Recognizing Aboriginal Voice in Federal Government Exhibitions: A Case Study of

Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art

by

Melanie Evtushenko B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Art History

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

20 May 2004

© 2004, Melanie Evtushenko

Library and
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et
Archives Canada

Published Heritage
Branch

Direction du
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

ISBN: 0-612-98962-3

Our file Notre référence

ISBN: 0-612-98962-3

NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

Canada

PAGINATION ERROR.

TEXT COMPLETE.

ERREUR DE PAGINATION.

LE TEXTE EST COMPLET.

Abstract

Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art is a government-organized internationally touring exhibition, which explores new forms of Aboriginal art. The innovative approaches of the curators, the artists and the subject matter of the artworks challenge past stereotypical images of Aboriginal art. This thesis examines the increasing presence of Aboriginal voice in the presentation and curatorship of government-organized exhibitions, not only as a tool for empowering Aboriginal peoples, but also as a means of increasing cultural exchanges between different Aboriginal groups. The exhibition's collaborative approach to curatorship is one of its distinguishing features, rendering *Transitions* a valuable contribution to the discourse on the display and organization of Aboriginal art. The study demonstrates the changing role of the Canadian Government in the presentation of Aboriginal art, as well as the effect displaying contemporary works has on identity formation.

Acknowledgements

A network of people have supported this thesis. First, and foremost, I would like to thank Dr. Ruth Phillips, my supervisor, who embraced my topic with enthusiasm. Her insight and advice have been invaluable and I will carry them with me to future endeavours.

I would like to acknowledge Viviane Gray, Heather Campbell and Diane Webster of the Indian and Inuit Art Centres of INAC for the wealth of resources they provided and for their patience with my persistent inquiries.

I am obliged to all of the artists for creating their art, and in particular to David Hannan, Jane Ash Poitras and Ron Noganosh, who agreed to share their experiences and opinions about the exhibition with me. Their perspectives have enlightened my overall conception of the show.

I am grateful to Kathy Joy Pearson, Cara Tierney and Rayne Zukerman for their friendship and encouragement throughout the process. I am also indebted to my family for their ongoing support, and to Edward Kucharski for living through the course of the experience.

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	vi
Introduction	viii
Chapter I: An Historical Perspective: INAC and its International Exhibition Activity ..	1
Chapter II: Analysing the Art, a Process of Recognition	32
Chapter III: Curatorship and Reception	57
Conclusion	79
Appendix 1: The Exhibition Itinerary	81
Illustrations	83
Bibliography	95

List of Illustrations*

Fig.1

Johnny Pootoogook (b.1970)

Modern Couple from Cape Dorset (1993)

Pencil crayon, pen, ink

84 x 74.5 cm

Fig.2

Jane Ash Poitras (b.1951)

Oka Spirit Power (1990)

Acrylic, newsprint, photocopy on canvas

152 x 92 cm

Fig.3

Ron Noganosh (b.1949)

Does Anybody Know What Time it is? (1988)

Steel, tin, brass, paper, plastic, bone, wood, acrylic paint, glass

48.5 x 26.5 x 158 cm

Fig.4

Jim Logan (b.1955)

Olympian (1991)

Acrylic on canvas

107 x 137 cm

Fig.5

Shelley Niro (b.1954)

The Iroquois is a Highly Developed Matriarchal Society (1991)

Sepia toner, photo oils on photographic paper

96 x 53 cm

Fig.6

Oviloo Tunnillie (b.1949)

Torso (1996)

Serpentine

36.8 x 21.6 x 28 cm

* The source for all of the illustrations is the exhibition catalogue. Barry Ace and July Papatsie, *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), 1997.

Fig.7

Taqialuk Nuna (b.1958)

Deep Kiss (1996)

Serpentine

45.7 x 17.8 x 20.3 cm

Fig.8

Alex Alikashuak (b.1952)

Unity (1996)

Fossilized walrus bone

25.5 x 5.2 x 6.2 cm

Fig.9

Lance Belanger (b.1956)

Cultural Transition (1989)

Harp seal skin, circuit boards, acrylic on canvas

122.9 x 152.2 cm

Fig.10

David Hannan (b.1971)

A Blanket for My Grandparents (1995)

Photo-emulsion, oil and wax on canvas

132.3 x 112 cm

Fig.11

Mattiusi Iyaituk (b.1950)

The Thigh of Caribou with Bits of Fat (1992)

Serpentine, caribou antler

26.7 x 19.8 x 48.4 cm

Fig.12

Michael Massie (b.1964)

Standing in a Circle (1996)

Sterling silver, tulip wood

7.7 x 11.1 x 11.1 cm

Introduction

Since the mid-twentieth century the Canadian Government has promoted Aboriginal art internationally as a symbol of Canada. This activity manifested itself in a variety of forms such as exhibitions and international fairs, which have functioned as a forum for cultural exchange and created new relationships among Aboriginal, artistic and national communities. These events also constructed a public image of the organizers and the artists, contributing to their identities as they see themselves and as others see them.

My thesis will examine one of the most recent of these exhibitions *Transitions*:

Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art (1997), a travelling exhibition organized by the Indian and Inuit Art Sections of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC). The exhibition opened in Paris in 1997 and has since toured to New Zealand, Costa Rica, Vancouver, Taiwan, Mexico and Russia.¹ Like other exhibitions destined for international viewing, its venues in North America were limited; the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia was the only Canadian institution to receive the show. I will discuss this exhibition as a contemporary, postcolonial endeavour, which departed from previous exhibitions curated by INAC both in the way that it was organized and in the character of the artworks it assembled.

Transitions brought together 24 artworks by Canadian Aboriginal artists all of which were created within ten years of the exhibition's opening. The artists live in various regions across Canada; thirteen of them are Inuit and eleven are of Native backgrounds. As a group, the artworks represented a highly diverse ensemble of media and artistic

¹ For a complete list of the exhibition's venues and touring itinerary, see Appendix 1.

approaches. They were also bound by a common theme; the concept of exploring current social and political change through artistic practice. This representation of “transition” encompassed the continuation of traditional Aboriginal culture, alongside the modern realities of the artists’ present-day lives. In this respect, the artworks capture an essence of the many layers that compose the lives of Aboriginal artists in the 20th and 21st centuries within Canada.

The project was conceived in 1996, when the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)² approached the Indian Art Section of INAC with a request to curate an exhibition to coincide with the opening of the new Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris, France. From that moment, the project became a collaborative effort between the two departments. This partnership is one of the exhibition’s distinguishing features, however, the combined efforts of many people enabled the success of the show.

Various tactics were employed to maximize and ensure that the show would reach a large audience. For instance, the openings often coincided with other events, as in Taipei, Taiwan, where an Aboriginal cultural festival took place at the same time that *Transitions* was displayed. In New Zealand, *Transitions* was presented simultaneously with exhibitions of local Aboriginal art, creating an avenue of communication between Aboriginal cultures. The openings were often large events attended by notable figures, consequently legitimizing the significance of the event in the public’s eyes. Over the course of its itinerary, ambassadors, artists and politicians attended the openings of

² Previously known as the Department of External Affairs, this department’s name was changed to the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade in 1995.

Transitions. For example, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, attended the first opening of the exhibition at the Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris, and author Margaret Atwood, was present at the exhibition's opening in Mexico while there for a Canadian literature conference.

The exhibition's widespread schedule reinforced the need for a strong organizational body. The government departments provided this stability through their home base in Ottawa, as well as a large network of representatives disseminated throughout the other countries that were involved. Little has been written about the government's involvement with *Transitions*, and aside from a multitude of newspaper press clippings, no document has assembled the reception and history of the exhibition under the umbrella of an analytical framework. Such a document would outline the contribution the exhibition provides to curatorial practice, and to the Canadian government's image as a promoter of Aboriginal art.

Although *Transitions* was not the only exhibition to have brought together Native and Inuit art for international viewing—there have been others like *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada* (1969),³ *New Territories 350/500 Years After: An Exhibition of Contemporary Aboriginal Art of Canada* (1992),⁴ and *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art* (1993),⁵ to name a few—it differed from these

³ *Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada* was organized by the Société des amis du musée de l'homme Paris, and the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in 1969.

⁴ *New Territories 350/500 Years After: An Exhibition of Contemporary Aboriginal Art of Canada* was made possible through the efforts of many organizations and institutions in the province of Quebec in 1992.

⁵ The Canadian Museum of Civilization organized *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art* in 1993.

initiatives because it was taken on by the Indian and Inuit Art Centres of INAC. This department had also organized another exhibit, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* (1983), that assembled Native and Inuit art, but *Transitions* was the Centres' first project that not only included all contemporary artworks, but also emphasized collaborative organization. For this reason, *Transitions* is entitled to a closer, more detailed examination.

Literature Review

As mentioned, little has been written about the organization and reception of *Transitions*. The exhibition's catalogue serves as an initial record of the show's objectives and the works and artists represented. It contains two essays, one written by Barry Ace (Indian art curator), and one by July Papatsie (Inuit art curator). Newspaper articles and reviews from France, Taiwan, Mexico, Costa Rica, New Zealand and Canada provide a limited record of the reception of the show, and in some cases, offer insight into the way the artworks were interpreted.⁶ Generally, however, they contain only basic descriptions of the exhibition, and are most useful as a way of situating other events that occurred at the same time as the exhibition, elucidating the exhibition setting.

An unpublished report commissioned by Viviane Gray, entitled *Transitions 2*

⁶ The newspaper clippings' file at the Indian and Inuit Art Centres' Archives contains numerous records. The press coverage from Taiwan, in particular, was quite extensive, but only a few articles were available in English at the time of my research.

Milan: Multinational Management,⁷ was the only available document offering a critical analysis of the first *Transitions*. The objective of the Milan report was to better comprehend the problems of a second exhibit, *Transitions 2*, and provide a guide to marketing strategy for the success of future Aboriginal art exhibitions in Italy. Its main concentration, therefore, was not the first exhibition, which it referred to only briefly in a comparative manner. The report pointed to aspects of the first *Transitions*' organization that enabled its success.⁸

In order to establish the historical background of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' involvement with Aboriginal art, I have drawn on a number of different sources. Helga Goetz, previously the Head of the Inuit Art Section, wrote an unpublished manuscript, *The Role of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in the Development of Inuit Art* (1985), which has been helpful in outlining INAC's associations with Inuit art in the twentieth century. The main ideas in the text were published in a summarized version in Goetz's essay "Inuit Art: A History of Government Involvement," that appeared in *In the Shadow of the Sun* (1993). I have also drawn upon Tom Hill's essays from two different publications to inform my discussion of the Department's involvement with Native art. In 1984, for the occasion of the exhibition *Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers*, Hill, an established curator

⁷ *Transitions 2: Contemporary Indian and Inuit Art of Canada* (2001) was an exhibition that followed the original *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (1997).

⁸ The "quality and theme of the art" in addition to providing "opportunities for collaboration with other indigenous cultures" were listed as positive characteristics of the exhibition. Bruce Kowbel, Andrew Dickson et al, *Transitions 2 Milan: Multinational Management*, Unpublished report commissioned by Viviane Gray (Ottawa: Indian and Inuit Art Centres, 2002), 6 and 15.

of Native art, wrote a very thorough text on the history of Native art highlighting the government's presence throughout this period. In 1989, his text in the catalogue for the exhibition *Beyond History* summarized the contents of the first publication and discussed the place of Aboriginal art in art historical discourse.

The evolution of the Department's roles was further studied in the government document *DIAND's evolution from direct service delivery to a funding agency*, that was published in 1993. This document considers the de-centralization of INAC's overall services and responsibilities. The publication, *The 'Nations Within:' Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand* (1992), written by Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, has also provided a comprehensive historical perspective on INAC's actions, including some discussion of how these activities have been perceived. I am also indebted to the work of Alan Cairns, a professor of political science and specialist on Aboriginal relations, for his comprehensive account of government relations with Aboriginal peoples in the book *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (2000).

My approach to the examination of *Transitions* is both historical and analytical. The first chapter of my thesis considers the history of the government's activities as a mediator between Aboriginal peoples, and viewers of Aboriginal art exhibitions. This chronology allows me to situate *Transitions* within the context of INAC's history and its previous involvement in exhibitions. The concept of mediation, as outlined by Nelson Graburn, is a model that delineates the way that three participants partake in the

consumption and production of art. For Graburn, a professor of anthropology and specialist of Inuit art, a defined relationship exists between the artist, the middleman and the consumer.⁹ I will discuss this concept further in Chapter One.

In my second chapter, I examine some of the artworks in *Transitions*, revealing how they function as channels through which both the artists and the government convey messages to the viewers. This chapter begins with detailed readings of selected works shown in *Transitions* and their relationships to previous works either in the artist's oeuvre, or to the other pieces in the exhibition. Here I use Charles Taylor's theory of the politics of recognition to explore the way the works and the exhibition serve to establish the dialogical relationship, which Taylor argues is necessary to the recognition of individual and group identities.¹⁰ It will be my objective to demonstrate that the government's advocacy of the creation and display of contemporary Aboriginal work is a positive action because it allows the artists to present themselves through their work, which contributes to positive identity formation. By including Aboriginal voices the government acknowledges its past errors of omission, and conveys respect for the uniqueness of Aboriginal art and, by association, Aboriginal peoples.

In the third chapter, I study the concept of collaborative curatorship used in *Transitions* and I outline the responsibilities of the various parties involved in the

⁹ Nelson H.H. Graburn, "Epilogue: Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 349.

¹⁰ Charles Taylor and Amy Gutmann, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 64.

process. Moreover, I examine the reception of the exhibition at several venues. Here I link the public's participation as viewers to Taylor's theory of recognition. I also draw on Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's model of the post-museum to explain how the multi-vocal characteristics of *Transitions*' organization and presentation reflect her assessment of the social role of museums and exhibitions in the future.¹¹

Methodology

My research began with the collection of as much information about the exhibition as was available, because little had been published or systematically documented about *Transitions*. The exhibition files at the Indian and Inuit Art Centres' archives provided a paper trail of correspondence between various individuals involved in the organizational process.¹² These files outlined the curatorial decisions, itinerary planning, and catalogue creation for the exhibition, all elements that contributed to the achievement of the exhibition's objectives. They also included newspaper clippings and press releases from the many venues the exhibition toured. In addition to the *Transitions* files, I viewed the exhibition files (also at the Centres' archives) for the Department's previous shows, and familiarized myself with the process that culminated in *Transitions*. The details of the planning stages of the exhibition were further elucidated through my interviews with the chief of the Art Centres, Viviane Gray, and the Head of Visual and

¹¹ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 152-153.

¹² More information about the exhibition's reception exists in e-mail correspondence between the organizers and the artists, which was not available during my research. This resource could be pursued in the future.

Media Arts at DFAIT, Yves Pépin. Their first-hand experience with the project greatly contributed to my understanding of each department's role in the endeavour, as well as the overall objectives of the show from the government's point of view. Unfortunately, despite my repeated efforts to contact them, the curators of the exhibition were not available to comment on their participation.

The artworks are the backbone of the exhibition and my initial exposure to them was through the *Transitions* catalogue. My relationship with them grew as I studied the artists and their previous work through past catalogues, exhibition reviews and artist files. My principal sources, however, were the artists. I am indebted to them for their willingness to participate in interviews, and for providing their perspectives on their work, the success of *Transitions*, and their involvement at the exhibition openings. I am hopeful that my thesis continues to perpetuate the spirit inherent in *Transitions*; that of placing Aboriginal voice in the forefront of the display and discussion of the project and of Aboriginal art in general.

Chapter 1: An Historical Perspective: INAC and its International Exhibition

Activity

This section highlights specific events and circumstances in the Department's history and activity preceding the creation of the exhibition *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (1997). The years leading up to the exhibition are marked by a number of fundamental changes within the Department, which had, for over fifty years, been responsible for the welfare of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. I will show how the increased involvement of Aboriginal peoples in the representation of their art was a result of these changes by examining the Department's past involvement with other exhibitions and festivals, and by studying previous initiatives taken by the Department to exhibit Aboriginal art internationally. By situating *Transitions* within the framework of INAC's history, I will set the stage for understanding how *Transitions* departed from the dominant model and discourse of exhibitions produced by INAC prior to 1997.

A Brief Overview of Government Involvement

The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, as it is presently known, was formed in October 1966. Prior to this date, the Department had various names,¹ however, as a ministry of the federal government, it "directly delivered virtually all

¹ At first, INAC was named the Department of the Interior. It was renamed the Department of Mines and Resources in 1936, and in 1953 it was again renamed, this time as the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Helga Goetz, *The Role of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in the Development of Inuit Art*, Unpublished manuscript (Ottawa: Inuit Art Section, Research and Documentation Centre, 1985), 4-5.

programs and services to First Nations.”² The Department is guided and bound by the Indian Act, a law that remains a source of contention in the relations of Aboriginal peoples with the government. The Indian Act of 1876 (amended numerous times)³ placed Aboriginal peoples under the authority of the federal government.⁴

Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott discuss the difficult position of the government regarding the Indian Act, addressing the dialectic between its “antiquated” and “paternalistic” character, and its function as a binding contract ensuring that the government adheres to its responsibilities towards Aboriginal peoples.⁵ The Indian Act requires the government to provide certain services to Aboriginal peoples, but its objectives are to assimilate them into Canadian society. Alan Cairns has further commented on the failures of the Indian Act and its assimilatory goals: “As we now know, the policy was counterproductive. It fostered the difference it was supposed to transcend, and it gave status Indians an extraordinarily strong attachment to the federal

² Canada, *DIAND's evolution from direct service delivery to a funding agency* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993), 1.

³ One of these amendments occurred in 1951: “The 1951 Act removed the excesses of government control of local affairs on the reserves and of cultural prohibitions, but the policy of encouraging ‘citizenship—assimilation—was continued.” Richard H. Bartlett, *The Indian Act of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1988), 7.

⁴ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), 74-75. As Richard H. Bartlett states: “The Indian Act of Canada is the principal instrument through which federal jurisdiction over Indians and native people has been exercised during the last one hundred years. It dictates the manner in which Indian reserves and treaties are administered by the Department of Indian Affairs and the limited control exercised by bands and band councils. The Act governs 416 000 Indian people (December 31, 1987) and 592 bands. Insofar as statistics can reveal a style of life, they indicate that these people are by far the most economically impoverished and socially disadvantaged group in Canada.” Bartlett, 1.

