Decolonial Aesthetics from the Americas
Decolonizing the Local: Canadian Artistic Practice in the context of the Americas
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Repopulating Contentious Territory:
Recent Indigenous Aesthetic Interventions in Public Space on the West Coast of Canada

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abstract
Public art and respective aesthetic interventions over shared space and resources have important roles in the development of decolonial and postcolonial aesthetics in the coming years on the West Coast of Canada. But many subtle obstacles exist particularly for artists struggling to maintain traditions and languages, on one hand, and engage in more contemporary and global conversations on the other hand. Today, unresolved legal issues around land, resources, and sovereignty, exacerbated by the lack of treaties for many communities, are driving a kind of heightened obfuscation of indigenous presence, art and contemporizing of aesthetics particularly in public spaces outside of reserves, airports and tourist areas. These erasures are largely unsuccessful responses and effectively backlash to legal gains, increasing populations, and more obvious presence in urban space and public culture. This tension is acute in public outdoor space where reassertions and legal actions are ongoing as in the roughly 8 kilometres of public space surrounding False Creek in central Vancouver – a sliver of which was won back by a local First Nation in recent years. While virtually no contemporary work initiated by indigenous artists exists in this dense network of public art, initiated less than three decades ago, three artists working on the West Coast over the last two decades have prefigured and laid the basis for more aggressive and critical forms of intervention and production in public space. Rebecca Belmore, Terry Haines and Marianne Nicholson were based on the West Coast over the last decade, while exploring critical strategies for decolonial interventions. Together, their selected works provide a sketch of some kinds of aesthetics of reterritorialization and reoccupation as part of further democratizing of art institutions and decision-making frameworks about lands, sites, and cultural infrastructure. In this essay, the strategies to challenge neo-colonial barriers to engage in public space is cast as "repopulating" as in increasing the presence, visibility, production, and expression of diverse sets of indigenous communities.

Introduction

“I figure as long as we keep speaking then we still exist.”
—Marianne Nicolson

Despite the rising profile of indigenous artists in contemporary Canadian art in recent decades, significant blind spots and conflict zones remain. On the West Coast of Canada, direction of photographic portrayals of communities and lands by First Nations artists remains negligible, even after Vancouver’s decades of photoconceptualism and that movement's theories of social engagement. Similarly, interventions in public space outside of reserve lands by First Nations artists, even where land claims are well articulated in the courts, continue to be rare and difficult on the West Coast. The fallout of lost lands,
resources and livelihoods continues to dominate the lives of the generation previous to today’s emerging First Nations artists. Documentation of and interventions in traditional territories outside of the *Indian Act* continue to be fraught with obstacles for First Nations artists on the West Coast. The exceptions are well-managed commissions relying on traditional practices, with the effect of suggesting a modicum of social inclusion and respect for local indigenous cultures while avoiding acknowledgement of unceded lands and stalled treaty processes.

Decolonial aesthetics could well involve engaging shared communities, spaces and resources in ways that necessarily contest older notions of the public, propriety and the fair distribution of wealth. In order to envision a new strategies of contemporary indigenous art focused on re-occupation, a phase of remapping, testing and repopulating is first necessary and could be termed "re-populating" (after two centuries of demographic declines). Highlighting some recent practices and strategies is the subject of this essay. For most indigenous artists on the West Coast, resistance around the misappropriation of traditional lands and resources has been so central to community politics that room for new kinds cultural production around these topics has been limited. There is a fatigue in many communities around land and treaty issues that affects the topics chosen for contemporary art. Transforming public sites, either through performance or more permanent mediums, encompasses a host of useful practices to reassert the presence of certain social groups, such as a wide range of too-often conflated First Nations demographics, and repopulate broader cultural narratives that then provide the basis for better contesting the many neocolonial maps (and aesthetics) that continue to be reproduced.

Site-based art, outdoors in public space, and performances in similar sites can be cathartic for communities that continue to suffer from the legacies of colonialism and neocolonialism and, in particular, displacement, segregation, and erasure. Such public practices and new genres, that progressively move away from visual language centred on European canons, will powerful bases for construction of local forms of de-colonial and post-colonial aesthetics. One relevant North American example of and cautionary for such opportunities of de-colonial aesthetics is provided by the Mexican mural movements over the last century that while raising the profile of pre-Columbian aesthetics rarely have only partially empowered local indigenous cultural and political movements. So how could public interventions, and respective strategies and practices, be theorized and applied in the coming decades, in areas of Canada such as the West Coast, to lay the basis for a distinctly de-colonial and not a neo-colonial aesthetic – especially for site-based and performance art in public place? And how could a new kind of multiculturalism and adaptations of contemporary media of a diverse set of indigenous communities and aesthetics, such as on the West Coast, diverge from and be applied to transform earlier forms of settler-centred multiculturalism?

This essay combines an analysis of indigenous aesthetic erasure in public space on the West Coast, particularly around contemporary innovations in media, genres, and styles, on one hand, and the implications of the works by three indigenous artists, on the other hand. As an artist and urban design who works with and sometimes in public space, often in
a collective where project participants are often a majority aboriginal artists, this continued erasure and marginalization is often frustrating and confounding. So I take solace and inspiration for a number of local figures whose work has broken through this 'beaded ceiling' working outside of what and where expressions of indigeneity and respective contemporaneity are considered acceptable.

In this essay, I argue that some key works by Rebecca Belmore, Terry Haines and Marianne Nicholson, though not always permanent installations, sketch some of the elements for a decolonial aesthetic of public space on the West Coast. I explore how some of the site-based worked of these indigenous artists has been established within the contemporary cultural discourse in Vancouver. I believe that these works embody critical strategies for intervening in neo-colonial landscapes still fraught with obstacles and career hazards for indigenous artists. Together, their selected works provide a sketch of the kinds of reassertion and testing, necessary for the more ambitious and indefinite indigenous transformations of sites and the public sphere -- that can effect re-occupation and re-population after demographic declines and cultural erasure.

