the Lil’wat Nation, views Indigenous “heritage [as] about knowing who we are collectively and individually. Each one of us leaves a mark in the place in which we live, in which we spend our time” (Williams, 2017).

2.1.4. Heritage & Place

As demonstrated, the definition of heritage has shifted over the past century and so too has the practice of heritage conservation (or preservation) and its planning application. A great deal of scholarship was conducted in the early 2000s on the relationship of place and the politicization of memory and this was reflected in changes to the way cultural resource managers evaluate sites and places of significance. Heritage is inherently political; it creates and maintains identity on a local to global scale, and affects individuals, communities and nation states (Langfield et al., 2010). It is both a profoundly valuable and contentious field that has the capacity to reinforce racism or bring together disparate narratives such as settler and Indigenous history (Osborne, 2006; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; 2004; Smith, 2006). Heritage programs structure our collective symbolic landscape, and most importantly, assign value. Heritage “is all about the meaning of place. Space is a neutral entity, experienced emotionally and defined by objective co-ordinates and measures; but place is an emotive entity, experienced emotionally and defined subjectively... People produce places and they also derive their identities from them” (Osborne, 2006, p. 149).

Place can be understood as the “spatial co-ordinates for identity and belonging in the reciprocal relationship between people and the places they inhabit” (Osborne, 2006, p. 149). “The objective geometry of space is transformed into emotive places by living in place, memorizing place, narrating place, and creating symbolic landscapes” (Hague, 2005, p. 7-8). These dimensions of place create identity and are what underpin the relevancy of municipal heritage programs. The reason that tangible and intangible assets, like historic buildings, monuments and songs, can act as a reference or archive is due to the action of association or place. Through the policies, plans and programs, heritage planning enforces the dimensions of a place, records the memories and narrates the stories (Osborne, 2006). This relationship can facilitate connections between people, cultures and communities and plays an integral role in shaping personal and cultural identity (Dovey, 1999; Osborne, 2006).

Places can therefore be understood as the articulation and expressions of culturally-bound values. “It is through evolving social relations, ritualized practices, and regular performances of daily living that spaces acquire meaning, reflect social and political values, and are transformed into living places” (Osborne, 2006, p. 150). “Historicized spaces/places anchor time and produce locales where cultures find meaning” (Osborne, 2006, p. 151). As a society, we transform place through action and living and give it value and meaning. “Heritage largely exists within a historical context that has been created by various influences” (Fairclough, 2008, p. 2). The social construction of place, its context, is contingent on three components: memorizing, narrating and symbolic landscapes (Osborne, 2006). These “provide spatial and temporal co-ordinates for remembering” (Osborne, 2006, p. 151) and serve as footprints to map our cultural identity (Dovey, 1999).

Heritage planning assigns power and privilege through dominating and articulating the meta-narratives that shape and reinforce a cultural significance and identity of a place. Cultural significance is “embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects” (Dovey, 1999, p. 39-40). Avarami asserts that “artifacts are not static embodiments of culture but are, rather, a medium through which identity, power, and society are produced and reproduced” (2000, p. 6). “Objects, collections, buildings, and places become recognized as “heritage” through conscious decisions and unspoken values of particular people and institutions – and for reasons that are strongly shaped by social contexts and processes”

(Avrami et al., 2000 p. 6). These contexts and processes are becoming increasingly important to heritage planners as they reimagine their role within a post-colonial context.

Reflecting this changing interest and understanding, the 2017 Heritage BC Conference included a focus on Indigenous cultural heritage. Elder Williams delivered the keynote address, sharing with the audience of municipal heritage planners and cultural resource managers how they should approach the Truth and Reconciliation process. She began by reminding the room that “the work heritage does is to be the memory, leave the footprints... and we must remember that memory is selective, we choose what and who will be remembered, and we choose the way in which we will be remembered” (Williams, 2017). Those are powerful words to address a room of white professionals who are largely working within the traditional approach to heritage— museums, heritage societies and civic planners. She elaborates that the truth part of the process is problematic because “if we are going to reconcile Canada’s history with its First Peoples, Indigenous Peoples of this land, and it must be done if we are ever going to call ourselves Canadian, then our task is a huge one—in this country, the Indigenous People of this land, have been invisible in the history books, museums (although changing), invisible in the school curriculum.” Dr. Williams’ message was clear: to establish new shared truths, Indigenous People must be visible on their lands. This is why municipal Heritage Programs have the capacity to become a powerful tool on Canada’s reconciliation journey.

2.2. Theme 2: A History of Heritage Planning

The dominant group in any nation state often resorts to nostalgia, to mental or cultural ellipses, and to general forgetfulness in search of meanings and definitions that serve its own ideological needs of the moment.

Amritjit Singh et al., 2008, p. 5

In the following section, I have reviewed the development of the field of heritage planning through the emergence of values-based heritage management as a response to the inflexibility of the first generation of heritage planning principles. The section includes a discussion of the international, national and provincial changes that reflect an evolving approach to heritage planning and includes a discussion of Smith’s influential

scholarship on the 'authorized heritage discourse,' where she introduced a significant critique on the institutionalization and professionalization of the field of Heritage Studies.

2.2.1. The United Nations and International Influences

The first concept of heritage beyond archaeological assets was offered in 1964 with the Venice Charter for Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites. The Charter described heritage as:

imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized.

While the Venice Charter confines heritage to tangible assets, it does recognize human values as an attribute, which paved the way for later discussions on authenticity and intangible cultural heritage (Ahmad, 2006; Vecco, 2010; Fairclough et al., 2008; UNESCO, 2003). It is important to note that while the Venice Charter was created nearly sixty years ago, "it is the doctrine that still guides preservationists internationally" (Jerome, 2014, p. 4) and has informed the development of Canada's own preservation policies (Kalman, 2014).

In 1979, ICOMOS adopted its first international conservation manifesto titled the Burra Charter which laid out a set of principles to create a standard for heritage conservation to "retain the cultural significance of a [historic] place" (Kalman, 2014, p. 4). The Burra Charter marked the transition from the traditional understanding of heritage—based on tangible assets—to one predicated on cultural value. "Traditionally heritage conservation has taken a narrow view of interpreting value. Generally, it has been assumed that value is determined through historical research, archaeological investigations or architectural analysis" (Kerr, 2007). The Burra Charter identified five values through which cultural significance could be determined: historical, scientific, aesthetic, social and spiritual; and this laid the foundation for a values-based approach to cultural heritage preservation (Kerr, 2007; Vecco, 2010; Jerome, 2014). The new definition for heritage includes social and spiritual values and thus recognizes the

“collective attachment to places that embody meanings important to a community” and supports a more inclusive interpretation of heritage (Johnston, 1992, p. 4).

This shift to a values-based management approach was also predicated on community involvement and “emerged against a backdrop of societal change and a concomitant shift in what is socially constructed as heritage” (McClelland et al., 2013, p.595; Jerome, 2014). The Burra Charter advised that the “management and intervention decisions for sites [be] based on revealing and enhancing identified cultural values” and recommended that those values be identified by the community (Jerome, 2014, p. 4). A community-engaged process was understood to be critical as dealing “effectively with stakeholders is often as important as physical conservation techniques” (Buckley & Sullivan, 2014, p. 38). The Charter was written for professional cultural resource managers and accordingly focused on the processes of governance (Jerome, 2014). The Charter “emphasized a collaborative process” that is not expert-driven but rather involves stakeholder consultation and a “well-defined sequence of steps to determine value” (Jerome, 2014, p. 4; McClelland et al., 2013). However, “it has since become apparent that retention of [heritage] can be achieved only by empowering those responsible for the place, whether they are Traditional Owners, heritage managers, communities, or private individuals” (Buckley & Sullivan, 2014, p. 38).

Within Canada, cultural resource managers use the values-based process as a means to determine the authenticity of a place they are seeking to preserve. Like heritage, authenticity is socially and politically determined through cultural forces and created through the act of association between people and place (Buggey, 1999; UNESCO, 2005; Kerr, 2007; Andrews & Buggey, 2008). The question is what values are used to determine and measure authenticity; and how is authenticity defined? Authenticity is defined as “the maintenance of continuing association between the people and the place, however it may be expressed through time and must not exclude cultural continuity through change, which may introduce new ways of relating to or caring for the place” (Andrews & Buggey, 2008, p. 67). While “the Western notion of authenticity is considered crucial to the cultural value of heritage places,” there are distinct differences between Western and Indigenous perspectives on how authenticity is defined and maintained (2008, p. 67).

Aboriginal cultural landscapes are living landscapes where authenticity involves authenticating change. Measures of authenticity need... to respect the cultural contexts to which such places belong, the belief systems associated with them, and the related concepts of land, time, and movement that embody meaning in the cultural landscape (2008, p. 63).

Therefore, authenticity is not principally about a place but about also about “people and cultures—living traditions—that commemorate, recognize, and value heritage places through daily activities of their lived lives” (Andrews & Buggey, 2008, p. 63). Article 1.2 of the Burra Charter states that “significance is embodied in the place itself” which, as Kerr (2007), Buckley & Sullivan (2014) and others have pointed out is problematic, as significance or authenticity easily become static and reflective of only one point in time articulated by an ‘expert’ (Zancheti et al., 2009). Heritage values are in fact “intangible, changeable over time, and dependent on their cultural contexts ... It is commonly accepted now that the values attributed to a heritage place are not an immutable constant, but rather that they evolve in respect to both time and space” (Araoz, 2011, p. 58).

While the Burra Charter is often singled out as the pivotal piece of legislation that shifted the field into a values-based approach, there were also other doctrines that contributed to the legitimization of intangible cultural heritage, Indigenous cultural heritage and ‘living heritage’ (Andrews & Buggey, 2008; Vecco, 2010; Poullos, 2014; Jerome, 2014). The 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity illuminated how social and cultural values contribute to authenticity (Ruggles & Silverman, 2009). The editors of the Nara Document were Raymond Lemaire and Herb Stovel. Stovel was the Canada Research Chair on Built Heritage and “one of the world’s most renowned experts in heritage conservation. As a scholar and a teacher, he had a huge impact on the advancement of the field in building the capacities of hundreds of heritage professionals all over the world,” and especially so in Canada where he taught at Carleton University (ICOMOS, 2012).

The Nara Document built on the Venice and Burra Charters and addressed the expanding scope of cultural heritage and the need for a broader understanding of cultural diversity and cultural heritage as it relates to conservation (Lemaire and Stovel, ed., 1994). The Document “emphasizes respect for other cultures, other values, and the tangible and intangible expressions that form part of the heritage of every culture. There are no fixed criteria to judge value and authenticity of cultural property; rather it must be

evaluated within the cultural context to which it belongs” (Lemaire and Stovel, ed., 1994, p. 46). The authors reflect that:

Conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage. Our ability to understand these values depends, in part, on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful. Knowledge and understanding of these sources of information, in relation to original and subsequent characteristics of the cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity (1994, p. 46-47).

At the 1996 Symposium on Authenticity in Conservation and Management of Cultural Heritage, cultural heritage was identified as the “direct relationship between authenticity and identity, authenticity and social value (spiritual meaning manifested through customs and traditions), and authenticity and stewardship” (Andrews & Buggey, 2008, p. 64). It specified that cultural identity serves as the “foundation of our cultural heritage and its conservation” and that “the values of a site are an anchor of cultural identity” (Declaration of San Antonio, 1996). The 2003 UNESCO “Convention for Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage” formalized this new direction by recognizing the value of intangible cultural heritage and authenticity and created protection measures to preserve intangible cultural heritage (Ahmad, 2006; Ruggles & Silverman, 2009). The Convention states the “importance of the intangible cultural heritage as a mainspring of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development” (UNESCO, 2003).

Vecco’s 2010 research on the normative evolution of heritage studies illustrated the “semantic transfer” of the words ‘heritage’ to ‘cultural heritage’, to ‘intangible cultural heritage’ between 1790 to 2010. As Figure 1 illustrates, the progression within international document from exclusively considering tangible cultural heritage to including ICH experienced two notable shifts. The first can be attributed to the Burra Charter and the accompanying push to codify “all the documents, tangible or intangible expressions of human action, having acquired a value” (Vecco, 2010, p. 322) and the second occurred in 2000 with the adoption of the Krakow Charter, which reinterpreted a monument as the “bearer of values, which represents a support to memory” and the subsequent UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding ICH (Cristinelli, 2000, p. 182).

This first shift has been attributed to the efforts of Indigenous activists and heritage managers in Australia from the 1970s through to the mid-1980s (Buckley & Sullivan 2014; Prangnell et al., 2010). Throughout this period of action, a new “minimum practice standard” was developed that required Indigenous People be engaged in “active participation” for heritage management decisions (Prangnell et al., 2010, p. 140). The 1979 Burra Charter signified an increasing awareness about the role and importance of Indigenous cultural heritage and an expanded understanding of values within the field of cultural resource management. While this paradigm shift occurred at an international and then national levels of practice, this fundamental change in understanding still remains absent within municipal heritage management.

The changing definition of heritage and accompanying “semantic transfer” demonstrates the evolving understanding of what form cultural assets can take and the relationship that intangible and tangible assets have to cultural heritage. Vecco attributes the increasing recognition of ICH as an important step in “overcoming a Eurocentric perspective of heritage” (2010, p. 324).

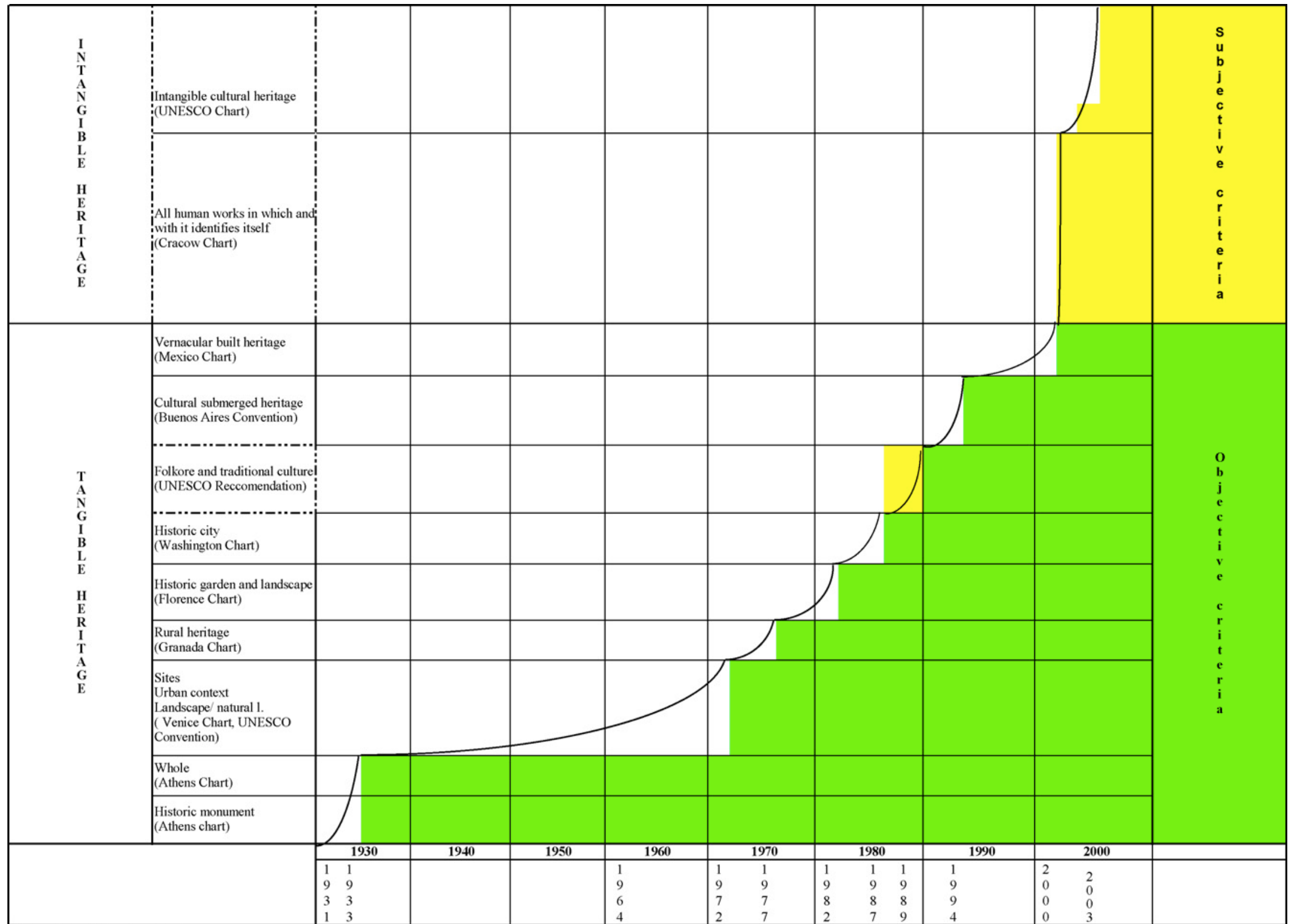


Figure 1. The chronological evolution of the extension of heritage concept following the international Charts, the Recommendations and Conventions. (Vecco, M. 2010).

2.2.2. Authorized Heritage Discourse

Smith's 2006 research on heritage as a cultural process of meaning and memory making has become a "central work of reference within the field of Heritage Studies" (Skrede & Hølleland, 2018, p. 79). Smith sought to understand the ways heritage is used as a cultural tool of meaning, remembering, identity construction and forgetting; and illuminates the field's default approach to history which promotes consensus and skips over conflict and social difference, which she has called the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Waterton et al., 2006; Smith, 2006).

Increasingly, it has been recognized that the values-based approach has fallen short, especially in regard to heritage systems and practices that address "living heritage, spiritual values, and marginalized groups, such as Indigenous Peoples" (Buckley & Sullivan, 2014, p. 38). The Burra Charter was once championed as the inclusive international doctrine to guide cultural resource management, but in practice, it has been linked to the "establishment and maintenance of an 'authorized heritage discourse' that privileges the power of the professional" (Buckley & Sullivan, 2014, p. 38; Smith, 2006). While "heritage results from a selection process, often government-initiated and supported by official regulation; it is not the same as history" (Langfield, et. Al, 2010, p. xiv). As Sandercock reminds us, "In choosing to tell some stories rather than others, a professional identity is shaped, invested with meaning, and then defended. But what are the erasures and exclusions implicit in the process of forging a professional identity?" (1998, p. 1).

Work within cultural heritage has traditionally been conducted by scholars and professionals whose role it is to identify and assess what is culturally significant and whether that is valued enough to be the subject of research or preservation (Jerome, 2014). This is problematic as it inherently creates a hierarchical system and positions the professional in a place of authority. "Preservation professionals have spent decades convincing the public and officials that preserving cultural properties is for the greater public good and enhances the quality of life" (Jerome, 2014, p. 3). This system remains the dominant style of conservation across North America and is often predicated upon the cultural resource manager leveraging public support to pressure decision makers to preserve, value and fund the retention and/or restoration of places of significance. The problem with this method of public involvement is that the professionals are the ones

yielding the power and using the public's will as a tool to further their agenda. While changing, this model is still the dominant process used within Canada's heritage programs, at all levels of government.

The issue of the 'authorized heritage discourse' is entrenched within the post-colonial world where the 'expert' is still the one executing power and convening the conversations to determine the cultural values. Increasingly, the failings of values-based heritage management are being understood through this post-colonial and settler colonialist lens. "This failure most commonly occurs in relation to intangible aspects (social and spiritual values in Burra Charter terms) or where there are multiple or contested values" (Buckley and Sullivan, 2014, p. 38-39). In some instances, "attempts at values-based management have done more harm than good" (Buckley and Sullivan, 2014, p. 39).

2.2.3. Federal Context: Canada and Values-Based Management

Canada shares the responsibility for its cultural resource among the municipal, provincial and federal governments (Arsenault et al., 2010). The national heritage program has two resources which were developed through the Canadian Historic Places Initiative (HPI). The Canadian Register of Historic Places and the Parks Canada Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places (Luxton, 2017) serve as the guiding documents for cultural resource management across the country. The HPI program was initiated in 2001 through a collaboration among all levels of government—municipal, provincial, territorial and federal— "in order to establish a pan-Canadian culture of conservation" (Parks Canada, 2018, p. 5). Through the Initiative, a Statements of Significance (SOS) program was established as a means to articulate and convey the heritage value of a historic site. This tool was developed from of a values-based approach to heritage management. To date, this remains as one of the primary tools used in the Canadian Register of Historic Places and is central to municipalities' development of their own heritage registers.