⁵ Fleras and Elliott, 74.

government - and to the Crown, the by-product of which was a distancing and alienation from the provinces.”⁶ It was not until 1939 that the Inuit were recognized in administrative policy when a decision was made by the Supreme Court that the Inuit “were under federal jurisdiction based on s.91(24) of the British North America Act of 1876.”⁷ Inuit, Métis and Indian peoples were all recognized as Aboriginal peoples in the constitution in the Constitution Act of 1982.⁸

Although the Department is involved in the lives of Aboriginal peoples on many levels, I will concentrate on the effects of this relationship with regard to Aboriginal art. Over the course of its existence, the Department has participated in the development, promotion, collection, and funding of Aboriginal art, varying the focus of its activities from decade to decade. Currently, Aboriginal art is managed through the Indian and Inuit Art Centres of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. The government’s involvement with Native Indian and Inuit art has separate histories, although some historical events were significant to both sectors. I will outline these key events below to provide an historical context for *Transitions*.

It was during the 1950s, that significant development in the federal government’s involvement with Aboriginal art first occurred. Although INAC’s activity dates back to

⁶ Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 91.

⁷ Ibid, 49.

⁸ Bartlett, 9.

the 1920s,⁹ official government involvement began in the 1950s. This beginning is often connected with James Houston's voyage, in 1949, to the Arctic as a representative of the Canadian Handicrafts Guild. This trip was funded by the Northwest Territories Council,¹⁰ and had a profound impact on the history of contemporary Inuit art. In 1950, the federal government commissioned the *Report on Contemporary Art of the Canadian Indian* from Audrey E. Hawthorn and Harry B. Hawthorn. According to Tom Hill, curator and museum director, this report "was crucial for the creation of the Cultural Affairs Program within the Department of Indian Affairs."¹¹ The Cultural Affairs Program became a division of INAC in 1964.¹²

It was also in the mid-1950s that the Department began its devolution, a process of decentralizing responsibilities and authority, and allocating them to local governments. For instance, in 1956 a transfer of "services such as social assistance, child care, educating children in department-run schools, and support for band council governments" took place.¹³ In 1958 more regional offices were created.¹⁴ The management of government art programs in the arts was also affected by this devolution

⁹ At this time, the Department's responsibilities were under the Department of the Interior. Helga Goetz wrote about "a small government collection, [that was] started in the 1920s..." Helga Goetz, "Inuit Art: A History of Government Involvement," in *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993), 358.

¹⁰ Goetz, *The Role of the Department*, 11.

¹¹ Tom Hill, "Beyond History," in *Beyond History* (Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989), 8.

¹² Tom Hill, "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective," in *Norval Morrisseau and The Emergence of the Image Makers* (Toronto: The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 21.

¹³ Canada, *DIAND's evolution*, 42.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 41.

during the 1960s. Developmental tasks in Arctic Quebec, such as “projects in consultation with the Cooperatives,” were relocated to the Quebec government,¹⁵ and a similar transfer of responsibilities took place between the Department and the government of the Northwest Territories in 1970.¹⁶ As Fleras and Elliott have explained: “the Department has cast around for ways to improve its image. Some efforts have focused on creating a culturally sensitive working climate; others have been directed at a broader restructuring of the organization in terms of power (devolution), responsibility (delegation), and structures (decentralization).”¹⁷ This reduction of responsibility and power contrasts with the growth that occurred within the Cultural Affairs Division in the mid-1960s-1970s, which I will discuss shortly.

In 1969, the Trudeau government produced its *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy*, commonly known as the White Paper, which created a strong reaction among Aboriginal peoples. The paper, which Cairns called “Trudeau’s Durham Report for the Indian Peoples of Canada,” proposed to abolish the Indian Act in an attempt to fully integrate Aboriginal peoples into Canadian society.¹⁸ Tom Hill wrote: “The Indian political leaders found themselves actively engaged in opposing the implementation of this new policy, fearing the possible loss of lands, rights, and their

¹⁵ Goetz, *The Role of the Department*, 47.

¹⁶ Ibid, 5.

¹⁷ Fleras and Elliott, 79.

¹⁸ Cairns, 18.

special relationship with the British Crown through the Canadian government.”¹⁹ As Bartlett further explains: “all legislation specifically pertaining to Indians was to be repealed, thereby denying special rights of Indians. Instead, all services were to be provided by the provinces; the statement rejected treaties and land claims as insignificant in the debate on the future of the Indians.”²⁰ The White Paper was received with much disapproval and was withdrawn in 1971.²¹

In the 1970s, in response to the negative reception of the White Paper, the Department visibly increased its commitment to culture. This new commitment started with the appointment of Dr. Ahab Spence, a Cree, as the Head of the new Cultural Affairs Division in 1967. During his time in this position, Spence was responsible for establishing “a study collection of Indian art,”²² which became the basis for the collection that the Department owns today.²³ The activities of the Indian Art Section of Cultural Affairs included “...administering a cultural grants program with a priority for artists working in their own communities; develop[ing] plans for a resource and documentation centre; and acquir[ing] works of art to be used in promotional activity.”²⁴

The Inuit Art Section’s approach was slightly different. Its main form of

¹⁹ Hill, *Norval Morrisseau*, 26.

²⁰ Bartlett, 8.

²¹ Cairns, 65.

²² Hill, *Norval Morrisseau*, 22.

²³ Whereas, the Department’s Inuit art collection was already being formed in the 1950s. Goetz, *The Role of the Department*, 39.

²⁴ K.D. Uppal, *A Review and Analysis of the Cultural Development Division*, (Education Branch, Indian and Eskimo Program, Department of Indian Affairs, 1973), 10, cited in Hill, *Beyond History*, 8.

promotional activities was the organization and display of exhibitions, since Arctic cooperatives, such as the West Baffin Eskimo Cooperative, established in the 1960s, were already distributing Inuit art to southern markets.²⁵ The promotion and display of Inuit art were increasingly achieved through joint initiatives with other institutions, which encouraged major museums to collect Inuit art.²⁶ The promotion of jointly organized exhibitions implemented the policy of devolution and moved INAC towards arm's-length involvement. According to Helga Goetz, former Head of the Inuit Art Section, such exhibitions "placed [Inuit art] in the mainstream and provided a validation that could not be achieved by exhibits in other public spaces, not by exhibits seen as primarily government-sponsored."²⁷ She also added that through this approach the Department was able to contribute experience, collections and funding, needed by museums at the time.²⁸ It is important to note the government's efforts to gain recognition for this art form, as well as its desire to withdraw from the role of sole promoter. Therefore, the 1970s are marked by a tension within the Department between its desire to support Aboriginal art and to disperse some of its responsibilities regarding the art's marketing and exhibition.

The Department's activities during this period led to the eventual dispersal of its

²⁵ For an extremely comprehensive account of the government's involvement with Inuit people, see Marybelle Mitchell, "From talking chiefs to a native corporate elite; the birth of class and nationalism among Canadian Inuit," (PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1992).

²⁶ Goetz, *In the Shadow of the Sun*, 377.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

Inuit art collection. In 1990, the collection was divided between the Avataq Cultural Institute in Arctic Quebec, the Canadian Museum of Civilization and the National Gallery of Canada.²⁹ Although this transfer decreased departmental involvement with Inuit art, the organization of *Transitions*, a few years later, required the purchase of Inuit artworks, and has resulted in the Department again having an Inuit art collection.³⁰

Although the Department contributed to many exhibitions, in the course of this history, in this chapter I will focus on three specific types of involvement: joint exhibitions; projects achieved in collaboration with another department; and international expositions. These projects either toured internationally, or benefited from international audiences through collaboration with other institutions. I will outline their main characteristics and highlight the ways in which *Transitions* deviated from, or reached beyond these approaches. The exhibitions I will study are: The Indians of Canada Pavilion at *Expo '67*, *Sculpture/Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic* (1971-1973), *The Inuit Print* (1977-1982), *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* (1983), and *Expo '86*. All these exhibitions provided potential models for the Department's curatorial approaches and signal the importance of the changes visible in *Transitions*.

Exhibition Activity

Federal government sponsorship and organization of exhibitions is linked to the

²⁹ Mary Craig and Deborah Smith, "Ottawa: Collections Move North: Transfer of Artworks From Indian and Northern Affairs Collection to Avataq," *Muse* 8, no.2 (Summer 1990), 51.

³⁰ Viviane Gray, in discussion with the author, 8 January 2004.

display and promotion of national identity. Exhibits provide sites for the display of the government's relationship with Aboriginal peoples. They also show the way the government functions as a mediator, relaying messages between the artists and the viewers through the display of artworks, and consequently, moulding the international image of Aboriginal art.

The notion of mediation is modelled by Nelson H.H. Graburn, who states "that there are always three agents involved in the production and consumption of hybrid arts in complex societies: artist, middleman, and consumer."³¹ Graburn's model is based on Christopher Steiner's research on the trader in African art. Steiner has concentrated on the manipulative nature of this figure's objectives in creating the desired illusion of an "authentic" art form.³² Much like the trader in African art, the Canadian government, by organizing exhibitions of Aboriginal art, establishes a place and image for this art form on the international stage.³³ Steiner has, in turn, drawn on the research of Robert Paine who examined the patron/broker relationship in the government's involvement in northern communities.³⁴ While these scholars consider the commercial context of exchange, I find it useful for the analysis of the relationships among the artist, the government and the viewer, as well as the government's role in the development of

³¹ Nelson H.H. Graburn, "Epilogue: Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Ruth B. Phillips, Christopher B. Steiner, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 349.

³² Christopher B. Steiner, *African Art in Transit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 101-102.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Robert Paine, "Introduction," *Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic* (Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971), 5.

exhibitions.

For over a century, international festivals and fairs have been tools to further international relations and markets between participating countries. Growing from the first international festival, the Great Exhibition in London (1851), these events have flourished as a place of cultural exchange and as a modernist stage for displaying progress and advancement.³⁵ As Brian Wallis states, “cultural festivals ... are among the means by which nations seek to construct their national identity for foreign audiences.”³⁶ Two instances where the Canadian government took initiatives to represent Inuit and Native art to international audiences at such venues were the festivals *Expo '67* and *Expo '86*.

Expo '67

Expo '67 explored the theme of Man and His World, a modernist attempt at highlighting visions of progress and globalization. The Indian peoples of Canada were represented in the Indians of Canada Pavilion, while the Inuit were presented in the Man and the Polar Regions pavilion with other northern groups. The Indians of Canada Pavilion at *Expo '67* is noteworthy as one of the first critical displays of the government's involvement with Native peoples. It was organized primarily by Native peoples who insisted on having direct control over the exhibits. The government worked to ensure the participation of different Native peoples' organizations while maintaining

³⁵ Erik Mattie, *World's Fairs* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 8.

³⁶ Brian Wallis, “Selling Nations,” *Art in America* 79, no.9 (Sept 1991), 86.

“an arm’s-length relationship from the representational process.”³⁷ An Indian Advisory Council was established to create a storyline for the pavilion and the government oversaw its development.³⁸ It was decided by the Native peoples involved to share an unromanticized version of their experience in Canada since Confederation. The main objective of the storyline was to “trac[e] the conflict between the Indian and the white man, the roles of government and church, the signing of treaties and the establishment of reserves.”³⁹ This approach inevitably led to disapproval and shock from certain visitors and government officials. One visitor exclaimed: “This is horrible. I’m not going to stay here,” in response to a display in the education bay.⁴⁰ Moreover, a *Globe and Mail* article claimed that Minister of Indian Affairs, Arthur Laing, “expressed dissatisfaction because the contributions of the Canadian Government to Indians had not been given recognition.”⁴¹

Although the planning stages of the pavilion’s creation and content were not

³⁷ Ruth B. Phillips and Sherry Brydon, “*Arrow of Truth*”: *The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67*, Unpublished paper, April 1998, 6.

³⁸ Ibid, 8 and 9.

³⁹ “Indians of Canada,” in *Expo 67 Information Manual: Universal and International Exhibition of 1967, Montreal April 28-October 27* (Montreal, 1967), S71, 2.

⁴⁰ “Indian Pavilion Tries not to be Restful,” *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 1967, 17.

A panel in this section displayed the statement: “The white man’s school, an alien land for an Indian child,” while “other exhibit panels juxtaposed the carefree lives of the suburban Dick and Jane with the harsh realities of an Indian child’s life.” Sherry Brydon, “The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo ‘67,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 22, no.3 (Summer 1997), 60.

⁴¹ “Indian Pavilion Tries not to be Restful,” *Globe and Mail*, 17.

without controversy,⁴² the communication between Native peoples and the government suggests an awareness and acceptance on the government's part of the nature of the pavilion's messages and means of representation. The most controversial part of the interior was the central drum composed of six bays where themes related to European contact were discussed. In the bay addressing education, in juxtaposition to the images displayed there, the Department requested additional information be added showing an increase in student enrolment.⁴³ This appeal confirms an awareness of the content of the rest of the bay contradicting the way certain articles interpreted the Pavilion's content as a surprise to the government.

As mentioned above, Minister Arthur Laing voiced his distress, and Eva-Marie Kröller claims that the government "clearly expected to be depicted in a positive light."⁴⁴ I do not mean to imply that Arthur Laing was not disappointed, but to propose that most documents point to an agreement and collaboration between the Aboriginal organizers and the Canadian Government. It is valuable to note, however, that "the critique of historical and contemporary relations between natives and non-natives in Canada contained in the Pavilion was by far the most comprehensive that had been presented in so public a forum."⁴⁵ It is also therefore correct to claim, as Commissioner General Pierre Dupuy has, that Expo '67 "reminded [people] that there are ties of interdependence

⁴² Phillips and Brydon, 8.

⁴³ Ibid, 27.

⁴⁴ Eva-Marie Kröller, "Expo '67: Canada's Camelot?" *Canadian Literature* (Spring/Summer 1997) n.152-153, 40.

⁴⁵ Phillips and Brydon, 21.

between them... What united them was much more fundamental than what divided them.”⁴⁶

The government’s agreement to support a negative image of itself at *Expo ‘67* is an early example of an attempt to confirm its “tolerance” for criticism of past actions to a broad audience, which can be regarded as foreshadowing the controversial nature of some of the works that would be presented in *Transitions* thirty years later. Despite the diverse reactions and obstacles encountered during the Pavilion experience, a shift in government approach and involvement was clearly visible in this project. Confirming this notion, Phillips and Brydon state, “The representation of Indians through an autonomous structure—the separating out of the First Peoples from the rest of the ‘Canadian mosaic’—was itself an important break with the patterns laid down in previous international expositions.”⁴⁷ Further outlining obstacles pertaining to Aboriginal representation at international expositions was the administrative adventure that took place between Aboriginal groups and the Canadian government prior to *Expo ‘86* in Vancouver, British Columbia, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Sculpture/Inuit

The exhibition, *Sculpture/Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic (1971-1973)* was a collaborative effort between the INAC, the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council

⁴⁶ Pierre Dupuy, “Preface,” in *Expo 67. The Memorial Album of the first category universal and international exhibition held in Montreal from the twenty seventh of April to the twenty-ninth of October nineteen hundred and sixty-seven* (Toronto: Nelson, 1968), 7.

⁴⁷ Phillips and Brydon, 4-5.

(CEAC), the National Museum of Man, and the Department of External Affairs. The tour began and concluded in Canadian venues, visiting major international exhibition sites in between. These included the Vancouver Art Gallery, Le Grand Palais in Paris, the Hermitage in Leningrad, the British Museum in London, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and the National Museum of Man in Ottawa.

This large-scale endeavour brought together over 400 sculptures made by Inuit artists. The artworks in this show covered 2500 years of artistic production, with the earliest piece dated c.720 BCE. The Canadian Eskimo Arts Council (CEAC) declared the exhibition's purpose "to assemble for display the finest examples of Eskimo carving, past and present."⁴⁸ Three criteria were specified by the CEAC as decisive in the selection process:

1. To present a high quality exhibition of major impact, capable of commanding respect in the sophisticated art centres of the world. It will not be a promotional show, but a highly selective exhibition aiming at placing Eskimo art in a significant art-historical and critical perspective;
2. To establish the high quality of this art among other art forms of the world; and to demonstrate the quality which distinguishes finest Eskimo carving from the vast production of souvenirs and craft items;
3. To present an opportunity to study the evolution of Eskimo carving and to evaluate its present state.⁴⁹

The exhibition was considered to be the first major retrospective of Inuit art presenting the works as "art before anthropology."⁵⁰ This angle suggests an awareness,

⁴⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Sculpture/Inuit* Exhibition File, "News Release to all Northern Residents" *Letter from the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council*, George Swinton, 8 November 1969, 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 1.

⁵⁰ Geoffrey James, "Masterworks of the Arctic: An Impressive Summation," *Time* 98 (Nov 29, 1971), 12.

on the part of the organizers, to move away from the image of Inuit art as an ethnographic phenomenon and to endorse it as an art form linked to tradition and continuing to evolve in the contemporary age. A review of the exhibition from Copenhagen confirmed that a discrepancy between the intentional move away from ethnographic approaches and the actual exhibition venue did not go unnoticed. Keld Hansen wrote of the “paradox that in 1972 we have to visit an ethnographic collection in order to see such an outstanding art exhibition, while a month ago we were able to see an exhibition on Greenland housing at the Art Academy.”⁵¹ The appreciation of Inuit art as a unique artistic expression, however, was also countered through the way that the exhibition was “justified” by its reviewers. For example, journalist Geoffrey James legitimized the artworks through a Western framework by comparing them with the work of established Western artists.⁵² The need for comparison in this fashion insinuated that the Western canon remains the measuring stick of artistic value, and diminished the achievement of true *recognition*, in Taylor’s sense, of this art form.⁵³ The reflexive nature of the comparison underlines the continuing existence of a Western hierarchy.

The selected artworks, as a group, testified to a modernist presentation of Inuit art. As mentioned above, the works spanned a large cross-section of time. The decision to trace centuries’ worth of production plays into a value system that upholds linear

⁵¹ Keld Hansen, “Small Renderings of Reality,” *Information*, 9 May 1972, 4.

⁵² James, 13.