These works of Belmore, Haines, and Nicholson allude to some local processes of aesthetic decolonization especially related to postcolonial goals for the renewed "publicness" and democratization of access to and use of space, territory, and resources. I group these representation, intervention and aesthetic practices as "re-populating": bringing diverse indigenous demographics, assertions of experiences, adaptation and relocation of configurations of media, and transformation of urban public space back into communities and precincts to counter ongoing forms of erasure.

In coming to the Decolonial Aesthetics Symposium, I want to explore some questions on this panel and with other participants.

1. Why and how are public art and other contemporary works in the public sphere crucial in processes and movements for constructing decolonial aesthetics?

2. How can we revisit and recast earlier, somewhat neo-colonial treatments of West Coast indigenous architecture and outdoor art centred on notions of "monumentality"5, to better detect6 and acknowledge the diversity of cultures, social groups, and modes of innovation over the last two centuries. "Monument" has a strong association with death and disappearance (aside for the heavily edited marker) whereas these First Nations did not die and were not dying but rather working (heroically) to counter assaults on bodies, families, lands, livelihoods, homes, and cultural infrastructure. So these 'monuments' can be reconsidered as art and architectures for inspiration and survival.

3. In a multicultural society, where large portions of 'settler' demographics are populations that have been colonized, how cultural assertions of the experiences of still marginalised local groups, in the public sphere, contribute to formation of postcolonial aesthetics?
4. What would be some elements and formalistic descriptors for a visual art centred on a decolonial aesthetic of public space on the West Coast particularly in terms of scale, recombination of traditional and contemporary media, and related content?

5. How could we better frame the remaining institutional and economic barriers to local indigenous artists further contemporizing and expanding their work into and transforming public space?

6. Is it even possible or tenable for artists to engage in "public practices," in regions such as Pacific Canada with persistent institutionalization of neo-colonialism, that is not avowedly "decolonial"? In other words, how can we talk about the "publicness" of art and their location and engagements without working in a decolonial framework? And if so, would be correct and fair to dismiss such practices that do not directly challenge colonial legacies as still part of the nexus of "neo-colonialism"? Or are such perspectives overly didactic? Are there more supple ways to understand the shifting dynamics of publics and indigenous art interventions in public areas under colonialism, neo-colonialism, and decolonial movements?

The structure of this essay is rooted in the following problem statement based on markers of continued erasure of indigenous artists and history in public space with a glaring example from Vancouver's False Creek. I then explore some contemporary barriers to indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space and the continued confinement of large public works by indigenous artists especially to Indian Reserves and tourist facilities. The analysis centres around the ongoing, though waning, reproduction of colonial and neo-colonial publics, public art (and its erasure), and respective economies. I then shift to explorations of some of the more transformative work in public space of three contemporary West Coast artists. Rebecca Belmore's performance interventions in public space have contributed to a decolonial aesthetic on the West Coast in numerous ways. Similarly, the urban re-inscriptions in the last video of the late Terry Haines' video, the 2013 Coyote X, will resonate for years to come. Thirdly, Marianne Nicolson has begun to construct a visual and spoken language of re-populating that has crossed the barriers that have constrained most indigenous West Coast artists. Concluding, these works of these artists illustrate a series of contemporary strategies and practice of renewed indigenous interventions that could provide the basis of new theory and aesthetics to challenge the erasures of key experiences, diverse traditions, and critical contemporization that is so lacking from the public space of West Coast public space most notably Vancouver's False Creek pedestrian areas.

**Problem Statement:**
Continued erasure of indigenous artists and history in public space – An example from Vancouver's False Creek

A good place to begin to explore today's problems of erasure of contemporary, indigenous visual expression, as a departure point for development of postcolonial aesthetics, is to consider a public space where there is the following:
1. relatively large indigenous populations and semi-regular events that include forms of constructed visibility such as demonstrations, festivals and events;

2. a rich infrastructure of cultural institutions and an economy that allows large works in public to be funded and installed; and

3. a relatively large population of indigenous artists engaged in reworking of traditions as part of contemporary visual expressions.

The eight kilometre strip of public, pedestrian-oriented space around Vancouver's False illustrate well the kinds of still ubiquitous processes of cultural erasures for indigenous comments and the practical barriers and theoretical problems still faced by artists rooted in these communities.

The cultural erasure still going on contrasts markedly from the trend of rapidly growing indigenous populations and increasing presence in public spaces. One example are kinds of constructed cultural visibility employed in political demonstrations. The September 22, 2013 Reconciliation Walk in Vancouver, the sixth of seven in various cities across Canada, illustrates the contradiction of greater aboriginal presence and visibility, on one hand, and regular cultural erasure in that same public space, on the other hand. That Reconciliation Walk drew over 70,000 people in heavy rains with various kinds of traditional and contemporary visual expressions. But these ephemeral events where First Nations effective experience a kind of imagining of decolonizing public spaces have not lead, so far, to many more ongoing indigenous aesthetic explorations nor secure markers and site-based works. The urban landscape, in West Coast cities such as Vancouver, remains largely colonial and barely neocolonial – and this erasure is very much embodied, and in a word 'naturalized', in constellations of public art.

The industrialization of False Creek was crucial to the development of Vancouver as a national centre and similarly it's redevelopment for housing and increasing gentrification has been central to events such as the opening of the real estate market to international capital in the late 1980s and the 2010 Winter Olympics and Paralympics that in turn provides the basis for fictions such as Vancouver’s position as a supposedly ‘world class’ city and resort destination. In these civic marketing processes (for sale of lands and infrastructure not, so far, ceded by local First Nations, the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-Waututh), False Creek has become the public stage for re-crafting of origin stories and notions of ‘contemporary’ culture. But the cracks in the façade, especially around local history and the continued assertion of First Nations presence, have been difficult to pave over. In 1999, I spoke in Barcelona about this structural nature of this urban problem for Vancouver.

Of the over one hundred facilities and public art sites established along False Creek over the last twenty-five year, in an area that constitutes the hub of public space in Vancouver with two important historic villages going back quite probably 5,000 years that were difficult to obliterate, there are effectively only two spaces that specifically
acknowledge aboriginal presence and contemporary experiences – and both are highly problematic. And there are only three non-aboriginal and 'neo-colonial', both culturally and politically, works that only allude to indigenous presence and history.