2.2.4. Provincial Context: British Columbia and Values-Based Management

Within BC, there are three provincial policy documents that support and guide municipalities' heritage programs: the Local Government Act (LGA) (ed. 2015), Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) (1992), and the Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act (HCSAA) (1994). The two purposes of the Local Government Act are:

(a) to provide a legal framework and foundation for the establishment and continuation of local governments to represent the interests and respond to the needs of their communities,

(b) to provide local governments with the powers, duties and functions necessary for fulfilling their purposes, and to provide local governments with the flexibility to respond to the different needs and changing circumstances of their communities (British Columbia Local Government Act, 2015).

LGA legally enables municipal governments to protect, conserve and recognize heritage value or heritage character of heritage designated property. The language is clear that it only concerns tangible heritage. While Indigenous interests are mentioned in the Local Government Act, it does not create protection for intangible cultural heritage. Similarly, while the Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) of 1992 does include provisions for Indigenous treaty rights and agreements, as well as a specific legislation for Indigenous heritage, the focus is still predominantly on material culture and excludes cultural landscapes and intangible cultural heritage. The subsequent Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act (HCSAA) of 1994 granted municipalities an expanded toolkit for the conservation of buildings, through the addition of twenty amendments (Province of British Columbia, 1995).

One such amendment was to link the creation of a Heritage Conservation Area to a municipality's Official Community Plan. In order to create and designate a Heritage Conservation Area, the characteristics and 'heritage' of that area must be detailed in the OCP (Fox, 2011). The Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act also included a provision for "agreements with First Nations" on Indigenous Cultural Heritage. Section 3.1(1) states that, "The Province may enter into a formal agreement with a First Nation with respect to the conservation and protection of heritage sites and heritage objects that represent the cultural heritage of the Aboriginal people who are represented by that First Nation" (Province of British Columbia, 1995). Again, this amendment is only applicable

to sites and objects of cultural significance—tangible or material culture; and excludes intangible expressions of cultural heritage.

Former Manager of the British Columbia Provincial Heritage Branch, Alastair Kerr, was responsible for introducing and championing a values-based heritage methodology as part of the Historic Places Initiative (HPI). In his 2007 position paper on the role of the values-based approach, Kerr hypothesized that there are 4 assumptions integral to the epistemology of this approach. The first is that values are not discovered but are socially constructed. The second is that values are contingent or situational to the time in which they were assigned. For example, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada “will not alter the decision of past Boards no matter how out of date they are with current sentiments, because the past still has its rights to its values. Instead, the Board has started to re-commemorate some national historic sites with new interpretations added along with the older ones” (Kerr, 2007). The third assumption is that values have a multivalence, which he relates to a postmodern understanding of reality, where by changing the context, “the shape of reality changes;” as opposed to a modernist understanding of reality where reality is fixed, postmodernism allows for layering of realities. The final assumption is that values by nature will be in conflict with one another. While the ethos of values-based heritage conservation has been widely adopted across Canada the principles of this are often overlooked. Fundamental to this understanding is that “values are socially constructed, but often within a powerful discourse” and that “there is no such thing as a value neutral historic place” (Kerr, 2007). Therefore, values will always be layered and in conflict. Municipal heritage planning has yet to find a way to adequately address the implications of this.

As Kerr was responsible for introducing and stewarding the adoption of a values-based management approach to the province’s municipalities, his philosophy shaped the City of Victoria’s present heritage planning policies. When the HPI was introduced in 2001, the qualitative superiority of the approach for assessing cultural heritage was readily adopted, as it was viewed as a more pluralistic and comprehensive tool to capture and reflect the value of a place. While still dependent on tangible-assets, the values-based approach was assumed to be the best practice as the community-based consultation process would result in better decision making (Jameson, 2008; Mason, 2006; Jerome, 2014; McClelland et al., 2013). Nationally, the values-based approach is still the standard “in deciding what and how to conserve” (McClelland et al., 2013, p

595). Increasingly, the role of the heritage planner is evolving from its traditional role within the 'authorized heritage discourse' as an expert finding and articulating the meaning of a place, to that of a mediator concerned with articulating, revealing and acknowledging competing discourses (McClelland et al., 2013; Jerome, 2014).

The HPI program promoted the adoption of the Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places (SGCHP or Standards and Guidelines) by municipalities in Canada (Fox, 2011; Luxton, 2015). This marked a shift to a "values-based approach" for the conservation of places which predominantly includes buildings and sometimes landscapes. As I have discussed, the values-based approach was offered as a means to move beyond the architectural and aesthetic-focused conservation program that dominated the field to a more inclusive and broader perspective and has since remained as the international best practice standard. The intent of the Standards and Guidelines is that it would reflect the "historical, cultural, aesthetic, scientific and educational values" of the community (City of Vancouver, n.d. 'Heritage Action Plan to Update Vancouver's Heritage Conservation Program', p. 8). The City of Vancouver, another adopter of the HPI, stated that "many community values have intangible qualities and significance, such as community traditions or spiritual values" and that the HPI program both "asserted that those also need to be identified and evaluated" and provided a structure for them to be captured through the creation of Statements of Significance (n.d.).

Statements of Significance (SOS) are a heritage planning tool codified by the Standards and Guidelines that summarize "the historical, cultural, aesthetic, scientific or educational worth or usefulness of an historic place, whether it is an individual property or an area" (City of Victoria, 2019). The SOS tool satisfies the LGA requirement to indicate why a property is included on a community heritage register by describing its heritage value or character. A SOS has three main components:

1. summarizes the description, heritage value and character-defining elements of each historic place
2. reflects modern values concerning history and historic places
3. identifies what part of history a historic place represents, and how and why that is of value and importance (Province of BC, n.d.).

Since the adoption of the HPI, SOS have become the backbone of community heritage registers and programs. The challenge with this tool and the HPI program is that they

are predicated upon the values-based approach and only address tangible cultural assets. While cultural landscapes can be included on a heritage register, their inclusion still requires the maintenance of tangible cultural assets and thus does not support the inclusion and preservation of intangible cultural heritage. Therefore, the current best-practice standard is complicit in excluding Indigenous cultural heritage from the same privileges of protection and celebration that tangible cultural heritage is afforded through heritage programs. Arguably this exclusion furthers the narrative of settler colonialism as the highest valued cultural narrative.

2.3. Theme 3: Settler Colonialism

The Canadian landscape I have been discussing is a racialized one characterized by a history of settler colonialism. Peake and Ray (2001) define settler colonialism as the “uneven qualities” of place, saying that racisms and whiteness reflect the “uneven qualities of Canadian society and geography” (p. 182). Canada’s relationship with Indigenous Peoples has been defined by erasure, suppression, racism and cultural assimilation (Edmonds, 2010; Sandercock, 1998). In many ways, “the presence of Indigenous Peoples in settler-colonial cities at the edge of Britain’s empire has often been erased from historical consciousness” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 6). Canada and the City of Victoria are products of settler colonialism and the complex expression of the historical and political forces that include “the expropriation of Indigenous land, and the dispossession, removal, sequestration, and transformation of Indigenous Peoples” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 4). As Bonds and Inwood state, “neither white supremacy nor settler colonialism can be relegated to historical contexts;” they “both inform past, present, and future formations of race” and these systemic issues of racism have shaped both the form of our built environment and our social relationship to it (2016, p. 715; Prangnell et al., 2010).

To decolonize municipal heritage programs, it is integral that a settler colonialism lens be adopted as it makes apparent why non-dominant cultures are not currently supported by municipal heritage programs and why the structures that have created and support heritage programs continue to perpetuate white supremacy in understanding and managing heritage. Most “cities of North America were formed through the distinct process of settler colonialism and its central dynamic of supersession, that is, the displacement of Indigenous Peoples and their replacement with settlers” (Edmonds,

2010, p. 5). This is the history of Canada and must be kept front of mind to understand the function and limitations of municipal heritage programs. Colonial culture in the form of architecture, urban planning and commemorative art became tools of urbanization and furthered the way that “bodies and urbanizing spaces are reordered and remade” within the colonial image of modernity (Edmonds, 2010, p. 4). Thus, the impacts of municipal Heritage Programs that seek to preserve the “material conditions of white supremacy,” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016) are layered with a “racialized and segregated settler-colonial polity” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 4).

The heritage of our built environment reflects the cultural values of the dominant culture and contributes to civic identity formation (Edmonds, 2010; Prangnell et al., 2010). In Canada, the dominant culture is settler colonialism and is characterized by whiteness (Peake & Ray, 2001). The built environment has become a tool to define white spaces; and in turn municipal Heritage Programs that function to preserve the character of these settler-era geographic spaces, have become tools to enact and reinforce whiteness and the Othering of non-dominant peoples, including Indigenous People (Peake & Ray, 2001; Edmonds, 2010).

2.3.1. Decolonization

In the words of Bob Joseph (n.d.), an Indigenous educator who works with local governments across British Columbia,

Decolonization requires non-Indigenous Canadians to recognize and accept the reality of Canada’s colonial history, accept how that history paralyzed Indigenous Peoples, and how it continues to subjugate Indigenous Peoples. Decolonization requires non-Indigenous individuals, governments, institutions and organizations to create the space and support for Indigenous Peoples to reclaim all that was taken from them.

This duality is addressed through the Two-Eyed Seeing framework which enables researchers to “To see from one eye with the strengths of Indigenous ways of knowing, and to see from the other eye with the strengths of Western ways of knowing, and to use both of these eyes together” (Bartlett, Marshall, & Marshall, 2012, p. 335). Developed by Mi'kmaw Elder Albert Marshall in 2004, the framework has increasingly become used by researchers and scholars to “reconcile the use of Western method and theory with Indigenous knowledge” (Peltier, 2008, p. 2;). *Etuaptmumk*, the Mi'kmaw word for Two-

Eyed Seeing, provides a framework to use both the Western theory and Indigenous knowledge and to examine “potential benefits, challenges, and contributions” (Peltier, 2008, p. 2). This research employs the principles of *Etuaptmumk*, as it is grounded within Western theory, but also attempts to take a holistic, decolonized lens informed by Indigenous knowledge.

Decolonization as a practice seeks to address the erasure and marginalization of Indigenous people. As a theory, decolonization has evolved from the work of Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi to address the impacts of settler-colonialism (Claeys, 2013). Decolonization theory, as it is understood today, is tied to other critiques such as postcolonialism and feminism (Marschall, 2008; Claeys, 2013). “Post-colonial societies, following their attainment of independence from colonial rule, tend to be preoccupied with issues of representation and defining a new identity, for which selected aspects of the past understood as heritage serve as inspiration or foundation” (Marschall, 2008, p. 347).

As much of Canada’s relationship with Indigenous Peoples has been defined by erasure, suppression, racism and cultural assimilation, their stories have been largely excluded from Canada’s official cultural narrative, which reflects a nationalistic story of victory and growth. Heritage Registers at municipal to federal levels are filled with civic sites commemorating this nation-building narrative. As Edmonds describes in her research on the City of Victoria, the “triumphal accounts of colonial city building that privilege infrastructural progress and male protagonists have often doubly dispossessed Indigenous women in urban historiographies” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 4-5). Edmonds remind us that while these accounts have often worked to exclude non-dominant voices including Indigenous People, marginalized groups and women, and that their histories are a part of the urban fabric. Indigenous history is an urban history. “Not only were Aboriginal peoples present on their lands of the Northwest Coast at the very inception of forts and towns, formed first by fur trade mercantilism and then by waves of immigration, today many Aboriginal people live in urban centres” (Edmonds, 2010, p. 5). “In choosing to tell some stories rather than others... identity is shaped, invested with meaning, and then defended” (Sandercock, 1998, p. 1). There is a power associated with history and this is often assigned through meta-narratives that shape and reinforce identity, thus decolonization, which asks us to recognize and accept these historical and ongoing

inequalities and to create space for Indigenous Peoples to reclaim their narratives, truths, and “all that was taken from them” (Bob Joseph, n.d.).

Chapter 3. Methodology and Data Analysis Plan

3.1. Methodology Rationale

To test my research question through a decolonization lens—how can the City of Victoria’s heritage program adapt to meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action?*—I have referenced postcolonial Indigenous research methodology that relies upon a qualitative document review and key-informant interviews. As my research includes both Indigenous and non-Indigenous research participants and attempts to merge a decolonized, Indigenous worldview with a Western worldview, I am using Two-Eyed Seeing as a framework to make this research applicable to current municipal planning contexts. Two-Eyed Seeing is “a guiding approach for researchers offering Indigenous voices and ways of knowing as a means to shift existing qualitative research paradigms” (Peltier, 2008, p. 1). The intent of this methodology is to be supportive of decolonizing practices; and as such, I am using the TRC’s Calls to Action (2015) as the framework to generate the key codes to review and analyze the data derived from the research.

According to Chilisa (2011; 2012 a b; Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014), a postcolonial Indigenous research approach requires methods and measures that are tailored to the culture of the researched group and demands an approach grounded in a conceptual framework that originates from the cultural traditions, language, Indigenous knowledge systems, norms and community stories of that group (Chilisa, 2011; Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014; Bretherton, 2015). Arguing that “a postcolonial Indigenous paradigm provides a theoretical framework” which supports “the integration of the largely marginalized knowledge systems with dominant knowledge systems through a decolonization and indigenization research process” (Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014, p. 222). For postcolonial Indigenous research to be successful, the researcher should “problematize the research” (Smith, 1999) and “invoke Indigenous knowledge embodied” in the languages, stories, proverbs and other cultural expressions “to bring new topics, themes, methods, processes and categories of analysis not easily obtainable from conventional methods” (Chilisa, 2011, p. 15).

The subject of this research is the municipality of Victoria and the Lekwungen Peoples, including the Lkwungen (Songhees) and Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nations;

however, in a broader context, the subject is that of urban Indigenous Peoples. Urban Indigenous People include First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples who reside in urban areas. As such I have used the Indigenous-authored TRC's Calls to Action document to form the foundation of the conceptual framework. It is well documented that historically the result of non-Indigenous researchers studying Indigenous communities has been deeply problematic and has perpetuated western paradigms that subjugate Indigenous Peoples (Smith, 1999; Chilisa, 2011, 2014; Menzies, 2001) and while the pernicious effects of this outsider research may be unintentional (Menzies, 2001), the lack of accountability and relational responsibility are hallmarks of settler colonialism and disrupt the intent of decolonized research. The purpose of decolonized research is to centre the worldview and voice of non-western peoples, to ensure that work is founded in reciprocity and "that the research [remains] relevant and useful to them" (Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014, p. 226). Accordingly, Indigenous research "promotes context-specific research" to both move beyond the expectations of traditional extractive research methods "to provide more insights into theory development and the development of interventions that address people's needs" (Chilisa & Tsheko, 2014, p. 226).

An Indigenous research paradigm rests upon ethics "based on the respect, reciprocity, and responsibility to the 'other' and rights of the researched" (Chilisa, 2011, p.18). I have endeavored through my research plan and methodology to be respectful and responsive to the needs of the Indigenous communities that I am studying; however, in doing so I am projecting my own assumptions and epistemology upon the research and subject—Indigenous people. A way to mitigate this would be to create an advisory council of elders and Indigenous community representatives to provide a relational epistemology review of the methodology and analysis framework. Relational epistemology is a pillar of the Indigenous research paradigm and is defined as the "systems of knowledge built on relationships" (Wilson, 2008, p. 74). Relational epistemology is useful as it recognizes that "knowledge emanates from the experiences and culture of the people" (Chilisa, 2012 a, p.40). For the research to be both decolonized and originating from an Indigenous research paradigm, the "research must be guided by a relational accountability that [promotes] respectful representation, reciprocity and [the] rights of the researched" (Chilisa, 2011, p.18).

While I endeavored to ground my research methodology in reciprocity, I did not convene an advisory or stakeholder group of local Indigenous advisors. This was done

for two reasons. As a consulting cultural planner on the City of Victoria's 2017 Cultural Plan I was privy to many internal conversations that discussed the local Songhees and Esquimalt Nations' experience with the constant and ongoing City planning processes. I determined that while the intent of this research is to elevate Indigenous cultural heritage, burdening the two local Nations with additional consultation for a graduate student's research would not be appropriate. The second reason is that to convene an advisory group requires long-term relationship building and given the perceived time constraints on the research, that would not be feasible. Therefore, in an effort to maintain a form of relational accountability and reciprocity, the TRC's Calls to Action were used to generate the analysis framework and I confirmed my methodology and analysis plan with the Indigenous research participants.

As detailed in Chapter 1, the TRC Calls to Action were developed by Indigenous People, under a lens of settler-colonialism and decolonization. The Calls to Action reflect the five phases of decolonization Poka Laenui (2000) identified: (1) rediscovery and recovery, (2) mourning, (3) dreaming, (4) commitment, and (5) action. The Calls to Action are representative of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's efforts to move through the five phases of decolonization to reach the final phase at which: "dreams and commitment translate into strategies for social transformation" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 17). The intent of my research methodology is to "promote transformation and social change among the historically oppressed," which Chilisa (2011) identifies as the main reason for decolonized Indigenous research.

Decolonized Indigenous research methodology operates within a different paradigm from the dominant, Euro-Western research models (Wilson, 2008; Chilisa, 2012) that characterize the cultural resource management field:

The major difference between those dominant paradigms and an Indigenous paradigm is that those dominant paradigms are built on the fundamental belief that knowledge is an individual entity: the researcher is an individual in search of knowledge, knowledge is something that is gained and therefore may be owned by an individual. An Indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all creation (Wilson, 2008, p. 56).

This is important as it mirrors the valuation of Indigenous cultural heritage where the concept of heritage is relational and shared within "all creations" and cultural expressions, whether that be cultural practices such as song, cooking, stories or

traditional ecological knowledge (Andrews & Bugghey, 2008; ICOMS, 2012; Buckley & Sullivan, 2014).

Within the Calls to Action, I have identified the Commemorative Actions 79-83, as the most applicable to municipal heritage programs. The five actions provide recommendations on how Canadian heritage and commemorative institutions can be updated to be inclusive of Indigenous Peoples and support reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). Action 79 calls for amendments and revisions to the policies, criteria and practices of Canada's national heritage agencies. Actions 80 through 82 ask for the federal government to establish commemorative programs to honour the Survivors of the Residential Schools and to "ensure the public commemoration of the history and legacy of residential schools". Action 83 is directed towards the Canada Council for the Arts and requests funding to support collaborative art projects between Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists to contribute to the Reconciliation process (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015, p. 9). Collectively, these five Actions identify a path forward to create new truths, and most importantly provide cues as to how the field of cultural heritage management can be changed to support this process.

Action 79.II is the most directly applicable to my hypothesis, and calls for "Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history" (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2016, p. 191). While the Action is directed towards federal agencies, such as the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and the National Program of Historical Commemoration, the spirit of the Action is germane to heritage programs on a municipal scale (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015). Using Action 79.II, I have identified (1) "Indigenous history," (2) "heritage values," (3) "memory practices" and (4) integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history as the main codes to review and assess the key documents and interviews.

Table 1. List of Main Research Codes

Call to Action		Codes
79.II	“Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada’s national heritage and history ” (2015).	Indigenous history Indigenous heritage values Indigenous memory practices integration of Indigenous values into Canada’s national heritage and history

3.1.1. Research Positionality

I am a white Canadian of settler ancestry conducting research that concerns Indigenous people. Thus, there are significant limitations as to how I was able to execute this work. While I have devoted the last three years to understanding the subject of intangible cultural heritage, I am conscious that this research still reflects my own lens of privilege. As discussed, I have made attempts to moderate the impacts of my ontological assumptions and am conscious of the other research methodologies available to further develop a decolonized Indigenous research methodology. While using the TRC’s Calls to Action as the analytical framework is supportive of decolonizing practices, it is just one step along the path towards decolonization.

As a consultant on the Create Victoria plan, my work was concentrated on the background policy context research. I completed an internal review of all policies that related to arts, culture, heritage, sustainability, long-range planning and neighbourhood planning using the Cultural Resource Framework to guide the initial analysis. I added another layer of analysis reviewing the policies’ inclusion of Indigenous Peoples and intangible cultural heritage. This research served as the foundation from which my research question was developed, and subsequent research was executed.

Throughout 2016 and 2017, while I was working with the City of Victoria, I conducted informal, information gathering interviews on intangible cultural heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage during focus group meetings with key cultural stakeholders. After developing my research question in the fall of 2017, I refined my methodology to include a qualitative document review, which built upon the previous policy research,

and developed a short list of key informant interview subjects. The interviews were conducted between March and August of 2018; and as such, the municipal document review does not include any civic documents produced after August 2018.