⁵³ The concept of *recognition* as outlined in Charles Taylor’s essay “The Politics of Recognition” will be discussed in chapter 2. Charles Taylor and Amy Gutmann, *Multiculturalism and “The Politics of Recognition”* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

development in art. This mode of presentation also suggests the inclusion of historic art as a necessary legitimization of the contemporary works.⁵⁴ Moreover, all the works in this “retrospective” of Inuit art were sculptural, omitting many other media historically explored by Inuit artists. It is true, however, that the organizers clearly indicated the exhibition’s content in its title, and that the omission of other art forms led to the organization of other large-scale exhibitions later on.

The openings of Aboriginal art exhibitions function as sites of promotion and legitimization. They are often gala events attended by notable political figures or, are tied to larger cultural festivals, as I will discuss further in relation to *Transitions*.

According to Helga Goetz, the trend of grand openings was established early in the life of contemporary Inuit art. In January of 1960, in honour of the annual print collection by Inuit artists, the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts hosted a high profile event that “set the tone for subsequent years and exhibits became a vehicle for public appearances and speech-making by Ministers of the Department.”⁵⁵

The image and reception of *Sculpture/Inuit* was also fostered through its opening events. The show was closely followed by the press and artists attended each opening.⁵⁶ The Vancouver Art Gallery’s vernissage welcomed the major figures of the exhibition’s organizational committee, George Elliott, James Houston, Doris Shadbolt and George Swinton, as well as then Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean

⁵⁴ Goetz, *In the Shadow of the Sun*, 375.

⁵⁵ Goetz, *The Role of the Department*, 50.

⁵⁶ Goetz, *In the Shadow of the Sun*, 375.

Chrétien.⁵⁷ In London, over 300 “distinguished guests” attended the opening, among them Sir John Wolfenden, Lord Trevelyan, Chairman of the Board of the British Museum, James Houston and two artists Davidee Kagvik of Great Whale River and Iyola Kinguasiak of Cape Dorset.⁵⁸ Queen Margrethe and Prince Henrik inaugurated the exhibition in Copenhagen,⁵⁹ while in Ottawa, the exhibition was opened by then Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau and fifteen artists.⁶⁰ As would be the case with *Transitions*, the presentation of *Sculpture/Inuit* coincided with other events or exhibitions at many of the venues. The British Museum displayed a collection of Inuit work that was assembled from Captain Cook’s voyage to the Arctic in the 18th century,⁶¹ and in Copenhagen, Greenland drum dancing and the reading of Inuit poetry complemented the exhibition’s opening.⁶² The exhibition resulted in new developments within the Inuit Art Section of the Department and aided the market for Inuit art.⁶³ Staffing changes took place adding specialized individuals to the Department, and collection and display was given preference in the Department’s objectives.⁶⁴ It also led to a second major

⁵⁷ “The Opening of Sculpture of the Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic,” *Artscanada* no.162/163 (Dec 1971/Jan 1972), 121.

⁵⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Sculpture/Inuit* Exhibition File, Fax to Secretary of State Clark, 26 October 1972.

⁵⁹ “Canadian Eskimo art at the National Museum,” *Kristeligt Dagblad*, 1 May 1972, 6.

⁶⁰ “Exhibition of Eskimo art opening in Ottawa,” *Halifax Mail Star*, 17 May 1973.

⁶¹ Guy Brett, “Arts and crafts among the Eskimos,” *The Times*. The Arts. 10 October 1972.

⁶² *Kristeligt Dagblad*. 1 May 1972, 6.

⁶³ Goetz, *In the Shadow of the Sun*, 376.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 376-77.

exhibition.

The Inuit Print

The Inuit Print (1978-1982), an exhibition of graphic works by Inuit artists, gathered over 150 prints from five printmaking areas in the Canadian Arctic. Cape Dorset, Arctic Quebec, Holman, Baker Lake and Pangnirtung were the regions and communities represented in the exhibition. The organization of this exhibit is an example of a joint venture between the Department of Indian and Northern Development and a Canadian art institution; in this case, the National Museum of Man (today the Canadian Museum of Civilization). The shared initiative, as previously mentioned, was intended to distance the Department's involvement and to encourage institutions to take on projects of Aboriginal art of their own accord.

The selection process was achieved through the input of a committee comprising members of commercial and public sectors of the Inuit art world, academic and government representatives, as well as an Inuit and a non-Inuit artist.⁶⁵ The panel, whose background was multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural, selected 155 prints from an original group of almost three thousand works.⁶⁶ Despite the "exceedingly difficult

⁶⁵ The committee was composed of the following members: Kananginak Pootoogook, an artist from Cape Dorset; Mary Craig, fine arts director of La Fédération des Coopératives du Nouveau Québec; Kenneth Lochhead, artist and professor of visual arts; Gunther Abrahamson, chief of the Social and Cultural Development Division (INAC); Dr. George Swinton, professor of Inuit art; and Dr. William E. Taylor, director of the National Museum of Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization). William E. Taylor, "Forward," *The Inuit Print* (Ottawa: The National Museum of Man, 1977), 24. Also see Sandra B. Barz, "The Inuit Print': Masterworks Retrospective," *Arts and Culture of the North* 2, no.2 (Feb 1978), 77.

⁶⁶ Bert Witt, "A Look at 'The Inuit Print' Retrospective: Good Show!" *Arts and Culture of the North* 2, no.3 (May 1978), 92.

task⁶⁷ of narrowing the possibilities to a suitable number, one critic, Jacqueline Fry, felt the process should have been more “rigorous.”⁶⁸ The collection of works was presented as a retrospective, outlining the changes and developments in printing style and technique since the beginning of printmaking programs in the selected Arctic communities.⁶⁹

According to Dr. William E. Taylor, then director of the National Museum of Man, this show was intended as the logical successor to its sculptural counterpart *Sculpture/Inuit*.⁷⁰ Like its forerunner, the *Inuit Print* toured internationally; it was received in Canada, the United States, and in several European countries. Unlike *Sculpture/Inuit*, and despite the greater number of venues (especially within Canada), less information is available for the print show, and its reception appears subdued compared to *Sculpture/Inuit*.⁷¹

Like *Sculpture/Inuit*, the *Inuit Print* also excluded works in other media, such as textiles and photography, in order to display the works on paper that had been omitted from *Sculpture/Inuit*. Unlike *Sculpture/Inuit*, however, it did not seek to validate contemporary works by including historical objects. Rather, the *Inuit Print* attempted to elevate and celebrate the status of prints made by Inuit artists as a legitimate, valuable (and authentic) contribution to Canadian contemporary art. In this respect, the show's

⁶⁷ Taylor, *The Inuit Print*, 24.

⁶⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Inuit Print* Exhibition File, *What is an Exhibition Catalogue?: An interview with Jacqueline Fry*, France Morin and Chantal Pontbriand, March 1977, 16.

⁶⁹ Witt, 92.

⁷⁰ Taylor, *The Inuit Print*, 22.

⁷¹ Witt, 92.

aim appears to have been market-driven, giving the prints international exposure. It is, perhaps, not surprising that the *Inuit Print* received mixed reviews.

The documentation of the *Inuit Print* noted several obstacles that were encountered in the organization, display and explanation of the works. As mentioned above, the show was intended as a retrospective exhibit. At certain venues, like the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), the message of chronological development was unclear due to insufficient exhibition space, which required the works to be displayed “jumbled in layers.”⁷² A lack of understanding of the contents and aims of the show (possibly due to a lack of information provided to viewers), comes across in art critic David L. Shirey’s review of the exhibit. Noting “that technique is not so refined among the Inuits (sic), who discovered graphics only recently,” Shirey described the prints as “clumsy in their execution, ingenious in their feeling and simple in their compositional formats.”⁷³ Such a comment indicates that Jacqueline Fry was correct to state that the show was problematic for a number of reasons.

Fry, a prominent academic, art critic and former curator at the Musée de l’homme in Paris, was initially approached to write the introductory text for the catalogue, but her submission was rejected as inappropriate. Fry discussed her opinions of the show with F. Morin and C. Pontbriand of *Parachute* magazine. She stated that “from the beginning, I had the impression that they [the organizers] were not giving this exhibition an adequate

⁷² Witt, 92.

⁷³ David L. Shirey, “Art Sampler,” *The New York Times*, 16 May 1982.

theoretical and technical framework...”⁷⁴ and she claimed that “the fact that the very concept of this exhibition was not properly prepared is, I feel, the crux of the problem here.”⁷⁵ The fact that Taylor, then head of the Museum of Man, stated that “the catalogue presents no rationale for this artistic achievement”⁷⁶ supports Fry’s opinion. Fry also brought attention to the catalogue text criticizing the authority given to outside influence in the development of contemporary Inuit art instead of concentrating on the relationship “between the receiver and the transmitter.”⁷⁷

The *Inuit Print* attempted to confirm an image of good relations between the government-instigated printmaking programs and the Inuit people. The large selection of works, united by the common thread of their medium, was successful in bringing to light two decades of printmaking activity in the Canadian Arctic. It highlighted the contemporary nature of the works and even included an Inuit artist in the selection process, an early example of an innovative curatorial approach. The comprehensive nature of the show’s contents, however, undermined the need for critical curatorship, rendering transparent its political goals.

The exhibitions *Sculpture/Inuit* and the *Inuit Print* are examples of a joint-effort between the government and other Canadian institutions to present Aboriginal art to an

⁷⁴ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Morin and Pontbriand, 2.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 1.

⁷⁶ Taylor, *The Inuit Print*, 22.

⁷⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Morin and Pontbriand, 15.

international public. These initiatives are indicative of the Department's desire to portray an image of arm's-length support and involvement, and an early effort to negotiate multi-vocal input. Another exhibition, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* (1983) is also valuable to consider as a predecessor to *Transitions*. This exhibition was created with participation from the Department of External Affairs rather than a museum. Like *Transitions*, it assembled contemporary examples of both Native and Inuit art.

Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada

Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada (1983) was an exhibition organized by INAC and circulated by the Department of External Affairs in the 1980s for viewing by international audiences. Similar to *Transitions*, it opened at an international location and toured to only one venue in Canada. Its objective was to present the contemporary aspect of Aboriginal art forms, confirming and solidifying their place and function in the 1980s. The Department of External Affairs initially approached INAC to assemble a show of Native art for the art gallery at the United Nations in New York City, assigned to member nations on a rotating basis.⁷⁸ The exhibit opened at the United Nations General Assembly Building in November 1983. After this location, it toured six institutions,

⁷⁸ Ruth Phillips, personal communication, Mar 2004.

Dr. Ruth Phillips is listed as a guest curator in the exhibition's catalogue, but no other curators are named, even though the Native and Inuit parts of the show were organized separately. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983), inside cover.

Ojibwa-Cree artist Jackson Beardy, then head of the Indian Art Section, co-curated the Indian art component of the exhibition with Phillips. Phillips, personal communication.

finishing at the McMichael Canadian Collection Gallery in Kleinburg, Ontario in the summer of 1985. It is estimated that at least 150,000 visitors attended the exhibit over the course of its itinerary.⁷⁹ Following this tour, a portion of the exhibition continued to travel between October 1985 and 1988 under the title *Contemporary Indian art of Canada*. No reason was provided for the removal of the Inuit artworks, but documents in the exhibition file suggest the exclusion was linked to questions of the financial assistance being received from External Affairs.⁸⁰

Unfortunately, little documentation survives for this international endeavour. Aside from a pamphlet that functioned as a catalogue, the existing exhibition file is thin and reception was modestly recorded. The catalogue does, however, provide basic background information about the show and described selected pieces from the one hundred artworks in the exhibit. The Indian and Inuit works were separately curated and displayed. The Indian works were grouped into four sections: “the expression of paradox (two worlds);” “realism (people and places);” “the exploration of the oral tradition;” and “formalism.” Inuit art was divided into traditional categories of sculpture and printmaking, with a final section titled “the artists” where innovative approaches were briefly explored. These divisions differ significantly from the organization of *Transitions* where Native and Inuit works were integrated and conceptually linked by a single

⁷⁹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Art Centre Archives, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol 4. E 6428-C1, Letter from Stephen Rothwell, Exhibits and Documentation Manager, Indian Art Centre to David General, 21 Aug 1985.

⁸⁰ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Art Centre Archives, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol 5 E 6428-C1, 1986.

common theme.

Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada may be commended for presenting recent (1980s) Native and Inuit art. However, a significant difference between this show and *Transitions* becomes evident upon examination of the UN show's pamphlet. The publication offered no explanation of the show's objectives, and proposed no reason for bringing together Native and Inuit work as a group. An evaluation from one of the hosting museums confirmed the need for further explanation: "It seemed confusing that they were not ALL conceptual or media-related themes. Perhaps more of a transition from Indian to Inuit art, or at least some reasons for displaying them simultaneously could have been explored."⁸¹

Unlike *Transitions*, it is clear that there was no emphasis on the artists' voices in the captions next to each illustrated artwork. In this respect, it is possible to infer that the exhibition's organizers assumed the role of interpretation without reference to the artists or Aboriginal community members. Jackson Beardy, one of the curators of the Indian art, was himself a prominent Woodlands school artist. The question of voice, therefore, was addressed to a certain degree at the curatorial level, even though the artists were not directly involved in this process. A lack of coordination and collaboration between the Native and Inuit art organizers, however, marks a clear distinction between this exhibition and *Transitions*.⁸²

⁸¹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Art Centre Archives, *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol. 4. E 6428-C1, Southwest Museum exhibition evaluation, 1985-1986.

⁸² Phillips, personal communication.

Unlike the reactions to the Indians of Canada Pavilion at *Expo '67*, or the political and sometimes controversial works in *Transitions*, the UN show was structured to propagate the impression of good relations between Aboriginal communities and the Canadian government. At the same time, however, some of the Native artworks were of a postmodern nature, illustrative of a consciousness, on the artists' part, of establishing their place within a Western art-historical hierarchy. For instance, classification of developed categories, such as the Woodland school, was already at play at this time. Also, an awareness of the possibly problematic nature of the exhibit's exclusive content, as an Aboriginal art exhibition, did not go unnoticed by some artists, like Robert Houle, who refused to display his work in this show.⁸³

Expo '86

In the late 1980s, mounting tensions around constitutional negotiations and sovereignty (treaty processes), and discussions between Aboriginal groups in British Columbia and the government over land titles, contributed to the conflict that would develop over controversies about the participation of Aboriginal peoples at *Expo '86* in Vancouver. *Expo '86* was scheduled to coincide with British Columbia's 100th anniversary.⁸⁴ At the time, the province was in a state of economic upheaval and the

⁸³ Phillips, personal communication.

⁸⁴ This event was classified as a " 'special category' fair," a different class of exposition than *Expo '67*, " a 'universal' fair," but it proved to be unexpectedly popular, drawing more international participation than anticipated. Jane O'Hara et al, "The Grand Design of a World's Fair," *Maclean's* 99, 17 Mar 1986, 16-17, 20.

exposition was welcomed with mixed reaction.⁸⁵ In fact, much controversy surrounded the province's position as host of this international endeavour. The theme of the fair, titled "World in Motion: World in Touch," was Transportation and Communications. This subject provided the opportunity for participating nations to demonstrate their technological innovations to an international audience. Canada solidified its place in the global community with the technologically advanced Omnimax Theatre and the Futures Theatre in the Expo Centre, the Advanced Light Rapid Transit (ALRT) system, the B.C. Place Stadium ("Canada's first covered stadium"⁸⁶), and the Canada pavilion, entitled Canada Place. Like other fairs, *Expo '86* was utilized to display a strong national presence and to further construct Canadian identity through association with advanced technology.

The main interest of this exposition for this chapter is the almost complete exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the event. The Aboriginal peoples of Canada were not invited to participate in *Expo '86*, a reversal of previous policy that reflected, not only the fair's theme, but also the political negotiations of the time.⁸⁷ The paucity of documentation concerning Aboriginal exclusion from this national endeavour is also

⁸⁵ For a more in-depth look at British Columbia's fiscal situation prior to Expo, see Brian Fawcett, "Why the Carnival Came to Town; The Politics of Expo 86," *The Canadian Forum* 66, no.759 (May 1986), 10-15.

⁸⁶ The Honourable James J. Hewitt, "British Columbia inherits Expo 86 legacy," *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 57.

⁸⁷ Pauline Douglas and Vera Manuel, "The Show but not the Substance - The Question of Native Participation," in *The Expo Story*, Robert Anderson and Eleanor Wachtel, eds. (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Pub, 1986), 191.

It is also possibly due to the fair's classification as "special" instead of "universal" that the government's approach to funding was different from previous expositions.

surprising.

The question of Native participation at *Expo '86* proved, however, to be controversial. The Vancouver Native Development Village Society (VNDVS) felt Expo could be an opportune moment to voice Aboriginal points of view in the province and lobbied for a place at the exposition.⁸⁸ It was this group's initiative that led to initial funding and planning of the Native pavilion. Not all Aboriginal groups, however, sought a presence at *Expo '86*. The Haida Nation refused to participate in the event due to its political conflict with the government over its land claims.⁸⁹

Despite this opposition, plans for a Native pavilion advanced pending on financial approval from the federal government. Designed by the Native architect Douglas Cardinal, the building was to house "a theatre, restaurant, retail outlets and museum and ceremonial area," designed "circular in shape, to reflect the design of a Salish roundhouse."⁹⁰ Composed of these various components, the pavilion would function as a complete cultural centre.⁹¹

The presence of such a pavilion would have been especially valuable, not only as a forum for Aboriginal voices, but also because few buildings were designed to be

⁸⁸ Douglas and Manuel, 192.

⁸⁹ The Haida Nation also disapproved of the expectations of Native peoples' involvement at the B.C. pavilion, expectations established by the Expo authorities. Miles Richardson, chairman of the Council of the Haida Nation, was not alone to denounce *Expo '86*, "Chief Pat Alfred of the Nimpkish Band ... called for a total boycott of Expo at the December 1985 Assembly of First Nations executive meeting in Ottawa." Douglas and Manuel, 207.

⁹⁰ Douglas and Manuel, 197.

⁹¹ Ibid.

architecturally unique at the fair. Unlike *Expo '67*, where each nation contributed a pavilion in architecture and content, in Vancouver, nations and provinces leased prefabricated units to display their presentations.⁹² This arrangement was due to the fair's classification. The provincial and territorial pavilions were housed in these units and the Inuit were represented in the Northwest Territories pavilion.