False Creek public art analysis (nearly all works installed since 1985)
>100 outdoor public art and historical markers
< 5 permanent sites specifically by or about First Nations
all current installations effectively 'neocolonial' = NC
proposed site for an expanded Vancouver Art Gallery that has not yet received sufficient funding (that would be on a hill, starchitect-castle-like above False Creek = ?2023?
Emily Carr University for Art and Design current campus = ECUAD
Emily Carr University for Art and Design future campus = ECUAD+
Grunt Artist-run Centre the major space for exhibiting contemporary indigenous works = Grr
Contemporary Art Gallery Burrard Field Stn = CAG

Ocean Art Works, sometimes called the "Granville Island First Nations Shed," is small, leaky and current under-used. The facility is caged such that tourists briefly come off of buses and look at the artists working and their works from behind wire mesh. More problematic is the 2010 “Truce Installation” of the Vancouver Organizing Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, as a sort of political gesture to local First Nations who have not ceded respective lands under a treaty, was supported by Teck Resources Limited and acknowledged the graphics of aboriginal artist, Corrine Hunt -- the designer of that year's Olympic Medals. Hunt is not specifically acknowledged as the artist
behind this site-based work, *per se*, but rather the work by the Organizing Committee and Teck. On the back of Hunt's designs are incongruous surfaces that list all of the corporate donors, who were often beneficiaries, of the 2010 Olympics spectacle. The information on the works of Corrine Hunt on her website, do not list the Truce Installation as one of her creations. So this rather unimaginative (and not very contemporary) marker represents a not-so-subtle form of appropriation, on the cheap, of indigenous culture.

Of the works along False Creek who are not indigenous, only two reference aspects of indigenous – settler culture – with a third that badly obscures historic indigenous presence through overly abstracted photographs. Only two public art works along False Creek begin to reference historic and ongoing Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-waututh presence: "Lookout" and "Welcome to the Land of Light." But both works, while beautiful and vaguely informative, still marginalize indigenous histories and contemporary populations. Another example of the chronic neo-colonialism still institutionalized in Vancouver contemporary art "scene" has been the difficulty of acknowledging the ongoing engagement of the Squamish and Musqueam First Nations in the former village and cultural centre, Snaaq, that they shared along False Creek. The Burrard Marina Field House is on the Snaaq site and is currently owned by the City of Vancouver and operated by Vancouver's Contemporary Art Gallery (CAG). But so far the CAG has barely acknowledged the contentious history of the site (especially for notions of the "contemporary" in art) and the century of Musqueam and Squamish of resistance and reassertions around this city, including a 2002 legal victory for a portion of the former village just to the east. So for the CAG has only supported a vague discussion of generic displacement of urban populations, linking theft of indigenous land to contemporary gentrification, that has not even engaged with decades of Musqueam and Squamish work.

What is problematic and troubling about this indigenous erasure in the public space around False Creek is that Vancouver and institutions in this arts precinct are positioning themselves as comprising one of the leading centres for contemporary indigenous culture, particularly production of visual works, in Canada. Over the last two decades, this new landscape, around False Creek, of 'indigenous-cultural-erasure-lite' has rarely been challenged. While a few progressive organizations, such as the artist-run centre Grunt Gallery and the indigenous arts programmes at Emily Carr University of Art and Design, have consistently supported contemporary indoor work by indigenous artists, this cumulative spaces as a precinct of cultural production and exhibitions is being effectively marketed as a model for other systems of public space and art in Canada.

In another example of how difficult it remains for indigenous artists to engage in contemporary practices of transforming public space on the West Coast is the saga of the work *Native Hosts* (1988/91) by Cheyenne and Arapaho artist, Hock E Aye Vi Edgar Heap of Birds. *Native Hosts* is, so far, the most widely viewed piece of contemporary public art by an individual indigenous artist permanently installed, outside of an Indian Reserve or tourist facility, on the West Coast of Canada. Originally exhibited in 1991 at the Vancouver Art Gallery, permanent installation on the University of British Columbia campus took another two decades. Re-installation was only thanks to the artist’s donation of the work (as
in exceptionally discounted labour) to one of the most highly funded universities in the world.

**Some barriers to indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space**

How can we explain these landscapes of erasure for contemporary indigenous engagement in outdoor visual cultural and public practices? A simplistic answer would be that indigenous engagement in these spatially expansive genres would lead to new forms of "decolonial aesthetics" and that insertion of this content could jeopardize the marketing strategies for the already inflated real estate especially in the context of the over-building of poorly designed and constructed condominium towers. In a word, aboriginal housing presence in British Columbia still equates, in the minds of many, to lower real estate values and profit. But the nexus of practical and theoretical barriers to contemporary and urban design engagements (and interventions) for most indigenous artists remains multi-layered and deep.

Before considering the barriers to theoretical engagement around and execution of contemporary art in the public space of national centres such as around False Creek, it is worthwhile to map out the shape of political economic forces at work and to eliminate some spurious explanations that are sometimes floated.

1. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is not because such media and genres are not important to aboriginal artists locally and nationally. There is plenty of evidence to the contrary and this work is being undertaken at smaller scales, through ephemeral venues, or outside of major cultural stages.

2. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is not because such communal locations with considerable history, present-day resonance, and audiences are not considered important to North American indigenous artists. There is plenty of evidence to the contrary. After an exceptional level of displacement and repression by the state, neither First Nations governments and indigenous artists are vacating False Creek. However in the last quarter century, little affordable or communal housing has been built near this public space, particularly viable as artist live work studios, and the lower quality, 'slum' quality housing that did exist historically, has largely been removed or converted to units often unaffordable to indigenous artists.

3. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is not because local indigenous artists have not tried to work with public art proposal, selection, funding, and construction frameworks typically involving the City of Vancouver, various juries, and a range of stakeholders. There is plenty of evidence to the contrary and barriers can be well-identified in the latter phases of project development.
4. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is **not** because North American indigenous artists cannot successfully manage the typically large budgets for outdoor works, often now exceeding $100,000. There is plenty of evidence to the contrary especially of successful indoor projects.

5. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is **not** because North American indigenous artists don't have statements to make that might contribute to decolonial and even postcolonial visions of public space and culture. There is plenty of evidence to the contrary and also that aboriginal artist involvement in public art in British Columbia, aside from works controlled by First Nations government, has nearly always been heavily managed to have the settler state or developer control, management, and soften messages and allusions – running contrary to any possibility of decolonial aesthetics.

6. The current erasure of contemporary indigenous aesthetic interventions in public space on much of the West Coast, such as around False Creek, is **not** because the economy of public art production is in a partially parallel system to that of private art galleries – an economy in which indigenous artists cannot negotiate (or work that private galleries discourage). The career of Marianne Nicholson, discussed later in this essay, is one example work spanning both systems.

An only partial explanation for the institutionalization of indigenous erasure in West Coast public art precincts is a broader economic barrier. Public art projects require capital and do not always pay in a timely way usually requiring an artist to have extensive credit for their studio production. Urban projects, such as in Vancouver, typically require studios nearby and rising rents have been prohibitive. And bank-backed financing for art production is often antithetical to the economy in which most indigenous Canadian artist work generate income from selling on a work-to-work and show-by-show basis. Similarly, most indigenous artists, especially outside of a few central Canadian precincts, do not always have sufficient economic security to invest in responding to a call for a large work of public art (that often functions more for advertising an artist's career rather than making sufficient money to allow an artist to continue to live and produce). In other words, indigenous artists do not always have the economic means to risk losing money on a large, iconic public art project with payments and responsibility for charges often extending over several years. But this explanation for such a pervasive erasure around False Creek is unsatisfactory.

As long as treaties are not negotiated with the local the Musqueam, Squamish, and Tsleil-waututh, with claims that have not been extinguished for False Creek (aside from the cash payment around the obliteration of Snaug), and many other artists in the region are part of communities without satisfactory relationships, transfers, and reconciliation between public institutions and a myriad of First Nations, working in public space is often unpleasant and the source of unresolved kinds of public practices. And for the majority
settler populations in cities such as Vancouver, recent court precedents can also generate confusion and backlash. For example, the 1997 *Delgamuukw v. The Queen* decision of the Supreme Court of Canada\(^\text{15}\) required a vague duty of public and private stakeholders to "consult"\(^\text{16}\) with First Nations governments especially where aboriginal title has not been established through treaties. But the wording of that decision and subsequent iterations\(^\text{17}\) remains vague vis-à-vis cultural production, and the institutionalization within the region so far-reaching yet muddled, that subsequent decisions could one day soon require cultural consultations around public space and production by indigenous artists. In the confusion and backlash over the last fifteen years, it has sometimes been "too complicated" for some settler administrators and clients to support indigenous art that speaks to this new, slightly decolonial, kind of public space that indirectly claims jointly managed territory.

Beyond the politics of getting public art works inserted into urban landscapes, there are internal barriers to overcome. Obstacles for indigenous artists span both deficiencies in educational and institutional resources.

1. On the West Coast, there are inaccurate and Eurocentric divisions between indigenous art and architecture which marginalizes more expansive site-based practices and genres.

2. With so much loss of indigenous languages, oral culture, and knowledge, particularly on the West Coast with half of the indigenous languages in Canada, there is often a focus on reconstruction of past vernaculars and narratives as a source of strength and inspiration rather than venturing into contemporary publics (with continuing devaluation of diverse and nuanced experiences of indigeneity). In other words, there is a security in honouring and reiterating already established canons.

3. The contemporary artist and gallery networks, so crucial to developing reputations and obtaining funding, can be relatively separate from and parallel with those for indigenous artists.

So barriers to indigenous public art in broader venues can be grouped into the following essentially neo-colonial processes:

a. sometimes political economic (as related to urban policy and administrators);

b. often economic (these projects can be difficult and risky to manage – more than the economy of art galleries); and

c. sometimes internalized as not genres entirely available to indigenous artists working in dialogue with broader communities.

**Beyond the confines of reserves and touristic spots:**

**Challenging neo-colonial publics & constraints on aesthetic production**

Fortunately, the internalized barriers for indigenous artists working in contemporary public genres, outlined above, are breaking down quickly. What is more problematic is the difficulty of settler clients and audiences to fully appreciate and value the diversity of
indigenous experiences and the breadth of experiences, including about 'public' and segregated spaces, that may well be the sources of future work. "Blowing up" such experiences of marginalization and injustice, into sometimes large site-based works, can still be distressing to some non-indigenous audiences. Public art can be part of a decolonial aesthetic that unwraps and illuminates more discomforting histories and experiences, that further disrupt nationalist Canadian narratives, with the past decade of horrific revelations about missing women and residential schools just the beginning. To begin to get a sense for the extent of the depth of the indigenous experiences, contemporary and historical, that may well be expressed in public space in the coming decades, I take you to the extended Indian Reserve community in which I was raised for the first decade of my life – and to which I often return.

The T’sartlip First Nation, of Saanich\(^{18}\) on Vancouver Island, has a main Indian Reserve negotiated through the February 11, 1852 North Saanich Douglas Treaty\(^{19}\) with indigenous communities extending well outside of formal enrolment and to other parts of the region. The main Tsartlip Indian Reserve is part of the main demographic and cultural centre in Saanich Inlet. Those traditional communities and the 1852 created a range of shifting and sometimes volatile cultural spaces and publics with the following map illustrating some of the experience of culture, space, resources, media, and contemporaneity in the map below.