To round out my case study on the City of Victoria’s heritage program, I focused my research on the following documents: annual reports to provide context to the trends and strategic focus of the municipality; review of quarterly reports; review of publicly accessible memos, council reports and minutes. The intent of the case-study document review was to illustrate how the City of Victoria is officially approaching their relationship to Indigenous Peoples and ICH through published documents. This was supported through key informant interviews and a review of press articles about the City and the local First Nations relationships. In Chapter 4 I have provided a chronological summary of the City’s heritage program development and broader policy context.

3.1.2. Document Review: Sampling & Analysis Methods

To contextualize the development of the City of Victoria’s heritage program, I completed a document analysis, a “systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents” (Bowen, 2009) to review the various levels of influence that have impacted the programs’ development—international, national, provincial and municipal documents. Information was collected in three ways: publicly accessible avenues, from City staff and through my previous consulting work, with permission for use granted by the City of Victoria. The following table summarizes the official federal, provincial and municipal documents reviewed during the course of this research.

Table 2. List of Key Federal, Provincial and Municipal Policy Documents

Jurisdiction	Type of Document	Title, Date
Federal	Policy	Historic Sites and Monuments Act (1953)
Federal	Act	Heritage Railway Stations Protection Act (1985)
Provincial	Act	Heritage Lighthouse Protection Act (2008)
Provincial	Act	Parks Canada Agency Act (1998)
Federal	Plan	Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada (2001)
Federal	Plan	National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan (2000)
Federal	Plan	National Historic Site System Plan (2019)
Provincial	Act	Local Government Act (ed. 2015)
Provincial	Act	Heritage Conservation Act (1992)
Provincial	Act	Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act (1994)
Municipal	Plan	Heritage Strategic Plan (2002)
Municipal	Context Statement	Heritage Register Update & Context Statement (2015)
Municipal	Plan	Official Community Plan (2012)
Municipal	Program	Heritage Tax Incentive Program (1998)
Municipal	Guidelines	Sign and Awning Guidelines (1998)
Municipal	Guidelines	Old Town Design Guidelines (Updated 2019)
Municipal	Reports	Annual Reports (2007-2017)
Municipal	Policy	Art in Public Places Policy (2018)
Municipal	Plan	Create Victoria: Arts & Culture Master Plan (2017)

I used the previously identified four codes derived from the TRC's Call to Action 79.II: "Indigenous history," "heritage values," "memory practices," and the "integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history" (2017) and open coding to break down the data into "themes, patterns, and concepts to create a meaningful story" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 214).

Time Frame

This research project reflects a moment in the evolution of the City of Victoria's heritage program. The document review timeframe was informed by the key informant interviews which were conducted between March and August of 2018. As such, the case-study document review is similarly bound by the same end date of August 2018. The intention is that this period of time would also reflect the most recent period of development for the City's heritage program.

3.1.3. Analysis: Case Study & Ancillary Document Review

For clarity, the document analysis is referred to in two groups: (I) case study document review and (II) ancillary document review.

(I) Case Study Document Review

The City of Victoria's heritage program is comprised of three main components: (1) management tools in the form of plans, policies, incentives and design guidelines; (2) the City's Heritage Register; and (3) public education and awareness delivered through (a) the council-appointed Heritage Advisory Panel and (b) five arms-length, non-profit agencies responsible for education and grant delivery.

A keyword search was employed based on the four main codes and associated words. The following table reflects all the keywords searched throughout the document analysis phase of research.

Table 3. List of Main Codes and Additional Keywords

Codes	Additional Keywords	
1. Indigenous history	First Nations	Aboriginal
2. Indigenous heritage values	Indigenous	Reconciliation
3. Indigenous memory practices	Lekwungen	Intangible Cultural Heritage
4. Integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history	Songhees Nation Esquimalt Nation	Indigenous Cultural Heritage

A chronological historical overview of Victoria's heritage program development was conducted to situate the analysis findings. This is included in the introductory

section of the following Analysis Chapter. A detailed and systematic analysis of the heritage program's inclusion of Indigenous history, values, memory practices and associated keywords was conducted.

For the case study document analysis on the (1) management tools and (2) City's Heritage Register, a keyword search was employed based on the codes and keywords detailed in Table 3. For the (3) public education and awareness aspect of the Program, I reviewed all the (a) Heritage Advisory Panel minutes from January 2012 to July 2018 (there was no meeting held in August 2018). All documents were publicly accessed through the City's website. To review the (b) five arms-length non-profit organizations, I reviewed the organization's publicly posted mandate and websites for any inclusion or representation of Indigenous cultural heritage.

(II) Ancillary Document Review

The ancillary document analysis included a review of the City of Victoria Annual Reports from 2007-2017, as well as the Arts and Culture Master Plan (2017) and Art in Public Places Policy (2018). The same analysis method was employed.

3.1.4. Key Informant Interviews: Sampling & Analysis

To situate the theoretical framework laid out in Chapter 2 and the key-document review that provides context to the City of Victoria's heritage program, I conducted 16 semi-structured key informant interviews with cultural resource managers and knowledge holders of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous identities working in Victoria and Vancouver. These interviews address my research question of how the City of Victoria's heritage program can adapt to meet the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. All interview participants were provided with a copy of the guiding questions in advance of the interview.

Given my research subject, the interviewees fell into two groups: Group A, Indigenous cultural resource managers and Group B, non-Indigenous cultural resource managers. Interview access relied upon my professional relationships with the city staff, the Victoria and Vancouver heritage professional communities, and professional contacts in Indigenous cultural resource management fields. I had professional contacts with the majority of the interview participants over the past five years through my

academic and professional pursuits. I developed a short list of key informants to speak with about the City of Victoria’s municipal heritage program. I also invited each of the interview participants to recommend others as a means to broaden my own research network. The full list of interview participants is included in Appendix A.

The interviews were semi-structured through guiding questions and lasted between an hour and hour and a half. Of the 16 interview participants, 15 consented to be named. The guiding questions for the two groups are included in Appendix B. The interviews were audio recorded, manually transcribed and coded with the key words derived from the TRC’s Calls to Action. In the following Chapter 4 my analysis is summarized.

Referencing Julia Steven’s 2017 research graduate work on Canadian heritage planning and intangible cultural heritage, I have coded and identified each of the interview participants with the following codes to contextualize and clarify each of the participants relationship to heritage planning.

Table 4. Participant Identification Codes

Code : P – Participant	IP – Indigenous Participant
Her – Heritage Practitioner	Priv – Private Sector
Cul – Cultural Heritage Practitioner	Plan – Planner
Prov – Provincial Public Sector	Aca – Academic
Mun – Municipal Public Sector	TK – Traditional Knowledge

Profile of Group A Interviewees

Group A comprised of 5 Indigenous cultural resource managers who reside and work in British Columbia. Their professions included cultural anthropology, curator, heritage planning and cultural planning; all are actively working in their fields and through community action to advance Indigenous cultural sovereignty. The guiding interview questions posed to each interviewee were intended to provide a broader context to the main codes derived from the TRC’s Call to Action 79.II, “Indigenous history,” “heritage values,” and “memory practices” as well as that of intangible cultural heritage and cultural values, as well as to comment on the field of municipal heritage

planning. All interview participants in Group A consented to be named and quoted and as such I have included their names and description of their work below for context.

Table 5. Group A: Indigenous Interview Participants

Interviewee	Code	Position
Laura Gaaysiigad Cuthbert	L. Cuthbert IPCul/TK	Laura is a Haida cultural anthropologist and founder of the Populous Map, a community mapping project that seeks to maintain privacy, reciprocity and autonomy of the marginalized histories captured.
Alexander Dirksen	A. Dirksen IPCul	Alexander is a Métis community organizer devoted to the meaningful advancement of reconciliation. As the Program Director for Community Knowledge Exchange, he advances decolonized and inclusive social change practices in Canada with implications to the field of cultural resource management. Alexander resides in Vancouver.
Kamala Todd	K. Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan	Kamala is a Metis-Cree community planner, educator, author, curator and filmmaker. She currently works as the City of Vancouver’s first Indigenous Arts and Culture Planner. Kamala resides in the Lower Mainland.
Michelle Washington	M. Washington IPCul/TK	Michelle is Tla’amin (Sliammon) First Nation and has Klahoose, Sechelt, Sto’lo and Maori ancestry. She was the Language Exhibition Manager for the Our Living Languages, First Nations Voices in BC exhibition at the Royal BC Museum and has held positions with the First People’s Cultural Council. Michelle resides in Victoria.
Angie Bain	A. Bain IPCul/TK/Plan	Angie is of the Nlaka’pamux (Lower Nicola Band) First Nation. Angie is a researcher with the Union of BC Indian Chiefs and has worked on community planning and cultural heritage projects for the Lower Nicola Indian Band. Angie resides in the Lower Mainland.

Profile of Group B Interviewees

Group B was comprised of non-Indigenous cultural resource managers—largely heritage planners at both the municipal and provincial level with extensive experience with the City of Victoria and the Province of BC. I interviewed 11 individuals within Group B, 10 of whom consented to be named.

Table 6. Group B: Non-Indigenous Interview Participants

Interviewee	Code	Position
Nichola Reddington	N. Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan	Current Senior Cultural Planner, City of Victoria.
Anonymous	Anon. Pher/Mun/Plan	Municipal Heritage Planner
Alastair Kerr	A. Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan	Retired Provincial Heritage Planner. Alastair resides in Victoria.
Jenifer Iredale	J. Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan	Retired Provincial Heritage Planner, former Director of Heritage Programs and Services of the BC Provincial Heritage Branch. Current Board Member of Heritage BC. She resides in Victoria.
Martin Segger	M. Segger Pher/Mun/Aca	Retired Adjunct Professor of Art History, Architectural Historian, former member of the Create Victoria Advisory Group and current City of Victoria Heritage Advisory Panel member. Martin resides in Victoria.
Harold Kalman	H. Kalman Pher/Aca/Plan	Retired heritage specialist and architectural historian. Current City of Victoria's Heritage Advisory Panel member. Harold resides in Victoria.
Richard Linzey	R. Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan	Former City of Victoria Heritage Planner from 2003-2006. Current Director of Provincial Heritage Branch and a member of the City of Victoria's Heritage Advisory Panel. Richard resides in Victoria.
Councillor Pamela Madoff	P. Madoff Pher/Mun	Former City of Victoria Councillor, Council Liaison to the Create Victoria Advisory Group and Heritage Advisory Panel.
Steve Barber	S. Barber Pher/Mun/Plan	Retired City of Victoria Heritage Planner. Steve was the City's first full-time heritage planner and held the position for 28 years. He retired at the end of 2014.
Donald Luxton	D. Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan	Consulting Heritage Planner. Donald is the principal of Donald Luxton & Associates and the author of the City of Victoria's heritage plan. Donald lives in Vancouver.
Merinda Conley	M. Conley Pher/Mun/Plan	Current Senior Heritage Planner, City of Victoria. Merinda replaced Steve Barber as the City's Senior Heritage Planner in 2015. Merinda lives in Victoria.

Quoting Participants

As this research subject tackles the ever-evolving field of colonialism, decolonization and Indigeneity, I have used discretion when directly quoting the interview participants. As detailed, all but one of the participants consented to be named and quoted. The participants will only be named when an understanding of their statements will be enriched with the context of their position and relationship to the City of Victoria, which I have detailed above. In instances where the inclusion of their name would invoke a risk of professional damage, I refer to the participant as Pher/Plan.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the City of Victoria's Heritage Program

Reconciliation is more than words. It is about understanding the past and deepening connections between the City and the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations on whose territory we reside.

Mayor Lisa Helps, June 30, 2016,
City of Victoria

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss my analysis on the City of Victoria's heritage program and position these findings in relation to the theoretical framework I introduced in Chapter 2. Using the lens of decolonization theory, I have analyzed how the City of Victoria's heritage program can adapt to meet the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*.

4.1. Development of the City of Victoria's Heritage Program

4.1.1. Historical Overview & Recent Political Context Analysis

The City of Victoria is built on the territory of the Lekwungen (Songhees) and Xwsepsum (Esquimalt) Nations. The history of the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations' displacement from their lands and the ensuing trauma that accompanied this loss in property, people and culture is important to the narrative of the City's development and is often left out of the 'official record.' As I have illustrated, who controls the narrative of a place determines what cultures are given visibility and permission for expression (Sandercock, 1998; Edmonds, 2010; Simpson & Bagelman, 2018). Oral histories and archeological records show that the Lekwungen People have called these lands home for thousands of years (City of Victoria, 2016). While the first European settlement began in 1778 with Captain James Cook's arrival on the shores of the Lekwungen territory, the construction of the city we know today began with the establishment of Fort Victoria in 1843 and the subsequent removal of the Lekwungen Peoples. This forced displacement was formalized in 1844 when the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) Chief Factor James Douglas ordered their removal from the area known as the Inner Harbour—now prime real-estate for the booming fort town—to the less desirable location across the bay. Between 1850 and 1852 this relocation was 'legalized' when James Douglas negotiated the signing of several treaties to transfer Lekwungen land to the HBC at which time the

Songhees Reserve was created, covering half of the Victoria West neighbourhood (Edmonds, 2010; City of Victoria, 2016).

4.1.2. Heritage Program Development

It is widely acknowledged, that while other municipalities have struggled to build a culture of support for heritage, Victoria has enjoyed a long history of celebrating its colonial history and associated built heritage; and this is seen through the robust and numerous non-profit organizations that support this facet of the City's cultural fabric (Cleverley, 2014; Fox, 2011; Commonwealth Historic Resources Ltd., 2002).

The origins of Victoria's heritage program date back to 1965 with the tabling of the Overall Plan for Victoria. The Plan identified the priorities for the following 30 years of development and reflected the modernist trends of the time while prioritizing the preservation of "building constructed in the last century" (City of Victoria, 1965 quoted in Segger, 1996, p. 121). The Plan made recommendations on the "retention of the ingredients of genuine character" while encouraging increasing density to support economic development (Segger, 1996, p. 121).

Victoria's heritage program was officially initiated in 1972 when Mayor Peter Polen established the Heritage Advisory Committee under chair Alderman Sam Bawlf (Segger, 1996; Fox, 2011). The committee's mandate was to make recommendations on buildings for designation and inclusion on the City's new Heritage Register and to provide advice to the public on heritage conservation matters. In their first year, the Committee lobbied the provincial government to change the Municipal Act and authorize local governments in British Columbia to protect heritage structures through legal designation. The following year, their successful political action saw Section 714A added to the Municipal Act. This new section enabled the province and municipalities to legally designate "heritage buildings, structures or lands for the purpose of preserving evidence of the municipality's history, culture and heritage" (Municipal Act, 1973 ed.; Kalman, 2014). The instrumental amendment legitimized the field of heritage planning for municipalities and allowed them to create their own advisory committee on heritage conservation (Kalman, 2014; Fox, 2011).

In 1973, the City of Victoria's Heritage Advisory Committee as formally appointed under these new provisions (Fox, 2011; Segger, 1996). Victoria became one of the first municipal heritage programs to be established in the country and paved the way for other municipalities across the province to create their own legislative-supported heritage programs. The following year, in 1974, a bylaw was passed to enable heritage designations for buildings and heritage conservation zoning. These changes to the LGA permitted municipalities to create special zones of designated historical significance requiring building owners within those zones to comply with design guidelines affecting the tangible heritage—including height restrictions, exterior renovations and upgrades (British Columbia Local Government Act, 2015 ed.). These zones have become part of the fabric of Victoria and are associated with the visual and cultural identity of the city (Fox, 2011; City of Victoria, various years).

In 1980, the City's first Heritage Register was formally established; and in 1983 Victoria's first non-profit organization, the Victoria Heritage Foundation was created and by 1989 the second group, the Victoria Civic Heritage Trust began operations. These organizations continue to administer grant programs and educational programming to promote the retention of colonial-era buildings.

In 1998, the City became the first municipality to expand its powers under the LGA to create a Property Tax Incentive Program to assist in the conversion of vacant and/or underutilized buildings to residential use (Fox, 2011; Luxton, 2015). This incentive program has been very successful and is considered to be the "envy of many cities" for its effectiveness in promoting the conversation of buildings (Luxton, 2015, p. 2).

To date, the City has approximately 1,100 registered heritage resources, including hundreds of legally protected buildings and 13 Heritage Conservation Areas. Heritage resources are defined as "an artifact, building, site, or other feature that has heritage value or character" (Heritage BC, 2019). The City of Victoria's heritage program is supported by policy statements found in the Official Community Plan (2012), City of Victoria Downtown Heritage Management Plan (1990) and individual Neighbourhood Plans (various years) (Commonwealth Historic Resources Ltd., 2002, City of Victoria, n.d.). As stated, Victoria was one of the first adopters of the Historic Places Initiative. On January 3, 2005, the City adopted the Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places (SGCHP) to promote responsible conservation practices that help protect

historic places. As part of this adoption, the Heritage Register was updated from 2008 to 2015 by Donald Luxton & Associates.

4.1.3. Provincial, Federal and International Context

Provincial Context

As the provincial capital, Victoria has benefited from a close connection to the provincial government. This has been demonstrated through the aforementioned Heritage Advisory Committee's successful lobbying of the province in 1973 and the continued exchange of heritage professionals that have been employed both for the City and the provincial heritage department.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the functionality of the provincial heritage legislation—the Local Government Act (LGA) (ed. 2015), Heritage Conservation Act (HCA) (1992), and the Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act (HCSAA) (1994)—and their impacts on municipal heritage programs, the following section summarizes the findings from the interviews. According to Alastair Kerr, the HCSAA was developed over an eight-year period where the provincial Heritage Branch took on extensive consultation with local governments to draft these amendments which still stand today (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). Throughout this period of community consultation, there were “tons of discussions about [Indigenous cultural heritage]...It was something that we were aware of because we held all kinds of meetings with some of the First Nations... we met with them lots of times and talked about this.. and they told us what was important” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). Kerr concludes that the legislation while “very comprehensive” it “reflects the reality of 1994. We're now 24 years later and it's a very different reality. There needs to be a dramatic rethink of a number of ideas in the legislation” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). While Indigenous cultural heritage is acknowledged in the HCSAA, the Act is still predicated on tangible assets and thus excludes intangible cultural heritage and many forms of Indigenous cultural heritage.

As part of the creation of the HCSAA, the Province “moved the Heritage Branch out of the Ministry of Local Government” and in consequence “consulting with local governments became less and less” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). This trend of ‘downloading’ the management and support for heritage programs from the province to the municipalities continued to escalate until 2013 when the Heritage Branch received

“political direction to change [their] mandate from working with communities to working with government” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). Until that time, the provincial Heritage Branch had still continued to support the 210 British Columbian communities to develop and deliver their respective heritage programs; in addition to the Province’s role developing policy, administering grants and managing provincial historic sites like Barkerville. An example of this provincial leadership was with the 2001 Historic Places Initiative (HPI)—a federal Parks Canada program delivered by the provinces to promote the community-level adoption of the SGCHP for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada.

When the Historic Places Initiative was introduced in 2001, it was “promoted to municipalities” (Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan) and accompanied by significant funding that was administered through a small team that included Alastair Kerr. Kalman commented that through the HPI program, Parks Canada was able to achieve “national adoption of standards and guidelines” (Kalman Pher/Aca) which became a watershed moment for heritage conservation in the country.

Throughout the key-informant interview process, I heard from multiple sources a desire to see an expanded definition of heritage established provincially and incorporated within the legislation so that it is afforded legal protection. Kalman said that he believes “very strongly that our whole cultural framework changes over time, it’s totally natural. The legal framework is intended to reflect that cultural framework, and so it must be addressed and reviewed to see whether it’s still applicable and should be updated if it’s not applicable” (Kalman Pher/Aca). Today, the Provincial Heritage Branch primary role is to build relationships and support capacity building. The relationships between heritage agencies, tourism organizations, BC Parks and the First People’s Cultural Council are the frontlines where this cultural shift is happening.

Federal Context

While the scope of this research is on the City of Victoria’s municipal heritage programs I would be remiss if I did not provide federal context to heritage conservation trends. Nationally, much of the work that was done through the 1990s to develop British Columbia’s Heritage Conservation Act and the amendments were informed by federal trends in heritage planning promoted through Parks Canada. In addition to the example already provided on the Historic Places Initiative, I have included a brief summary of key

federal documents—legislations, supporting guidelines and plans—that inform heritage management practices in Canada. These documents have impacted the development of the City of Victoria’s municipal heritage program and communicate the changing landscape of heritage planning with regards to intangible cultural heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage. The table below summarizes if and how these documents address Indigenous cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage.