Plans for the Native Peoples' pavilion were abandoned once the groups involved were informed that funding would not be available. The administrative negotiations had been misleading and disappointment ensued. In April 1985, Minister of Indian Affairs, David Crombie, contacted Ben Prest, responsible for the project's funding, with the following message:

...As I indicated to the Society in December and February, I fully support your endeavours to participate in Expo 86. Specifically on funding for a Native Pavilion at Expo 86, my department does not have the funds, mandate or Treasure Board authority to fund off-reserve capital projects. I'm sorry I could not be more positive at this time.⁹³

Although plans for the Native Pavilion were unsuccessful, Aboriginal representation was not entirely excluded from *Expo '86*.

In the end, Aboriginal peoples were minimally represented in the Canadian pavilion, but after the events that transpired with the Native Peoples' pavilion, and considering the significance of the land claim discussions occurring at the same time, the representation in the Canadian pavilion was shocking, if not duplicitous. The selected works gave the impression of harmony and good relations between the Aboriginal peoples and the Canadian government. Visitors, if uninformed of the current situation,

⁹² O'Hara et al, 17.

⁹³ Douglas and Manuel, 200.

would know no differently. The Canadian pavilion featured a Haida canoe originally constructed in 1908 and restored by Canadian Museum of Civilization staff for the exposition.⁹⁴ It was claimed as the symbol of the pavilion and Norman Hay, creative director of the Canadian pavilion, stated: "We are delighted to have this exhibit because the canoe was seminal to the exploration and development of Canada."⁹⁵ In addition to the canoe, Simon Dick's *Kwakiutl Thunderbird* was displayed in the pavilion's exterior amphitheatre. Further emphasizing the irony of the situation, the National Museum of Man loaned talking sticks—"the original communications medium of the North American Indian,"⁹⁶—to the Pavilion, further contributing to a misleading image of good relations between the government and the Aboriginal peoples of Canada.

The political tension that transpired at *Expo '86* between the government and Aboriginal people seems to be a retreat from the more positive developments that occurred at *Expo '67*, and even in the *Inuit Print*, where Aboriginal input was part of the organizational process. Government support at *Expo '86* inexplicably evaporated leaving Aboriginal voices silenced at an international event. It is possible that limited spending was permitted due to the nature of the fair, but this reasoning may have also provided the government with an excuse to avoid controversy and its own previous tolerance for dissent. The Expo experience, in this instance, demonstrated how Aboriginal relations

⁹⁴ Ian A. Barclay, "Canada Place: a legacy of excellence and grace to live on after Expo 86," *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 61.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Robbin Frazer, "Vancouver's Expo 86 is Destined to be the Celebration of the Century," *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 48.

with the government and its departments fluctuate.

Conclusion

It has been the aim of this chapter to outline a series of key events in the history of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs' involvement with Aboriginal peoples and particularly, with its promotion of Aboriginal art. I have discussed examples of three different kinds of exhibitions. Each of them included hundreds of works (unlike *Transitions*), and each employed the format of the exhibition as a vehicle to promote Aboriginal art and to confirm Canada's ability to competitively present itself on an international art stage, and as a tolerant multicultural nation. This analysis establishes a comparative framework, outlining the similarities and differences for my discussion of *Transitions*. It is especially the differences between these examples and *Transitions* that highlight the way it departed from the dominant discourse of INAC's previous exhibitions.

The concept of Native participation and voice was introduced with *Expo '67*, the first international event where Aboriginal peoples were allotted organizational authority. This event also marked the government's ability to display self-criticism, an attribute closely linked to its desired image projecting "tolerance." The exclusive presentation of contemporary works was first realized in *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada*, breaking with a curatorial approach that required proof of "progress" to justify contemporary art. All of these issues are linked to questions of the exercise of

governmental power and the construction of national identity, as well as to the role of Aboriginal "voice" in the presentation of Aboriginal art. The subject of identity creation and "recognition" through the display of art will be discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter 2: Analysing the Art, a Process of Recognition

The second chapter will examine the artworks in the exhibition *Transitions* and how they function as carriers and projectors of messages. As I have already mentioned, *Transitions* was comprised of 24 artworks produced by contemporary Inuit and Native artists. Thirteen of the artists are Inuit and eleven are of Native background, originating from communities all across Canada. The artworks were chosen because they illustrate the idea of a culture in transition between different kinds of social and cultural systems. The works address general themes such as: title to land, power relationships, colonialism, environmental issues, and the position of women in society. These are represented through landscapes, portraits, and mixed media compositions that function as personal and political commentaries. The exhibition was comprised of sculptures, collages, drawings, paintings, photographs and mixed media, which often challenge the viewer's expectations of Aboriginal art. For example, Johnny Pootoogook's *Modern Couple from Cape Dorset* (1993) (fig.1) is a large-scale drawing in pen, ink and pencil crayon that depicts an Inuit couple dressed in everyday clothing. By dressing the figures in present-day garments, instead of "traditional" animal skin parkas, Pootoogook removes the couple from a static image of the past and creates a connection with the viewer. While most of these artworks are representative of the artists' individual oeuvres, their presentation as a group set a new precedent. Selected by the government to tour internationally, the works address politics and government, gender and sexuality, and innovative materials and ideas, revealing important attributes about their creators and

their organizers.

In order to explore these themes in more depth, I will examine a number of the works in more detail. Subsequently, I will further analyse and contextualize the artworks by drawing upon Charles Taylor's theory on the politics of recognition to demonstrate how works of art are connected to the identity formation of the artist. This study will consequently illuminate how the government's sponsorship of the show responds to this politics of recognition.

The Artwork

It is possible to read a number of the works in *Transitions* as carriers of specifically political messages. Some of the works by the Indian artists concentrate on conflicts between the government and Aboriginal peoples. Many of those by Inuit artists challenge stereotypes by representing unconventional subject matter, employing modern techniques and materials, and creating unusual compositions. Regardless of this general division, many of the works fall into more than one category at the same time. Shelley Niro successfully presents her opinion on violence against women through an innovative use of photography. Both David Hannan and Jim Logan use portraiture as a tool to delve into larger issues. Hannan explores history and its relation to the present through layers of wax on paint and by recalling a Métis tradition of honouring blankets. Logan, on the other hand, uses a conventional mode of representation, acrylic on canvas, to address colonial power relations and the reversal of the male gaze.

The confrontation of past stereotypes links *Transitions* to earlier shows like *Fluffs and Feathers*,¹ *Visions of Power*² or *Exposed*,³ that were intended to defy the viewer's expectations. These exhibitions, however, were not government initiatives intended to tour internationally.

Politics and the Government

Jane Ash Poitras

Jane Ash Poitras' contribution to this exhibition, *Oka Spirit Power* (1990), is a direct response to the events that transpired in 1990 in Oka, Quebec, when a dispute over land ownership turned into a 78-day stand-off between Mohawk Indians and government

¹ *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*, employed an historical approach to visual culture to examine stereotypes and symbols of Native people. It also discussed questions of empowerment, as well as its opposite, appropriation. Deborah Doxtator, *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness* (Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1988).

² *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians* assembled artworks by artists from these three cultural backgrounds. It was organized for The Earth Spirit Festival that took place at Harbourfront in Toronto in 1991. The works in this exhibition were selected based on "individual artistic achievement as the primary criteria..." and the show's main theme was cultural persistence. *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: The Earth Spirit Festival, 1991), 5.

³ *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art* addressed the lack of 'exposure' for works containing erotic themes and provided a forum for their representation. In the words of one of the curators, Lee-Ann Martin, "EXPOSED interrogates the irony of dominant community standards defined by a Euro-Canadian society that is, simultaneously, afraid of and fascinated with sex. The artists celebrate diverse, personal explorations of erotic art as a first step in reclaiming a dialogue on sexuality, relationships and intimacy within First Nations contexts." Lee-Ann Martin, "Reclaiming Desire," in *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art* (Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1999), 37.

authorities.⁴ In her work, she comments on the clash between cultural and economic values, in particular, beliefs about the treatment of land. Like many of the artist's works, *Oka Spirit Power* (fig.2) fuses acrylic paint and images collaged onto a canvas surface. The large scale (one and a half metres long by one metre high) of the work is covered with images and symbolism in a multitude of colours. Four evenly-spaced photographs create a horizontal row across the middle of the canvas forming a central band. Each photograph has writing above it in red, green or white, while the subject of each photograph corresponds to a conflict or a significant event between Native and non-Native peoples. On the far left, is a black and white photograph by photographer Edward Curtis entitled *Clayoquot Girl* (c.1915) and it features the face of a smiling girl.⁵ The words "Legacy 1300" are written above the image in red, and the letters "ABC" are scratched in blue underneath it, a reference to the blackboard and to Native peoples' experiences at residential schools. These alphabet letters also refer to a concept found in other paintings by Poitras of effacing Native culture with Western culture, and the canvas' black background further supports this idea.⁶

The next photograph pictures a male figure in a heavily layered coat and

⁴ A comprehensive reference on the Oka Crisis and its media coverage by the CBC is available through CBC's archives and is accessible on the internet. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "The Oka Crisis," *CBC Archives*.

http://archives.cbc.ca/IDD-1-71-99/conflict_war/oka/

⁵ Edward Curtis (1868-1952) photographed Native Peoples documenting various aspects of their culture. His comprehensive collection of over 2000 photogravure plates was assembled in publication *The North American Indian*. The Library of Congress, *Edward S. Curtis's The North American Indian* (25 April 2001).

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award98/ienhtml/curthome.html>

⁶ Margaret Archuleta, "The Fourth Biennial Native American Fine Arts Invitational at the Heard Museum," *American Indian Art Magazine* no.1 (Winter 1989), 60.

headpiece. The words "Hamasat 1700" (Hamatsa) appear above the photo in red, alluding to a traditional dance of the Kwakiutl where dancers tame a cannibal spirit. The inclusion of this photograph refers to the government's banning of various Aboriginal traditions. The 1884 amendment of the Indian Act forbade the potlatch ceremony.⁷ The third photograph depicts a young adult, t-shirt clad, with a bandana wrapped around his nose and mouth, one of the young warriors who participated in the standoff at Oka. The word "LAND" is stencilled in white above the photograph, exemplifying a third instance of disharmony between Native and non-Native peoples; in this case over land issues.

The last photograph is a contemporary colour image of six older adult men seated in a row. A red circle has been drawn around the head of the third man from the left. The words "car (auto)" appear above it. It is possible that the image refers to the changing roles of elders, or maybe, if the men are war veterans, the image is linked back to issues concerning land.

In addition to these words and text, newspaper articles appear all over the work. They are partially concealed with paint and drawings of figures, horses, and colourful symbols that the artist has painted on and around them. The newspaper clippings and the painted imagery represent different interpretations of current events and culture. Through layers of meaning, Poitras creates a new narrative. Gerald McMaster has related this physical layering of painted and collaged images to Poitras' characteristic use of her art

⁷ Tom Hill, "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective," *Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers* (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984), 13.

to “express the many layers of her being.”⁸ Catherine Bédard has also alluded to this attribute: “... a painting, in the hands of Jane Ash Poitras, is ‘occupied’ by the complex interlocking of multiple levels and modes of representation, the pulsing memory of colliding times.”⁹

The photographs and text in the artwork, however, are loaded images. The artist assumes a position of defiance (to a certain degree) by presenting portions of imagery that are dense with meaning without much instruction for the viewer. The transmission of the work’s message is dependent on the viewer’s familiarity with the current political events and history experienced by Native peoples. The artist places the responsibility of actively reading the work into the viewer’s hands, an approach which may inspire some viewers to learn more about the meaning of the work, but which can also result in an incomplete interaction with the work, preventing the artist’s political message from being heard.

Ron Noganosh

Ron Noganosh’s three-dimensional piece *Does Anybody Know What Time it is?* (1988) plays with the notion of recognizable motifs and objects to assert his political views. Assembling a variety of materials, indeed playing with the concept of “found

⁸ Gerald McMaster, “Jane Ash Poitras: An Indian in Paris,” in *Osopikahikiwak: Jane Ash Poitras/Rick Rivet* (Paris: Services culturels de l’Ambassade du Canada, 1999), 28.

⁹ Catherine Bedard, “Osopikahikiwak... and Painting,” in *Osopikahikiwak: Jane Ash Poitras/Rick Rivet* (Paris: Services culturels de l’Ambassade du Canada, 1999), 18-19.

objects,” Noganosh provokes controversy. He regularly constructs his works from “man’s refuse,” his “material of choice.”¹⁰ By recycling other people’s used items the artist makes a strong statement about environmental degradation.

Does Anybody Know What Time it is? (fig. 3) is composed of a number of elements. At the base of the sculpture, a replica of an AK47 rifle is positioned on a rifle case with a scattering of empty cartridges around it. The choice of artillery is significant since the AK47 was the preferred weapon of “all the insurgent guerrillas everywhere.”¹¹ The rifle is placed vertically on its end with its barrel pointing upwards. Three soup cans are carefully arranged on top of the rifle extending the sculpture’s height. Their motifs recall Andy Warhol’s Campbell’s soup can series, creating an instant avenue of accessibility between the work and the viewer’s world. In an interview, Noganosh also mentioned the link between Warhol’s famous statement about everyone having fifteen minutes of fame in our increasingly consumer-oriented society, and his own sculpture.¹² Noganosh has altered the labels to reference past relations between Native peoples and the government.¹³ Part of a horse’s skull crowns the sculpture, and an Indian figure emerges from a womb-like opening at the back of the skull, painted like the earth. A camera lens sits in the eye socket, while a computer chip acts as the pupil. A Mickey

¹⁰ Tom Hill, “Ron Noganosh: A Postmodern Warrior,” in *Ron Noganosh: It Takes Time* (Ottawa: Ottawa Art Gallery, 2001), 32.

¹¹ Ron Noganosh, in discussion with the author, 5 Mar 2004.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ The soup cans consisted of labels such as: Canada’s Cream of Conquering Hero Treaty, and Canada’s Cream of Bullshit Treaty. Noganosh, discussion.

Mouse watch hangs from the whole ensemble inspiring the title of the work. The entire sculpture stands about a metre and half high.

The side-by-side placement of objects that a viewer does not expect to see together creates a thought-provoking effect. Together, this assemblage conveys a frightening message. The combination of a rifle, an object associated with “rebellion and riot,”¹⁴ with the notion of “fifteen minutes of fame,” should be cause for alarm and discussion. The work urges the necessity of fighting for rights, a topical theme directly related to pertinent Aboriginal issues in Canada.¹⁵ The Mickey Mouse watch symbolizes capitalism, and that it is time to “quit messing around with this Mickey-Mouse business and get down to something serious.”¹⁶ The Warhol reference alludes to the value of popular art, and the electronic chips denote the unavoidable technology of the twenty-first century.

Does Anybody Know What Time it is? caused controversy during the exhibition’s sojourn in Paris, the first site of the exhibition’s itinerary. The Canadian Prime Minister’s aide asked that the piece be removed from the show because the rifle/soup can composition was “too harsh for the gentle feelings of diplomacy.”¹⁷ However, the suggestion that the work be censored outraged the other artists, who threatened to remove

¹⁴ Noganosh, discussion.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Michael Scott, “Inuit and Indian art defies typecasting in show at Museum of Anthropology,” *The Vancouver Sun*, Entertainment, 11 July 1998, C2.

their works from the exhibition if Noganosh's piece was not presented.¹⁸ This unified protest led the government representatives to suggest the work be displayed in isolation, in a separate room. This was also unacceptable to the artists, and Noganosh's sculpture remained on display for the opening at the Canadian Cultural Centre, though under heavy supervision by a number of officials.¹⁹

It is valuable to note the mixed reaction to this artwork, especially since the organizing government departments were aware of its political nature, prior to its display in Paris. In fact, part of the message these departments wished to convey was their liberalism and support for freedom of expression.²⁰ However, as described above, the work came close to being censored by the Canadian Prime Minister's aide, which tested the Canadian government's support for free speech. This situation demonstrated that recognition is not synonymous with acceptance.

Jim Logan

The final piece, whose political meanings I would like to discuss, is Jim Logan's *Olympian* (1991). The work was originally part of the artist's *The Classical Aboriginal Series*, which "repainted" famous Western "masterpieces" because "the juxtapositioning, superimposing, or the re-painting of such works offer the audience an interesting

¹⁸ Noganosh, discussion.

¹⁹ The artist recounted this chain of events. Noganosh, discussion.

²⁰ Vivian Gray, in discussion with the author, 8 Jan 2004.

perspective on art....”²¹ On a superficial level, the series’ success depended on the viewer’s ability to identify the reference, but on a deeper level, Logan used art historical “language” to address political and gender-related issues.

Logan’s *Olympian* (fig.4) displays a nude, reclining male figure who blatantly stares out at the viewer, parodying Edouard Manet’s *Olympia* (1863) by reversing the roles of the dominant and subservient characters. By replacing Olympia with a Native male figure, and her servant with a white male tuxedo-clad waiter, the artist alters the discourse long associated with the original painting. Power relations are inverted, and the question of the gendered gaze is reversed. Manet’s *Olympia* was controversial and revolutionary because the artist depicted a prostitute as empowered and showed her gazing directly at the viewer. Her confidence and direct look defied previous conventions, where the female figure was the timid object of a male’s gaze. By replacing Olympia with a Native figure is Logan suggesting that his sitter has been oppressed by colonialism in a manner parallel to the exploitation of women in patriarchal societies?

Jim Logan also leads the viewer to reflect on stereotypes. The lush parlour of Manet’s *Olympia* becomes the interior of a tepee, and the Olympian lies on the red, yellow, green and blue-striped blanket, which most Canadians have come to associate with the Hudson’s Bay Company. The waiter extends a bottle of wine to him — a reference to the alcoholism often purposely induced by white traders. All of these elements constitute critical commentaries on colonization, persistent social problems and

²¹ Jim Logan, *Artist Statement* (2000).
<http://www.jimlogan.net/cv.html>

stereotypes that affect Native peoples. Logan's *Olympian* shifts the assumed position of the native man in relation to white man, and to western art-historical discourse, demanding an acknowledgement of the real-life situations of Native peoples.

Gender and Sexuality

In addition to these more general politics of identity, Jim Logan's work also participates in the critique of gender and sexuality, themes contained in a second group of works in *Transitions*. This group includes artworks by Shelley Niro, Oviloo Tunnillie, Taqialuk Nuna and Alex Alikashuak.

Gender

Shelley Niro

Shelley Niro's *The Iroquois is a Highly Developed Matriarchal Society* (1991) (fig.5) horizontally juxtaposes three hand-touched photographs framed by a black matt. The matting is pierced with small holes that create a decorative border on the bottom half of the work. The entire piece is almost a metre long, and half a metre high.