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**T’sartlip Indian Reserve: Strategic sites, spaces & markers**

- 'Deadman Island' the site of traditional (and relatively public) mortuary carvings
- traditional Salish food production / horticultural lands as in 'Indian gardens'
- Stelly’s Cross Road that divided the Tsartlip from other treaty lands -- lands to the south of which eventually taken counter to the terms of the 1852 Douglas Treaty

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\(^{18}\) T’sartlip First Nation

\(^{19}\) North Saanich Douglas Treaty
Tsartlip (Jesuit) Residential School shut down by the band council in 1960 for "abuse" with the building subsequently raised

LÁU,WELNEW Tribal School that currently teaches the SENĆOŦEN Language

First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council in partnership with Google

Within the combined experiences of local indigenous populations, with relationships to WJOŁEŁP, T’sartlip First Nation, there are diverse histories, demographics, spaces and modes and cannons of cultural production. The following are some of the factors generating diverse personal and communal experiences and cultural forms:

1. language: SENĆOŦEN speakers (fuent or schooled) or not SENĆOŦEN speakers;
2. origins and families: T’sartlip both parents, T’sartlip one parent and other parent indigenous Salishan language speaker, T’sartlip one parent and other parent indigenous heritage, T’sartlip one parent and other parent not indigenous;
3. legal: Indian status (card), non-status;
4. education: residential school survivor, not residential schooled (day school), public school, T’sartlip schooled, access to higher education;
5. housing: access to reserve housing, no access to reserve housing, on a wait list, access to non-reserve rental housing;
6. food: access to traditional food knowledge and foods or access to traditional knowledge but not food, no access to traditional food knowledge or foods;
7. culture: access to traditional cultural works or no access to traditional cultural works: material / non-material / performance; and
8. space, facilities and support to contemporize.

As well as providing historic leadership around the Douglas Treaties, confronting and removing a residential school on the Reserve, conservation of the local language, and community-based native education, the extended Tsartlip indigenous communities, defined by proximity or family ties, have produced some relatively high-impact culture including the following media and illustrative work:

a. a celebrated Tsartlip mortuary box, on display at the Museum of Anthropology of the University of British Columbia, considered one of the apogees of Salish carving and intended as a piece of funerary public art most likely installed on the island in Saanich Inlet;

b. weaving from the hair of the now extinct Salish dog adapted for the wool of introduced sheep with a renewed engagement, by local figures such as carver Charles Elliot, in the moving art of wool spindle whorls recently recontemporized as animation / kinetic works – as well as knitting with the wool;
c. the visionary and highly political paintings and drawings of Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun\(^{20}\) such as the 1996, "The Impending Nisga'a Deal - Last Stand - Chump Change"; and

d. the drawings and paintings of Lawrence's cousin, painter\(^{21}\) and curator, Rose Mary Spahan who has also been working with me on public art proposals.

Some initial lessons from the Tsartlip re-engagement in visual culture is that production generates innovations and in re-negotiating exchanges, across the apartheid-like lines that constrained the community, new kinds of decolonial aesthetics are imagined and sometimes forged.

**Some decolonization processes in landscape aesthetics & public art**

Just decades back, the Tsartlip were regularly derided by settlers as supposedly "backward" with little culture to conserve, no contemporary production of visual art, and a preoccupation with relatively insignificant political issues such as their "dying" language (which currently is around one hundred speakers). In the tropes of the 1970s and 1980s, Tsartlip culture was supposedly long on attitude and trouble-making and short on what was once called, seriously, "Canadian content." The renewed cultural production associated with the Tsartlip proved these earlier dismissals as poorly researched and often wishful thinking. As for visible of the Tsartlip visual culture, it turns out that a huge amount of the Tsartlip material culture was bought under questionable terms, shipped to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and has been mis-labelled to this day – including the art of an entire Tsartlip seasonal lodge 20 kilometres to the north along Fulford Harbour on Salt Spring Island\(^{22}\). I have worked with several other First Nations who have overcome similar colonial narratives though few have been as under-estimated, poorly researched, and have cultures with such broad engagement in diverse media as the Tsartlip.

The Tsartlip were able to dismantle a local nexus of neo-colonial aesthetic power, including over public space, because relatively early they contested native education and reasserted their language. This template, which resonated from being the few on Vancouver Island given the privilege of negotiating a treaty, allowed them to eventually challenge chronic devaluation of and persistent obstacles to site-based production. And a century and a half long communal belief that some of their treaty lands were taken from them provided an entre to reassert their culture outside of the territory of the main Indian Reserve. But the Tsartlip have yet to repatriate much of their material culture from museums – some of which remains poorly labelled. And Tsartlip engagement in contemporary site-based genres may well remain limited because of the particular interests of its artists whose studios are scattered across the region.

In order to envision new strategies of contemporary Northwest Coast indigenous art focused on reoccupation and ease of intervention on to landscapes, a phase of remapping, testing and repopulating has been necessary, especially after two centuries of extreme demographic declines. Over the last decade, some new practices and strategies, contesting
obstacles to indigenous transformation of public space, have emerged at a time when many
treaty negotiations, for local First Nations, have reached dead-ends. In British Columbia this
has also included lack of compliance by the state in aspects of the Douglas Treaties
including what has been documented by the Tsartlip. Simultaneously, indigenous
populations have been increasing and access to higher education has become more assured.
So a more public and site-based shift, effectively a return to various local and communal
practices, was inevitable.

As Tsartlip communities come to more cultural crossroads, contemporary aesthetics
in indigenous public art are often driven by the following decolonial processes:

1. assertion of language;
2. recovery of material culture and associated productions skills;
3. recovery and repopulation of territory, cultural landscapes, environmental resources
   and respective land use and livelihoods – in the context of threats to local biological
   and cultural diversity and climate change;
4. re-assertion of continuing relationships to food resources;
5. re-assertion of family, sexual diversity, and communal relationships;
6. acknowledgement of continuing violence (as in Vancouver's missing women a topic
   addressed in Rebecca Belmore's 2002, "Vigil" performances);
7. acknowledgement of historical events, victories, and injustices;
8. acknowledgement of traditional territories and territorial experiences;
9. unpacking various spiritual movements and experiences (that have tended to be
   conflated and misrepresented);
10. creating space for various kinds of healing; and
11. highlighting and contemporizing largely forgotten local traditions, styles or media.

To a large extent, production to express this content drives much of development of
decolonial aesthetics on the West Coast. And well before any large work might be
concretized in public, that space, well beyond those relegated to people under the thumb of
the Indian Act, is being remapped through performance and video. And it is in these new,
digital media that the sketching of decolonial aesthetics for these West Coast communities
has been achieved. So all three of the artists described below, who are sketching out
different strategies for repopulating public space on the West Coast, have been working
with a combination of performance, video, and digital installation.

Rebecca Belmore, Terry Haines and Marianne Nicholson were based on the West
Coast over the last decade, while exploring critical strategies for postcolonial interventions.
Together, these selected works provide a sketch of the kinds of reassertion and testing necessary for the more ambitious and indefinite transformations of sites and the public sphere that could be considered occupation or rather reoccupation. And an early phases of this process is a cultural repopulating: redefining your communities and territory in ways that are highly visceral, communal, and spatial.

Rebecca Belmore's performance interventions in public space

Rebecca Belmore's work spans more than two decades of drawing, installation, and performance with the majority of her production having been based in Vancouver. Today, after having moved her studio to Winnipeg for a while and closer to her family's traditional territories, she is the most influential performance artist in Canada today.

The most influential and symbolic indigenous work produced in Vancouver in the first decade of this century was Rebecca Belmore’s performance, *Vigil (2002)*, during which she cleaned a sidewalk on a filthy corner of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, evoked the names of dozens of murdered and missing aboriginal women, and alternatively nailed and unravelled a red dress (in a heavy rain). While reciting their names, Belmore repeatedly nailed a red dress to a telephone pole and tore it off down to her undergarments. As a first gesture of repopulating, Belmore acknowledged individuals and populations disappeared through institutional racism, misogyny, and institutional neglect.

Belmore’s 2007 "Feast For Scavengers," performed in Victoria, explored the cusp of land and sea art and the rich cultural tropes around European marine contact. As another strategy for repopulating public space, Belmore illustrated the deteriorating states of traditional fisheries and the respective precarity and deprivations around traditional foods. In the "Feast For Scavengers," Bellmore literally waded into a tangle including a raft, nets, herring roe as intended bait and a reticent seagull. The scavengers in this work were as much those that came through imperial intrusion as they were the one seagulls that appeared to enjoy the fresh-frozen herring (that Bellmore served a half year out of season).

One of the last of Belmore’s performances on the West Coast, "Worth" (2010), alluded to a well-publicized civil claim by a Toronto-based art dealer. As another practice for repopulating, Belmore confronted an economy of cultural production still largely stacked against the autonomy and prosperity of indigenous artists. Beginning with a sign at the main entrance to the Vancouver Art Gallery (VAG) that read, "I AM WORTH MORE THAN ONE MILLION DOLLARS TO MY PEOPLE" ["DOLLARS" in red with other lettering in black], Bellmore unfolded two flat pieces into complex tapestries, alluding to the early trade items of fur pelts and blankets. She then laid on the blanket as if in a state of shock and then folded back the two pieces and later handed them over to Daina Augaitis, Chief Curator and Associate Director of the VAG. While I do not know the substance of the civil claims file in Toronto, the suggestion in to me in Vancouver was that support and purchases directly from public institutions such as the VAG might well be more just than Canadian art's private galleries.
The urban re-inscriptions in Terry Haines' video, Coyote X

Over the last decade, video installation has been the least constraining venue for indigenous artists on the West Coast, especially for transforming public memory and reimaging public space including where aboriginal sovereignty was fully established. The four channel video installation, "Coyote X"27, was completed in 2013 by Terry Haines, only weeks before he died.

Coyote X focuses on both coyotes in urban Vancouver, an animal of great importance to the artist’s Secwepemc and Tsilhqot’in communities of central British Columbia, and as a totem for a range of experiences of insecurity, survival, and mortality including living with HIV. At one point in the video, Haines spray-painted red positive symbols on rocks at a public beach near Vancouver. Here, the video documentarian intervened symbolically in the world, remaking it through the wily characteristics of this canid that is currently reasserting itself in most Canadian cities. But like Belmore’s interventions in public space, those of Terry Haines were short-lived, though carefully framed for future viewers rather than the audience of his performances.

"Coyote X" is a koan for survival. In some ways, the practices for repopulating in "Coyote X," very much linked to dreaming a vision into reality, are evocative of the nineteenth century, prophetic movements around Bini28 of the Witsuwit’en from the northwest of the plateau territories of Haines’ traditional communities. But in contrast to the various ghost dance cultural movements that persisted in far western Canada, "Coyote X" is more about a symbolic renewal and persistence through the immortality of video. Perhaps the most important form of resilience symbolized in "Coyote X" is that of the indigenous Canadian artist touched by ill-health and the possibilities of death but still able to make a visual narrative.

The language of re-populating:
The public markers of Marianne Nicolson

While the performances of Bellmore and the videos of Haines describe, sketch and effectively propose transformations of public space, as forms of re-populating, Dzawada’enuxw artist Marianne Nicolson of the Kwakwaka’wakw Nation has been able to concretize some of her visions within the safer canons of site-based mixed-media. Nicolson began creating works in her traditional territory up Kingcome Inlet and over the last decade, also created a number of large works in metropolitan Vancouver.

Nicholson's site-based 1998 "Cliff Painting"29 contemporized traditional copper designs on a large surface above the sea as part of reasserting natural landscapes as spaces for Kwakwaka’wakw culture and sovereignty. The practices for repopulating in "Cliff Painting"30 are subtle and powerful adaptations for cultural renewal. Cliff painting for indigenous cultures on the coast had been relegated to a prehistoric media, not connected to contemporary practices, until Nicholson started working on that project. Soon after, Nicholson began working with family photographs and creating installations and environments such as the 2006 "Bakwina?tsi ? | The Container for Souls."31 Similarly, her
2010 "Wanx’id: to hide, to be hidden," worked with family photographs but in a more political vein. In that image, some of Nicolson's ancestors were wearing traditional regalia, effectively committing illegal acts and with masks and other religious objects subject to police seizure under the Potlatch ban in the third section of the 1884 Indian Act. The additional beauty and irony of the image, especially in place inside a protective box, is the use of monarchist celebrations, most likely for the 1910 coronation of George V, and the half covered sign reading "God Save The King" as a legal foil allowing festivities to take place as an acceptable political event rather than an illegal Potlatch.

Nicolson’s 2008 "The House of the Ghosts" represents a more expansive and urban intervention in her rapidly expanding and mixed-media and site-based practices where a three story banner was installed for a month on the north side of the Vancouver Art Gallery. This large, site-based work was part of an intercultural conversation between two kinds of public space: that of Nicolson’s traditional Dzawada’enuxw territory and multicultural and globalizing Vancouver, virtually all of which is on unceded territory (and not that of her Kwakwaka’wakw Nation). The repopulating in "The House of the Ghosts" was infused with the joy and expansive optimism of having access to and creative control over a large, highly visible swath of public space.

In part because of the broad public exposure from her 2008 exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery, Marianne Nicolson has been able to engage in public art commissions, most notably, her 2009, "My People Will Rise Up (Like a Thunderbird From the Sea)" and 2009, "The Land is a Person". While these permanent, site-based works are relatively innocuous and safe as public art goes, heavily managed by respective clients and owners, they represent milestone in pushing contemporary indigenous aesthetics back out on to the land. And "My People Will Rise Up (Like a Thunderbird From the Sea)" engaged in the text of the 1967 speech of Chief Dan George of the Squamish who had some critical points, related to continued colonialism, on the centennial of Canada.

As part of her 2013 exhibit, "Walking on Water (Thin Ice)," Nicolson’s video, "Wel’ida Pał (The Flood)" explores the vulnerability of her family’s village up Kingcome Inlet to disaster and climate change, combining documentary practices with an adjacent installation of orca whales sometimes thought to have the power of prophecy. The repopulating in this installation loops back to both documentary and the revisiting and reiterating Kwakwaka’wakw sculptural cannons through adjacent edged glass installations.

Conclusions: Strategies & prospects

excerpts of an email on Wednesday, October 2, 2013 8:53:23 AM
Sarah (in Manhattan):
"Re: indigenous art, I guess if you include metis, inuit and first nations, you would probably expect 5/100 pieces of art based on population? What criteria would you use to determine an appropriate proportion of public art from these artists? What criteria were actually used? "

Brent in a cafe a few blocks from False Creek:
"It's a huge set of issues given the large urban aboriginal populations nearby and the resolved legal issues around history and current housing shortages. Based on Supreme Court of Canada rulings over the last fifteen years, First Nations, especially the Squamish and Musqueam, could intervene legally and establish consultation status on further art installations -- and demand some kind of relief from erasure in public space. But tokenistic programmes to reinsert indigenous content in a huge urban space like the spaces around False Creek would be used by politicians as colourful substitutes for confronting institutionalized inequities."

The conversation above highlights the kinds of subtle attitudinal barriers that indigenous artists on the West Coast still must overcome to be able to build permanent site-based works in public while still exploring contemporary practices. But more important than permanent statements in high profile public sites is constructing, defending, and finding resources to create from the sense of freedom (and right) to contemporize across a wide range of appropriate media and territories: to use visual production to build future communities and not be encumbered by obligations to re-create traditions. This process of better drawing on modern as well as traditional resources to express complex experiences about the global as well as the local is central, on the West Coast, to new decolonial aesthetics – especially site-based works. The public policy issues alluded to in the conversation above are only oppressive as long as there is not a core of local indigenous artists willing to be architectural and to dream big.

Any kind of decolonial aesthetic anywhere in Canada must initially acknowledge the specificity and the full extent of the losses of local indigenous communities, populations, economies and cultures. These tentative beginnings of decolonial aesthetics on the West Coast have centred on acknowledgement of the unresolved indigenous experiences of depopulation, displacement, and loss of sovereignty combined with still largely symbolic efforts to return to, intervene in and repopulate still contested lands as safe and multicultural public spaces. Such emerging aesthetics acknowledge the specificity and multiplicity of contestations over traditional sites, resources and cultural spaces in the context of departures from traditional media and cannons. What distinguishes the development of decolonial aesthetics on the West Coast of Canada is how few indigenous public art interventions have been successfully carried out.

In this essay, I have argued that a set of cultural production strategies I label "re-populating" comprises an early milestone in construction of a decolonial aesthetic for site-based and public practices: bringing diverse indigenous demographics, assertions of experiences, adaptation and relocation of configurations of media, and transformation of urban public space back into communities and precincts to counter ongoing forms of erasure. The works by Belmore, Haines, and Nicolson discussed here have contributed to this proto-aesthetic of "re-populating" in numerous ways notably through the following topics, media, spaces, events, and transformations:
Rebecca Bellmore
a. acknowledging violence (especially to aboriginal women);
b. acknowledging population losses;
c. body modification through penning the names of missing and dead women who once worked in the neighbourhood;
d. destroying a red dress on a Vancouver street with nearly a century of street prostitution;
e. expressing frustration and rage in public;
f. exploring the link between colonialism and the decline in local fisheries and the subsequent health-related and cultural precarity resulting from loss of traditional food resources;
g. swimming in highly polluted water (near one of Victoria's infamous outfalls of untreated sewage) as part of assembling a floating installation (in the chilly waters of November);
h. reclaiming a historic Songhees village site for indigenous cultural performance;
i. confronting the inequities for indigenous creators in the Canadian visual arts economy;
j. asserting her right to place her works and respective labours with institutions of her choosing;

Terry Haines
k. exploring precarity through a key trickster character from his cultural traditions;
l. exploring the urban resurgence the coyote as a symbol for cultural resilience and survival;
m. re-inscribing a prestige, colonial landscape, Vancouver's formally segregated Shaughnessy and Kerrisdale neighbourhoods often hostile to indigenous people, as a locale for resurgence of a traditional cultural figure;

Marianne Nicolson
s. contemporizing traditional cliff painting;
t. engaging around family histories and previous acts of resistance (and sardonic humour);
u. linking visual art to efforts to protect indigenous languages from extinction;
v. combining family and documentary photographs in mixed-media installations;
w. adding etched glass as a media for transmission of traditional forms, designs, and stories;
x. enlarging mixed media into permanent outdoor structures and building surfaces;
y. grappling with political events important to First Nations but relatively poorly known throughout local populations;
z. re-asserting traditional designs as often functioning as architecture and public art;
aa. acknowledging environmental deterioration (as related to logging and climate change); and
bb. mixing video and mixed-media installations.

When the kinds of marginalization and erasure that we see around False Creek take place currently and in the recent past, the mechanisms of cultural production and placement can be identified as embodying neo-colonial inequities, notions of culture, and essential aesthetics. In other words, when art works exist within the context of public space, they have a relationship to neo-colonial and retrenchment processes – either challenging some of these transactions and power relationships, as very few if any of these works do, or challenging obfuscation which could obstruct the installation of such works. The current legal implications for "consultation" suggest that the kind of blatant erasure along False Creek could see a court challenge or at least the threat of such action. Certainly, the project of reinsertion of diverse experiences of indigeneity, local cultures, and corrective historical details into public space is part of the Debordian concept of "environmental planning" based on the kinds of equitable social dialogues about public space that these three artists have begun to envision.

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Thanks to the organizers of this meeting and their arranging for transportation and accommodation budgets for people like me who have come a long ways to be able to contribute. Also thanks to Julian Castle, Colleen Miller, Katherine Lauriente, Marianne Nicolson, Rebecca Belmore, Sharon Bradley of VIVO, Aaron Rice the surviving partner of Terry Haines, and Lina Jabra.

NOTES

1 Marianne Nicolson, personal communication with this author on June 3, 2013.

2 "Indigenous" is not capitalized in this essay and capitalization is reserved for a local group or organization that use "Indigenous" in its name or self-reference.

3 Marcia Crosby in "Raymond Boisjoly in conversation with Marcia Crosby." 16 May 2013, Simon Fraser University Woodward's Campus, Vancouver. http://www.sfu.ca/tlcvan/clients/sfu_woodwards/2013-05-
16_Woodwards_Artist_Talk_Boisjoly_10974/ (last accessed October 4, 2013).


6 As for detection of elements of public art and practices, previously neglected in colonial and neo-colonial descriptions of various First Nations communities, the work of Edward S. Curtis illustrates some of the problems for contemporary researchers and theorists. For example, his Kwakiutl House-Frame' (circa 1910) suggests, from the vantage point of 2013, an effective vacating of indigenous architectures in the decaying lodge that is depicted devoid of signs of people or use. In reality, that period on northern Vancouver Island saw considerable use of and innovation of indigenous architectures and public art practices until decades later. Those indigenous architectural perspectives, practices, and economies were not effectively undermined until later and the obstruction of access to timber, further cultural suppression, and federal government controls over family structures and housing architectures. So in the first decade of the twentieth century, Curtis could have had plenty of 'modernizing' and innovative forms of Kwakwak'waka architecture and public art to document but did not appear to choose to do so.


8 The larger of the two villages, shared by the Squamish and Musqueam (Sḵwx̱wú7mesh) Nations, was *Senúḵw, Sun'ahk*, or more commonly spelled as Snaaq, and was on the shore of the southern mouth of False Creek at what is today Kitsilano's Vanier Park and the City of Vancouver Field Station currently used by the Contemporary Art Gallery (which so far as not acknowledged the significance of this historical cultural site). A second village was smaller on further along the south shore of False Creek near what is today the Olympic Village and the reconstructed with no indigenous presence so far, 'Habitat Island'. See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senakw](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senakw) (last accessed October 4, 2013), Don Alexander, Charles Dobson, Patricia Canning, and Brendan Hurley. no date. The False Creek Urban Heritage Guide. Funding was provided by the BC Heritage Trust. [http://www.newcity.ca/Pages/false_creek_trail.pdf](http://www.newcity.ca/Pages/false_creek_trail.pdf) (accessed as late as September 23, 2013) and Bruce Macdonald. 1992. *Vancouver: A Visual History*. Vancouver, BC: Talonbooks.

9 See the web site of Corrine Hunt at [http://www.corrinehunt.ca/](http://www.corrinehunt.ca/) that was last accessed on October 1, 2013.
Gordon Brent Ingram 2013 Repopulating Contentious Territory: Recent Indigenous Aesthetic Interventions in Public Space on the West Coast of Canada Panel on Decolonizing the Local: Canadian Artistic Practice in the context of the Americas Decolonial Aesthetics from the Americas Symposium, Toronto, October 2013


11 Noel Best and Christos Dikeakos, 1999, "A sculptural installation consisting of two glass-roofed pavilions separated by approximately 120 metres. The elliptical roof of each pavilion is supported by two walls made of stainless steel with cut-out silhouettes of industrial and natural forms." [http://plepuc.org/en/artwork/lookout](http://plepuc.org/en/artwork/lookout) (last accessed October 4, 2013). But even in this important work, indigenous presence is underplayed and viewed from a decidedly neo-colonial lens with the only relevant text from the work the following: “HOLE IN BOTTOM IS SKWACHAYS STURGEON SOLE," "SEA GRASSES CRAB," "SALMON COD ELK," and “ACRES OF DUCKS.”


18 To understand the current context of the Tsartlip within the Central Saanich, see 68 to 71 of Gordon Brent Ingram. 2012. From queer spaces to queerer ecologies: Recasting Gregory Bateson's Steps to an Ecology of Mind to further mobilise & anticipate historically marginal stakeholders in environmental planning for community development. European Journal of Ecopsychology 3 (Queer Ecologies issue): 53 - 80.


20 Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun, "The Impending Nisga'a Deal - Last Stand - Chump Change," 1996 acrylic on canvas 201.0 cm x 245.1 cm http://projects.vanartgallery.bc.ca/publications/75years/exhibitions/2/1/artist/43/96.27 (last accessed October 4, 2013).


22 pers. comm. Chris Arnett, Department of Anthropology, The University of British Columbia, June 1, 2013.


36 Marianne Nicolson, The Land is a Person, 2011 mixed media wood, glass and lighting, installed in the garden of the Cedar Springs retirement residence in North Vancouver http://www.coastalartbeat.ca/?tag=marianne-nicolson