Table 7. Federal Legislation & Supporting Documents

Name	Indigenous Included?	Intangible Cultural Heritage Included?	Indigenous Cultural Heritage Included?	Reconciliation Included?
Historic Sites and Monuments Act (1953)	No	No	No	No
Heritage Railway Stations Protection Act (1985)	No	No	No	No
Heritage Lighthouse Protection Act (2008)	No	No	No	No
Parks Canada Agency Act (1998)	Yes	No	Yes	No
Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada (2001)	Yes	No	Partially. It does recognize cultural landscapes and landscapes’ associated values.	No
National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan (2000)	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Framework for History and Commemoration: National Historic Sites System Plan 2019 (2019)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

In 2008, the federal government made a formal apology to the victims of residential school system and the following year established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to address the legacy of trauma. By 2012, the Commission released an interim report and in 2015 published the final report which included 94 Calls to Action. The Calls provided municipalities across the country with a path forward to address the injustices of residential schools and many municipalities have since taken steps to advance reconciliation. 2008 marked an important turning point for Indigenous visibility within the national cultural narrative. Previously, Indigenous Peoples had largely been referred to exclusively in terms of rights and title to land. Across the country, this period of time from 2008-2012 significantly increased the visibility of Indigenous Peoples and these effects are reflected in the increasing inclusion of Indigenous Peoples, their histories and cultural expressions within official government documents at both the municipal, provincial and federal level.

Over the past 20 years the federal government's approach to heritage management has been characterised by the significant downloading of responsibilities from Parks Canada to the provinces, and in turn, to municipalities (Stevens, 2017). During the nine years of the Harper Conservative government (2006-2015) the federal priorities for heritage was on "monuments with political benefit," harkening back to the early days of heritage which was focused on nationalistic narratives (Stevens, 2017, p. 64). The subsequent Trudeau Liberal government (2015-ongoing) has been vocal in its commitment to Indigenous relations. Prime Minister Trudeau's most recent Mandate Letter to the Minister of Canadian Heritage, Steven Guilbeault, called for partnerships with all levels of government to continue the advancement of reconciliation, fully implement the Indigenous Languages Act and to "co-develop, with Indigenous Peoples, a framework for repatriating Indigenous cultural property and ancestral remains" (2019).

Historically, intergovernmental relations with First Nations have largely been a federal responsibility and heritage management has been administered by the provinces and municipalities. Predictably, all the legislations, guideline and plans produced before the TRC's Calls to Action were published in 2012 do not include any provisions for reconciliation or redress with First Nations, Métis or Inuit Peoples of Canada. Five of the six documents published before 2010 are all centered around a tangible approach to heritage management. While the Parks Canada Agency Act (1998) and the later SGCHP in Canada (2001) do mention Indigenous interests, they are again centred around

material heritage; and in the latter document, cultural landscapes are included as a means to capture Indigenous cultural heritage. Cultural landscapes are material and place bound and therefore exclude many aspects of Indigenous Cultural Heritage and thus do not provide satisfactory provisions to afford it protection.

The 2000 Parks Canada Systems Plan includes a brief mention of intangible cultural heritage and a more thorough discussion of Indigenous cultural heritage. The Systems Plan identified significant gaps in the National Historic Sites and Monument Board's program delivery and asked for the Minister's direction "to do more to mark the historic achievements of Canada's Aboriginal peoples, women and multi-cultural communities" (Parks Canada, 2000). The plan also introduced a thematic framework "as a way of addressing previously underrepresented topics in the National Program of Historical Commemoration" (Parks Canada, 2000).

In 2019, the most recent National Historic Site System Plan (NHSSP) was published, and it reflects a significant shift away from the previous focus on material culture and the accompanying nationalistic trends in commemoration. In Minister McKenna's introduction to the Plan, she states that,

The Government of Canada is unwavering in its commitment to reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, and to a renewed relationship based on the recognition of rights, respect, co-operation and partnership. In response to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Call to Action 79, Parks Canada has committed to making space for Indigenous Peoples' histories, voices and perspectives at heritage places. These initiatives also support the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Through the Framework for History and Commemoration, the Agency will continue to further this important work. Parks Canada is uniquely positioned to advance reconciliation and to confront the legacy of colonialism (2019).

The 2019 NHSSP situates a deeper understanding of the complexity of Canadian history by positioning the new plan based on public history. Public history reflects the "country's diversity" by not singling out one version of history but rather creating space for a "range of voices, perspectives and experiences found in Canadian society" (Parks Canada, National Historic Site System Plan, 2019). The new plan also marks a shift away from the 'values-based approach' to a public history approach and lays out 10 principles to engage communities on their history. Intangible cultural heritage is woven into this

document as both a tool to connect with communities and obtain information about the history of a site, and a means to interpret the history.

With each new System Plan the strategic priorities are revised to reflect the government's focus areas. The 2019 priorities include: the history of Indigenous People, diversity, environmental history, and Canada and the world; with the intersections between these areas also acknowledged such as gender, class and race. Unlike in any of the previous federal heritage documents, colonization is named. The Plan states that,

Confronting the legacy of colonialism and its impact on Indigenous Peoples is a necessary and important part of reconciliation. Further, it is also important to consider all aspects of Indigenous Peoples' history, rather than just their interactions with the state and settlers. Making the history of Indigenous Peoples a priority through active engagement and consultation and encouraging collaboration and relationship-building supports reconciliation and a future that we can all forge together (Parks Canada, National Historic Site System Plan, 2019, p. 25).

This report reflects the changing trends in heritage conservation where Indigenous cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage are being acknowledged and integrated into new heritage planning documents.

International Context

Canada is a member of UNESCO and was a signatory to the UNESCO's World Heritage Convention of 1979. Since the 1990s, Parks Canada has led the nation's involvement in the World Heritage Committee. The country has a number of World Heritage Sites, including Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve and Haida Heritage Site in British Columbia and an application in development for Vancouver's historic Chinatown neighbourhood. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Culture Heritage (Convention) became a watershed moment within heritage conservation, broadening the understanding of cultural resource management to include the intangible cultural heritage (Arsenault et al., 2010). To date, Canada has still not joined the 178 other countries in signing the Convention. ICH plays an important role in "promoting tolerance, peace and reconciliation; fostering community and individual well-being and promoting human rights and sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2019). Although the federal government has not taken leadership in signing the Convention, there is a growing interest across Canada in seeing ICH integrated into policies at all levels. In 2016, the Canadian Network for Intangible Cultural Heritage was established

“to pursue, amplify and better coordinate work already being carried as well as to respond to the growing needs of Canadians in this domain” (Turgeon, 2015, quoted in Stevens, 2017).

Parks Canada’s most recent National Historic Sites of Canada Systems Plan goes a long way in integrating intangible cultural heritage into a national plan for heritage conservation. The new Systems Plan transitions the thematic framework and values-based approach to a public history approach and acknowledges that the cultural values they are seeking to preserve are culturally and socially bound. By doing so, it diffuses the ownership of cultural resource management from a small group of academics and professionals to the knowledge holders—the community. Coupled with the Plan’s clear commitment to cultural redress through supporting “Indigenous Peoples’ histories, voices and perspectives at heritage places” (Parks Canada, 2019), the Plan marks a crucial step moving away from a material focus on history to a more inclusive understanding of heritage.

As both Smith (2006) and Buckley & Sullivan (2014) have identified, the challenge with the values-based approach is that it exists within the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ which both derives power from the professionalization of the field and continues the privileging of an elite group perpetuating select narratives. Throughout the interview process, participants shared similar observations as to the challenges facing the field of heritage planning and how that is impacting municipal heritage programs. Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan observed that “the heritage crowd” in Victoria “fall very much into the authorized heritage discourse”. A supporter of Smith’s research, Kerr shared that the “values which are brokered as a consequence directly reflect this” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). Therefore, if that society is ‘brokered’ by colonialism, the heritage professionals and the programs they sculpt become complicit in perpetuating the harm of colonialism.

Some participants raised concerns that looking back on the progression of the field of municipal heritage planning would not be fair as they “did not know better” and that “there’s nothing racist in it, except by omission” (Pher/Plan); however, even that position is still being held by those who have built their career from the ‘authorized heritage discourse’ and continue to benefit from the privilege and power they have garnered as a result of the privilege afforded to them by the legacy of colonization. Smith

(2006) and Winter (2014) argue that the obfuscation and professionalization of the field intentionally creates barriers to the public to distance decision making power, which are hallmarks of colonial tools of suppression.

4.2. The Inclusion of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Victoria's Heritage Program

4.2.1. Heritage Program Analysis

The City of Victoria's heritage program is comprised of three main components: (1) management tools in the form of plans, policies, incentives and design guidelines; (2) the City's Heritage Register which is defined as the "official list" "used to facilitate review and management" "of properties deemed worthy of preservation" (Commonwealth Ltd., 2002); (3) public education and awareness delivered through (a) the council-appointed Heritage Advisory Panel and (b) five non-profit organizations responsible for education and grant delivery. Victoria's civic heritage program is delivered by a team of three staff within the Department of Sustainable Planning and Community Development, where two fulltime Heritage Planners are supported by a Heritage Planning Secretary.

Victoria's heritage program approach can be surmised by a review of their website introducing the public to the program. The webpage proudly proclaims that, "Victoria's turn-of-the-century architecture creates a sense of pride among residents and throughout the community. These heritage buildings are symbols of permanence and stability in an ever-changing world" (City of Victoria, n.d.). Besides the language equating colonial buildings with "symbols of permanence and stability," notably absent are any reference to the local First Nations on whose lands the "ever-changing world" is being built. In addition, there is no mention of intangible cultural heritage or other associated terms within the heritage-related webpages of the City's website. While this representation is not out of step with how many other municipalities present their respective heritage programs, there are examples where intangible cultural heritage is being included, such as with the City of Saskatoon and the City of Vancouver, where they are currently establishing distinct intangible cultural heritage registers to address this gap.

It is important to restate that since the foundation of Victoria’s heritage program, they have acted as a national leader creating and sustaining a dynamic and robust program. The following analysis of the City’s heritage program illustrates how Victoria’s leadership in heritage conservation has evolved over the past 55 years and argues that the expanding understanding of heritage, while widely acknowledged by City staff, is still not reflected in the heritage program and that other departments such as the Arts, Culture and Events Office and the Mayor’s Office are now taking up that lead.

1. Heritage Management Tools

The management tools that support the City’s heritage program include (1) plans, policies, design guidelines, and incentive programs; and (2) Heritage Advisory Panel. To address my research question on the efficacy of the City’s heritage program to meet the TRC’s Calls to Action, I conducted a high-level document review to analyze the scope of these management tools. The following table summarizes my findings.

Table 8. City of Victoria Heritage Plans and Supporting Documents

Planning Document	Author	Key Word Searched		
		<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Included, yes or no</i>	
<i>Date</i>		Indigenous*	ICH	Indigenous Cultural Heritage**
Sign and Awning Guidelines (1998)	City of Victoria	0	0	No
Tax Incentive Program (1998)	City of Victoria	0	0	No
Heritage Strategic Plan (2002)	Harold Kalman, Commonwealth Historic Resources Ltd.	0	0	No

Official Community Plan (2012)	City of Victoria	6	First Nations	0	Indigenous history	Yes
		2	Indigenous			
		0	Lekwungen		Indigenous heritage values	Yes
		4	Songhees Nation			
		4	Esquimalt Nation		Indigenous memory practices	No
		2	Aboriginal			
		0	Reconciliation		Integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history	No
		18	Total			
Heritage Register Update: 2008-2015 (2015)	Donald Luxton & Associates	24	First Nations	1	Indigenous history	Yes
		1	Indigenous			
		4	Lekwungen		Indigenous heritage values	No
		2	Songhees Nation			
		2	Esquimalt Nation		Indigenous memory practices	No
		1	Aboriginal			
		0	Reconciliation		Integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history	No
		34	Total			
Old Town Design Guidelines (Updated 2019)	City of Victoria	2	First Nations	0	Indigenous history	Yes
		0	Indigenous			
		2	Lekwungen		Indigenous heritage values	No
		1	Songhees Nation			
		0	Esquimalt Nation		Indigenous memory practices	No
		0	Aboriginal			
		0	Reconciliation		Integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history	No
		7	Total			

* Number of times First Nations, Indigenous, Lekwungen, Songhees Nation, Esquimalt Nation, Aboriginal and Reconciliation were mentioned, total.

** Number of times the following key words were mentioned: Indigenous history, Indigenous heritage values, Indigenous memory practices, and Integration of Indigenous values into Canada's national heritage and history, total.

As expected, the management tools developed in the early days of the City's heritage program do not include intangible cultural heritage, they exclusively concern material culture and make recommendation to "manage change wisely" (Kalman 2014, p. 4). Harold Kalman was the consultant who led the City's 2002 Heritage Strategic Plan and currently serves as a Heritage Advisory Panel member. He commented that "Victoria's heritage program is very pragmatic. It is about which property should be designated and protected and is entirely concerned with tangible heritage... because it is legislated through the BC Local Government Act" (Kalman Pher/Aca). The Heritage Strategic Plan (2002) reviewed and analyzed the existing heritage landscape in Victoria and proposed a series of policy changes to support the development of the sector. Absent were any considerations of intangible cultural heritage or mention of the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations. When asked about the 2002 Plan, Kalman responded that "judging it by the values of today, that was wrong. But by the values of the day then, it was not wrong, it was omission. It was not commission... We were ignorant, in the best sense of ignorant" (Kalman Pher/Aca).

The City of Victoria has grant programs for its designated houses, commercial and institutional properties. The Tax Incentive Program is acclaimed as "stable and successful" in promoting the retention and rehabilitation of residential and commercial properties (Luxton). Within the municipal heritage program, no such complementary grant nor tax incentive program exists for either intangible cultural heritage or Indigenous cultural heritage.

The City's most recent 2012 Official Community Plan (OCP)—developed to map the next 30 year of the City's growth—broadly integrates heritage, arts and culture to ensure that culture is used as a tool to execute the community's vision and goals. The OCP identified a need for a vision and action plan which laid the foundation for the subsequent 2017 Cultural Masterplan. The OCP calls for the City to "seek opportunities to partner and collaborate with the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations on initiatives that acknowledge and celebrate the traditional territory and cultural values of First Peoples" (Goal 16.8, City of Victoria, 2012). Woven into the OCP are multiple goals related to placemaking, cultural identity and heritage cultural landscapes. These include: Goal 8 (B) that, "Victoria's cultural and natural heritage resources are protected and celebrated." And Goal 8 (I) "That heritage and cultural values are identified, celebrated, and retained through community engagement" (City of Victoria, 2012). The OCP calls for

the City to “develop and maintain a policy to identify and conserve heritage cultural landscapes on public and private lands, that seeks to determine the heritage value, character and special features of cultural landscapes; and provides guidance for alternations, while conserving heritage value, character and special features” (Section 8.62, OCP, p. 73). Goal 9.21.5 asks to “Protect and steward cultural heritage landscapes on City land as consistent with the National Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada” (City of Victoria, 2012). Victoria’s current Senior Heritage Planner, Merinda Conley, stated that while she has, “various initiatives and policies that must be followed including the Standards and Guidelines...the OCP overrides everything” (Conley Pher/Mun/Plan).

Given my methodological framework, the 2012 OCP meets two of the four criteria I am using to assess the City’s capacity to meet the TRC’s Call to Action on heritage. Indigenous history and heritage values are woven into the Plan through the inclusion of Indigenous history, cultural heritage landscapes and Indigenous cultural values. The third criteria, Indigenous memory practices, are not addressed. The most direct tool to protect Indigenous memory practices is through the inclusion and protection of intangible cultural heritage and the intangible aspects of heritage are not named in the OCP. Further, the plan does not clearly outline a vision or goal to integrate the Indigenous values into the existing municipal heritage program and thus does not meet the fourth criterion.

The most recent heritage management tool is the Revised Old Town Design Guidelines (2019) produced by Victoria’s Senior Heritage Planner, Merinda Conley. The revised guidelines include a land acknowledgment stating, “Old Town...was established on the homelands of the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations, who have lived on southern Vancouver Island for thousands of years” (Old Town Design Guidelines, City of Victoria, 2019). Although the guidelines only concern material culture, they are a marked improvement over previous City guidelines which completely exclude any mention of Indigenous history. The reference to Indigenous history meets one of the four criteria I developed to assess the efficacy of the City’s heritage program to address the TRC’s Calls to Action.

While the OCP was being developed, Donald Luxton & Associates was contracted by the City’s Heritage Planners, Steve Barber and Helen Cain, to produce a

Heritage Register Update. From 2008 to 2015, the firm worked with the City to produce a Heritage Context Statement and recommended additions to the Register. An analysis of this update follows.

2. Heritage Register

The City's website states that the Register of Heritage Properties (Heritage Register) "has been a valuable component to the City's heritage program" since it was initiated in 1982. The Register is defined as "a tool to manage the community's heritage assets and provides a system to review and monitor proposed changes to properties of heritage value" (City of Victoria, n.d.). Heritage value is defined as "related to their architectural, historical, or cultural characteristics that merit recognition" (City of Victoria, n.d.). There are approximately 1,100 historic sites qualified as having 'heritage value' listed on the City's Register. This designation, predicated on the socially constructed concept of 'heritage value', enables property owners to take advantage of financial benefits including access to grants and tax incentive programs.

The intent of the 2008-2015 Heritage Register Update was to create a heritage program that would "fully embrace a values-based approach to heritage" (Pher/Mun/Plan). Victoria's Heritage Planners worked with consultant, Donald Luxton & Associates, to create a city-wide Historical Context Statement, a Thematic Framework to inform the Heritage Register update, Neighbourhood Statements of Significance, Documentation of Historic Places, and Community Heritage Planning Policy Framework. Donald Luxton has 35 years of experience as a heritage consultant and is self-described as taking a "broad-based view of what heritage conservation is within the broader cultural resource management world" (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan).

Describing the Heritage Register Update, Pher/Mun/Plan, stated that it "was about developing the first useful thematic framework in British Columbia, then using it to do neighbourhood Statements of Significance and trying and working with everybody to understand the place." Luxton positioned Heritage Registers as a tool to capture heritage resources that "provide a deep and inspirational sense of connection between the community and the landscape, and its past and lived experiences." (Luxton, 2015, p. 2).

The Thematic Framework was modelled after Parks Canada’s 2004 framework which identified 5 national themes: Peopling the Land, Developing Economies, Building Social and Community Life, Governing Canada and Expressing Cultural and Intellectual Life. In 2019, Parks Canada published a revised “Framework for History and Commemoration” which moved away from the problematic “Peopling the Land” concept. With the support of City staff, Luxton proposed a five-part framework: Coastal Settlement, Gateway Economy, Capital City, Community of Neighbourhoods and Cultural Exchange (see Figure 2). This was intended to identify and organize representative places, people and events that reflect the ‘heritage values’ of the City and could be used later to drive additions to the Heritage Register. Under the ‘Placemaking’ section of the City’s OCP, the Heritage Thematic Framework is identified to be used to “determine the heritage value of areas, districts, streetscapes, cultural landscape and individual properties” (City of Victoria, OCP, 2012, p. 70).

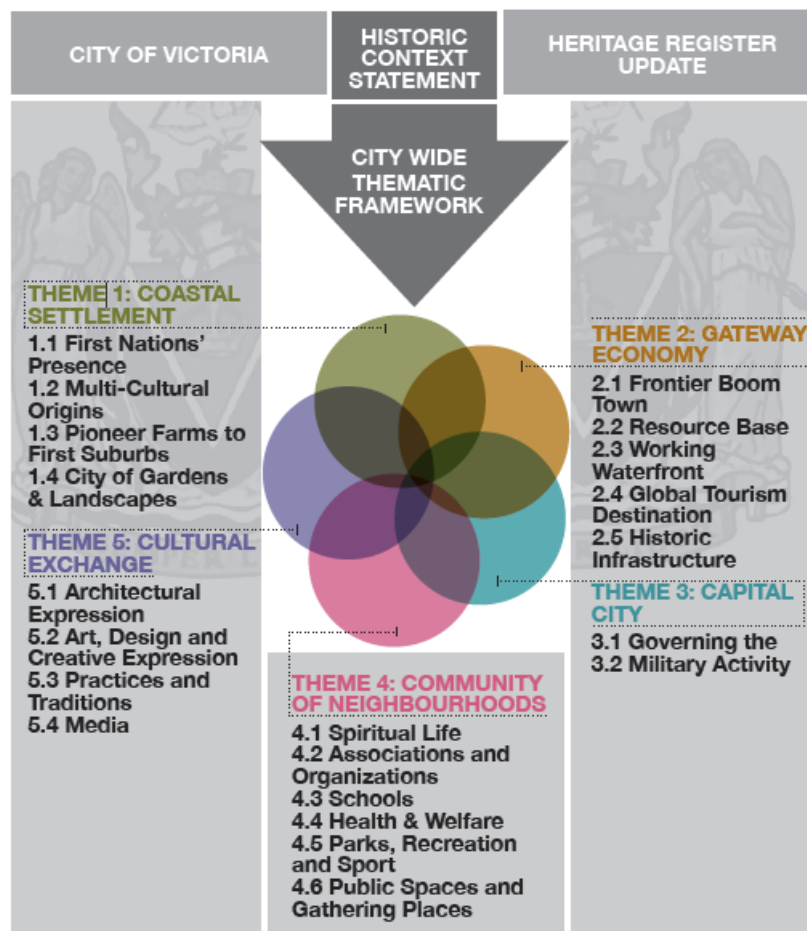


Figure 2. City of Victoria City-Wide Thematic Framework, Heritage Register Update 2008-2015 (Donald Luxton & Associates, 2015).