The main subject of the photographs is the artist's mother who is sitting under a hairdryer, laughing. A kitchen functions as the backdrop in the images; the stove, table and chairs are visible behind the sitter. The three photographs are almost identical; varying slightly in colour and in the positioning of the figure, the added dashes of yellow and red become more intense on the dome-shaped hairdryer and the objects on the table

in each picture. It is the state of “normalcy” in this scene that indicates the way “Niro is especially sensitive to how both white and native social values control and manipulate women.”²² In this work, the artist questions the expectations of women to be physically beautiful, and like Jim Logan, uses humour, to question what truly lies behind the laughter. The artist’s statement in the catalogue explicitly addresses domestic violence as a reality for many women and speaks out in opposition to violence against women, calling people to action, and urging them to reveal the truth behind the myth of matriarchal societies.

Oviloo Tunnillie

Another work that may be read for its commentary on gender roles is Oviloo Tunnillie’s contribution to the exhibition. Tunnillie is known for the sensual qualities of her sculptures of female figures, as well as for the social issues her works address, although she has often denied any link to social criticism.²³ Her work in *Transitions*, *Torso* (1996) (fig.6), is sculpted from an olive green serpentine stone speckled with yellow veins. *Torso* portrays a seated figure whose knees are pulled up to the body, and whose chest is protruding as if the figure has just inhaled deeply. As the title suggests,

²² James Patten, *Shelley Niro: Sense of Self* (London: London Regional Art and Historical Museums, 1993), 3.

²³ The sculptures *Thought Creates Meaning* (c.1980) and *Woman Passed Out* (1987) may both be read as commentaries on substance abuse, and were featured in the exhibition *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*. The artist included the following statement next to the illustrations of these works: “This is a work of aesthetic inspiration and not intended as a social commentary.” Odette Leroux, Marion E. Jackson and Minnie Aodla Freeman, eds., *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994), 229, 235.

the figure is headless with no hands or feet. Although less overt than Tunnillie's other works, *Torso* is still suggestive of the objectification of the female body, and possibly, the violent truncation of female agency through societal expectations.

Sexuality

Another subject that reoccurs in this exhibition, also unusual for government-organized shows that travel internationally, is the theme of sexual relations. Sexual undertones exist in the works presented by two of the Inuit artists: Taqialuk Nuna and Alex Alikashuak. This confirms, as co-curator July Papatsie states: "Inuit artists are perfectly capable of creating nudes...."²⁴ The presence of these sculptures helps fill a void created by "the insufficiency of dialogue on sexuality, intimacy and sexual imagery in the Aboriginal community."²⁵

Taqialuk Nuna

Taqialuk Nuna's sculpture *Deep Kiss* (1996) (fig.7) is created of serpentine stone, a material that is frequently employed in sculpture from the Arctic. However, the solidity of the stone is counteracted by the intimate scene of a nude couple passionately embracing. The couple is upright and the woman's legs are wrapped around the man's waist. The effect is highly explicit, yet the delicacy of the man's posture towards the

²⁴ Scott, C2.

²⁵ Morgan Wood, "Erotic," in *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art* (Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1999), 9.

woman comes across in the polished stone, leaving the viewer with a sense of intruding on a private moment.

The treatment of the stone is attention grabbing. It is striking that the composition of the sculpture is middle and top-heavy, leaving the piece to balance precariously on the male figure's feet. The work is fashioned from a single piece of stone, meshing the two figures together until they culminate at the top with the couple's heads. The two heads are joined in a delicate kiss, while light passes through the space between their chins and their bodies. The rough texture of the hair creates a startling contrast with the rest of the sculpture, further emphasizing the delicacy of the kiss. The artist has stated: "I carved *Deep Kiss* from the shapes I saw in the stone...",²⁶ a traditional approach to creating sculpture.

It is valuable to note the way art critics discussed this work. Instead of framing the work within the context of erotica in Aboriginal cultures, as was the case in the exhibition *Exposed*, reviewers resorted to comparisons with Western art. In France the sculpture was received "...as a direct and ironic homage to Rodin."²⁷ As I mentioned in the previous chapter, in my discussion of the exhibition *Sculpture/Inuit*, relating to Western iconography seems to be a typical response of art critics.

²⁶ Taqialuk Nuna, *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997), 48.

²⁷ Scott, C2.

Alex Alikashuak

The sexual theme in Alex Alikashuak's work *Unity* (1996) is subtler than in Taqialuk Nuna's *Deep Kiss*, but it is nonetheless a crucial element of the piece. *Unity* (fig.8) is smaller than the pieces discussed thus far, measuring approximately 25 cm in height. It depicts two intertwined figures carved from fossilized walrus bone. The artist's manner of positioning the figures is suggestive of simultaneous closeness and remoteness; the figures are proximate, but a distance is insinuated between them since they do not face each other. The material, fossilized walrus bone, also reflects this notion, since its porous nature exudes solidity and emptiness at the same time. The artist further emphasizes the presence of this contradictory relationship with an oblong hole that pierces the bottom half of the work. This space is crossed only by a sliver of walrus bone, which suggests fragility within a reinforced structure. The artist used both negative and positive space to achieve the effects of this composition.

According to the catalogue text, Alikashuak was inspired by the difference between traditional and church marriages for this sculpture.²⁸ Therefore, a strong social concern, that is not obvious from the sculpture's subject matter, anchors the work. It is noteworthy that the artist employs his art as a means of sharing these anxieties with others. Like *Deep Kiss*, the intimate nature of *Unity* testifies to a deviation from the type of Inuit art usually exhibited to international audiences.

²⁸ Alex Alikashuak, *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997), 14.

Materials and Ideas

As I discussed in Alex Alikashuak's *Unity*, there is a powerful connection between the materials an artist employs and the form or message of the artwork. The following works also defy past stereotypes of Aboriginal art by challenging the viewer with new subject matter and/or the use of unexpected materials. These works move away from themes of transformation and shamanism, from the "fluffs and feathers" of past Aboriginal art.²⁹ It has been noted that co-curator July Papatsie's "... goal for *Transitions* was to show an international public that Inuit art is 'no longer just about polar bears and seals. Inuit artists want to use modern equipment to go beyond what is expected of Inuit art...'.³⁰ I will examine Lance Belanger's *Cultural Transition* (1989), David Hannan's *A Blanket for My Grandparents* (1995), Michael Massie's *Standing in a Circle* (1996) and Mattiusi Iyaituk's *The Thigh of Caribou with Bits of Fat* (1992) for their combinations of "traditional" and contemporary materials and ideas.

Lance Belanger

Lance Belanger's painting, *Cultural Transition* (fig.9), successfully bridges traditional and contemporary materials and modes of thinking. The artist composed this work from two pieces of sealskin attached to a black background. The top piece of sealskin is derived from the head of the seal, while the bottom portion is shaped into a

²⁹ The expression "fluffs and feathers" is borrowed from the exhibition *Fluffs and Feathers: an exhibit on the symbols of Indianness*. See footnote #1 in this chapter for more detail.

³⁰ Wendy MacIntyre, "Contemporary Aboriginal Art Exhibit from DIAND's Collection Wows Paris," *Transition Newsletter* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, April 1997,) 7.

circle. A circuit board is situated at the centre of each skin. Each part distinguishes itself from the next by its colour, grey, black or green, and its texture.

Cultural Transition combines sealskin, a staple of Native communities from the contact period, and circuit boards, the key to communication devices in the 20th/21st centuries. Each is a symbol of the way a material substance linked separate communities together. The artist not only bridges the past and the present in his choice of media, but also blurs the boundaries between conventional forms of visual representation. In the exhibition catalogue he refers to the work as a painting, however, the three-dimensional qualities of the attached sealskin and circuit boards give the work sculptural qualities. Hence, the artist succeeds in blending the usually separate zones of painting and sculpture.

In the catalogue text, Belanger stresses the way the materials appeal to his “personal sense of aesthetics.”³¹ He selected the materials not only for their historical implications, but also for their physical properties. With this work Belanger questions the viewer’s expectations by incorporating traditional materials with computer parts in an aesthetically coherent composition. The artist brings together otherwise unrelated objects and materials, and in so doing gives them a new meaning. He created a work that became an emblem for change.³² This work was also featured on the exhibition’s publicity postcards at its most recent location, the Russian Museum of Ethnography in St.

³¹ Lance Belanger, *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* (Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997), 24.

³² *Cultural Transition* was essential to the existence of *Transitions* since it provided the initial inspiration for the theme of the show. Gray, discussion.

Petersburg.³³

David Hannan

David Hannan's work *A Blanket for My Grandparents* (1995) (fig.10) is both a portrait and a personal commentary.³⁴ The artist depicts his grandparents standing next to each other from the waist up. The figures are pictured in yellow and beige making them stand out against the black background. They are framed by two red horizontal bands of colour, one at the top and the second at the bottom of the canvas. Hannan combines wax, oil and photo-emulsion to blend historical subject matter with contemporary materials, and the work's success is highly dependent on the suitability of this technique to the content of the work.

Like the work of Jane Ash Poitras, layering is a prominent aspect of David Hannan's work. In this case, the physical quality of the layering process is visible in the texture of the wax, which is filled with pigment, blurring the boundaries between the viewer and the image underneath. Hannan refers to the significance of this process: "My work is ... about...the relationship of history to the present; how it effects us as knowledge. As you can see I believe the effect is complex, buried; at times partially

³³ It was not the first time *Cultural Transition* appeared in the public eye; the work was previously part of another notable exhibition, *Visions of Power*. For more information about this exhibition see footnote #2 in this chapter.

³⁴ It is also possible to classify the works of Jim Logan, Shelley Niro, Johnny Pootoogook and Carl Beam as portraits.

erased, faded; but still powerful and compelling.”³⁵ The artist’s objective is to “give more of a voice to the images and the stories, but then also sort of playing with those layers and scratching.”³⁶

David Hannan used this technique in a series of his works, entitled *Hidden Heroes*, shown at Gallery 101 in Ottawa in 1998.³⁷ This collection also explored the concept of layering using photographs and wax. As one review stated: “The effect is that of pigments built up to rich colour fields that obscure and inform the photographs.”³⁸ The artist calls these works his blanket series, a project whose conception dates back to his time in art school, where he originally combined blankets and images.³⁹ He explains that “back then it was just trying to take these images out of these textbooks and giving them more of a voice. And honouring them in these blanket ideas.”⁴⁰ Hannan continues to use innovative techniques to create a forum for historical topics. Through contemporary tactics he addresses difficult issues that reflect being Métis in Canada.

Mattiusi Iyaituk

Mattiusi Iyaituk depicts a caribou thigh in his artwork *The Thigh of Caribou with*

³⁵ David Hannan, Artist Statement (2003).
<http://home.the-wire.com/~dhannan/html/art001.html>

³⁶ David Hannan, in discussion with the author, 19 Feb 2004.

³⁷ *A Blanket for My Grandparents* was not part of the exhibition *Hidden Heroes*, but was produced with a similar approach and in the same time period.

³⁸ Donna Wawzonek, “Creation’s laughter in native art,” *The Ottawa Citizen*, Arts, 7 Apr 1998, F3.

³⁹ Hannan, discussion.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Bits of Fat (1992) (fig.11). The flesh of the thigh is sculpted of a dark and uniform serpentine stone, while the thighbone is L-shaped and is composed of caribou antler. The thigh is resting on one side of the “L” leaving the other end of the bone pointing into the air. One end of the muscle is missing, exposing even more bone. This receded part of the muscle is rough and unfinished unlike the remainder of the flesh, which is smooth and finely polished. The artist also blends the temporal stages of this animal’s life by incorporating caribou antler into the work; it functions as the skeleton of the piece unifying its parts. Ingo Hessel has referred to the lines and curves in Mattiusi Iyaituk’s work as “fluid and sensuous,” and commented on the artist’s ability to play successfully with the light and dark elements of his materials.⁴¹

The caribou is often depicted in Inuit art because it was a staple of many northern communities, where hunting was essential for survival. In Mattiusi Iyaituk’s presentation, the caribou’s thigh is presented on its own and it becomes a symbol of a people’s dependence on the caribou. In its own way, the sculpture commemorates a reality that was once shared by many northern communities.

Michael Massie

Michael Massie incorporates a traditional meat-carving tool, the ulu,⁴² into his small-scale sculpture. *Standing in a Circle* (1996) (fig.12) is only 7 cm high and is

⁴¹ Ingo Hessel, “Contemporary Inuit Art,” in *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: The Earth Spirit Festival, 1991), 10.

⁴² Women in Arctic camps traditionally used the ulu as a knife. The blade’s curved shape (like a half-circle) facilitates the cutting process.

composed of sterling silver and tulip wood. This work transforms the ulu into a structural pylon that, in a team of three, supports a silver dish. Each member of this tripod is placed on an angle so that from end to end the group creates a triangle. The wooden handles of the ulus function as the base that the circular silver dish rests on. The interior of this concave platter is incised with oval organic forms. In order to best observe the design on the platter, a close proximity to the object is required. Such an inspection is similar to the approach one uses with jewellery: cautious and attentive. There is an appropriate connection between the ulu as the underlying structure of this piece and its previous role as the tool central to the domestic sphere.

It is not unusual to regard the ulu as an essential implement in Inuit tradition, for it assisted women daily with their domestic tasks. Here the artist transforms this domestic object into a sculpture removing its utilitarian function and rendering it an object to observe. This gesture may be interpreted as a way of honouring the tool's importance. Massie brought all of these elements together in a unique manner by taking familiar subject matter and creating a new context for it.

The important thing to take away from the study of these artworks is that the artists have actively chosen to create works that alter the expectations of the viewer. These works force the viewer to consider the culture and the people that produced the art in a different way.

The Politics of Recognition

As these works demonstrate, the works of art in *Transitions* challenge many expectations of Aboriginal art. In order to better understand the significance of the exhibit's departure from more conventional work, I will draw on Charles Taylor's theory of the politics of recognition. The works in *Transitions* are extensions of the artists' states of consciousness. Artists use their works to comment on contemporary issues that directly affect their lives, and they serve as a medium for their messages.

In his essay, *Multiculturalism and 'The Politics of Recognition,'* McGill philosopher Charles Taylor discusses recognition as a process through which external acknowledgement and respect voiced or demonstrated through media of communication contribute to an individual's sense of identity. He argues that recognition occurs in two spheres: intimate and public. Within the public sphere, Taylor writes,

The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *misrecognition* of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves.⁴³

Conversely, the presence of recognition or positive representation produces a confident and secure self-image.

The politics of recognition is based on a mix between the politics of equality and the politics of difference.⁴⁴ The politics of equality is anchored to the principle that

⁴³ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 25.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 39.

everyone is entitled to respect regardless of any differences.⁴⁵ The politics of difference stresses "... the unique identity of [an] individual or group, their distinctness from everyone else."⁴⁶ Taylor further elaborates: "...the politics of difference often redefines nondiscrimination as requiring that we make these distinctions the basis of differential treatment."⁴⁷ Does contemporary Aboriginal art strive for "equality," or does it aim to play on the politics of difference emphasizing its "distinctness from everyone else?" I believe that the exhibition *Transitions* demonstrates that Aboriginal art attempts to find a balance between these two categories. Therefore, Taylor's theory of recognition provides an appropriate solution by stressing the importance of what the work brings to the artist and the community. The viewer's part in the process of recognition will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Taylor believes that identity is constructed through interactions with others because identities are created through dialogue.⁴⁸ In applying this theory to the framework of my thesis, the messages communicated by the artists through their artworks help to contribute to positive identity formation. It is the act of presenting an aspect of oneself to others (dialogue), and having it seen, acknowledged and respected—hence recognized—that enables identity to be formed. In addition to providing artists with a means of conveying their present realities to others, the

⁴⁵ Taylor, 41.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 38.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 39.

⁴⁸ Ibid, 37.

exhibition *Transitions* works to achieve “recognition,” in Taylor’s sense, in two ways: a) The exhibition displays Aboriginal artists as contemporary artists, equal to other contemporary Canadian artists, showing artworks that allow Aboriginal artists to present their concerns, and ways of life; b) A presentation of this nature destabilizes the stereotype of the “Imaginary Indian,”⁴⁹ because the artists depict their communities as they see themselves, not through romantic stereotypes.

Recognition is a virtue since “it declar[es] another culture’s creations to be of worth,”⁵⁰ which is a “genuine expression of respect.”⁵¹ Therefore, the existence of *Transitions* testifies to the government’s effort to improve its relationship with Aboriginal peoples. Charles Taylor has outlined a positive link between the presentation of art that challenges past and stereotypical images of Aboriginal art, with the identity formation of the artist. When curators select thought-provoking and confrontational art for an exhibition, they actively contribute to the process of recognition because they aid the procedure by supplying the artists with a forum to communicate their messages.

Conclusion

It has been my objective in this chapter to take a closer look at some of the works

⁴⁹ In his book Daniel Francis discusses the origins and perpetuation of a specific image of Native peoples through many forms of contemporary visual culture. Francis also examines how the “Indian” is a construction of non-Native peoples (hence the term imaginary) that functioned as an aid in fulfilling the notion of Native Peoples as “pure” peoples, in tune with their land and therefore their identity. Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 4.

⁵⁰ Taylor, 69.

⁵¹ Ibid, 69-70.

in *Transitions*, and to demonstrate how the presence of these artworks at international galleries and museums may have a positive impact on the identities of the artists, as they imagine themselves and as others see them. I have also shown that in the process of providing the artists a forum to display their present realities, their artworks move from a realm that encourages the image of the “Imaginary Indian” towards being accepted as contemporary art. My analysis was made possible through the application of the politics of recognition, a theoretical framework that was derived by Charles Taylor. The concept of recognition is a layered procedure with ramifications that go beyond simply acknowledging the existence of a certain kind of artwork. When the politics of recognition are at play, an individual’s positive image of oneself flourishes due to reinforcement based on respect.

The creation of the artworks by the artists permits an exhibition of this genre to exist and to travel internationally and represent Canada. Consequently, the exhibition of art is a reflection of the society that organizes it. The following chapter will consider this aspect of the exhibition—its organizational process—and, specifically the issue of curatorship.