Soon after Victoria's OCP was adopted, the City of Vancouver embarked on their own process to update their heritage program through a comprehensive planning project called the Heritage Action Plan. Led by the same consultants, Donald Luxton & Associates, the Heritage Register Update component was modelled after the City of Victoria's and similarly positioned the use of a Thematic Framework to capture and reflect the five key narratives of the City. The staff report stated that, "these values manifest themselves into themes which help to describe a society's collective cultural history and assist in identifying key heritage features" (City of Vancouver, 2013). The concept of a "collective cultural history" is problematic as it attempts to reduce the complexity of a place into a single storyline of history. This example illustrates that the intent behind the Thematic Framework was to embody the inclusive and holistic values-based approach that the HPI program first introduced but in reality, still operates within the colonial system of assimilation. To date, the City of Vancouver has not brought the Thematic Framework to their City Council for adoption.

When asked about the absence of intangible cultural heritage in the Heritage Register Update, Luxton was clear that "the Heritage Register is a tool that only recognizes real property;" elaborating, that "I don't think the register is the place to deal with the intangible heritage, but we need something that will be the equivalent of a register or a recognition, which is all a register is. It's just a list that council sanctions, but we have no equivalent way to recognize the other aspects of the city, except for the thematic framework" (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan). While in 2015 intangible cultural heritage registers were not in practice at a municipal level, by 2018 two Canadian municipalities—the City of Vancouver and Saskatoon—began developing their own intangible cultural heritage registers to address this gap.

The Heritage Register Update states that heritage is the "tangible and irreplaceable, expression of Victoria's identity and [is] a reflection of the diversity of the community experience that has unfolded over time" (Donald Luxton & Associates, City of Victoria Heritage Register Update, 2015, p. 2). This is challenging as there are many narratives, peoples, and histories that do not have a physical representation within the built environment. The Register positions the use of the Thematic Framework as a means to transform the Heritage Register into an assessment tool that reflects the "environmental, social/cultural, economic and even intangible aspects of our shared experience" (Donald Luxton & Associates, City of Victoria Heritage Register Update,

2015, p. 3). While the intention to capture a broader and more inclusive representation of heritage was made, this assertion rings hollow as these “aspects of our shared experience” are still predicated on a relationship to tangible cultural assets and thus excludes intangible expressions such as Indigenous values and memory practices.

The 2008-2015 Heritage Register Update included a 74-page Historic Context Statement to contextual the Thematic Framework and Heritage Register list. The Statement does include Indigenous history and introduces present-day relations between Songhees and Esquimalt Nations and the City of Victoria by stating that, “the continuing presence of First Nations is evident in a number of historic places, including Beacon Hill Park and Thunderbird Park Provincial Heritage Site.” “Archaeological remains and the traditions of the Coast Salish people are integral to the past, present and future of Victoria” (Donald Luxton & Associates, 2015, p. 6). This statement is reflective of how Indigenous history is represented throughout the entire document—it is presented in relation to colonial settlement. The Statement frames the history of the Lekwungen Peoples’ in relation to colonial history. By not creating space for an Indigenous narrative to exist side by side, it ensures that the dominant colonial narrative is given primacy continues to ‘other’ Indigenous people. The best practice for including Indigenous history is to create space for them to tell their own stories, this mitigates the ontological biases that the historians may have. For example, in the ‘First Nations’ section of the Historic Context Statement, it is written that in 1844,

HBC Chief Factor James Douglas requested that the Lekwungen relocate to the opposite shore across the Inner Harbour. Between 1850 and 1852, Douglas and the Coast Salish people signed several contracts, known as the “Douglas Treaties”, which transferred First Nations land to the HBC. One outcome was the establishment of the Songhees Reserve that covered the eastern half of the current boundaries of the Victoria West neighbourhood. As the settlement grew and commerce and enterprise developed, the Lekwungen became interwoven into the new colonial way of life, playing key roles in the economic development of the colonial post. They were regular customers of pre-1858 businesses that first appeared around the fort (Luxton, Victoria Heritage Register Update, p. 6).

While this is factually true, and the story often repeated throughout history books it is one version of truth and does not reflect the reality of colonization to Indigenous People. This version of truth sanitizes the brutal and traumatic history that accompanied the dispossession of the Lekwungen Peoples from their lands and reinforces the dominant colonial narrative of nation building and ‘peaceful’ conquest. When asked

about the use of language and positioning of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, Luxton responded that, “we struggled with [the language] so much. We were working with outdated concepts and language at that point. If the language is problematic, I don’t apologize for it, I recognize it” (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan). Luxton remarked that 2004 Parks Canada National Historic Sites thematic framework “is almost shockingly negligent” in their representation of First Nations (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan). One way that municipalities are addressing this is by supporting the local Indigenous People and urban Indigenous People to tell their own stories and letting those be presented side by side with the settler narrative, rather than integrating them, as was done in Victoria’s Historic Context Statement.

3. Public Education & Awareness:

The final component of the City of Victoria’s heritage program is the public education and awareness, delivered through two main components (a) the City’s Heritage Advisory Panel and (b) 5 non-profit heritage organizations.

(a) Heritage Advisory Panel

The City of Victoria’s Heritage Advisory Panel (Panel) is a volunteer group that “provides council with recommendations on any heritage matters” (Conley Pher/Mun/Plan). The Panel consists of ten members who are appointed by Council and may serve two consecutive terms of three years. There are no specific qualifications required for members of the Panel. The stated purpose of the Panel is to:

Advise the Committee of the Whole on those heritage matters coming within the scope of the committee under the Local Government Act or that are referred to it by the Committee.

Make recommendations to Committee of the Whole respecting the designation of heritage buildings, structures and lands, and the preservation, alteration, renovation or demolition of heritage buildings, structures or lands.

Meet jointly with the Advisory Design Panel to review and provide recommendations to the Committee of the development proposals referred to a joint meeting (City of Victoria, 2018).

Meeting minutes are taken at each of the Heritage Advisory Panel meetings and publicly posted on the City’s website. As detailed in the Methodology Chapter, I reviewed the meeting minutes from the Heritage Advisory Panel Meetings from January 10, 2012

to July 10, 2018. Of the 76 meetings that took place, only 5 meetings recorded mention First Nations (March 6, 2018, January 10, 2017, April 12, 2016, October 13, 2015 and January 10, 2012). Two of these recorded discussions on First Nations, (January 10, 2017 and March 6, 2018) were in relation to place names and there was no mention of cultural values or intangible cultural heritage in any of the recorded meeting minutes. For a full record of the 5 mentions of First Nations over the six years of the Heritage Advisory Panel's meetings see Appendix D.

Of note is that on April 12, 2016, the meeting minutes recorded that Advisory Panel member Harold Kalman provided "information on presentism—judging past incidents by using the values of today. Hal is a member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) and this has been a topic of discussion by the Board" (City of Victoria, 2016). The minutes state that a discussion followed, and several examples of presentism were given including, that "the goal of residential schools was cultural assimilation which is viewed as negative by today's values. Was there anything positive about residential schools?" From a decolonization perspective, the use of this example by a 'community expert' who "provides council with recommendations on any heritage matters (Conley Pher/Mun/Plan) is problematic and reveals a lack of cultural competency and understanding of Canadian history. As this panel of community members have no specified qualifications, their ability to address "any heritage matters" has been demonstrated to be insufficient.

The Heritage Advisory Panel's Terms of Reference are specific to providing Council with comment on tangible heritage assets and thus are at odds with the changing landscape of heritage planning. No longer are these Council advisory panels solely being tasked with advising on the physical conservation of buildings; increasingly they are being asked to provide advice on cultural heritage matters such as the representation of Indigenous cultural heritage. From my own experience serving as a 2-term volunteer on the City of Vancouver's Heritage Commission, I experienced that shift first hand and witnessed the struggle of the Council advisory committee to respond to the expanding understanding of heritage.

Fundamental to this is the full out rejection of intangible cultural heritage. The Terms of Reference exclude ICH from the advisory panel's purview, do not promote or require a balanced representation of cultural heritage knowledge from panel members

and thus perpetuate the ‘authorized heritage discourse’. To reject ICH means rejecting non-dominant cultural narratives that have not been privileged enough to be reflected in the built environment and judged by social values to be worthy of inclusion on Heritage Registers. A further summary and recommendations as to how and why civic heritage advisory panels like the City of Victoria’s need to be decolonized is included in the Chapter 5.

(b) Arms-Length Non-Profit Heritage Organizations

Victoria has an established culture of support for its local history and built heritage and this is reflected in the volume of non-profits that administer grant and educational programs to promote heritage. In addition to the Heritage Advisory Panel, the City’s heritage program delivers public education and awareness through the arms-length non-profit organizations. There are five main organizations, including the Victoria Heritage Foundation (VHF) and the Victoria Civic Heritage Trust, which administer grants; and the Hallmark Society, the Victoria Historical Society and the Old Cemeteries Society that deliver advocacy and educational programs. A summary of these non-profit organizations is included in Table 9 below.

Table 9. Victoria Civic Heritage Organizations

Name	Mandate	Includes Intangible Cultural Heritage?	Includes Indigenous Cultural Heritage?
Hallmark Society Est. 1973	Victoria’s oldest heritage advocacy organization, the society advocates for the restoration, preservation and conservation of heritage buildings and provides educational programs to increase public understanding of heritage.	No	No
Victoria Heritage Foundation Est. 1983	Not-for-profit organization supporting owners of heritage houses which were originally built as single-family structures or duplexes.	No	No
Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria Est. 1983	A non-profit society that supports the preservation, research and appreciation of 20 cemeteries in Greater Victoria.	Yes, but tied to tangible cultural assets like grave markers	Yes

Victoria Civic Heritage Trust Est. 1989	The Civic Heritage Trust works in collaboration with the City of Victoria to administer the property tax incentive program for the retention and rehabilitation of heritage buildings. The Trust works with “community heritage groups to develop, administer and financially support programs that preserve, promote, interpret and enhance the cultural and natural heritage resources of the City of Victoria and its environments” (Victoria Civic Heritage Trust, n.d.).	No	No
Victoria Historical Society Est. 1989	The Historical Society promotes the education and preservation of local history.	No	No

A number of grants are available to building owners through two of the groups. The Victoria Heritage Foundation administers the House Grants Program and the Victoria Civic Heritage Trust administers the Building Incentive Program and also “provides... recommendations to council” (Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan). The Downtown Victoria Business Association (DVBA) offers a Tax Incentive Program for Downtown Heritage Buildings and the Illuminate Downtown Grant. The criteria for these grants are exclusive to building owners looking to preserve tangible cultural assets, making it inaccessible to applicants looking for financial support to address the conservation of intangible cultural heritage and Indigenous cultural heritage.

According to the organization websites and publicly accessible documents, none of these civic heritage organizations focus on Intangible Cultural Heritage through their granting programs or educational programs nor have any of them provided funding nor programming to support Indigenous cultural heritage, with the exception of the Old Cemeteries Society of Victoria which has supported the research and preservation of First Nations cemeteries, meeting two of the four reconciliation criteria. The other four groups did not address Indigenous history, heritage values memory practices or seek to integrate Indigenous values into Canada’s national heritage and history.

4.2.2. Summary of Heritage Program Findings

To summarize, the City of Victoria’s heritage program consists of three main components: management tools in the form of plans, policies, tax incentives and design

guidelines; a Heritage Register and public education and awareness delivered through a council-appointed Heritage Advisory Panel and five arms-length agencies. The civic heritage program document review and interview process concluded that no action is currently being undertaken by the heritage planning staff to advance Goal 9.21.5. to identify and conserve heritage cultural landscapes. The development of this policy provides a significant opportunity to the City of Victoria to continue leading by example in working with the Esquimalt and Songhees First Nations to develop an inclusive heritage policy that could record, reflect and communicate their histories. Neither the interviews nor the document review revealed any advancement of this goal by the Heritage Planning staff. Rather, through my research I determined that the City's cultural planners are addressing this through alternate means including the Indigenous artist in residence program started in 2017, public art projects such as the *Signs of the Lekwungen* and other placemaking initiatives.

As of August 2018, the City's heritage program does not have any mechanisms in place either through its plans, policies or the associated agencies to support or even acknowledge Intangible Cultural Heritage. Therefore, Victoria's heritage program does not support the safeguarding of Indigenous history, Indigenous heritage values, Indigenous memory practices, nor the integration of Indigenous values into Canadian heritage and history.

4.3. Ancillary Document Review

The following section provides a review of the City's broader policy context to situate how the heritage program functions against the City's ongoing commitment to reconciliation. As stated in the Methodology Chapter, the document review built upon previous research conducted as part of the Create Victoria: Arts and Culture Master Plan process and was collected in three ways: publicly accessible avenues, from City staff and through previous consulting work I conducted, with permission for use granted by the City. The ancillary document review was provided to situate the broader policy context and illustrate how other City departments are addressing reconciliation.

Victoria's 2012 Official Community Plan provides direction to "seek opportunities to partner and collaborate with the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations on initiatives that acknowledge and celebrate the traditional territory and cultural values of First

Peoples” (Reddington, 2016). Although I have demonstrated that until August 2018, the City’s Heritage Planning Department, responsible for delivering the City’s heritage program, had not yet taken formal steps to address Indigenous cultural heritage nor to integrate Intangible cultural heritage into their heritage program, other departments have made significant strides to address this gap. The City’s Arts, Culture and Events Department and the Mayor’s Office are taking the lead in establishing conversations about safeguarding of Indigenous history, including Indigenous heritage values, memory practices, and integrating Indigenous values into the City’s representation of heritage and history—meeting all four of the reconciliation criteria.

4.3.1. City of Victoria and Truth & Reconciliation

In 2016, the City convened a Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action Task Force to advise on the Calls to Action that are within the City’s jurisdiction and approved \$50,000 of funding towards its implementation as well as up to \$100,000 for the construction of a Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations longhouse in support of Reconciliation (City of Victoria, 2016). The following year, City announced that 2017 would be “A Year of Reconciliation” and changed the language of all City Proclamations to recognize that Victoria sits on the traditional territories of the Esquimalt and Songhees First Nations. That year, Mayor and Council began meeting quarterly with the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations Chiefs to establish intergovernmental relations and foster an ongoing dialogue. Mayor Lisa Helps reflected that, “when the City first approached the Nations, it was in a very colonial way, asking them to sit on a ‘reconciliation task force.’ Through conversation we learned that a more Indigenous-focused approach would be a better way to proceed if we were sincere in wanting to pursue truth and reconciliation. In response, we formed a City Family and began a Witness Reconciliation program” (Helps, 2018).

In 2017, the City initiated the Witness Reconciliation program with representatives from both Nations, urban Indigenous Peoples, City Councillors, Mayor Lisa Helps as well as select City staff with the intent that the ongoing program would consider how the City can “respond to the five recommendations highlighted in the TRC for attention by municipalities” (see Appendix E) and, more broadly, how the City can “foster healing and reconciliation within Canada” (City of Victoria, n.d.). The City Family has decision-making authority over reconciliation measures, excluding budgetary

allocations, with the Songhees and Esquimalt Chiefs and Councils serving as witnesses. “Witnesses, in Lekwungen tradition, listen to the story of the family and give their input and guidance to find a good way forward” (Helps, 2018). This decolonized model was endorsed by Council in June of 2017 and is still active to date.

More recently, the City Witness Reconciliation program has led to the development of a new public program series on the impacts of colonization titled Reconciliation Dialogues. Planned over 2019-2020, the six-part “series of community conversations to explore reconciliation... will enable the community to explore together what reconciliation could look like on Lekwungen territory” (City of Victoria, n.d.). The City is actively working to create space for learning, reflection and healing through cultural programming opportunities, such as these public dialogues, and by supporting other cultural expressions through public art. Victoria City Hall was the first venue to display the ‘Witness Blanket’, a woven art piece made of reclaimed items from Residential Schools, churches, government buildings and traditional and cultural structures from across Canada. The blanket was “created as a national monument to recognize the atrocities of the Indian Residential School era, honour the children, and symbolize ongoing reconciliation” (City of Victoria, Press Release: 2017 Declared the Year of Reconciliation, 2017).

In summary, the Mayor’s Office’s commitment to reconciliation has sought to celebrate and increase the visibility of Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices through the funding of public art initiatives and the development of a longhouse in Beacon Hill Park, a site of high cultural significance. The Witness Reconciliation program is an example of how municipalities can take steps to integrate Indigenous values into their work and thus satisfies all four criteria.

4.3.2. Public Art & Commemoration

Since 2015 there has been widespread adoption of the Calls to Action at federal, provincial, municipal and organizational level; and the terminology and understanding of decolonization have become more commonplace. Prior to this period of active reconciliation, we see the recognition of First Nations within municipalities either through place names, stories, public art and events. As early as 2008, Victoria had been initiating projects to “bring the history and culture of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations into

public spaces across the City” (City of Victoria, 2017). Examples of this include the *Signs of the Lekwungen*, a 2008 public art wayfinding project that was led by cultural resource manager, Richard Linzey. At the time, Linzey was working part-time for the City as a Heritage Planner and also as an independent consultant. As a consulting project manager, he worked with the Arts, Culture & Events Department (then known as Parks, Recreation and Culture) to deliver on a Cultural Capitals of Canada proposal for an “interpreted Indigenous walkway”. When Linzey was brought on board, the project “wasn’t a fleshed-out idea” so he “worked with the Songhees and Esquimalt First Nations and the lands managers in each of those places...[and together] decided that the purpose of the trail would be to take people through the city and identify places of traditional heritage value and their traditional place names. Then to mark those places using local Lekwungen art” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). The City worked with Songhees master carver, Butch Dick, to carve the spindle whorls—an important symbol within Coast Salish culture. The original cedar carvings were cast in bronze and set in seven locations across the Inner Harbour and surrounding areas “marking important places in Lekwungen territory and recognizing the economic trading history of the First Nations in this region” (City of Victoria, ‘2017 Declared A Year of Reconciliation’, 2016).

The “*Signs of Lekwungen* was a joint project between the City of Victoria, the Songhees Nation and Esquimalt Nation” is a great example of how commemorative public art can address unspoken and invisible narratives (City of Victoria, 2008). As the project manager, Linzey’s background as an architect and heritage planner was critical to the success of the project. He took a “multipronged approach to address it properly because [intangible cultural heritage] is such a difficult thing to wrangle” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). His perspective offers insight into how the field of municipal heritage planning can progress—a key to which is breaking down these divisions to allow for non-colonial values to be recognized. Linzey recalled a statement from the artist, Butch Dick: “We are still here” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). “When he said it, it had so much meaning to it and it really, really forced this idea of these values, they accumulate over time, they don’t usurp each other” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan).

While commemoration is often associated with the field of heritage planning and at the federal and provincial level the two are often interconnected, at the municipal level they are separate. Commemoration is often the responsibility of public art planners rather than heritage planners and this was noted as a challenge by a number of the

interview participants. The municipal public art portfolio at the City of Victoria is delivered by cultural planners within the Arts, Culture and Events Office.

The City of Victoria positioned public art as a tool for Indigenous cultural visibility and has championed the previous work done in advance of the 2017 commitment to reconciliation. In 2006, the City received funding from the provincial government as part of their Spirit Squares program to refurbish city squares. The program was “an initiative that planned activities and events as part of British Columbia’s 150th anniversary as a Crown Colony” (City of Victoria, n.d.). The City redeveloped the square that occupies half of the City Hall Centennial Square precinct. The refurbishment includes a new stage, landscaping and a central Indigenous design element titled ‘Spirit Garden’ with two carved cedar poles by Songhees artists, Butch and Clarence Dick (City of Victoria, 2017). The prominence given to these public art initiatives is important as throughout the interview process what emerged was a tacit understanding that civic heritage communicates the visual and cultural identity of a place. In 2013, the City collaborated with the Art Gallery of Greater Victoria to present a First Nations Artist Forum, titled XENALEKEN, that explored the role of Indigenous art in decolonization. Place names, public art, language, and other urban design tools communicate who is welcome and who is not (Edmonds, 2010; Prangnell et al., 2010; Bonds & Inwood, 2016).

In 2017, the City initiated an Indigenous Artist in Residence Program funded by the City’s Art in Public Places Reserve Fund and governed by the Art in Public Places Policy. From 2017-2019, Lindsay Delaronde, Iroquois Mohawk artist, was engaged as the City’s inaugural Indigenous Artist in Residence. Delaronde served as an advisor to the City’s cultural planning process and worked to “invite the community to learn, share and experience the artist’s work; foster collaborative relationships with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, other artists and arts organizations; and bring an Indigenous artistic presence to Victoria during their two-year term.” Supporting a less colonial approach, the residency does not “have a prescribed theme or direction, allowing the selected artist to shape it based on their artistic practice and chosen direction” (City of Victoria, n.d.).

Mayor Lisa Helps said that “Reconciliation means changing our practices and the landscape of the city to honour the past and create the future with our First Nations partners” (Helps, 2016). Commemorative public art projects such as Spirit Square and

the *Signs of the Lekwungen* satisfy all four criteria for reconciliation by recognizing Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices as well as supporting the integration of those values into Canada's national heritage and history.

4.3.3. Annual Report Analysis, 2007-2017

The analysis of the City's Annual Reports from 2007 to 2017 revealed the changing civic attitude towards the representation and inclusion of Indigenous Peoples. As illustrated in Appendix C, there was no mention of reconciliation in any of the Annual Reports prior to the TRC's Calls to Action being published in 2015; both the 2016 and 2017 reports include the City's efforts to address reconciliation. From the period reviewed, heritage was mentioned every year and the local First Nations were mentioned each year except in 2007. Intangible cultural heritage was never mentioned in any of the years analysed. Indigenous cultural heritage was recognized in the 2010, 2011 and 2012 Annual Reports which included a standardized Vision Statement, with a line stating, "Proudly displaying our First Nations heritage and our distinction as the provincial capital, Victoria citizens enjoy an outstanding quality of life" (City of Victoria, various years).

Of note is also the shifting language used to describe Indigenous cultural projects. For instance, while there were two significant Indigenous-partnered projects conducted throughout 2008-2009 (Spirit Square and the *Signs of the Lekwungen*), the language used to describe them underplays the importance of their creation. For example, in the 2008 Annual Report, the *Signs of the Lukwungen* project was introduced as "Beautifying Our Community" rather than as a form of commemoration or decolonization. Similarly, instead of highlighting that part of Centennial Square had been transformed into an Indigenous garden with two Lekwungen carved poles, the decolonized space is introduced as a "restful garden". That being said, the Annual Reports do reflect an increase to the inclusion of Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices as well as the integration of Indigenous values into Canadian history and heritage.

4.3.4. Create Victoria Arts & Culture Master Plan, 2017

Throughout 2016, I was employed as a contract planner by the City to develop its 5-year Arts and Culture Master Plan together with partnering consultants. Titled, Create Victoria, the yearlong planning process included extensive community engagement, policy research and a cultural impact assessment. Create Victoria was the “first cultural plan for the City” since the Arts Policy of 1991 and was the “first to include heritage” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan). The master plan was grounded in the understanding that cultural resources include “tangible, intangible, cultural and natural” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan). The strategic focus of the new Arts and Culture Master Plan was to align it with the Canadian Cultural Resource Framework.

Over the past fifteen years, Canadian municipalities have been moving away from an ‘arts and culture’, or ‘arts, culture and heritage’ focus to a more comprehensive approach which considers cultural resources as a whole. This interconnected approach known as the Canadian Cultural Resource Framework was first developed by Statistics Canada in 2004. In the Cultural Statistics Framework report, the Federal Government defined the Canadian cultural sector in terms of indicators and the interconnections between them (Statistics Canada, 2004; MDB Insights, April 2017). Notably, the “framework acknowledges the importance of intangible heritage to Canadians;” however, unlike with the other indicators identified on the framework, the report did not offer a means to measure ICH (Statistics Canada & Demography Division, 2012, p. 18). Throughout the following years, this model was further refined by Greg Baeker, the Director of the Cultural Development Division of MDB Insights, Canada’s most prolific cultural planning firm (MDB Insights, 2017). The Create Victoria project model was similar in that the community engagement and internal policy review included a focus on ICH but the cultural impact assessment did not. Figure 3 below illustrates the 7 facets of Victoria’s cultural resources that the master plan analyzed and advised on, with ICH being an equal component to tangible cultural heritage.



Figure 3. City of Victoria’s Cultural Master Plan Cultural Framework, adapted from G. Baeker, MDB Insights and the Statistics Canada Framework for Cultural Statistics. Reproduced from the City’s Create Victoria, Arts & Culture Master Plan, 2017.

The Arts, Culture & Events Department oversees Victoria’s cultural delivery and their Senior Cultural Planner, Nichola Reddington, served as the Create Victoria project manager. The cultural framework served as the foundational guide for the plan and informed both the goal setting and subsequent implementation plan. The framework was developed through extensive community engagement, including a citizen’s advisory committee with representatives from the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations, and planning context research. The implementation plan includes 6 priority actions to “ensure

Indigenous voices and stories are shared and reflected in planning” including in support of city-wide reconciliation efforts (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

The planning context matrix was produced “early on in the planning process” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan) to review policy documents that informed Victoria’s cultural development. Reddington commented that, “It was a real eye-opener for me and I think it was really helpful to see our current planning and policy work in terms of intangible cultural heritage, and Truth and Reconciliation” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan). The matrix identified strengths, opportunities and gaps with each of the policies “to see holistic broader planning and policy context that really highlighted where we can improve in terms of heritage and the TRC” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

Early in the planning process, I heard from City staff a desire to see the various heritage planning documents integrated together. While the planning process and initial research matrix highlighted the siloed nature of heritage and culture it also illustrated that ICH was being caught in the middle—with neither Arts & Culture Department nor Heritage Planning Department sufficiently addressing it. This in turn has led to lack of support for Indigenous cultural heritage. Reddington shared that “heritage has its own strategic planning framework [that] has been very separate from our cultural planning process.” The question of “where does heritage fit in terms of culture in municipal government?” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan) was something that both staff and consultants considered throughout the project.

Commenting on the siloed nature of heritage planning, Reddington shared that because the City’s heritage planners are under the Planning and Community Development Department,

Their scope is quite limited so there is definitely gaps within heritage planning and programming, there is so much to explore in heritage, it is as broad... culture is massive but I think when we say heritage, what do you mean by heritage, it can go in so many different directions in that conversation and I think in Victoria it has really been focused on the built and maintaining and preserving and caring and honouring our built heritage and both residential and commercial and I think they have done an outstanding job of how they have delivered on the programs, policies... It is a very strong policy and program that they have...What we learned through Create Victoria was that there are more opportunities for the intangible cultural heritage (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

Reddington concluded that “there is still a lot more work to be done to find out where does heritage fit in terms of culture in municipal governments” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan). In the following Research Findings Chapter, I consider why and how heritage planning should be integrated into cultural planning to support Indigenous cultural heritage and the TRC’s Calls to Action and offer measures and tools that can be taken to advance this transition.

4.3.5. Art in Public Places Policy, 2018

Building off the Create Victoria Cultural Master Plan, the refreshed policy includes a land acknowledgment to the Songhees and Esquimalt Peoples and states that “Reflecting Indigenous heritage in everyday encounters in the public realm, through artistic interventions, presence and traditional storytelling, is essential to valuing and honouring both the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the Peoples of the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations” (City of Victoria, 2018). Senior Cultural Planner, Nichola Reddington commented that with the new 2018 policy, they made sure that they “are inclusionary in terms of Indigenous representation on juries, more opportunities for Indigenous artists” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan). After Create Victoria, this marks the first policy document to acknowledge the value of Indigenous cultural heritage in both the intangible and tangible forms. The new policy also includes measures to “increase funding for art in public spaces and provided expanded opportunities for artists and members of the public to participate in the public art process” (City of Victoria, n.d.).

4.3.6. Summary of Ancillary Document Findings

As I have argued, while the City of Victoria’s Heritage Program has not adapted to meet the TRC’s Calls to Action, other departments like the City’s Arts, Culture and Events Department and the Mayor’s Office have taken lead to make Indigenous history visible, include Indigenous heritage values and memory practices in policies and programs, and integrate Indigenous values into the City’s representation of heritage and history—thus meeting all four of the established reconciliation criteria.

Chapter 5. Research Findings on the City of Victoria's Heritage Program

"The road we travel is equal in importance to the destination we seek. There are no shortcuts. When it comes to Truth and Reconciliation, we are all forced to go the distance."

Justice Murray Sinclair, Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, to the Canadian Senate Standing Committee on Aboriginal Peoples, September 28, 2010

The intent of my research was to understand whether the City of Victoria's Heritage Program, in its current state, can meet the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*. Since the TRC's Report and Calls to Action were published in 2015, the City has undertaken steps to advance reconciliation. As the document review has shown, this commitment has been supported both by the Mayor's Office and the Arts, Culture & Events Department through the ongoing Witness Reconciliation program, the City Family, and other cultural programming offerings such as the Indigenous Artist in Residence Program and public art projects like the *Signs of the Lekwungen*.

I argued that City of Victoria's heritage program does not sufficiently acknowledge intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and thus does not create space for the inclusion of Indigenous cultural heritage. To test this hypothesis, I used a qualitative research methodology that relied upon a document review and key-informant interviews. As illustrated in the previous chapter, the document review confirmed that the current heritage program is predicated on tangible cultural heritage and does not provide tools or resources to recognize or protect ICH or Indigenous CH through any of the heritage programs' key components. Although recent documents produced as part of the civic heritage program like, *Oldtown Design Guidelines (2019)* and the *Heritage Register Update (2015)*, do mention Indigenous cultures and their historical use of the land, they still do not offer any tools or measures of support for their associated living cultural heritage.

As detailed in Chapter 2: Methodology, I interviewed 16 cultural resource managers and knowledge holders of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous identities working in Victoria and Vancouver from March to August of 2018. The semi-structured

key-informant interviews responded to my research question and spoke more broadly about the nature of ICH and municipal heritage programs. The following chapter synthesizes the participants' responses and the document review to address my research question.

5.1. The Municipal Role

The Local Government Act (LGA) enables municipalities to pass bylaws to manage the heritage of buildings, districts and cultural landscapes. This is managed through a 'heritage program' typically comprised of three main components: a heritage register, management tools and public awareness and outreach programs. Like many municipalities, the City of Victoria's heritage program is administered by a heritage division within the planning department. Stevens' 2017 research on ICH and Canadian heritage programs concluded that with municipalities, "the dominant trend appears to be that planners and heritage practitioners do not consider Indigenous heritage as being within their scope" (p. 64). The responsibility resides

at the provincial or federal level. Municipalities, in this light, have overwhelmingly concerned themselves with the specific built heritage of the settler municipality, while Indigenous claim or connection to the land, is often secondary (Stevens, 2017, p. 64).

Stevens attributes the reluctance of municipalities to recognize Indigenous cultural heritage "for fear of potential implications" to land claim or treaty processes which many municipalities are currently engaged in; however, "this reality appears to be increasingly shifting" (Stevens, 2017, p.64).

This shift has, in part, been attributed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. When the TRC was initiated in 2008 and the final report published in 2015, it galvanized governments at all levels to increasingly recognize their role in building Indigenous relations and furthering reconciliation. Interview participant Angie Bain (IPCul/TK/Plan) commented that "I have seen a change in every aspect of my work, since the TRC, of how we think about the relationship between the municipality, province, and the nation. There is change in the approach and spirit." The City of Victoria's Annual Plans also reflect that trend of increasing inclusion and consideration to Indigenous Peoples (see Appendix C). Alexander Dirksen agreed, that "a lot of people

are turning to the TRC as a framework” to guide their work, even at an organizational and personal level (Dirksen IPCul).

From the zoning laws that sculpt the form of the city, to the allocation of funds towards programming that promotes civic values, municipalities shape communities. “Municipalities have a tremendous role to play in terms of changing how everyday citizens see the world around them and what they are interacting with tangibly” (Dirksen IPCul). Michelle Washington (IPCul/TK) similarly commented, that it is the “municipal staff that are the front lines”. Therefore, when it comes to advancing reconciliation and establishing new shared truths in support of decolonization, municipalities’ role is to lead the community.

5.2. Decolonizing Municipal Heritage Programs

Decolonization is about breaking down the systems and worldviews that perpetuate otherness and marginalization of non-dominant cultural groups, such as Indigenous People in a Euro-Western context. It “is the process of centering the concerns and worldviews of the colonized Other so that they can understand themselves through their own assumptions and perspectives” (Chilisa, 2012, p.14). Kamala Todd shared that “Indigenous People have a circular understanding of history—an interconnected web” (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan). To decolonize heritage planning we need to “[attempt] to capture, reflect, recognize the depth of human history across all of these lands, create an inclusive way of talking about history.” Fundamentally, the field of heritage conservation in Canada is grounded in settler colonialism; to move towards decolonization, an Indigenous worldview must be centered.

Both the literature and the interview participants were clear about the steps that can be taken to support decolonization and many of these tools can be readily employed by municipalities. As Simpson & Bagelman (2018) wrote, “as activists and inheritors of settler privilege, our call is to decolonize the actual material political ecologies of the city by supporting and “walking with” (Zapatistas 2005) Indigenous Peoples in these ongoing efforts to disrupt the settler colonial project and bring about new urban socioecological worlds rooted in social, racial, and ecological justice in the city” (Simpson & Bagelman, 2018, p. 560). The following section provides direction as to how a decolonial approach

to municipal heritage programs can be instituted and concludes with general recommendations to the field of municipal heritage programs.

5.2.1. Redefining Heritage

As the concept of heritage is socially, politically and geo-spatially bound, all participants were asked to share their definition of heritage. Responses varied from the Indigenous participants to the non-Indigenous participants, with the former group resoundingly responding that, heritage, as a term inherently implies a colonial identity. Kamala Todd shared that, “in some ways, I reject the idea and term as a tool of white supremacy, of white heritage, to claim a specific story of what Canada is to a settler-anglo story, the founders of Victoria. It positions them as the caretakers, the builders and therefore as it is a narrative, it is that heritage” (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan). This paternalistic relationship of heritage is a characteristic of colonialism and white supremacy, one which Canada has “kept Indigenous nations under... for 150 years” (Dirksen IPCul).

Michelle Washington responded that “I see heritage as old homes and historic sites, and a lot of times they don’t realize that they are built over our heritage, and these sit within someone’s territory” (Washington IPCul/TK). Similarly, Laura Gaaysiigad Cuthbert shared that, “I really don’t use the word heritage because I feel like for people that means personal heritage, or they mean the Queen Anne houses” (Cuthbert IPCul/TK). The meaning of heritage is “always in the context” (Cuthbert IPCul/TK). “Heritage needs to be something that is living and appreciated and shared in context and we need to learn about it when the time is right and pass it on in the same way” (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan). “Heritage is looking at our past and seeing how people have interacted with the land, the place, and other people” (Cuthbert IPCul/TK). As a cultural anthropologist, Cuthbert prefers the term history, “I think that using the word history, our shared stories, our past, seems to work quite well” (Cuthbert IPCul/TK). The history position is similarly mirrored in the new Parks Canada National Historic Site System Plan (2019) which transitions from a thematic framework predicated on a values-based approach to public history.

Angie Bain’s definition for heritage reflects the context Cuthbert refers to. For Bain, heritage is

a living thing: it is traditions, objects, things that represent our culture, material things, could be representing in buildings and clothing and artefacts—all the things that mainstream society regards as heritage—but it is also place and people, places where we have gone out and used the land, fishing, gathering, hunting, our community... and all those things that are passed to us when we are in those environments, those stories passed to me by my aunt when we are out on land, the stories are not tied to place but tied to heritage value, the things that were passed to us and that are passed on to our children (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan).

For Bain and her community, the Nlaka'pamux First Nation, “heritage can't be limited by the provincial definition... All heritage, our community feels, should be protected but in a culturally appropriate way” (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan). This perspective on heritage reflects an Indigenous world view and Bain concedes that it can be “difficult to translate;” however, for heritage to be decolonized, this worldview must be given space to not only be included within municipal heritage programs but at the direction of those communities and Indigenous knowledge holders.

In our interview, Todd stated that “Heritage has a lot to do with defining those narratives of erasure and empty land [that have] been built into our city” (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan). Osborne writes that the “past is not preserved but is socially constructed through its representation in... archives, museums, national chronicles, school curricula, monuments and public displays” (2006, p. 152). While heritage programs are just one component of the cultural resource framework that collectively form the narrative of a place, they do play a fundamental role visually representing a City's chosen narrative and thus the associated values. Donald Luxton agrees that “the answer is the intangible heritage drives our understanding of culture. Culture should be driving our understanding of city building, place making and sustainability. If we don't get past these narrow definitions which people and bureaucracies love... we will never get to anything more inclusive” (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan).

Two-Eyed Seeing offers a framework to develop a new definition of heritage that reflects the Western and colonial legacy while simultaneously reflecting an Indigenous worldview that sees heritage as “a living thing” (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan). This duality is characteristic of decolonial work.

5.2.2. Reconciliation & Municipal Heritage Programs

I have illustrated that intangible cultural heritage is a foundational component of Indigenous cultural heritage and thus for municipal heritage programs to meet the demands of the TRC's Calls to Action, ICH should be included to support the ongoing process of reconciliation. Reconciliation and decolonization are a journey, a path that requires dialogue, the building of respect and the sharing of truth (Government of Canada, 2018; Reconciliation Canada, 2015; BC NDP, 2018; City of Victoria, 2016).

Alexander Dirksen offers "The problem is while there is a lot under the jurisdiction nationally, where it hits home for people is in their own backyard, in their own community. For reconciliation to truly take hold, it has to start in the community level. There is a lot of work that has to happen there" in municipalities (Dirksen IPCul). "It is important that all levels [of government] understand and articulate intangible heritage because if you don't it is too easy to... pass it off and then [Indigenous people] lose it" (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan). Dirksen noted that "Municipalities are starting to undertake [Reconciliation] in various capacities" (Dirksen IPCul) from public art to naming initiatives; however, what Angie Bain, Kamala Todd and others pointed out was that municipal heritage programs continue to be absent from this work.

Angie Bain has been active in in the heritage community for the last decade, working as a researcher with the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, leading community planning and cultural heritage projects for her Band, and recently joined the board of Heritage BC.³ Bain shared that, "municipalities can do great things if they are open to an ongoing relationship" (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK). Stating that while these "ongoing relationships face challenges; it is difficult with resourcing, staffing and competing interests with everyone's time, but if you are going to address heritage you have to do it in the right way and this is not often the easiest way" (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK). She says that "there needs to be the will and intent to include heritage," advising that municipalities should "build upon... their existing relationships they have with communities: they are their neighbours, they work together on all sorts of projects" (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK).

³ Heritage BC was established in 2004 by the Province of British Columbia to administer grants and deliver educational programs.

To Bain, these relationships have “to be ongoing” and must exist “at a high level.” They can’t be extractive; these relationships need to be on the community’s terms so that they are able to “put forward the people that have that traditional role” (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK). She outlines that municipalities should take responsibility, building the networks of relationships, approach “with the right frame of mind,” not dictate the conversation and “let the nations share what they think is important and want to be protected. Just because something is fascinating does not mean it should be shared” (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK). This reciprocal relationship is central to an Indigenous and decolonized worldview and an often-missing element within government relations.

5.2.3. Inclusion of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Victoria’s Heritage Program

Since the 1970s, Victoria has acted as a leader in municipal heritage planning. In addition to becoming one of the first municipalities in Canada to create a municipal heritage program, the City has an established record of leadership in heritage conservation. Municipal heritage programs play an important role in articulating the cultural values of a place which in turn communicate histories and truths. The history of the City of Victoria, as with much of the western world, is mired by the complexity of colonization which has for too long denied the truth of the displacement and erasure of peoples and cultures for the gain of others.