Chapter 3: Curatorship and Reception

Curatorship, as a practice of mediating between artists and viewers, is an integral part of an exhibition's presentation and success. The objective of this section is twofold: to closely examine the curatorial process in *Transitions*, and to consider its results by analysing how the show was received around the world. I will also contextualize the exhibition through Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's concept of the "post-museum" and argue that the goals, organization and presentation of *Transitions* reflect this model.

The curatorial process in *Transitions* had three components. Two government departments, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT), funded the exhibition, while the Indian and Inuit Art Centres of INAC curated the exhibition. The curators also relied on input from the artists creating a collaborative effort, which reflects INAC's attempt to decentralize power within the Department and allocate agency to Aboriginal peoples by including Aboriginal perspectives in the exhibition.¹

Collaborative Curatorship

INAC and DFAIT coordinated different aspects of this international endeavour, and they both contributed financially to the undertaking. Internationally, this exhibit was

¹ The process of devolution and dispersal of responsibilities is complex and was discussed in Chapter One. The Indian and Inuit Art Sections experienced these changes in a unique way. On the one hand, the Inuit Art Section's collection was divided and sent off to several institutions. On the other hand, the Indian Art Section increased its responsibilities with regard to scholarship and collection. This exhibition demonstrated that even though relocating other responsibilities of the Department was a positive advancement, a central organization for art scholarship is useful—even necessary—to assure access, organization and continued support of Aboriginal art.

a means of showing contemporary Canadian Aboriginal art to a broad audience, while on a more local scale it can be seen as a political strategy to improve relations with Canada's Aboriginal peoples.

As a government department, DFAIT is responsible for all contact between Canada and its international community. This department's mandate clearly states that it is responsible for:

The projection of Canadian values and culture in the world by promoting universal respect for human rights, the development of participatory government and stable institutions, the rule of law, sustainable development, the celebration of Canadian culture, and the promotion of Canadian cultural and educational industries abroad.²

DFAIT's principal contributions to *Transitions* were to fund and promote the event. Its officials also acted as Canadian liaisons at the host institutions and were often involved in the coordination of cultural events or celebrations that took place at the same time as the exhibition's presentation.³ DFAIT provided the overall framework for the event to transpire at international locations, and established publicity for the exhibition.⁴

Although each department had its respective responsibilities, communication between the two was essential, and according to the head curator, Viviane Gray, this unique relationship was key to the success of the show. As she explained, the show "was

² Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Key Objectives of Canada's Foreign Policy," *Our Mandate* (Feb 2003).

<http://www.dfa-it-maeci.gc.ca/department/mandate-en.asp>

³ Yves Pépin, correspondence with the author, 23 Mar 2004.

⁴ Yves Pépin described the nature the DFAIT's promotional activities in the following manner: "Promotional activities can involve announcements in missions newsletters and websites, sharing lists of privileged contacts as well as sharing costs of publicity, invitation cards, catalogues, opening receptions and other items." Pépin, correspondence.

developed in consultation with another government department. There were many heads, not just one person, many people contributed to the choice of work, to the whole look of the exhibition, to the future of the exhibition....”⁵ Yves Pépin, Head of Visual and Media Arts, Arts and Cultural Industries Promotion Division of DFAIT, also confirmed the importance of collaboration in this project: “...there was a true collaborative effort between all parties involved, particularly between our missions and the Indian Art Centre, to ensure that the exhibition and the artists would benefit from as much visibility as possible.”⁶

The next level of organization occurred within INAC, between the Indian and Inuit Art Centres where curators Barry Ace (Indian Art), July Papatsie (Inuit art) and the chief of the two centres, Viviane Gray, worked together to assemble the show. Their mandate was to formulate an exhibition of Aboriginal art for the opening of the newly renovated Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris.⁷ Therefore, the curators selected works that embodied the chosen theme of contemporaneity, which was reflective both of the image of the new centre and of recent work being produced by Aboriginal artists. It appears that for organizational purposes the works were classified as Indian or Inuit, but this division did not dictate a particular order for their display, or create a disharmony in the overall show. Unlike the exhibition *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* (discussed in

⁵ Viviane Gray, in discussion with the author, 8 Jan 2004.

⁶ Pépin, correspondence.

⁷ The Centre underwent an eleven-month, six million dollar renovation. Bruce Dorminey, “Canadian Cultural Centre reopens,” *The Globe and Mail*, International News, 22 Jan 1997, A12.

Chapter One), which grouped Inuit and Indian works separately for research and for presentation, the works in *Transitions* functioned as an integrated group addressing a common theme, even though each work offered a unique perspective.

Most of the Native artworks were selected from the Indian Art Centre's holdings. However, it was necessary to purchase the Inuit artworks since INAC had dispersed its Inuit art collection to other institutions nearly a decade earlier. Correspondence between Brent DiBartolo, Assistant Deputy Minister and Shirley Serafini, Associate Deputy Minister, provides the justification for these purchases. DiBartolo wrote:

Although a loan of Inuit artwork from other public collections is certainly a viable alternative, I feel it would also be a proactive gesture of goodwill to support the economic development of Inuit art by purchasing several new works for this exhibition. This will not only enhance the quality of the exhibition, but also continue to support and promote the artists in the future, through office decoration and loans to other national and international art exhibitions.⁸

This was a significant decision not only because it set an example for other institutions, but also because it demonstrated government support for this art form. INAC's objectives have been to support Aboriginal art all along, but with *Transitions*, the purchases allowed the curators to select the works they felt reflected the theme of the show.

INAC also secured the venues for the exhibition's itinerary, and coordinated safe transportation and storage of the works while in transit.⁹ Potential exhibition sites were chosen and the museums were sent detailed information packages complete with slides to outline the goals and logistics of the exhibition.¹⁰

⁸ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Transitions* Exhibition File, Vol. 7. NCR-E 6409-4, Correspondence from Brent DiBartolo to Shirley Serafini, May 1996.

⁹ Gray, discussion.

¹⁰ Ibid.

The process of bringing Native and Inuit art forms together was not seamless. Inuit curator July Papatsie mentioned that “a lot of people had said a combined exhibition would not work.”¹¹ However, journalist Wendy MacIntyre also quoted him as stating that the works displayed well together because they reflected core values and experiences shared by Indian and Inuit peoples.¹² Indeed, the goal of the exhibition was not only to assemble various forms of Aboriginal art, but to highlight its contemporary nature. In addition to these objectives, an attempt was made to empower the artists by increasing the extent of their participation.

The artworks were also presented in the exhibition catalogue through reproductions and interpretive texts. Each curator contributed an essay to the catalogue. Barry Ace, of Anishnabe background, wrote a text addressing specific issues and artistic innovations related to the Indian art in the show, and July Papatsie, of Inuit background, provided the Inuit art counterpart in his text.

It is worthwhile to mention the curators' Aboriginal backgrounds since the lack of Aboriginal curatorship is still regarded as a problem in the Aboriginal arts community.¹³ According to Dorothy Speak, a curator and Inuit art specialist, indigenous people “are insisting more and more that they be recognized and consulted as experts on their own

¹¹ Wendy MacIntyre, “Contemporary Aboriginal Art Exhibit from DIAND’s Collection Wows Paris,” *Transition Newsletter* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, April 1997), 7.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ A Task Force on Museums and First Peoples was created after the controversy surrounding the exhibition *The Spirit Sings* (1988). Dorothy Speak, “Focus On: Curatorial Collaboration,” *Inuit Art Quarterly* 15, no.1 (Spring 2000), 18.

culture.”¹⁴ This comment leads to the second way that an Aboriginal voice was present in *Transitions*; the artists contributed to the exhibition catalogue in the textual commentaries next to their works, and in many cases, at the exhibition’s openings.

The political scientist Alan Cairns has noted that the idea of “voice,” or “the issue of who can speak for whom, and who can write about whom, is a major contemporary issue in the social sciences and humanities.”¹⁵ He sees this question as it affects Aboriginal peoples across a broad range of social and political contexts.¹⁶ With regard to art, current curatorial practices, and especially those concerning Aboriginal art, often attempt to include the artist’s voice so that his/her personal view may be heard. In 1997, the Canada Council established a program to encourage and ensure continued Aboriginal participation in curatorship. *Assistance to First Peoples for Curatorial Residencies in the Visual Arts* aimed “to support the development of a strong curatorial and critical voice for and around Aboriginal art within our cultural institutions.”¹⁷ This approach responds to a history of past exclusions that provoked a crisis in the late 1980s, when the 1988 exhibition, *The Spirit Sings*, was criticized for the lack of Aboriginal input during the

¹⁴ Speak, 18.

¹⁵ Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 14.

¹⁶ See the section titled *The Complex Problem of “Voice,”* 14-16, in Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000).

¹⁷ Steven Loft, “Aboriginal Art and Public Galleries: Towards an Integrative Structure,” *Canadian Heritage* (June 2002).

http://www.expressions.gc.ca/loftpaper_e.htm.

curatorial process.¹⁸ The increase in artists' participation has, however, sparked a new controversy that questions the degree to which artists' involvement can effectively add to or hinder the objectivity of curatorial judgement.

The exhibition *Isumavut: The Artistic Expression of Nine Cape Dorset Women* stands as a case in point. It assembled the work of nine artists in a celebratory context to recognize the developments and achievements of their artistic careers.¹⁹

This show broke new ground through its unprecedented high level of collaboration between curators and artists, its collaboration between Inuit and non-Inuit curators, and its use of artists' quotations.²⁰

Art historian, Janet Catherine Berlo, reviewed the exhibition, its catalogue and the debates it had provoked, and called the catalogue, which contained essays by the three curators, as well as the artists' statements, a "landmark achievement."²¹ The publication was reflective of the innovative collaboration employed in the exhibition. Some critics, on the other hand, thought this group effort, especially the artists' input, compromised

¹⁸ The exhibition *The Spirit Sings* was displayed at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta in 1988. The show exhibited objects of a sacred nature, many of which were borrowed from foreign institutions. The presence of these objects resulted in questions of repatriation, as well as a determination to include Aboriginal perspective in future exhibitions. The controversy around this exhibit was further heightened by protests of the sponsorship by the Shell Corporation of the exhibit, the same company responsible for the destruction of Lubicon Lake Cree land in Alberta. See Robyn Gillam, "The Spirit Sings: A Sour Note in the Museum's Halls," *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public* (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2001), 101-133.

¹⁹ Janet Catherine Berlo, "An Exhibition, a Book and an Exaggerated Reaction," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 10, no.1 (Spring 1995), 27.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

²¹ *Ibid.*

the quality of the show.²² In a *Globe and Mail* review of the exhibition, journalist Ray Conlogue and curator Norman Zepp teamed up to express their disapproval of the curatorial practices employed in the show. They felt that collaborative curatorship was a politically-correct approach and that the exhibition, in Zepp's words, " 'is taking us away from the idea of scholarship'"²³ Berlo countered this argument by pointing out that there was no evidence that the artists selected the works.²⁴ Instead, the artists were contacted to discuss their work, and it is likely that these conversations informed the curators' decisions.

As was the case in *Isumavut*, the artists from *Transitions* were not involved in the selection process, rather the artists' readings of their works were requested and a number of the illustration captions were direct quotations from the artists. Viviane Gray explained that this strategy "...was in keeping with the way things were being done at that time. The artist's voice had to be heard. Right from the time we started purchasing work when I came on board in the early nineties ...we've always included...their voice..."²⁵ Marybelle Mitchell, professor and editor of *Inuit Art Quarterly*, called the "deliberate effort to let the artists present their work, a highly effective approach..."²⁶

²² Ray Conlogue, "A Curatorial Square-off," *The Globe and Mail*, Focus on the Visual Arts, 22 Oct 1994, C17.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Berlo, 34.

²⁵ Gray, discussion.

²⁶ Marybelle Mitchell, "Not Just Arctic Animals and Scenes from the Past," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13, no.1 (Spring 1998), 3.

Although this process was presented as groundbreaking in the context of Aboriginal art, as Berlo pointed out, it “is one practised daily in shows of 20th-century art made by non-Aboriginal artists.”²⁷ Her argument reveals the existence of an ongoing discrimination in the curatorial practices towards Aboriginal art and artists.

The artists were invited to attend the openings of *Transitions* and their presence was often an integral part of the event. Although extending such invitations is common practice, artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert has argued that “the Canadian Government is pushing our work in international exhibitions, but they are still not inviting any of us to the openings.”²⁸ *Transitions* was not, however, the first Aboriginal art exhibition to extend invitations to its artists. As mentioned in Chapter One, Inuit artists were often invited to exhibitions of their work, but *Transitions* did not treat the artist just as a guest. The organizers ensured that an artist would act as a representative for both the artworks and the other artists at every opening. They welcomed the visitors, talked about their work, and gave tours of the exhibition. At certain venues, the artist was the only representative of INAC and consequently his/her responsibilities increased.²⁹ This level of artist participation, especially when the artist’s responsibilities resemble those of a curator, demands a closer examination of how the traditional role of curator as mediator,

²⁷ Berlo, 35.

²⁸ Schubert was referring specifically to the exhibition *In the Shadow of the Sun*. Joane Cardinal-Schubert, “In the Red,” in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 126.

²⁹ When David Hannan travelled to Taiwan, he was the only representative of INAC. He was responsible for the installation of the show and he attended the opening day ceremonies as an honoured guest. David Hannan, in discussion with the author, 19 Feb 2004.

between artist and viewer, is altered when curatorial responsibilities are shared by the curator and the artist. This change in responsibility not only increases the presence of Aboriginal "voice," but also contributes to Aboriginal peoples' "owning" their culture.³⁰ This conceptual shift is further examined later in this chapter.

Exhibition Openings and Reception

Since 1997, *Transitions* has been exhibited in seven countries: France, New Zealand, Costa Rica, Canada, Taiwan, Mexico and Russia. Each hosting country welcomed the exhibition with an opening ceremony. In certain cases, the openings were lavish events shared by the artists, the viewers, and dignitaries. In certain countries, the exhibition was complemented by performers or exhibited in juxtaposition with local shows, primarily of Aboriginal art. While openings included elements of spectacle, they belong to a pattern of festivals that are used as tools for fostering nationalism and/or cultural pride.

This discussion extends my argument of the selection of the artworks in *Transitions* as participating in the politics of recognition. In this section, the goal is to move outwards and examine the recognition that took place at the exhibition sites. I have discussed how *Transitions* was organized by many "voices." I will now consider how the voices of the artists were heard at the exhibitions, by studying the setting, the opening

³⁰ Deborah Doxtator discusses the concept of ownership with respect to increased Aboriginal involvement and agency in the presentation of Aboriginal cultures. She refers to "ownership," not in terms of possession, but as owning "the responsibility of who you are and what you belong to." Deborah Doxtator, "The Implications of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy," in *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies* (Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996), 56.

and its parallel events, and the exhibition's reception at four venues: Paris, Taidong, Mexico City and San José.³¹

Paris

The Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris was the first venue of the exhibition's touring itinerary, and as noted, its renovation and reopening was the initial impetus for the exhibition's creation. The Centre had first opened in 1970 as part of an initiative to develop cultural exchanges between Canada and France, and in the spirit of its time, "to stimulate bilingualism."³² The Centre functions as an arm of the Canadian Embassy and consists of a reference library and exhibition, presentation and meeting spaces.³³ Six hundred people attended the exhibition's opening on January 22, 1997, "the best turnout the Cultural Centre has ever had for an exhibition," according to the curator Barry Ace.³⁴

The reception at the Centre was grand in every way, and the enthusiastic reactions of visitors demonstrated the success of the exhibit. Catherine Bédard, the head of visual arts at the Centre, noted that the French public was "hesitant about the contemporary art of indigenous peoples," suggesting that the artwork surprised French visitors and

³¹ For the exhibition's complete itinerary, see Appendix 1. My decision to examine a small number of the venues is based on the availability of information concerning the venues in question. For some of the venues little to no documentation existed concerning the reception of the exhibition.

³² Geneviève Postolec, "The Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris (1970-1995)," *The Archivist* no.118 (1999), 40.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ MacIntyre, 7.

challenged their expectations of Aboriginal art.³⁵ During an interview, the chief of the Indian and Inuit Art Centres, Viviane Gray, confirmed that this reaction was not unusual for foreign exhibitions displaying contemporary Aboriginal art, since viewers often expect “to see the traditional...[works and]...an older image of Aboriginal people.”³⁶

Costa Rica

In May of 1998, *Transitions* was displayed at the National Gallery of Costa Rica in San José. The artist Ron Noganosh was approached by INAC to represent the Indian and Inuit Art Centres at this location. His responsibilities in Costa Rica consisted mostly of media-related tasks: appearing on radio shows, participating in television interviews, and general promotional activities prior to the show’s opening. Marie Routledge, the Canadian Embassy’s coordinator, acted as his host. In a report that she assembled for the Canadian Indian and Inuit Art Centres, Routledge wrote: “...the Embassy considers this to be its best and most successful cultural event of recent years.”³⁷ This statement indicates a positive reception of the show at this venue.

The art gallery is housed in an ancient military prison. According to Noganosh, the architecture and the remaining elements that reveal the building’s previous purpose (bars in some places), created a unique setting for the exhibition.³⁸ At the opening, the

³⁵ Mitchell, 4.

³⁶ Gray, discussion.

³⁷ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File, Correspondence from Marie Routledge to Viviane Gray, 18 Sept 1998.

³⁸ Ron Noganosh, in discussion with the author, 5 Mar 2004.

exhibition was received by a diverse audience, among them ambassadors, sponsor Hydro-Quebec's representatives and the President Miguel Angel Rodriguez's daughter. The ambassadors, gallery officials and Hydro-Quebec agents welcomed the visitors with speeches. The presence of Hydro-Quebec speakers, however, created a controversial political situation among Costa Rica's Aboriginal community, due to the company's development of a hydroelectric generating station on their land.³⁹ As a result, few Aboriginal people from Costa Rica attended the opening.⁴⁰ This situation recalls similar land disputes between Aboriginal peoples in Canada, specifically the Cree of James Bay, and the Canadian government.

During the opening, Ron Noganosh's duties consisted of discussing and explaining the artworks with the visitors. These discussions often included providing background information about the artists and where they live in Canada, as well as elaborating on the political orientation of the pieces. This type of contribution indicates the importance of artist representation at exhibitions. The roles of curator and artist blended somewhat at this venue when Noganosh was required to explain and present works to visitors.