Victoria’s heritage program is positioned as a means to preserve tangible cultural assets—buildings—that serve as “symbols of permanence and stability in an ever-changing world” (‘Heritage’, City of Victoria, n.d.). The program does not include intangible cultural heritage, nor does it afford Indigenous cultural heritage the same measures, protections and financial support that it does for tangible cultural heritage. I heard from many of the non-Indigenous interview participants that the absence of ICH from Victoria’s Heritage Program “is not a result of ignorance nor cultural insensitivity” but rather because of its origins within the LGA (Kalman Pher/Aca). Kerr similarly states that revisions to the LGA are needed if municipal heritage programs are to expand their scope and begin safeguarding ICH.

Limitations of the Local Government Act

As many of the interview participants stated, the Provincial LGA is prescriptive and narrow in how it defines heritage and does not include ICH. The LGA only enables municipal governments to provide legal protection to recognize and conserve the heritage of designated properties, districts and cultural landscapes through the use of bylaws and tools like a Heritage Register.

When the non-Indigenous heritage planning interview participants were asked to comment on the inclusion of ICH within municipal heritage programs, like the City of Victoria's, the overall response was cautiously supportive. Donald Luxton responded that "to deal specifically... with intangible heritage, the tools to deal with that have to be built ... to make people aware of them in policy and programs. You will have to invent them in legislation" (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan). Kalman similarly responded that, "I see it theoretically as a logical progression... I don't know how in the world we're going to do it" (Kalman Pher/Aca).

When asked if the participants thought the LGA should be changed to include similar measures to identify and protect intangible cultural heritage, as it does for tangible cultural heritage, responses largely were in support. Luxton responded in support and shared that in his opinion ICH "is embedded... under the Canadian Constitution ... under the human rights legislation [which] doesn't operationalize at the municipal level" (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan). Alistair Kerr countered that the LGA reflects a cultural framework that is "only one point of view" and one that is now over twenty-five years old (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). Kerr added that that "what our programs have done in heritage conservation is become so narrowly stuck on buildings, on appearance, the way it should look in the past. We don't even understand that it's reflecting a point of view" (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). As discussed in Chapter 2, this point of view is perpetuated by the professional under the 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006).

Responses to Including Intangible Cultural Heritage

On a structural level, the safeguarding of ICH does pose challenges. Unlike tangible cultural assets, which can easily be described and measured, the limits of ICH are unknown. Reddington questioned "what does that look like in practice? What does that look like on the ground in terms of working with the community, departments?"

(Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan) For instance, how do you preserve the spiritual value of a headwater? Manager of the Provincial Heritage Branch and former City of Victoria Heritage Planner, Richard Linzey, mused that the Provincial Archeology Branch is facing these same questions, asking “how do you know when it’s being damaged? What are its extents? How much does it cost” to replace or repair? (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan) From a government perspective, “It’s very difficult to define... Where does it end? If the headwaters of this big river are spiritual, what does that mean if I want to build a refinery there? It’s something that people haven’t wrestled with in terms of values-based decision making before. It’s the unknown” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). These challenges are emblematic of the greater challenges to decolonization—as it requires whole scale acknowledgment of the privileges afforded to the peoples and groups benefitting from the legacy of colonization and necessitates structural changes to the political system to address these inequities.

Non-Indigenous heritage planner, Pher/Mun/Plan, stated that “you can’t manage or steward a historic place without working with intangible cultural heritage... it is integral that the value of place includes intangible character-defining elements and that’s just inseparable.” The interview participant elaborated that for them, the ICH of a ‘place’ is captured through the character-defining elements which are detailed in a Statement of Significance—the primary tool used to identify and protect buildings and landscapes. Again, this is problematic as the only inclusion of ICH that is currently being supported by Victoria’s heritage program is predicated on tangible assets. As Angie Bain reminds us, for Indigenous cultural heritage, “stories are not tied to place but tied to heritage value” and therefore the inclusion of ICH within municipal heritage programs is needed (Bain IPCul/Plan/TK). Lizney agreed that ICH is “a huge missing piece. In fact, it’s the greater part of the cultural heritage that is missing” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan).

When questioned as to why ICH continues to be left out of municipal heritage programs, the responses from the heritage planning participants returned to the LGA and the legal protection the legislation provides; and also spoke more broadly to the shifting understanding of what heritage is and how it should be defined and supported. Linzey offered that, “when you spend public money on something... people in the past have wanted to see a visible return on their investment. When you paint a historic house using a municipal paint scheme and municipal funded paint program, you know there’s a quid pro quo. My taxpayers’ money is racking up a lot in the backdrop to my daily life in

the urban environment” (Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). In contrast, as “intangible heritage, is the protection of a memory of a place” it can be “more difficult for people to appreciate what the payoff is on that. It needs a societal shift in thinking in order to appreciate that there’s public value in conserving intangibles” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). Indigenous interview participants also identified how critical this societal shift is to advancing reconciliation.

5.2.4. Intangible Cultural Heritage & Indigenous Cultural Heritage

When the Indigenous interview participants were asked about the inclusion of ICH as a means to recognize Indigenous cultural heritage, I heard concerns from both Cuthbert and Todd that the very parsing of heritage into intangible and tangible creates a hierarchy whereby ICH is ‘othered’. Cleaving heritage into two facets denies the holistic nature of heritage and implies that ICH is distinct and thus not equal to tangible cultural heritage, thereby subverting and under-valuing it. To illustrate this, Cuthbert shared a story from the book “On Sweetwater River,” where the author cites the local river in their bibliography.

I don’t think of those things as intangible history, I think of them as tangible because they are accessible... But sometimes we don’t get to see them which is the harder part, humans really struggle with that, but that is quite Western and I would dare to say, there are so many moments in BC’s history—it has shown up in law more than it is shown up in heritage—and so people can define a space as a heritage site by what is left there but also the stories of that space (Cuthbert IPCul).

One of the non-Indigenous heritage planners, voiced their concern that if you begin to “preserve intangible [heritage], does the physicality value less?” (Segger Pher/Mun/Aca). The normative nature of the terms ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’ have a culturally constructed weight, communicating social values and hierarchy. For example, to Gaaysiigad, “oral history is the most tangible thing in the world but only if you choose to listen” (Cuthbert IPCul). Heritage scholar Tim Winter writes that the field of heritage studies has “yet to have a debate about its theorisation at the global level. Many of the core ideas that shape the field are rooted in the contexts of Europe and the USA and geographically rolled out in normative ways” (2014, p. 1). As I have argued, the municipal heritage programs are a product of those provincial, national and international

trends and are equally missing a crucial dialogue about the limiting and normative nature that the definitions of heritage and heritage programs are built upon.

Angie Bain (IPCul/TK/Plan) agreed that the absence of measures to safeguard ICH creates a barrier to reconciliation, saying that

Yes, I do agree, because I think that if we can't appreciate the value of the ICH, how can we truly understand heritage and how can we celebrate that heritage and how can we protect it?... The onus has to be on the municipalities, province and people themselves to understand other definitions of heritage and other points of view because if we don't understand heritage and if we continually take a very narrow approach to defining heritage, what we are commemorating, and what are we celebrating is just a page out of the book.

Michelle Washington cautioned that ICH has become “a big catch phrase” and it “is only helpful depending on who you are working with” (Washington IPCul/TK). What Cuthbert, Todd and others pointed out that my research question originates from a colonized worldview. While I have done my best to situate this research within a decolonized perspective, my research question and hypothesis still are framed within the municipal world—and thus a Western paradigm. I have argued that ICH can be employed as a bridge for cultural resource managers to adapt municipal heritage programs to address Indigenous cultural heritage without a full redevelopment of their existing heritage programs. However, as pointed out by my interview participants, Indigenous cultural heritage exists within a specific context—an Indigenous worldview—and thus for it to be afforded the same measures of inclusion and protection, the heritage program itself must be decolonized.

5.3. Recommendations for Municipal Heritage Programs

According to a former heritage planner, the purpose of the municipal heritage program “is to articulate a community’s cultural values and to record and preserve physical monuments and structures that support the [those] values that have been articulated” (Pher/Mun/Plan). Those “collective community values” can be understood as the narratives of a place, which Kamala Todd argues, articulate “who belongs” to the city. Municipal heritage programs “have a lot to do with defining those narratives” and in many respects act as “gate keepers of the city” (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan). Todd is vocal, both in her work as an artist and as a civic planner working across heritage and

cultural planning that “we need to decolonize these narratives. Heritage is one place where this needs to happen” (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan).

Decolonization is not a metaphor, it is “responsibility to support others’ self-determination and well-being” (Whyte, 2018). Daylighting the ongoing impacts of colonization is key to undermining what Whyte terms “the levers of power that undermine Indigenous self-determination and well-being today” (2018). Angie Bain agreed that it is important to have Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices

articulated in every level of heritage planning and protection, from communities, the province to the nation. Only in that way we will be able to understand to protect and promote it. If we allow these barriers of levels of politics, of levels of legislation to prevent us from really embracing all that heritage is and can be then I think we are doing a disservice. If we just stopped at the community-level it is too easy to pass it off, it is important that it is reflected across all levels (IPCul/Plan/TK).

Similarly, Richard Linzey, Director of the BC Provincial Heritage Branch agreed that “everybody needs to be involved” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan).

Osborne argues that “Our self-knowledge is developed in the context of ‘place-worlds’ that can be seen and touched, experienced and imagined, and located and mapped” (2006, p. 149). If cultural self-knowledge and identity formation are formed in relation to place; it is important that heritage programs be inclusive and reflect the layered diversity of culture. This is not a simple task to take on; however, there are meaningful steps that municipalities can take to begin this process of decolonization.

Multiple interview participants identified a need for a roadmap to guide governments and organizations in this work (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan, Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan, Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan and Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan). There are increasing resources available including a policy paper by the First People’s Cultural Council (FPCC) on “Recognizing and Including Indigenous Cultural Heritage in BC” (2019). Authors, Karen Aird, Gretchen Fox and Angie Bain produced the paper to “address the immediate need to revitalize, manage and protect Indigenous cultural heritage in meaningful and substantive ways” (p. 5). Their research reflects many of the same conclusions I reached through the document review and interview process. In the

following section, I present a series of recommendations to support the decolonization of municipal heritage programs.

5.3.1. Redefine Heritage

Municipal heritage programs should follow the lead of organizations like Heritage BC and ask the community how heritage should be defined and what the heritage program's priorities should be.⁴ While Victoria's recent Cultural Plan did extensive community consultation on cultural resource management, it did not include the heritage program. I have illustrated that to support reconciliation, an inclusive definition for heritage needs to be adopted by the municipality. By redefining heritage to include ICH, it will allow for changes to the heritage program, such as grant support for Indigenous languages. However, this broader understanding of heritage needs to be supported by the community and should be preceded by community consultation to understand the public's relationship to the existing heritage program and how a broader interpretation of heritage can benefit the community as a whole.

The definition for heritage needs to be clearly defined in each civic document that overlaps with cultural heritage. At present, within heritage planning documents, a definition of heritage is often missing. To support decolonization, there needs to be clear transparency as to what the civic values, priorities and the decision-making processes are that drive the creation and use of heritage management tools. This is the most accessible change the City of Victoria can implement.

5.3.2. Build Relationships with the Local Nations

Reconciliation requires an institutional system change that is predicated on relationships. Angie Bain identifies the "most important" tool municipalities can employ to advance Calls to Action 79.11 "are existing relationships" (Bain IPCul/TK/Plan). By building relationships through civic work, reciprocity is embedded. Michelle Washington cautions that "the high turnover of bureaucratic staff" can make it "frustrating for the

⁴ Throughout 2018 and 2019, Heritage BC conducted a series of community roundtable conversations with over 500 people to hear their challenges, ideas and aspirations and relationship with the field of cultural resource management. The aim of these conversations was to develop a vision for heritage and identify future opportunities. For further information see "The Provincial Roundtables on the State of Heritage: Final Report and Recommendations" (Heritage BC, 2019).

nations to rebuild relationships” as knowledge can be lost and recommends that from the outset, try “to build trust into the process” (Washington IPCul/TK). Nichola Reddington reflected that with the Create Victoria planning process, to build relationships and trust, it was “critical” that City staff “be as inclusive as possible and made sure that we had two-way communication” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

5.3.3. Place-Based Approach:

A place-based approach to planning, in all forms, is a valuable tool to address pervasive systemic racism and support decolonization. A place-based approach both acknowledges the layers of complex histories and also empowers individuals and communities to understand their personal relationships with those histories. As Jonathan Mathor wrote in *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*,

The question of reconciliation in a Canadian landscape is mediated by multiple histories that cross and overlap borders of race, identity, and culture. When the Canadian government officially recognized the Japanese Canadian redress movement in 1988, it was the first in a litany of claims and efforts from communities to address past injustices. The notion of apology, reconciliation, and redress has taken many forms, contingent on affected communities, but the overarching bridge is the connection to land” (2011, p. 8).

Alexander Dirksen offers direction that as planners, “you want to make sure that you’re reflective and inclusive of all Indigenous people. When it comes to some of these big conversations on urban planning, it is making sure that the local nations are actually the ones that are helping to steer some of those conversations” (Dirksen IPCul). Elaborating, that “we’re now moving to a place where that place-based emphasis needs to be brought to the surface” and that what is needed is “really to connect much more deeply with the local nations and with nation members to ensure that those voices are elevated” (Dirksen IPCul). Revising heritage programs to include ICH is a critical step to adapt and meet the demands of our evolving society. It creates space for decolonization to occur, for the public and bureaucrats alike to be critically reflexive and address the systemic need for change to create space for other non-dominant narratives, and the position and place-based understanding which above all else, centres Indigeneity.

5.3.4. Place Names

Place names are an important signifier of history and cultural values and “a very important part of reconciliation” (Washington IPCul/TK). “Place names have the power to convey histories and teachings, explain environmental and spiritual phenomena, and reflect ownership and responsibility. They tie living heritage—including traditional knowledge and language—to the land” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 10).

The FPCC recently called for political commitment at provincial and national levels to “document place names and ensure their inclusion on maps and in mainstream use” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 10). At the civic level this work can be undertaken more deftly through community mapping, naming and renaming projects. Community mapping “enables you to make connections between places” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan) and can be an effective tool to reflect the complexity of ICH. As Jennifer Iredale said, “mapping these places and giving the power, authority, and maybe a little bit of money to somebody to allow them to recognize [their] historic places” is a small and feasible way that heritage organizations can support reconciliation (Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan). It requires “very little expenditure and empowers” the community (Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan). For example, the City of Vancouver renamed Queen Elizabeth Theatre Plaza in 2018 to šxwłexən Xwtl’a7shn and by doing so acknowledged the “colonial legacy of naming in Vancouver” (City of Vancouver, n.d.). The new naming process, led by Indigenous planner Spencer Lindsay, “sought to return decision-making to the original inhabitants of this land and bring more visibility to the local Indigenous languages and cultures” (City of Vancouver, n.d.).

Move Away from Pan-Indigeneity

Reconciliation is about cultural visibility, sensitivity to whose culture is being made visible and whose voice prioritized. When asked what tools planners can use to decolonize municipal heritage programs, Alexander Dirksen responded “as a starting point move away from pan-Indigeneity” (Dirksen IPCul). Elaborating that, “what often happens, particularly within the heritage conversations, is that Indigeneity and Indigenous voices are seen as something either that is static... or... that there’s a [pan] Indigenous worldview that somehow transcends. Here in BC there are 203 First Nation communities and Nations, let alone Metis charter communities” (Dirksen IPCul). Pan-Indigeneity is an essentialist strategy that views all Indigenous People as the same

political and cultural entity (Paradies, 2006). It is reductive and does not acknowledge the diversity of living Indigenous cultures nor the Nations whose lands the cities are built on. Luxton recognizes that heritage planners must move beyond a pan-Indigenous approach to address the “complexity of dealing with [Indigenous] issues” (Luxton Pher/Priv/Plan).

Public Art

Cultural visibility can take many forms, from large scale public art installations, wayfinding to place-making initiatives. Fundamentally, public art and other artistic expressions provide an opportunity for Indigenous People to “see themselves in their communities;” and within the “heritage context,” “arts and culture... make it very real and tangible for people that Indigenous culture is a living, breathing, evolving thing” (Dirksen IPCul). Within the City of Victoria, Reddington commented that over the next 10 years “you will start to see” more Indigenous cultural visibility “through way finding, land recognition, inclusion of Indigenous language, inclusion of storytelling and wayfinding, pre-colonial, and trying to decolonize some of our spaces” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

Language

Indigenous languages are a fundamental part of ICH. “Cultural heritage and language form an inseparable relationship, as does Indigenous heritage and art” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 18). Languages also serve as a “reminder of the distinctiveness of the people” on whose land you are on (Todd IPCul/Her/Mun/Plan). Elder Dr. Lorna Wanosts’a7 Williams calls language “the umbilical cord of the land,” where the connection to cultural systems are born, and reminds us that our footprints on the land are powerful symbols “so that our children will always know where home is” (Williams 2017). The City of Victoria should work with the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations to integrate the Lekwungen language into naming, signage and wayfinding to increase their language visibility.

To decolonize municipal heritage programs, a place-based approach can be used to acknowledge the complexity of Indigenous cultural heritage. Language, public art and place names are all tools available to municipalities to support decolonization.

5.3.5. Capacity Building

Universal capacity building is needed to ensure that a comprehensive understanding of ICH is held by all professionals and cultural resource managers. Kerr (Pher/Prov/Plan) calls for a “re-education” of heritage planners to provide the practitioners with a broader awareness on reconciliation, Indigenous history, Indigenous cultural heritage and ICH. At the local government level, Richard Linzey said that “we need to build up subject matter expertise so as we can speak with authority, and until we’ve done some of it ourselves, we can’t deliver meaningful policy” (Linzey Pher/Mun/Prov/Plan).

Capacity building will look different between government agencies, and Indigenous and non-Indigenous organizations. It is critical that training and funding be provided to empower all with knowledge and resources. The FPCC identified that it is “equally important” to support “Indigenous communities and organizations to develop and lead local efforts to identify and protect ICH” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 11). Alexander Dirksen agreed that, “Having staff and the expertise to undertake the work, also having the resources to be then providing opportunities to community members themselves to be undertaking work at the municipal level” is needed (Dirksen IPCul). Funding is a big part of capacity building that is currently being neglected through municipal heritage programs. “Lack of secure, sufficient funding to support Indigenous heritage work is a significant challenge to ensuring the long-term protection of [Indigenous cultural] heritage” (Aird et al., 2019, p. 11).

When asked about the City of Victoria’s capacity building, Nichola Reddington responded “I think that there is still a long way to go...I would really like to see more integration in other departments... and our HR Department in terms of training, development and education.” Looking forward, Reddington shared that in 10 years she thinks there will be “further integration of Indigenous programming and policy” but that “is going to take time and money” and “further investment from the city, staff time, and funding” (Reddington Pcul/Mun/Plan).

Part of capacity building and fundamental to decolonization is for those with privilege and power to relinquish their control and create space for others. As part of the 2010 Victoria Arts Scan Report, participants in the First Nations community dialogue

session expressed a desire for more “opportunities and collaborations with educational institutions and community associations to share their traditions and culture” (City of Victoria, 2010). Lack of representation is an often-cited issue with marginalized populations and this is true with the First Nations communities in Victoria as well. The Arts Scan Report noted that there are few First Nations representatives on arts associations and boards.

Capacity building also involves breaking up the hegemony of heritage professionals dominating the field. As reviewed in Chapter 2, there are inherent challenges created when the role of the ‘heritage expert’ is enshrined through the legal documents guiding heritage management (Smith, 2006). It concentrates power, limits the number of voices defining the cultural values of a place; and as Kerr points out, the quandary that many private sector heritage planners and conservationists face is that they act as both professionals and advocates. He asks, “how can you be a professional which is trying to remain objective and hear community input which may be quite different from your own and your job is to reflect that back and to express where the community is going? It may not be you because it is not your community. The problem is being with an advocate, how do you separate that out?” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan). It damages the practitioner’s credibility if they act both as an advocate and a heritage professional. “If you’re an advocate, you’re going to be very selective on what you hear and what you put forward” (Kerr Pher/Prov/Plan).

5.3.6. Break Down the Government Silos

The challenges created by the siloing of departments within the City of Victoria was broadly cited as a barrier to recognizing and protecting ICH and advancing reconciliation. The FPCC similarly identifies government silos as a challenge as many organizations “have extremely divergent understandings of cultural heritage and history” and approach it in vastly different ways (Aird et al., 2019, pg. 10). “The term heritage planning is problematic: it is silo-ed. Community planning is more meaningful to focus on place” (Pher/Mun/Plan). As Jennifer Iredale commented, “the heritage piece is just.. one small cog in a much larger role” (Iredale Pher/Prov/Plan). Another interview participant offered that “heritage planning has never been integrated. We need to learn from Australia and New Zealand and do community-based work” (Pher/Mun/Plan).