³⁹ "Hydro-Quebec International inaugurates a 10.6-MW hydropower plant in Rio Lajas, Costa Rica, built in partnership with a Costa Rican firm." Hydro-Quebec, "The Year's Highlights: 98," *Annual Report* (1998). www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/annual_report/1998/pdf/e04.pdf

⁴⁰ Noganosh, discussion.

Noganosh's role may be seen as that of "cultural mediator."⁴¹ His presence aided in bringing together Aboriginal peoples from different countries. During the opening, he was able to talk about artistic production with the few Aboriginal Costa Ricans who were present. As a result of these interactions, Noganosh ascertained that most Aboriginal Costa Ricans are not producing "contemporary art or certainly not protest art...."⁴² He also learned of the activities Hydro-Quebec was executing, such as damming rivers and flooding Native land.⁴³

It is clear that the artist was placed in a difficult position at the opening by being asked to serve simultaneously as a representative, both of the Aboriginal artists and of the Canadian Government. As an individual and an Aboriginal person, he felt a loyalty towards the Aboriginal people of Costa Rica, and a desire to show his support and solidarity. The artist's difficult position demonstrates a contradiction, which reveals a key problem of the Canadian government's use of Aboriginal art to promote its policies while simultaneously working with Canadian companies accused of oppressive acts toward other Aboriginal peoples.

⁴¹ Mari Carmen Ramírez has argued: "With the international surge of exhibitions and collections based on notions of group or collective identity, however, we have seen that gradual displacement of the art curator's role of arbiter and its substitution with that of cultural mediator." Mari Carmen Ramírez, "Brokering Identities: Art Curators and the Politics of Cultural Representation," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 22.

⁴² Noganosh, discussion.

⁴³ Ibid.

Taiwan

The exhibition toured three different locations in Taiwan in 1999.⁴⁴ It began its tour in the city of Taipei at the Taipei Fine Art Museum (TFAM), then moved to T'ai-nan where it was shown at the T'ai-nan Arts and Cultural Centre, and finally was displayed in Taidong. At TFAM, the exhibition was juxtaposed with the work of Aboriginal people from Taiwan.⁴⁵ At this location, *Transitions* was promoted as part of the Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal Culture Festival, an initiative between the two countries to improve the relations between the Aboriginal peoples of each country.⁴⁶ It is valuable to note that visual culture is often employed as a vehicle for communication between nations. The cultural festival in Taipei celebrated a diverse array of cultural activity, such as "the culture, cuisine, dress and arts of Taiwan's nine aboriginal tribes,"⁴⁷ aside from the art showcased in *Transitions*.⁴⁸ The artists Shelley Niro, Mattiusi Iyaituk, and

⁴⁴ For a complete touring itinerary see Appendix 1.

⁴⁵ Susan Kendzulak, "Indian, Inuit artists shine in Tainan Show," *Taipei Times*, 3 Oct 1999, 20.

The exhibition was also displayed with local Aboriginal art in New Zealand. Barry Ace, "Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art," *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13, no.1 (Spring 1998), 32.

⁴⁶ "Aboriginal Committee Executive Yuan signed an agreement on Dec 20, 1998, with the Canadian Trade Office in Taipei for the purpose of cooperation and understanding, expecting to elevate respect for the aboriginal people and their rights based on equality." Hwa Chia-chi, "Preface," *Isumavut: Art of Canadian Inuit Women* (Taiwan: National Museum of History, 1999), 4.

⁴⁷ Idelette van Papendorp, "Aboriginal festival begins in Taipei," *China News*, 19 April 1999, 3.

⁴⁸ Shelley Niro was interviewed regarding her films. Ann Gavaghan, "Director takes pop culture into 'native' world," *China News*, 4 Mar 1999, 7.

A review of author Thomson Highway's recent activities appeared in journalistic reviews. Ann Gavaghan, "The direct Highway to finding a native voice," *Taiwan News*, 6 May 1999, 8.

Marianne Nicholson were in Taipei for the show's opening.⁴⁹

Transitions was welcomed to its third location in Taiwan with a large gathering of performers, exhibition goers and dignitaries. The Taidong Cultural Centre in Taidong, Taiwan, became a stage for welcome speeches and performances. Representatives of the Centre, Canadian Embassy officials and the County Magistrate delivered speeches to over 700 people who congregated for the festivities. Men, women and children from Taiwan's Aboriginal community performed many dances and songs. These presentations took place in an outdoor area in front of the cultural centre, adding an audio-visual display of music and colourful costumes to the day's events.⁵⁰ During the celebrations, the performing groups invited onlookers to participate in their dances, altering the conventional division between performers and onlookers. The performances functioned as a complement to the Canadian Aboriginal artworks displayed in *Transitions*. These ceremonies can be compared to cultural festivals and according to Ivan Karp, "...the very essence of the festival—the inclusive, celebratory nature of the event—makes it an attractive forum for the exhibition of other agendas."⁵¹ The inclusion of such activities gives the image of cultural harmony and provides an avenue of communication between different cultural groups. There are, however, hidden limitations that prevent the

⁴⁹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File, Canadian Trade Office in Taipei, Statement on the Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal Culture Festival, 1999.

⁵⁰ The festivities truly were a full-day event. During his interview, David Hannan communicated that the day of the opening he was awoken to music from the dance groups who were practising on the Centre's property. Hannan, discussion.

⁵¹ Ivan Karp, "Festivals," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 284.

complete success of these exchanges, such as language barriers and different interpretations of the events.⁵² Therefore, the opening day was experienced and interpreted by the artists, the visitors and the governments intent on supporting Aboriginal relations in different ways.

The artist David Hannan was present at this final venue in Taidong, participating in the opening ceremonies and representing INAC. His responsibilities included speaking to the crowds that assembled at the Centre, discussing his work with viewers and the press, and installing and taking down the exhibition. While installing the show, he had taken the liberty of deciding where and in which order to place the works within the given space.⁵³ This flexibility, with respect to the display of the artwork, testifies to the degree to which the works were compatible with one another and fit within the theme of “transition.” Although Hannan’s responsibilities were quite extensive, he mentioned that he would have further enjoyed organizing workshops or going to schools to discuss the exhibition.⁵⁴ A step of this nature would not only have integrated the exhibition and its messages into the hosting community, but it would have exposed more people to the themes of the show.

As the sole representative of INAC at this venue, Hannan again took on a role that was similar to that of a curator. He not only installed the exhibition, but also represented

⁵² David Hannan mentioned that most of his interactions with visitors in Taiwan took place through an interpreter. Hannan, discussion.

⁵³ Hannan, discussion.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

the artists and their works to a large audience. Similar to the situation in Costa Rica with artist Ron Noganosh, the artist's presence opened an avenue of communication between the Aboriginal cultures of Canada and Taiwan, while being co-opted as a representative of the Canadian government.

Mexico

The exhibition opened in Mexico City, Mexico at the Museo Nacional de Mexico in November 2002. The artist Jane Ash Poitras and Heather Campbell, an Inuit Art Centre representative, accompanied the show to this location. Poitras had only positive remarks about the reception of the exhibition at this venue and its success is further confirmed by the museum's visitor comment book.⁵⁵ The artist described the opening as having hundreds of visitors, and mentioned the three-hour press conference with much enthusiasm.⁵⁶ Poitras also spoke at the event and conducted a tour of the exhibition.⁵⁷

The exhibition's stay in Mexico City was complemented with the celebration of another aspect of Canadian culture. A conference celebrating Canadian literature took place at the same time as *Transitions* was on display in Mexico City. The two events came together at the opening of *Transitions* when some of the Canadian authors, among them Margaret Atwood, Alistair MacLeod and Marie-Claire Blais, were in attendance.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File, Museo Nacional de las culturas, Libreta de Comentarios, 2002.

⁵⁶ Jane Ash Poitras, in discussion with the author, 21 Feb 2004.

⁵⁷ Paul Gessell, "Sex, sun and Peggy," *The Ottawa Citizen*, 7 Dec 2002, J2.

⁵⁸ Ibid, J1.

At a publicity level, it was definitely advantageous that the two Canadian cultural events took place at the same time. The presence of these notable figures at the opening attests to a strong representation of Canadian culture abroad, contributing to a multi-disciplinary cultural exchange.

As in its previous locations (Taiwan and Costa Rica), the show was discussed by reviewers as a means of establishing a bond among the Aboriginal peoples around the world.⁵⁹ During an interview, Poitras noted that due to political tensions in Mexico, the Canadian representatives were advised not to discuss publicly the politically-charged issues affecting Canadian Aboriginal peoples.⁶⁰ This request is noteworthy since many of the works, like Jane Ash Poitras' *Oka Spirit Power* and Ron Noganosh's *Does Anybody Know What Time it is?* addressed issues like the Oka crisis and land claims disputes.⁶¹ The discussion of these matters would have allowed for Mexican Aboriginal people to relate these issues to their own violent confrontations, in Chiapas, for instance.⁶² Therefore, despite certain positive elements of the opening, the request to avoid political

⁵⁹ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Inuit Art Centre Archives, *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, "El arte contemporáneo de las primeras naciones de Canadá, en México," *Plástica*, 29 Nov 2002, accessed 5 Dec 2002.

www.arts-history.mx/2001/semanario-info/04plasticas/114-20021129.html

⁶⁰ Poitras, discussion.

⁶¹ Requests to avoid political discussions concerning Aboriginal Peoples and their relations with the Canadian Government also occurred in Canada a few years prior to this incident. For the occasion of the 1997 APEC conference at the Museum of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia, Musqueam voices were silenced by the Prime Minister's office from participating at the meeting's opening ceremonies. For a complete account of these events see, Ruth B. Phillips, "APEC at the Museum of Anthropology: The Politics of Site and the Poetics of Sight Bite," *Ethnos* 65, no.2 (2000), 172-194.

⁶² In the mid to late 1990s, Mexico, particularly Chiapas, Mexico, was affected by political conflicts addressing liberation from a dictatorship rule.

discussions, in fact, prevented the establishment of political solidarity among indigenous peoples rather than fostering it.

The Post-Museum

The concept of recognition, as Taylor notes, functions in the public sphere, and it is therefore important to examine the exhibition as a self-contained system in which these kinds of interactions can occur. Museum theorist, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, has argued that we are now entering the era of the “post-museum:”

In the post-museum, the exhibition will become one among many other forms of communication. The exhibition will form part of a nucleus of events which will take place both before and after the display is mounted. ... The production of events and exhibitions as conjoint dynamic processes enables the incorporation into the museum of many voices and many perspectives. Knowledge is no longer unified and monolithic; it becomes fragmented and multi-vocal. There is no necessary unified perspective - rather a cacophany (sic) of voices may be heard that present a range of views, experiences and values. The voice of the museum is one among many.⁶³

Hooper-Greenhill’s argument implies that for the museum to exist in the future, certain changes need to occur, such as integrating more voices and going beyond the walls of the museum. She writes that: “The post-museum will take, and is already beginning to take, many architectural forms. It is, however, not limited to its own walls, but moves as a set of process into the spaces, the concerns and the ambitions of the communities.”⁶⁴ In light of the extensive program that occurred in Taidong, for example, describing *Transitions* as a product of a post-museum seems suitable. A government department, not a museum,

⁶³ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 2000), 152.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 152-153.

organized *Transitions*, and it was not displayed at this department's exhibition space, but was destined to tour internationally. These characteristics also demonstrate how *Transitions* broke through conventional exhibition boundaries to place Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal international communities into contact. The exhibition as a system also fits into Charles Taylor's politics of recognition because it functions within the public sphere. Due to its widespread touring itinerary, *Transitions* was able to reach a broad audience, therefore establishing a context for international recognition to occur.

Conclusion

Several examples of the museum openings, however, show that the Canadian government attempted, and succeeded, in using the *Transitions* openings and festival-like events to co-opt Aboriginal artists into its own political agenda. The establishment of bonds of solidarity with other indigenous peoples and the sharing of activist roles and values, parallel to those the artists had assembled both in their artistic work and in their other activities, was consequently prevented from developing to a significant degree.

Simultaneously, the events that surrounded *Transitions* at the venues discussed above, fit into the characteristics that define a product of a post-museum. The performances by hosting communities, the speeches by dignitaries and other guests, and the presence of the artists, provided the exhibition with a multitude of layers, a quality of the post-museum. The contribution of many parties in this presentation shifted the

concept of a one-voice organizational authority, conventionally associated with curatorial practice, to one that was multi-vocal. This development places the exhibition within a larger framework that enhances the understanding of the artworks. The works are no longer simply “objects on display” but cultural creations with a historical, social and political context.

Conclusion

The process of researching and writing about the exhibition *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art* has engaged me in the world of contemporary Aboriginal art, from the diverse nature of the work being produced to the politics of its display. My objective in this thesis has been to chronicle *Transitions*, as well as to analyse the significance of such an exhibition for the artists, the creators of the art, and the government, the main organizer of the exhibition.

By applying an historical approach, I set a comparative framework within which *Transitions* could be contrasted with government-organized exhibitions of the past. I situated *Transitions* as a unique government endeavour due to the character of its works and the manner it was organized. A close examination of a select group of works further highlighted the artists' innovative approaches through their choices of subject matter and media. Drawing on the politics of recognition, as presented by Charles Taylor, I explored the art exhibition as a form of public recognition that contributes in positive ways to identity creation. By examining the many phases of curatorship implicated in the exhibition, I outlined the way many different people contributed to its success.

Although I have argued the positive aspects of *Transitions*, it is important to acknowledge an existing dialectic between these qualities at the time the exhibition began and in the present. *Transitions* has been touring for seven years. It is significant to question the value of displaying such a show for an extended period of time. As one artist, Jane Ash Poitras stated, it is important "to follow our careers," to show new work,

too.¹ With the ever-changing issues being addressed in contemporary Aboriginal art, whose place is it to ensure its exposure? What and where is the place of future Aboriginal art exhibitions? Does contemporary Aboriginal art require its own venues, or will the future trend be to display it with other contemporary art that has a common factor such as medium, theme or approach? As artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert has asked, "Why should we become exclusive because we have been excluded?"² As Diana Nemiroff has stated: "The real dilemma, then, is how to sustain cultural difference while contesting marginality."³ These questions deserve attention and open the topics presented in this thesis to further discussion.

The question of exclusivity versus integration with regards to Aboriginal art is a long way from being resolved, and it is therefore important to aim for a balance. For the moment, the initiatives taken by the Indian and Inuit Art Centres of INAC provide an opportunity not only for the display of contemporary Aboriginal art, but also for Aboriginal voices to be heard in the process.

¹ Jane Ash Poitras, in discussion with the author, 21 Feb 2004.

² Joane Cardinal-Schubert, "In the Red," in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 129.

³ Diana Nemiroff, "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, ed. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 432.

Appendix 1: The Exhibition Itinerary*

Canadian Cultural Centre
Canadian Embassy
Paris, France
22 January - 20 February 1997

Waikato Museum of Art and History
Hamilton, New Zealand
12 October - 31 December 1997

Galeria Nacional (National Gallery of Costa Rica)
San José, Costa Rica
24 April - 28 May 1998

Museum of Anthropology
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada
7 June 1998 - 3 January 1999

Taipei Fine Art Museum
Taipei, Taiwan
8 April - 28 June 1999

T'ai-nan Arts and Cultural Centre
T'ia-nan, Taiwan
24 September - 17 October 1999

Taidong Cultural Centre
Taidong, Taiwan
November 1999 - February 2000

* Source: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian and Inuit Art Centres, *Transitions* Exhibition Summary (Jan 2004), 2.

La Alhóndiga de Granaditas Museum
Guanajuato, Mexico
9 October - 20 November 2002

Museo Nacional de las culturas de la ciudad de Mexico
Mexico City, Mexico
27 November 2002 - 1 March 2003

Russian Museum of Ethnography
St. Petersburg, Russia
11 November 2003 - 18 January 2004

Fig.1

Johnny Pootoogook (b.1970)
Modern Couple from Cape Dorset (1993)
Pencil crayon, pen, ink
84 x 74.5 cm

Fig. 2

Jane Ash Poitras (b.1951)
***Oka Spirit Power* (1990)**
Acrylic, newsprint, photocopy on canvas
152 x 92 cm

Fig.3

Ron Noganosh (b.1949)

Does Anybody Know What Time it is? (1988)

Steel, tin, brass, paper, plastic, bone, wood, acrylic paint, glass

48.5 x 26.5 x 158 cm

Fig.4

Jim Logan (b.1955)
***Olympian* (1991)**
Acrylic on canvas
107 x 137 cm

Fig.5

Shelley Niro (b.1954)

The Iroquois is a Highly Developed Matriarchal Society (1991)

Sepia toner, photo oils on photographic paper

96 x 53 cm

Fig.6

Oviloo Tunnillie (b.1949)
***Torso* (1996)**
Serpentine
36.8 x 21.6 x 28 cm

Fig.7

Taqialuk Nuna (b.1958)
***Deep Kiss* (1996)**
Serpentine
45.7 x 17.8 x 20.3 cm

Fig.8

Alex Alikashuak (b.1952)

***Unity* (1996)**

Fossilized walrus bone

25.5 x 5.2 x 6.2 cm

Fig.9

Lance Belanger (b.1956)
***Cultural Transition* (1989)**
Harp seal skin, circuit boards, acrylic on canvas
122.9 x 152.2 cm

Fig.10

David Hannan (b.1971)
***A Blanket for My Grandparents* (1995)**
Photo-emulsion, oil and wax on canvas
132.3 x 112 cm

Fig.11

Mattiusi Iyaituk (b.1950)
***The Thigh of Caribou with Bits of Fat* (1992)**
Serpentine, caribou antler
26.7 x 19.8 x 48.4 cm

Fig.12

Michael Massie (b.1964)
***Standing in a Circle* (1996)**
Sterling silver, tulip wood
7.7 x 11.1 x 11.1 cm

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Ash Poitras, Jane. Discussion with the author, 21 Feb 2004.

Goetz, Helga. *The Role of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in the Development of Inuit Art*. Unpublished manuscript. Inuit Art Section, Research and Documentation Centre, 1985.

Gray, Viviane. Discussion with the author, 8 Jan 2004.

Hannan, David. Discussion with the author, 19 Feb 2004.

Hawthorn, Audrey E. and Harry B. *Report on contemporary art of the Canadian Indian, 1950: submitted to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1950.

Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. Indian Art Centre Archives. *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol 4-5 E 6428-C1, Jan 1985-Oct 1986.

———. Indian Art Centre Archives. *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol 4. E 6428-C1. Letter from Stephen Rothwell, Exhibits and Documentation Manager, Indian Art Centre to David General, 21 Aug 1985.

———. Indian Art Centre Archives. *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada* Exhibition File, Vol 4. E 6428-C1. Southwest Museum exhibition evaluation, 1985-1986.

———. Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Inuit Print* Exhibition File, 1978-1982.

———. Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Inuit Print* Exhibition File. *What is an Exhibition Catalogue?: An interview with Jacqueline Fry*. France Morin and Chantal Pontbriand, March 1977.

———. Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Sculpture/Inuit* Exhibition File, 1971-1973.

- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Sculpture/Inuit* Exhibition File. Fax to Secretary of State Clark, 26 October 1972.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Sculpture/Inuit* Exhibition File. "News Release to all Northern Residents." *Letter from the Canadian Eskimo Arts Council*, George Swinton, 8 November 1969.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition File, Vol.1-2 E 6428-T2, 1996-1997.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition File, Vol.6-8. NCR-E 6409-4, 1 Apr 1997-30 June 1997.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition File, Vol. 7. NCR-E 6409-4. Correspondence from Brent DiBartolo to Shirley Serafini, May 1996.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition File, Vol.10. NCR-E 6409-4, 1 Aug 1997-31 Mar 1998.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Press Clippings File, 1997-2003.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File. Canadian Trade Office in Taipei, Statement on the Taiwan-Canada Aboriginal Culture Festival, 1999.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File. Correspondence from Marie Routledge to Viviane Gray, 18 Sept 1998.
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, "El arte contemporáneo de las primeras naciones de Canadá, en México," *Plástica*, 29 Nov 2002, accessed 5 Dec 2002. www.arts-history.mx/2001/semanario-info/04plasticas/114-20021129.html
- . Inuit Art Centre Archives. *Transitions* Exhibition Press Clippings File. Museo Nacional de las culturas, Libreta de Comentarios, 2002.
- Kowbel, Bruce, Andrew Dickson et al. *Transitions 2 Milan: Multinational Management*. Unpublished report commissioned by Viviane Gray. Ottawa: Indian and Inuit Art Centres, 2002.
- National Taiwan Broadcasting Corporation. *Transitions* Opening at Taidong Cultural Centre, Taidong, Taiwan. VHS, 30 Nov 1999.

National Gallery of Canada Archives. *Masterpieces of Indian and Inuit Art from Canada*. Exhibition File. Folders 1-7, 12-4-418, 1969-1970.

Noganosh, Ron. Discussion with the author, 5 Mar 2004.

Pépin, Yves. Correspondence with the author, 23 Mar 2004.

Phillips, Ruth B. and Sherry Brydon. "Arrow of Truth": *The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo '67*. Submitted to the *Journal of Canadian Studies*, April 1998.

Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples*. Ottawa: The Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association, 1992.

Secondary Sources

Ace, Barry. "Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13, no.1 (Spring 1998), 32-34.

Ace, Barry, and July Papatsie. *Transitions: Contemporary Canadian Indian and Inuit Art*. Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1997.

Ames, Michael. *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992.

Anderson, Robert and Eleanor Wachtel, eds. *The Expo Story*. Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Pub, 1986.

Archuleta, Margaret. "The Fourth Biennial Native American Fine Arts Invitational at the Heard Museum." *American Indian Art Magazine* no.1 (Winter 1989), 54-61.

Barber, John. "The Canadian Contingent." *Maclean's* 99. 17 March 1986, 30-31.

———. "Pavilions of Promise: The Best of Expo 86." *Maclean's* 99. 17 March 1986, 24-26.

- Barclay, Ian A. "Canada Place: a legacy of excellence and grace to live on after Expo 86." *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 59-61.
- Bartlett, Richard H. *The Indian Act of Canada*, 2nd ed. Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Native Law Centre, 1988.
- Barz, Sandra B. "'The Inuit Print': Masterworks Retrospective." *Arts and Culture of the North* 2, no.2 (Feb 1978), 77-79.
- Baxandall, Michael. "Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 33-41. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Bédard, Catherine. "Osopikahikiwak... and Painting:" In *Osopikahikiwak: Jane Ash Poitras/Rick Rivet*, 17-19. Paris: Services culturels de l'Ambassade du Canada, 1999.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine. "An Exhibition, a Book and an Exaggerated Reaction." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 10, no.1 (Spring 1995), 26-36.
- Berton, Pierre. *The Last Good Year: 1967*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1997.
- . "The Last Good Year: Canada Changed Forever in 1967." *Maclean's* 110, no.39 (29 Sept 1997), 70-72.
- Bhabha, Homi K. et al. "Art and National Identity: A Critics' Symposium." *Art in America* 79, no.9 (Sept 1991), 80-84, 142-143.
- Brett, Guy. "Arts and crafts among the Eskimos." *The Times*. The Arts. 10 October 1972.
- Brydon, Sherry. "The Indians of Canada Pavilion at Expo 67." *American Indian Art Magazine* 22, no.3 (Summer 1997), 54-63.
- Cairns, Alan C. *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.
- Canada. *DIAND's evolution from direct service delivery to a funding agency*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1993.

———. *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969*. Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa: Department of Indian and Northern Development, 1969.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. "The Oka Crisis." *CBC Archives*.
http://archives.cbc.ca/IDD-1-71-99/conflict_war/oka/

"Canadian Eskimo art at the National Museum." *Kristeligt Dagblad*. 1 May 1972, 6.

Cardinal-Schubert, Joane. "In the Red." In *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, Edited by Bruce Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, 122-133. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997.

Chia-chi, Hwa. "Preface." In *Isumavut: Art of Canadian Inuit Women*, 4. Taiwan: National Museum of History, 1999.

Conlogue, Ray. "A Curatorial Square-off." *The Globe and Mail*. Focus on the Visual Arts. 22 Oct 1994, C17.

Craig, Mary and Deborah Smith. "Ottawa Collections Move North: Transfer of Artworks From Indian and Northern Affairs Collections to Avataq." *Muse* 8, no.2 (Summer 1990), 51-56.

Crosby, Marcia. "Nations in Urban Landscapes." In *Nations in Urban Landscapes*, 11-18. Vancouver: Contemporary Art Gallery, 1997.

Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996.

Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. "Key Objectives of Canada's Foreign Policy." *Our Mandate* (Feb 2003).
<http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/department/mandate-en.asp>

"The Disposition of INAC's Collection." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 3, no.4 (Fall 1988), 31-32.

Dorminey, Bruce. "Canadian Cultural Centre reopens." *The Globe and Mail*. International News. 22 Jan 1997, A12.

Douglas, Pauline and Vera Manuel. "The Show But Not the Substance: The Question of Native Participation." In *The Expo Story*, 189-214. Anderson, Robert and Eleanor Wachtel, eds. British Columbia: Harbour Publishing, 1986.

- Doxtator, Deborah. *Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibit on the Symbols of Indianness*. Brantford: Woodland Cultural Centre, 1988.
- . "The Implication of Canadian Nationalism for Aboriginal Cultural Autonomy." In *Curatorship: Indigenous Perspectives in Post-Colonial Societies*, 56-70. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1996.
- Du Bois, Page. "Democracy and the Idea of the Artist." In *The Artist in Society: Rights, Roles and Responsibilities*, Edited by Carol Becker and Ann Wiens, 16-23. Chicago: New Art Examiner Press, 1994.
- Dupuy, Pierre. "Preface." In *Expo 67. The Memorial Album of the first category universal and international exhibition held in Montreal from the twenty seventh of April to the twenty-ninth of October nineteen hundred and sixty-seven*, 7-9. Toronto: Nelson, 1968.
- Edwards, Margaret. "Canada's Cultural Best at Expo 86." *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 54-55.
- "Exhibition of Eskimo art opening in Ottawa." *Halifax Mail Star*. 17 May 1973.
- Expo 67 Information Manual: Universal and International Exhibition of 1967, Montreal April 28-October 27*. Montreal, 1967.
- Expo 67. The Memorial Album of the first category universal and international exhibition held in Montreal from the twenty seventh of April to the twenty-ninth of October nineteen hundred and sixty-seven*. Toronto: Nelson, 1968.
- Expo 67: Official Guide Officiel*. Toronto: Maclean-Hunter, 1967.
- Fawcett, Brian. "Why the Carnival Came to Town; The Politics of Expo 86." *The Canadian Forum* 66, no.759 (May 1986), 10-15.
- Fleras, Augie and Jean Leonard Elliott. *The 'Nations Within': Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Fotheringham, Allan. "A Billion-dollar Party." *Maclean's* 99, 17 March 1986, 14-15.
- Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian In Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

- Frazer, Robbin. "Vancouver's Expo 86 is Destined to be the Celebration of the Century." *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 46-49.
- Gavaghan, Ann. "The direct Highway to finding a native voice." *Taiwan News*. 6 May 1999, 8.
- . "Director takes pop culture into 'native' world." *China News*. 4 Mar 1999, 7.
- Gessell, Paul. "Sex, sun and Peggy." *The Ottawa Citizen*. 7 Dec 2002, J1-2.
- Gillam, Robyn. "The Spirit Sings: A Sour Note in the Museum's Halls." In *Hall of Mirrors: Museums and the Canadian Public*, 101-133. Banff: Banff Centre Press, 2001.
- Goetz, Helga. "Inuit Art: A History of Government Involvement." In *In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*, 357-381. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.
- Graburn, Nelson H.H. "Epilogue: Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited." In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Edited by Ruth B. Phillips, Christopher B. Steiner, 335-353. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
- Greenberg, Reesa, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, eds. *Thinking About Exhibitions*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Hannan, David. *Artist Statement*. Artist's personal website, 2003.
<http://home.the-wire.com/~dhannan/html/art001.html>
- Hansen, Keld. "Small Renderings of Reality." *Information*. 9 May 1972, 4.
- Hessel, Ingo. "Contemporary Inuit Art." In *Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians*, 6-15. Toronto: The Earth Spirit Festival, 1991.
- Hewitt, The Honourable James J. "British Columbia inherits Expo 86 legacy." *Performing Arts in Canada* 22 (Winter 1985), 56-58.
- Hill, Tom. "Beyond History." In *Beyond History*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 1989.

- . "Indian Art in Canada: An Historical Perspective." In *Norval Morrisseau and The Emergence of the Image Makers*. Toronto: The Art Gallery of Ontario, 1984.
- . "Ron Noganosh: A Postmodern Warrior." In *Ron Noganosh: It Takes Time*, 29-36. Ottawa: Ottawa Art Gallery, 2001.
- Hill, Tom and Lucy R. Lippard. *Ron Noganosh: It Takes Time*. Ottawa: Ottawa Art Gallery, 2001.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Hydro-Quebec. "The Year's Highlights: 98." Annual Report (1998).
www.hydroquebec.com/publications/en/annual_report/1998/pdf/e04.pdf
- In the Shadow of the Sun: Perspectives on Contemporary Native Art*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1993.
- "INAC collection dispersed." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 4, no.4 (Fall 1989), 40.
- "INAC collection - no decision yet." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 4, no.1 (Winter 1989), 31-33.
- Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. *Contemporary Indian and Inuit art of Canada*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983.
- . *The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development: December 1997*.
http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/info/info108_e.html
- . *History of the Department*.
http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ai/hist2_e.html
- "Indian and Northern Affairs: Inuit Art Section." *North* 29, no.3 (Fall 1982), 19-21.
- "Indian Pavilion Tries not to be Restful." *Globe and Mail*. 1 May 1967, 17.
- "Indians of Canada." In *Expo 67 Information Manual: Universal and International Exhibition of 1967, Montreal April 28-October 27*, S71, 1-3. Montreal, 1967.
- The Inuit Print*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1977.
- James, Geoffrey. "Masterworks of the Arctic: An Impressive Summation." *Time* 98. (Nov 29, 1971), 12-13.

- Jessup, Lynda and Shannon Bagg, eds. *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002.
- Karp, Ivan. "Festivals." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, 279-287. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.
- Karp, Ivan, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine, eds. *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.
- Karp, Ivan and Fred Wilson, "Constructing the Spectacle of Culture in Museums," In *Thinking About Exhibitions*, Edited by Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, Sandy Nairne, 251-267. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Kendzulak, Susan. "Indian, Inuit artists shine in Tainan show." *Taipei Times*. Arts. 3 Oct. 1999, 20.
- Kröller, Eva-Marie. "Expo '67: Canada's Camelot?" *Canadian Literature* no.152-153 (Spring/Summer 1997), 36-51.
- Lamirande, Todd. "Expo '67 revisited: Indian pavilion faces Canadians with cold truth." *The First Perspective* 6, no.4 (June 1997), 13.
- Leroux, Odette, Marion E. Jackson and Minnie Aodla Freeman, eds. *Inuit Women Artists: Voices from Cape Dorset*. Hull: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1994.
- The Library of Congress. *Edward S. Curtis' The North American Indian* (25 April 2001). <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award98/ienhtml/curthome.html>
- Loft, Steven. "Aboriginal Art and Public Galleries: Towards an Integrative Structure." *Canadian Heritage* (June 2002). http://www.expressions.gc.ca/loftpaper_e.htm
- Logan, Jim. *Artist Statement*. Artist's personal website, 2000. <http://www.jimlogan.net/cv.html>
- MacIntyre, Wendy. "Contemporary Aboriginal Art Exhibit from DIAND's Collection Wows Paris." *Transition Newsletter*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, April 1997, 7-8.

- MacKay, Gillian. "Lady Oracle: Jane Ash Poitras and the First Nations Phenomenon." *Canadian Art* no.3 (Fall 1994), 74-81.
- Mackey, Eva. *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Martin, Lee-Ann. "Reclaiming Desire." In *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art*, 32-45. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1999.
- Martin, Lee-Ann and Morgan Wood. *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art*. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1999.
- Masterpieces of Indian and Eskimo Art from Canada*. Paris: Société des amis du musée de l'homme, 1969.
- Mattie, Erik. *World's Fairs*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.
- McMaster, Gerald. "Jane Ash Poitras: An Indian in Paris." In *Osopikahikiwak: Jane Ash Poitras/Rick Rivet*, 27-30. Paris: Services culturels de l'Ambassade du Canada, 1999.
- . "Our (Inter) Related History." In *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, Edited by Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg, 3-8. Hull: Museum of Civilization, 2002.
- Mitchell, Alanna. "When the Good Times Rolled." *Globe and Mail*. 29 June 1996, D1.
- Mitchell, Marybelle. "From talking chiefs to a native corporate elite; the birth of class and nationalism among Canadian Inuit." PhD dissertation, Carleton University, 1992.
- . "Not Just Arctic Animals and Scenes from the Past." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 13, no.1 (Spring 1998), 3-4.
- Myers, Fred R., ed. *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001.
- Nemiroff, Diana. "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*. Edited by Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, 411-436. London: Routledge, 1996.

New Territories 350/500 Years After: An Exhibition of Contemporary Aboriginal Art of Canada. Montreal: Vision Planétaire, 1992.

O'Hara, Jane et al. "The Grand Design of a World's Fair." *Maclean's* 99. 17 (March 1986), 16-23.

"The Opening of Sculpture of the Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic." *Artscanada* no.162/163 (Dec 1971/Jan 1972), 121.

Osopikahikiwak: Jane Ash Poitras/ Rick Rivet. Paris: Services culturels de l'Ambassade du Canada, 1999.

Paine, Robert. "Introduction." *Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic.* Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971.

Patten, James. *Shelley Niro: Sense of Self.* London: London Regional Art and Historical Museums, 1993.

Phillips, Ruth B. "APEC at the Museum of Anthropology: The Politics of Site and the Poetics of Sight Bite." *Ethnos* 65, no.2 (2000), 172-194.

———. *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998.

Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner. "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter." In *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, Edited by Ruth B. Phillips, Christopher B. Steiner, 3-19. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Ramírez, Mari Carmen. "Brokering Identities: Art Curators and the Politics of Cultural Representation." In *Thinking About Exhibitions*. Edited by Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, 21-38. London: Routledge, 1996.

Postolec, Geneviève. "The Canadian Cultural Centre in Paris (1970-1995)." *The Archivist* no.118 (1999), 40-44.

Pottle, Barry and Ryan Rice. *Transitions 2: Contemporary Indian and Inuit Art of Canada.* Ottawa: Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 2001.

Richler, Mordecai. *Notes on Endangered Species and Others.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

- Robins, Kevin. "Tradition and Translation: National culture in its global context," In *Representing the Nation: A Reader*, Edited by David Boswell, Jessica Evans, 15-32. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Scott, Michael. "Inuit and Indian art defies typecasting in show at Museum of Anthropology." *The Vancouver Sun*. Entertainment. 11 July 1998, C2.
- Sculpture/Inuit: Sculpture of the Inuit: Masterworks of the Canadian Arctic*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Shelley Niro: Sense of Self*. London: London Regional Art and Historical Museums, 1993.
- Shirey, David L. "Art Sampler." *The New York Times*. 16 May 1982.
- Speak, Dorothy. "Focus On: Curatorial Collaboration." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 15, no.1 (Spring 2000), 16-19.
- Steiner, Christopher B. *African Art in Transit*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Stolyarova, Galina. "Inuit Art Comes in From the Cold." *The St. Petersburg Times*. All About Town. 14 Nov 2003, ii.
- Taylor, Charles and Amy Gutmann, ed. *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Taylor, William. "Forward." In *The Inuit Print*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1977.
- van Papendorp, Idelette. "Aboriginal festival begins in Taipei." *China News*. 19 April 1999, 3.
- Visions of Power: Contemporary Art by First Nations, Inuit and Japanese Canadians*. Toronto: The Earth Spirit Festival, 1991.
- Wallis, Brian. "Selling Nations." *Art in America* 79, no.9 (Sept 1991), 84-91.
- Wawzonek, Donna. "Creation's laughter in native art." *The Ottawa Citizen*. Arts. 7 Apr 1998, F3.
- Winrob, Harry. "Inuit Arts and Crafts at Expo 86." *Inuit Art Quarterly* 1, no.3 (Fall 1986), 13.

Witt, Bert. "A Look at "The Inuit Print" Retrospective: Good Show!" *Arts and Culture of the North* 2, no.3 (May 1978), 92-93.

Wood, Morgan. "Erotic." In *Exposed: aesthetics of aboriginal erotic art*, 8-13. Regina: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 1999.