5.3.7. Living Heritage

'Living heritage' is another term for intangible cultural heritage and one that is increasing in use. The term addresses the concerns that Todd and others raised about the ontological implications of fracturing heritage into tangible and intangible—and the implied hierarchy between them. Indeed, the FPCC uses “the term living heritage instead of intangible heritage” in their 2019 policy document (p. 9). The term 'living heritage' can be traced back to Smith's (2006) research on the 'authorized heritage discourse' where she identified heritage as a “lived experience in a social and cultural landscape” and thus pointed out the fallacy of privileging physical heritage over ICH which she defined as a “set of the values and meanings” (Prangnell et al., 2010, p.141).

While 'living heritage' is a better reflection of an Indigenous worldview of heritage, emphasizing “the ongoing relevance of heritage to people today, and the links between heritage places and people's actions in the present” (Prangnell et al., 2010, p. 141) it does not have the same policy recognition and protection that ICH has through international and national doctrines and policies (Sullivan, 2008; Aird et al., 2019). As the FPCC states, “the values placed on living heritage do not exist separately from the intangible meanings, practices, and knowledge that inspired its manufacture; this is what gives it value and motivates its protection” (2019, p.9-10). The FPCC calls for the immediate adoption of 'living heritage' into heritage management legislation to afford it the same recognition and protection to support “Indigenous identities, health, languages and ways of life” (p. 10).

5.3.8. Exploring Solutions with Cultural Planning

According to a former City of Victoria Heritage Planner, the purpose of a municipal heritage program “is to articulate a community's cultural values and to record and preserve physical monuments and structures that support the collective community values that have been articulated” (PHer/Mun/Plan). This is key, as how can a heritage program faithfully “articulate a community's cultural values” if it is limited to tangible cultural heritage? I argue that taking a broader approach to cultural heritage is fundamental to record community cultural values and thus the field of heritage planning needs to merge with cultural planning. “Cultural planning is a place-based approach to planning and development. It is a process for identifying and leveraging a community's cultural

resources, strengthening the management of those resources, and integrating those resources across all facets of local planning and decision making” (Ontario, 2018). Within a municipal context, cultural planning departments are typically comprised of community and public art programmers, grant administrators, festival programmers and others concerned with the community-engaged practice of cultural development. Public art and culture planners have often been tasked with the portfolio of commemoration and the same is true with the City of Victoria, where the ACE Office is responsible for cultural service delivery.

Fundamentally, heritage is culture. To continue to see the two as separate does a disservice to all and marginalizes people who do not express their culture through the built form. In the words of Elder Frances Woolsey, from the Taan Kwäch’än Council, “Heritage is our lives, it is what we are” (Carcross-Tagish First Nation et al., 2015, p. iii).

5.4. Recommendations to Decolonize Victoria’s Municipal Heritage Program

The following section provides recommendations as to how Victoria’s heritage program can adapt to identify and steward ICH and thus support the TRC’s Calls to Action and Indigenous cultural heritage. For review, the City of Victoria’s Heritage Program is made up of three main components: management tools in the form of plans, policies, incentives and design guidelines; the City’s Heritage Register; public education and awareness delivered through the council-appointed Heritage Advisory Panel and non-profit agencies responsible for education and grant delivery.

5.4.1. Management Tools

As I have demonstrated, the City of Victoria’s municipal heritage management tools do not yet provide adequate support for the TRC’s Calls to Action 79.II. By not including Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices, Indigenous cultural heritage is not recognized. The plans, policies and guidelines associated with the heritage program should be reviewed to address this missing cultural narrative.

The following considerations and actions can be undertaken to support the City’s commitment to reconciliation by fulfilling Call to Action 79.II. Work with the “City Family”

and the Songhees and Esquimalt Nations to identify cultural heritage priorities including how the current civic definition for heritage impacts them. As previously stated, the term 'heritage' is used interchangeably to mean historic, pre-1945 built architecture, character, colonial, as well as civic identity and that is problematic. Working with the "City Family" to create a protocol around Indigenous language use and place names should also be a priority. While Victoria's post-contact history is well celebrated and reflected in the names of places and the built environment, there are few Indigenous place names. This is a relatively deployable means to protect intangible cultural heritage within a civic context.

5.4.2. Heritage Register

Victoria's 2015 Heritage Register Update states that the purpose of the heritage register is create a record of assets that provide a "tangible and irreplaceable, expression of Victoria's identity and are a reflection of the diversity of the community experience that has unfolded over time." This is problematic as some narratives, peoples, and histories do not have a physical representation within the built environment and thus are denied visibility and the support provided from the heritage program.

Revising the Heritage Register to include Indigenous cultural heritage is integral to decolonizing the municipal heritage program. However, to do so, it is imperative that Indigenous Peoples and communities are empowered to tell their own stories and that they are received in a safe and respectful way. The City bears the responsibility to support Indigenous communities to tell their own stories. As previously outlined, this will require funding and relationship building to foster trust and understanding (and to mitigate engagement fatigue, facilitate legal documents to ensure that there is a mutual understanding about the needs and benefits from this information sharing through a Memorandum of Understanding and confidentiality agreements). The City should acknowledge what is shared may be sacred and not for a wider audience. To avoid creating documents that continually position Indigenous history in relation to colonial settlement, which furthers the harmful narrative of white supremacy, distinct Indigenous context statements should be created to function as both a standalone, and foundational documents to further 'Thematic Frameworks' or 'Historic Context Statements' for the municipal Heritage Programs.

5.4.3. Public Education and Awareness

(a) Recommendations to the Heritage Advisory Panel

The following recommendations are informed by the key-informant interviews, document research, review of the Heritage Advisory Panel (HAP) meeting minutes from 2015 to 2018, and from my own personal experience serving as a member of the City of Vancouver's council advisory Heritage Commission.

The first step to decolonize a HAP is to review and rewrite the Panel's Terms of Reference to include a broader definition of heritage that includes Indigenous cultural heritage, ICH and cultural heritage. As detailed in the previous section, the HAP Terms of Reference should integrate capacity building measures and address the siloed and hegemonic professionalization of the field. At present the 10 HAP members have no defined roles or backgrounds. The revised Terms of Reference should include prescribed roles to ensure that a diversity of cultural, academic and professional backgrounds are reflected across the HAP. To create space for a variety of voices and perspectives, I recommend that half of the members have a cultural heritage background (cultural ethnographers, anthropologists, librarians, etc). In addition, to support diversity on the panel there should be a requirement for gender parity and at least 30% of the members should be renters, to ensure that not only property owners are represented. Important to this is to create a safe space for diversity through anti-oppression training, a comprehensive on-boarding process and regular check-ins stewarded by an impartial ombudsman. Anti-oppression training will provide the members with tools to better address complex topics of cultural heritage and empower them to navigate those conversations in a respectful way. This will also lay the foundation for creating a safe and inclusive space for new members and create an accountability system for unsafe behavior like racism and sexism.

(b) Recommendations to Civic-Funded Education & Grant Delivery Organizations

To address the gaps in the education and grant delivery of Victoria's heritage program, the City should prioritize partnerships with non-profit organizations that support Indigenous cultural heritage, such as the First Peoples Cultural Council. Decolonizing Victoria's small non-profit heritage organizations, like the Hallmark Society, can be civically supported through training and capacity building. Another means that the City could employ to ensure these organizations consider their role in reconciliation is to make further funding contingent on a new strategic plan that addresses reconciliation.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Reconciliation not only requires apologies, reparations, the relearning of Canada's national history, and public commemoration, but also needs real social, political, and economic change. Ongoing public education and dialogue are essential to reconciliation. Governments, churches, educational institutions, and Canadians from all walks of life are responsible for taking action on reconciliation in concrete ways, working collaboratively with Aboriginal peoples. Reconciliation begins with each and every one of us.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,
2015, p.184-185

Heritage is not bound to a material form or building but is embedded within the cultural values of a community. The folly of heritage planning is that for too long it has focused singularly on tangible assets like buildings and monuments (Sullivan, 1993; Smith, 2006; Fairclough et al., 2008; Prangnell et al., 2010). This rigid interpretation of heritage is problematic as it only captures one narrative of place, the one reflected in the built form. Many cultures, communities and peoples whose heritage is not represented within the built environment are therefore excluded from the support municipal heritage programs provide in articulating and preserving cultural values (Prangnell et al., 2010, Smith 2006). In consequence, these heritage programs, such as the City of Victoria's, enforce colonial narratives of conquest and erasure by excluding intangible cultural heritage which includes many aspects of Indigenous cultural heritage (Edmonds, 2010; Sandercock, 1998). Heritage should be viewed as a dynamic concept that includes both tangible and intangible cultural assets and values, and municipal heritage programs that support the preservation of heritage should follow suit and support the breadth of expressions cultural heritage takes.

The urban landscape is a dense layering of narratives and as such, it is imperative that heritage programs designed to protect and guide these narratives of place not become agents of social and political direction. I have argued that by changing municipal heritage programs to include intangible culture heritage, shared narratives and truths can be established in support of reconciliation with Indigenous People. Reconciliation and decolonization are a journey, a path that requires dialogue, the building of respect and the sharing of truth (Government of Canada, 2018; Reconciliation Canada, 2015; BC NDP, 2018; City of Victoria, 2016). Mayor Lisa Helps said that it is

the City's "responsibility is to make sure that the public spaces in Victoria not only start to reflect less of a colonial legacy, but also start to have the signs and symbols and the presence of the Lekwungen people throughout the city" (Mayor Lisa Helps quoted in Woo, 2018).

This research asked—through the lens of decolonization theory—how can the City of Victoria's heritage program adapt to meet the demands of the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*? I have argued that the heritage program must be changed to include ICH as a means to support the inclusion of Indigenous cultural heritage. While fundamentally, to decolonize a heritage program, full-scale systems change is needed to address the colonial nature that the programs originate from and continue to operate within. However, municipalities can begin this decolonization process by revising their heritage program to include intangible cultural heritage. This would lay a foundation for Indigenous cultural heritage to then be included and protected. Intangible cultural heritage therefor offers an accessible way to make the field of heritage planning more inclusive and supportive to reconciliation.

Heritage is more than the objects, stories and places that our collective society values, it is "a continual process of doing, remembering, teaching and learning" (Aird et al., 2019, p. 8). There are inherent human rights associated with cultural heritage, it "can be understood as a political act of establishing personhood, nationhood and asserting human rights" (Aird et al., 2019, p. 8). "Controlling the narrative and interpretation of history, values and relationships is a powerful tool in nation-making, and in doing so, it can validate (or deny) human rights" (Aird et al., 2019, p. 8). Therefore, by including ICH in municipal heritage programs, municipalities can not only support reconciliation and fulfill Call to Action 79.II, they would also affirm Indigenous Peoples' "inherent human rights to identity, community, safety and autonomy" (Aird et al., 2019, p. 8).

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Appendix A.

List of Interviews Arranged by Date

Interviewee	Interview Type	Date
Nichola Reddington	In-person	March 8, 2018
Laura Gaaysiigad Cuthbert	In-person	March 21, 2018
Alexander Dirksen	In-person	April 4, 2018
Anonymous	In-person	April 12, 2018
Kamala Todd	In-person Phone	April 13, 2018
Alastair Kerr	In-person	April 19, 2018
Jenifer Iredale	In-person	April 20, 2018
Martin Segger	In-person	April 20, 2018
Michelle Washington	In-person, Video Call	April 26, 2018
Hal Kalman	In-person	April 30, 2018
Richard Linzey	In-person	May 1, 2018
Angie Bain	In-person	May 3, 2018
Pamela Madoff	In-person Phone	May 7, 2018
Steve Barber	In-person Phone	May 7, 2018
Donald Luxton	In-person	May 26, 2018
Merinda Conley	In-person	August 30, 2018

Appendix B.

Guiding Interview Questions

Guiding Interview Questions for Group A, Indigenous Participants

1. What is your role or relationship to cultural resource management?
2. As an Indigenous person working in cultural resource management, how does that affect your work?
3. How do you define heritage?
4. How do you define Intangible Cultural Heritage? Do you see that as different or distinct from heritage?
5. In your professional opinion, what do you believe to be the role of intangible cultural heritage?
6. Action 79.II of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action asks that: "Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history." Do you think there is value in having Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices integrated into municipal commemoration programs like heritage plans and policies?
7. What steps do you suggest can be taken?
8. My case study research on the City of Victoria's heritage program, positions that without the program being changed to include ICH, the integration of Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices isn't possible. Do you agree with this assertion?

Guiding Interview Questions for Group B, Non-Indigenous Participants

1. What is your role/relationship/experience to/with heritage planning in the City of Victoria?
2. How do you define heritage?
3. What was your involvement with the City of Victoria's heritage program?
4. In your opinion, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the City of Victoria's heritage program?
5. In your opinion, *is there a role or place* for ICH in municipal heritage programs in Canada?
6. The City of Victoria's heritage program do not currently include Intangible Cultural Heritage. Why do you think this is the case? Do you think Victoria's heritage program should include ICH?
7. The City of Victoria's heritage strategic plan does not include mention of Indigenous cultural heritage nor does it acknowledge Indigenous history nor contemporary relations. Why do you think this to be the case?
8. Do you think Heritage Programs should include measures to protect Indigenous cultural heritage? How can the heritage program be changed to achieve this?
9. Action 79.II of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Calls to Action asks that: "Revising the policies, criteria, and practices of the National Program of Historical Commemoration to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values, and memory practices into Canada's national heritage and history."
10. Do you think Victoria's heritage program should be changed to integrate Indigenous history, heritage values and memory practices?
11. Do you think the absence of ICH from municipal heritage programs creates barriers to Truth and Reconciliation?
12. How do you define Intangible Cultural Heritage? Do you see that as different or distinct from heritage?

Appendix C.

Annual Report Analysis: 2007-2017

Table C1. Inclusion of main codes and key words in the City of Victoria's Annual Reports from 2007-2017.

Year	Mention of Reconciliation	Mention of First Nations, Indigenous, Coast Salish, Songhees, Esquimalt	Mention of Heritage	Mention of Intangible Cultural Heritage
2017	✓	✓	✓	
2016	✓	✓	✓	
2015		✓	✓	
2014		✓	✓	
2013		✓	✓	
2012		✓	✓	
2011		✓	✓	
2010		✓	✓	
2009		✓	✓	
2008		✓	✓	
2007			✓	

Table C2. Number of times the main research codes and key words were mentioned in the City of Victoria’s Annual Reports from 2007-2017.

Year	Number of times Reconciliation is mentioned	Number of times First Nations, Indigenous, Songhees Nation, Esquimalt Nation, Aboriginal were mentioned, total	Number of times the Heritage is mentioned	Number of Times Intangible Cultural Heritage is mentioned
2017	7	8	8	0
2016	2	3	9	0
2015	0	1	11	0
2014	0	1	20	0
2013	0	6	5	0
2012	0	1	14	0
2011	0	3	11	0
2010	0	2	14	0
2009	0	1	18	0
2008	0	4	12	0
2007	0	0*	20	0

* There was one mention of Indigenous Peoples in the 2007 report, but it was included in the statement about the paper quality used to print the Annual Report on and as such that data point was excluded from the table summary.

* My research period was from 2007 to August 2018 and as such the annual report for 2018 was not captured.

Appendix D.

Heritage Advisory Panel Meeting Minute Review

I reviewed the minutes from all the Heritage Advisory Panel Meetings from January 20, 2015 to July 10, 2018. Of the 38 meetings that took place only 4 meetings recorded mention of First Nations (on March 6, 2018, January 10, 2017, April 12, 2016 and October 13, 2015).

March 6, 2018: “Anna Babicz, Urban Designer, provided an update on the City’s wayfinding strategy which included mention that two new prototype signs to be installed in prominent locations (by the Visitors Centre and Chinatown, Fisgard and Government Streets, will include First Nations’ names” (City of Victoria, 2018).

January 10, 2017: “Committee members discussed the Downtown Public Realm Plan and it was raised that “the location of First Nation names on signs is important and their complex orthography must be correct” (City of Victoria, 2017).

April 12, 2016: “Hal Kalman provided information on presentism - judging past incidents by using the values of today. Hal is a member of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) and this has been a topic of discussion by the Board. Discussion. Several examples of presentism were given:

- The goal of residential schools was cultural assimilation which is viewed as negative by today’s values. Was there anything positive about residential schools?
- The Economy Steam Laundry building at Rock Bay Avenue and John Street is on the list of candidate properties for heritage registration; however, the laundry was for non-Chinese only. Should the building not be considered for the Register based on its history?
- It is important to take a balanced approach, acknowledge and recognize the biases and racism of the past, consider the pros and cons, and to not encourage revisionist history.
- If an existing plaque is viewed as offensive today, then a new plaque can be placed beside it to acknowledge the changing values. The old plaques should not be removed. There are three plaques at the Craigflower School House from over time.
- To be reasonable and tolerant is more difficult than the opposite here are terms of reference regarding Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada on the HSMBC website.”

October 13, 2015: Staff informed the Committee that First Nations have supported the addition of 6 new lighting standards to be added to Government Street. It appears that they were consulted as part of this development, although it is not stated.

January 10, 2015: The heritage conservation consultants presenting on proposed work for St. Ann’s Academy answered questions about new signage and the inclusion of “First

Nations People.” The consultants responded that two of the new signs will focus on First Nations’ history, stating that, “one sign about the First Nations’ early occupation of the site and another sign will reference the involvement of the Sisters of St Ann with the First Nations People. There will also be reference to the stream that once ran through the property and was used as a portage route.”

Appendix E.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Principles of Reconciliation

The following 10 principles have been laid out by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in order to support Reconciliation between Indigenous People and non-Indigenous People.

1. “The *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is the framework for reconciliation at all levels and across all sectors of Canadian society.
2. First Nations, Inuit, and Metis peoples, as the original peoples of this country and as self-determining peoples, have Treaty, constitutional, and human rights that must be recognized and respected.
3. Reconciliation is a process of healing of relationships that requires public truth sharing, apology, and commemoration that acknowledge and redress past harms.
4. Reconciliation requires constructive action on addressing the ongoing legacies of colonialism that have had destructive impacts on Aboriginal peoples' education, cultures and languages, health, child welfare, the administration of justice, and economic opportunities and prosperity.
5. Reconciliation must create a more equitable and inclusive society by closing the gaps in social, health, and economic outcomes that exist between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians.
6. All Canadians, as Treaty peoples, share responsibility for establishing and maintaining mutually respectful relationships.
7. The perspectives and understandings of Aboriginal Elders and Traditional Knowledge Keepers of the ethics, concepts, and practices of reconciliation are vital to long-term reconciliation.
8. Supporting Aboriginal peoples' cultural revitalization and integrating Indigenous knowledge systems, oral histories, laws, protocols, and connections to the land into the reconciliation process are essential.
9. Reconciliation requires political will, joint leadership, trust building, accountability, and transparency, as well as a substantial investment of resources.
10. Reconciliation requires sustained public education and dialogue, including youth engagement, about the history and legacy of residential schools, Treaties, and Aboriginal rights, as well as the historical and contemporary contributions of Aboriginal peoples to Canadian society” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015, p. 3-4).

Source: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *What We Have Learned: Principles of Truth and Reconciliation*. Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

Calls to Action for Municipal Governments

The TRC "Calls to Action" for local governments, that the TRC believes are within the authority of a municipal government, are:

- #43: We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to fully adopt and implement the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as the framework for reconciliation.
- #47: We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to repudiate concepts used to justify European sovereignty over Indigenous Peoples and lands, such as the Doctrine of Discovery and terra nullius, and to reform those laws, government policies, and litigation strategies that continue to rely on such concepts.
- #57: We call upon federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal governments to provide education to public servants on the history of Aboriginal peoples, including the history and legacy of residential schools, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Treaties and Aboriginal rights, Indigenous law, and Aboriginal-Crown relations. This will require skills-based training in intercultural competency, conflict resolution, human rights, and anti-racism.
- #75: We call upon the federal government to work with provincial, territorial, and municipal governments, churches, Aboriginal communities, former residential school students, and current landowners to develop and implement strategies and procedures for the ongoing identification, documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries or other sites at which residential school children were buried. This is to include the provision of appropriate memorial ceremonies and commemorative markers to honour the deceased children.
- #77: We call upon provincial, territorial, municipal, and community archives to work collaboratively with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation to identify and collect copies of all records relevant to the history and legacy of the residential school system, and to provide these to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.

Source: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. (2015). *Calls to Action*.
Winnipeg: Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada