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Making Art Matter: Narrating the Collaborative Creative Process

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation positions art production as a form of social activism by investigating how participation within artistic collaborations constructs "mattering maps" where individual transformation and political change are linked by collective processes of making meaning. The three sites examined—Oujé-Bougoumou, The Bread and Puppet Theater, and Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes—all facilitate creative production as an apparatus for political action. In analyzing each, the dissertation highlights the affect of art making as a way of theorizing the becoming of subjectivity necessary for social activists. Invoking a locational feminism, this project contends that a situational conception of identity subverts modernist appeals to an essential humanistic subject, while maintaining the possibility of individual agency.

The creative processes enacted at each site necessitate the construction of a new model for art history that narrates collaborative production. Therefore, rather than describing the examples in terms of art objects, finite events, or hypothesizing their effects upon viewers, this dissertation creates particular meaning by shaping the discourse around the production of communities; the performance of collaboration; the transformative pedagogy of "organic intellectuals;" and the creation of cultural democracy. In doing so the specificity of each of the activist interventions can be documented, while attendantly

theorizing the impact of participation within creative production as a process of

making art matter as social activism.

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To Dana,
for your support, patience
and collaboration.

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Preface: Between Rhetoric and Practice—The Significance of Process

In May of 1997 a colleague, Cynthia Hammond, and I were invited to

Brazil to consult on a nascent artisanal project which was being developed as a

form of social and economic assistance for an indigenous community by

O'Boticario, a Brazilian fragrance and cosmetic firm in the south-eastern state of

Paraná. The differences between what the project claimed to be and the process

we encountered in Brazil profoundly influenced my thinking about the use of art

production to create social change and helped shape my approach to this

dissertation.[1]

In 1994 O'Boticario displaced an indigenous community when it (through

the O'Boticario Nature Protection Foundation) purchased 1,716 hectares of land

within the Atlantic rain forest and created the Salto Morato Natural Reserve on

the northern coast of Paraná.[2] To address the devastating economic impact of the

displacement upon the community, an artisanal program was devised in which

the residents would produce simple marionette puppets to be sold to tourists.

The process of creating the marionettes utilized an assembly-line production

method, where individual participants each learn one skill. For the first three

months participants were offered a small scholarship by O'Boticario as part of a

"re-training program."

During a brief tour of the workshop, we met with two of the community

members who were participating in the project, Alcinei dos Santos Cardos, age

seventeen, and Josias Isidro dos Rosario, age twelve. Through two interpreters,

one from the indigenous language of Tupi-Guarani to Portuguese, and then the

other from Portuguese to English, they told of how local community members

regarded the craft project as "a joke" or "like a game." While a few people had

been interested in participating during the three month training period, their

interest had dwindled when the wages stopped.[3]

From the perspective of O'Boticario, the problems of the project centered

upon the deficiencies of the participants. The first, a lack of quality in the work

being produced, was attributed to the paucity of skills of the participants. Their

second concern, that the work demonstrated a want of creative imagination,

was perceived to be the result of an absence of art making experience among the

people of the community. Consistently the indigenous population was spoken

of in disparaging terms, as being lazy, dirty, and as perpetrators of illegal

activity. Moreover, they were thought of as childlike, unable to make decisions for themselves and irresponsible in matters pertaining to their own well being.

While I had become interested in the O'Boticario project because of its claims of using creative production to address the social and economic needs of a local community, it soon became apparent that in practice their endeavour was at best an example of poorly conceived philanthropy, made necessary by their own involvement in the area. Because the methods being utilized did not emphasize autonomous creativity, collaboration, or the community's self-sufficiency and determination, the project increased the participants' reliance on O'Boticario's continued support. Further, for perhaps very obvious reasons, there was no desire to link the artisanal project to any type of social criticism which would create the insurgency needed to address both the political and material conditions of the community.

I am prefacing my dissertation with these brief reflections on my experience in Brazil in order to demonstrate the necessity of a situated and reflective critical analysis of art(s) activism, one which questions whether and how projects which claim to be working for political and social change enact creative processes which are themselves progressive and transformative. Although, before going to Brazil, the interdependence between O'Boticario's corporate interests and their "activism" raised pressing suspicions, had I not seen the ways in which the project was being conducted, the processes used, and the attitudes towards (and of) the participants, my ability to critique the project

would have been limited by its rhetoric as discursively promoted by the

company. With the ever-increasing discussion of art as activism within art

criticism, art history, and the mainstream media there is a need to look very

closely and critically at projects which attest to be working for social change.

The incredible hegemonic ability of the status-quo to absorb, neutralize, or

simulate radical projects, and the slippery language of art activism itself

mandates investigations which go beyond seemingly objective theoretical

inquiries towards subjective praxis that questions how art activism can create

social and political change.

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[1] I had begun academic research into arts activism while doing an MA program in art history and wrote my thesis on an activist art exhibition addressing women and breast cancer, *Survivors, In Search of a Voice, The Art of Courage*. Caroline Stevens, *Working Bodies: Feminist Alternatives to Passive Representation of "Feminine" Corporeality* (Montreal: Unpublished MA Thesis, Concordia University, 1996).

[2] During our stay in Brazil we received no information about the history of this group of indigenous people. Despite repeated inquires our hosts revealed no details about the specific name, language, or cultural history of the community. However, having now researched the indigenous history of the region in question it is likely that the population of the area are Guarani, who speak Tupi-Guarani. The Northern Atlantic coast of Paraná was one of the earliest occupied parts of Brazil, with Portuguese settlements as early as the sixteenth century. Today in the state of Paraná there are approximately 2500 Guarani, representing a small percentage of the indigenous population, (352,266 people) and an even smaller percentage, 0.2 percent, of the Brazilian national population of 160 million. Mercio P. Gomes, *The Indians and Brazil* (Miami: University of Florida Press, 2000), pp. 246, 258; Alcida Rita Ramos, *Indigenism: Ethnic Politics in Brazil* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), pp. 3-4.

[3] An additional barrier to the project's success that was suggested by the two participants was the traditional gender roles within the community. Although it had been primarily men who had taken part in the training program, the delicate crafting needed to produce the puppets was considered to be women's work. Such gendered perceptions are not uncommon in many populations. For examples of such research within Aboriginal communities see: Janet Catherine Berlo, "Dreaming of Double Woman: The Ambivalent Role of the Female Artist in North American Indian Mythology," *American Indian Quarterly* (Volume 17, Number 1, 1993), pp. 31-43; Alice Schlegel, "Male and Female in Hopi Thought and Action, *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View* (New York: Vintage, 1977); and in Richard L Anderson and Karen L., Field, eds., *Art in Small-Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings* See: Nancy J. Parezo, "Navajo Sandpaintings: The Importance of Sex Roles in Craft Production; Margaret B. Blackman, "Master Carpenters' Daughters: Women Artists of the Northwest Coast"; and Peter G. Roe, "Marginal Men: Male

Artists among the Shipibo Indians of Peru." Further, the community's lack of participation within the project can be read as an act of resistance to O'Boticario's interference.

"I'm telling you stories. Trust me."[1]

"Thoughts on Intervention"

One of the most satisfying works I ever produced as a budding young artist was an environmental intervention. Why was it so satisfying? While trekking in Northern British Columbia, I came across a large cluster of slender metal piping on top of a mountain - each about ten feet long, probably dropped by helicopter for some development project gone awry. Nothing else around for kilometers. Without really thinking, I started arranging them in a circle, like spokes, each one balanced on its own rocky fulcrum. Then I started tapping them with stones and realized that each one could be "tuned" to make a different sound by the way I arranged them. I spent hours getting the sound just right so that when I walked around the circle tapping each one, a lovely sequence of sounds emerged. Then I left, feeling absolutely great but not thinking at all that I had made art. Perhaps nobody will ever find it...or, if someone does, will they understand how to make it sing? Will someone see it from the air? It really didn't matter then or now, but the potential of creating a nice feeling for someone kept that piece alive for me.

Kym Pruesse[2]

"Seeing Mud Houses"

Surprisingly often I think about those Saturday mornings when I was eight and would awaken early to see if water was running under the trees at the school across the street from my house. Approximately once a month, on a schedule unknown to me, water flowed along the small ditch that serviced the row of trees bordering the playground. If it was, my day magnificently laid out. Sometimes I was able to drag a friend along and we set about fashioning small bricks, a quarter of an inch in length, that would dry like brittle clay in the hot San Joaquin Valley sun. Wetting their surfaces we would stick them together, creating tiny one-room houses with roofs made of twigs, grass, and more mud.

Generally this friend's attention would last 'til we had one house completed - a house often took two hours or more. Then I had to spend the rest of the day alone, making bricks, building houses into tiny compounds, and creating nets out of Bermuda grass to troll the ditch for leaves that passed as fish in the tiny world I was assembling. As the sun set, and after my mother had called me for the third time to come to dinner, I would reluctantly leave.

The satisfaction of completion of these tiny houses was in my eyes alone, and the next morning I would run out first thing to look at their transformation into hardened little brown lumps with roofs. It didn't matter who else saw them, didn't matter even if they lasted past that first viewing, because I knew that the return of the students on Monday morning would see their inevitable demise. Maybe one of the neighbor boys would find them and take delight in kicking them apart. Maybe they would become part of a scenario for a game of pilots and bombers.

But I confess I did hope that someone would encounter these mud houses unexpectedly and would begin a tiny settlement in the territory of their own imaginations. The thought, however intriguing, was not sufficient motivation for the making, No, what mattered was how they feasted my eyes, their little shapes, and the memory of them I carried in my hands and aching back from crouching so long. Seeing them my body remembered. Seeing them was satisfaction of some primitive and nonverbal urge to make shape. Seeing was quite enough.

Suzanne Lacy[3]

Introduction: Narrating the Creative Process

In a small book entitled *Accidental Audience: Urban Interventions by Artists*,

authors Kym Pruesse and Suzanne Lacy both begin their consideration of "intervention

art" with detailed remembrances of their delight in art making.[4] Both then proceed to

discuss the reception of this type of art and its potential to influence the viewer. This

decisive shift in focus from producing art to the elusive effort to document its effects on an

amorphous and unknown audience is indicative of a trajectory in contemporary writing

about activist art.[5] Such art histories and criticisms seek to prove the validity and

effectiveness of art as political activism through an evaluation of its ability to act upon the

viewer.[6] However, as Pruesse and Lacy both concede in their essays, it is difficult if not

impossible to ever know the extent to which such art can personally and/or politically

influence a given audience. The choice of both Lacy and Pruesse to ground their writing in

their own art making points to an alternative lens through which to examine the efficacy of

activist art—that is through the affective experiences of its producers. [7]

This thesis examines collaborative art making as a form of social activism.

Simultaneously it explores the political role of a particular type of cultural agent who

through the imbricated identities of artist/activist/researcher/ ethnographer/educator enacts a

socially motivated transformative practice. More specifically, because I am interested in art

production as a personal, social and potentially politicizing project, I analyze how three very

different examples of collaborative artistic practice use cultural production to foster agency

for individuals and position art activism as an apparatus of social and political change.

The three examples I use cross the disciplinary boundaries of the arts by

considering collective participation within artisanal craft production, architectural design,

theatrical performance and puppetry. The sites of my research are Le Centre Artisanal des

Femmes, a women's artisan collective in Montreal; the architecture of the James Bay Cree

community of Oujé-Bougoumou in Northern Quebec; and The Bread and Puppet Theater,

a Vermont based activist performance company.[8] In each instance I question how

participation within collaborative activist art-making processes can heighten individuals'

feelings of agency. I also theorize how these experiences can be placed within "mattering

maps," which support particular identities for the participants. My intention is to examine

the way in which each of the three apparatuses for collective creative production function to

create cultural democracy and social activism.

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes (CAF) is a craft workshop which provides a provisional space in an urban community where women from a multiplicity of social, economic, and cultural backgrounds can learn artisanal skills, supplement their income, and become part of a community organization. Founded in 1992 by activist Mildred Ryerson, CAF functions to empower women who exist within social/structural systems which determine, distort and limit their potentials. The Centre is grounded in the belief that art making can improve the lives of women by addressing their sense of personal and creative competency, while concomitantly providing them with social interaction within a communal environment (Figure: 1).

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes, 1999.

The village of Oujé-Bougoumou is the outcome of a collaborative design process

that took place in the 1980s and early 1990s between Oujé-Bougoumou community

members and renowned Blackfoot Métis Canadian architect Douglas J. Cardinal. Recalled

from the memories of the community's Elders and built to meet contemporary needs, the

creation of the spatial and social structures of Oujé-Bougoumou was an enactment of a

liberatory politics organized to reunite a community which had endured almost a century of

geographic, cultural and economic displacement and multiple forced relocations. The

resulting architecture metaphorically and materially contests the hegemonic and state

control of First People, while simultaneously providing a physical and political assertion

of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree's national sovereignty and land rights (Figure: 2).
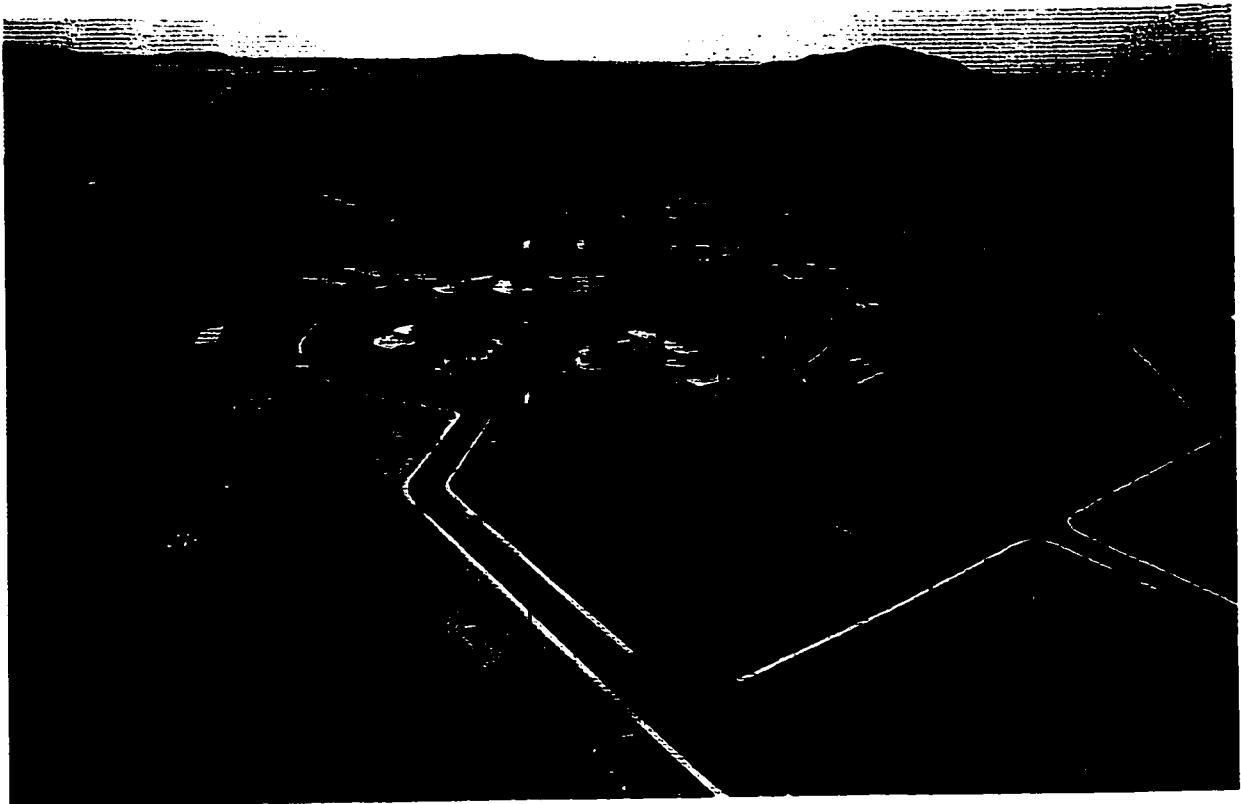
Arial View Oujé-Bougoumou, 1995.

The Bread and Puppet Theater was founded in the early 1960s in New York City by Peter and Elka Schumann. Peter Schumann's persistent desire to make art that is socially meaningful met with Elka Schumann's (nee Scott) family's radical political background and her education in political history and activism. The Theater's early puppet shows focused upon involvement with, and the concerns of, their local urban community on the lower east side of Manhattan. The Vietnam War overtly politicized Bread and Puppet, making their performances synonymous with anti-war protests. In the mid-1970s the Theater moved to Vermont, first to Goddard College in Plainfield as artists in residence, and then in 1974, to their current location on a farm in Glover (Figure: 3).

Bread and Puppet, *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus*, 1997.

Bread and Puppet's political philosophy—that art is as necessary to everyone's life as bread—is enacted by creating performances as participatory spectacles. This practice has been sustained over the Theater's near forty year history through the creation of a

committed community of participants. which in turn is facilitated by spatial and social forms of collective living that connect the spaces of living with structures for art making

The variance between the sites reflects my desire not to position any one example as a model to be replicated, but rather highlights the importance to both activist art practice and art history of a specificity of location and recognition of the interplay of multiple subjectivities. The commonality is in the approach to the material which seeks to narrate the creative process as a transformative praxis and position art making as a form of social activism. For example, examining CAF as a transitional space of encouragement positions artistic practice and the formation of temporary communities of support as an armature that fosters feelings of self-worth, self-esteem, and agency for the women participants. In a different, yet related fashion, critiquing the architecture of Oujé-Bougoumou provides an example of First People's self-determination where the collective design process can itself be read as the galvanizing force that reunited a community socially and spatially. Differing again is an analysis of production at the Bread and Puppet Theater as a space for radical participatory performance in which collectively hundreds (even thousands) of individuals create political spectacles and become social actors.

In each instance I challenge claims to the political transcendence of art and the mythic status of the artist as hero/genius by situating the activism within collective production. Rather than describing art activism in terms of objects and their ability to influence viewers, shaping the narrative around production creates specific meaning by suggesting that a shift in the way in which art activism is framed can locate the specificities of art production as a site for emergent social change. This choice is critical to the creation of an art history which does not erase collaboration nor displace the specificity of activist methodologies and interventions. Further it can locate the individual and communal

Effects of the processes of creative production in order to demonstrate how art making can matter as a form of social activism.

Lawrence Grossberg, in "Is There a Fan in the House?: The Affective Sensibility of Fandom," theorizes how feelings of affect enable people as potential political activists and create the ground for social change.[9] In defining affect as "the feelings of life" he explains,

> "Affect always defines the quantitatively variable level of energy (activation, enervation) or volition (will); it determines how invigorated we feel in particular moments of our lives. It defines the strength of our investment in particular experiences, practices, identities and meaning, and pleasures...But affect is also defined qualitatively, by the inflection of the particular investment, by the nature of the concern (caring passion) in the investment, by the way in which the specific event is made to matter to us."[10]

For Grossberg it is because of affect that one persistently struggles to care about something, to locate the energy to survive, to sustain the passion needed to imagine different possibilities and to take action. Affect additionally creates the space to challenge and resist dominant relations of power.[11]

To explain how affect functions, Grossberg introduces the concept of "mattering maps." Mattering maps chart the places or experiences of affect, locating what it is that an individual cares about, invests in, and construct how they experience the world. "Mattering maps attempt to organize moments of stable identity, sites at which we can, at least temporarily find ourselves 'at home' with what we care about."[12] Indeed for Grossberg, it is through investing meaning within one's map of affective experience that identities are formed and come to matter. Reconciling the desire to attribute agency to individuals within a poststructural framework where the subject is only ever the result of discursive construction, Grossberg is careful to clarify that "the relations through which indivduals are able to invest in particular nominal groups can be described as affective individuality. The affective individual is not a single unified entity that somehow exists in the same way

in every practice; nor is it permanetly fractured; nor is it a structured organization of its multiple possibilites. It is the subject, not of identities (nor of unconsicous libidinal desires), but of affective states."[13]

Theoretically individuals can thus experience agency, whereby they feel they have some degree of control over their lives and the ability to enact change. Culture, as an affective experience to be invested in, offers the resources which may be mobilized into forms of social activism, popular struggle, resistance, and opposition. Grossberg declares, "we all must care about something."[14]

This dissertation has been guided by my belief that creativity and the collective production of art can foster social and political activism in communities by promoting affective transformations. Transformation, as a political process, implies change to both individual subjectivities and the restructuring of social systems. Examining the interdependence between the two, feminist theorist Drucilla Cornell asks "what kind of individuals we would have to become in order to open ourselves to new worlds."[15] Politically oriented collaborative art projects create a place to begin to theorize how individual subjectivities and political change are imbricated processes. Within collective art making is a space for the linking of personal and social concerns, an apparatus for political action.[16] In this sense there is the recognition that the personal is political and what might have previously been seen as insurmountable individual dilemmas can be understood as shared social effects of hegemonic or oppressive political and economic forces.

Throughout the body of the dissertation I look at the three sites collectively, organizing the discussion thematically in each chapter. Dealing with the material in this way allows me to draw comparisons between the diverse examples, while also theorizing their differences. As such it becomes a geography of art activism, recognizing how the diverse locations, while creating different interventions, may follow similar patterns.[17]

James Clifford has called this approach a "modern ethnography of conjunctures," where traveling between cultures produces a study which is both regionally focused and broadly comparative.[18] In the theoretical spaces between the case studies is a productive, integrative place for what Homi Bhabha has called a "politics of address." Here, binary oppositions between "knowledge and its objects," and between "theory and practical political reason" are negotiated to open up hybrid sites and reveal common objectives of struggle.[19]

The first chapter of the dissertation deals with constructing communities through artistic practice. Here art production within, by and for community can be read as part of the affective apparatus of art activism. To articulate this idea I examine some of the complexities of what community has come to mean in contemporary discourses of art activism. The three specific examples researched in the dissertation are analyzed in terms of how community functions spatially and experientially to construct the identity of participants, how creative processes can themselves foster community and how the notion of community potentially limits the goals of social change.

The second chapter deals with collaboration. In an attempt to explore critically what collaboration means within artistic production two intertwined discursive readings of artistic collaboration are proposed—collaboration as a method of production and the performance of collaboration. I then shift my focus to a detailed examination of how the processes of collaboration are enacted within each of the three sites studied as an affective form of participation. In order to reveal the difficulties of working collaboratively on artistic projects, I also critique each of the collective processes used comparatively and, in doing so, demonstrate the contradictions between aesthetic processes and collaborative political action.

Related to the consideration of collaborative processes is a questioning, in chapter three, of the role of professional artists within collective activist practices. In order to provide an intellectual foundation for artists working within politicized or emancipatory creative projects, I draw upon Antonio Gramsci's concept of the "organic intellectual" as it has been developed in theory and praxis as a form of critical pedagogy and transformative practice. Here I postulate that artists working with community-based, collaborative creative projects are particular types of cultural agents who are motivated by their desire to create social change with others. Further, invoking the concept of the organic intellectual offers a way to theorize the artistic leadership of Ryerson, Cardinal, and the Schumanns within each of the respective collaborations as being directed towards the promotion of agency for other participants.

The final chapter introduces the concept of cultural democracy, where making accessible the means of artistic production facilitates the creation of culture by individuals and communities as in and of itself a form of, and space for, political activism. Theories of cultural democracy suggest that the provision of the artistic means of production as a process that adjoins the social concerns and material conditions of the participants, while simultaneously connecting these issues to broader social and political systems, implicitly and/or explicitly critiques social hegemony whereby culture (and through it meaning) is made for, not by, individuals and communities. Invoking cultural democracy provides an analytical lever to distinguish the projects discussed within each of the examples from other types of collaborative, and/or community based projects which are not directly linked to a political mandate for social change.[20] I then apply the concepts of cultural democracy to the three sites and question how, and to what extent, they enact its processes. This chapter ends with a self-reflexive critique of my own participation within each of the locations as an activist/researcher/ artist facilitator.

I conclude the dissertation with some questions about the potential resonance between my research and teaching/activist praxis as the beginnings of a critical pedagogy in art history. Here I consider how processes of education can echo the three examples of collaborative art making discussed in the dissertation and theorize ways in which the teaching of art history can provide an affect transformation for students and teachers.

II

In a brief yet theoretically dense critique of interdisciplinarity entitled, "Artist as Ethnographer?," Hal Foster denounces the community based artist as both a nouveau flaneur and a pseudo ethnographer. In doing so he is seeking to problematize anthropology's encroachment into the visual arts and art history exemplified by the work of theorist James Clifford.[21] Simultaneously, he highlights what he fears is a misdirection or misrecognition within the art world of the artist, critic or historian who has become charged with providing "social outreach, public relations, economic development and art tourism."[22] His discussion proposes that there are two fundamental flaws which prevent community based art practices from being socially or politically transformative. These are the *primitivist fantasy* and *realist assumptions*.

Foster's concerns must be addressed by an art history which argues for the efficacy of collaborative art making as a form of activism. Such intellectual rigor is needed not because his arguments are necessarily invalid, but because his facile description of community based art practice constructs both the primitivist fantasy and realist assumptions as always already present, thus making the possibility of social change

through a collaborative creative process concomitantly theoretically naïve and unrealizable in practice.[23]

The primitivist fantasy, Foster explains, is a self/other binary opposition that necessitates that the place of such political or social transformations is always located in the space of, and with, the "marginalized."[24] This "marginalization" is external to mainstream society, subversive of the status quo, and simultaneously able to provide access to the "primal psychic and social process" from which the artist, as a bourgeois subject, is blocked.[25] In order to gain access to the "marginalized" other, and through them to the "primal psyche and social process," the artist must present him or herself as also being a social and cultural other. However, it is through the alterity of the other that the artist's work gains recognition of being both "innovatively political" and "authentically indigenous."[26] If Foster's theorization is accurate, then no collaborative creative process could be undertaken without reconstructing neo-colonial power relationships between the "artist" and the community of participants. This steadfast and imposed hierarchy assumes that positions of power and marginality are ever present and fixed within a community art practice and, at the same time, serves to remove agency from so-called marginalized groups when they are indeed the participants in such practices.

Foster's second critique is that a community art practice which seeks to create transformation is negligent in realizing its realist assumptions which construct the other as a "subject of history." As such a subject of history, the other is situated as being able to "know the truth of this position and locate this truth in alterity."[27]

As an addition to his critique, Fosters offers the suggestion that a cultural politics of immanence—as always present or along side—should come to replace a cultural politics of marginality.[28] Immanent resistance he argues, is a more accurate way to conceptualize the current postcolonial situation and at the same time avoid the transcendental romanticism of

simple opposition. However, Foster does not apply his critique to any real or specific example of community arts activism. His tirade, therefore, becomes totalizing and, as such, functionally dismisses community based practice altogether. This is regrettable because all such activist work should be put through the theoretical rigor that Foster describes, and more. Some, like my own experience in Brazil (described in the preface) would indeed warrant his criticism, others—as this dissertation seeks to establish—do not. The critical issue is that collective art making is a complex social and political phenomena rather than the simplistic situation Foster describes. Yet in order to closely examine how community art(s) activism can be socially transformative an interdisciplinary methodology that can explore the complexities of community, collaboration artistic practice, critical pedagogy and cultural democracy is needed. Foster's attempts to eschew such disciplinary transversals demonstrates their necessity. As such I propose an interdisciplinary feminist methodology situated within post-structural and postcolonial theories of identity.

Community based art projects must be understood in terms of process. In contrast to Foster's fictious artist who is parachuted into an unknown community, to gain knowledge of such collaborative art making, a researcher needs to become immersed to whatever extent possible in the contexts of the case studies. Attempting to comprehend the histories and experiences of the communities themselves is necessary for the researcher to identify and empathize with their goals and concerns. From such a situated position of motivated concern, one can begin to unravel both the artistic strategies being utilized and the motivations of the community for participating in them.[29]

In order to explore the collaborative creative process used at each of the three sites examined in this dissertation, I utilize an interdisciplinary methodology which draws upon theory and practice from art history, cultural studies, anthropology, architectural history, critical pedagogy, performance, and literary theory. Information was gathered through site

visits, participation within each community, and personal interviews, as well as archival and secondary research.

The primary and most enlightening method of gathering research was through my own participation in each of the communities. From early on in my Doctoral Program, I wanted to find a research project in which I could actively engage, not only as a researcher, but as an activist. In doing so I wanted to collapse what I subjectively perceived as the borders between my identities as an academic, activist, and artist with the goal of making the dissertation an intellectual, creative, and political process. While I did not set out to collect "data" in the communities by using the anthropological method of participant observation,[30] I have come to understand my research experience through what Barbara Tedlock has coined the "observation of participation."[31]

The observation of participation is an inversion of participant observation, one denoting a self-reflexive philosophic and political commitment approach within the discipline of anthropology.[32] Participant observation is a research method in which the researcher attempts to immerse him/ herself within the community of study. Such researchers participate as much as possible in the day to day life of the group of people under study.[33] Tedlock has called participant observation both "oxymoronic" and "morally suspect," because the ethnographers simultaneously establish intimate human relationships and depersonalize them.[34] The supposed neutrality, objectivity, and hierarchical relationships conferred upon the process of observation carries with it the legacy of colonialism in which the "other" can be completely known through rational and scientific means. In contrast, the observation of participation necessitates that researchers use their social skills in experiencing and observing their own and others' interactions within various settings. The emphasis thus switches from seeking to know the other, to understanding how the researcher participates or negotiates participation within a given

community. Tedlock explains this as an ethnographic shift "towards representing *our* selves in interaction with *other* selves" which foregrounds that information ascertained about the community under study is known through the subjectivity of the researcher. [35] Therefore its focus is upon watching one's self and theorizing one's experience and perceptions, rather than seeking to neutrally or objectively know the "other." The observation of participation must also attempt to illuminate the limitations of a researcher's participation in a specific community. Whether such restrictions are externally enforced by the community, or internally imposed by the researcher's abilities and willingness, this methodology provides a productive theoretical approach to understanding the limits of knowledge through participation.

My role as a researcher was not that of a detached or objective observer. Rather, my participation within each context was intended to increase my understanding of the concerns, motivations, and processes of artistic production of the projects from within the communities. This situated and specific knowledge is positioned in opposition to any claims for a universal theory of art activism and privileges the role of subjectivity in knowing. In this sense I am writing through my own subjectivity about the three examples, while also advocating such an approach as a possible model for other studies that would seek to situate art making as an apparatus of political activism.

In the model I am advocating the emphasis shifts from "*ethnos* in ethnography to the *graphia*" of writing practice.[36] According to Tedlock the use of participant observer methodologies resulted in two types of writing, either an auto-biographic memoir portraying the self, or a monograph representing the "other." In contrast she suggests that through utilizing "observation of participation," one can produce "narrative ethnography."[37]

In narrative ethnography Tedlock explains, authors examine their experiences, ethnographic data, epistemological reflections on participation, and cultural analysis.[38] She continues, "The world, in a narrative ethnography, is re-presented as perceived by a situated narrator, who is also present as a character in the story that reveals his own personality. This enables the reader to identify the consciousness which has selected and shaped the experiences within the text....[N]arrative ethnographies focus not on the ethnographer herself, but rather on the character and process of the ethnographic dialogue or encounter."[39]

Narrative is a motivated rather than neutral form of representation; as Natatie Zemon Davis has articulated, "stories set up a special space for themselves with their "once upon a time." They are an economic instrument for making a point, for striking a blow.[40] Susan Stanford Friedman, in *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* has pointed out, "People know who they are through the stories they tell about themselves and others."[41] She outlines three ways in which narrative is necessary to constructions of identity. First, through story-telling, individuals use memory, reflexively, and engagement with others to acquire a sense of the self. Secondly, the creation of communal and individual identities make up narratives as cultural and psychological constructs which are situated within and travel through space and time. Third, cultural narratives of desire, resistance and domination can reveal the matrix of asymmetrical power relations in which individual and collective identities interconnect.[42]

Theorists such as Hayden White have problematized the use of narrative for its structural bias in presenting both information and theoretical concepts as seamless truths.[43] By invoking Jeanette Winterson's wit at the beginning of the dissertation, "I'm telling you stories. Trust me.," I mean to draw critical attention to the idea of history as an objective, authoritative, "seamless truth" while concomitantly valuing the narrative form for its ability to

emphasize my (sense of my) own subjectivity as a shifting and contingent process of becoming.[44] In "Beyond Subjectivity" Susan Krieger argues the necessity of understanding the self in order to produce an understanding of the subject of study, she articulates, "We see others as we know ourselves. If the understanding of the self is limited and unyielding to change, the understanding of the other is as well. If the understanding of the self is harsh, uncaring and not generous to all the possibilities for being a person, the understanding of the other will show this."[45] A limited sense of self can produce an inadequate and unrealistic knowledge of others; the threat of creating an unjust representation of the "other" does not come about through a use of the self, but through a failure to recognize the self.[46]

Friedman would argue that narratives of identity necessitate stories of encounter.[47] Drawing upon the work of James Clifford she explores his use of the homonym routes/roots to map identity: "Routes are pathways between here and there, two points of rootedness." A sense of identity is rooted in "home," "community," and demands a recognition of "sameness."[48] Simultaneously Friedman continues to explain that consciousness of identity requires literal or figurative displacement, heightening the sense of difference and distinction by the encountering and the crossing of borders and boundaries.[49] Reflections upon narratives of encounter can thus reveal how identity is negotiated and understood.

The emphasis upon narrative and the specificity of the encounters within the sites in this study position these examples of collaborative creative processes as contesting the transcendence of the art object and the additional conception that the ability to make art is the exclusive purview of specially trained individuals. This strategy seeks to promote cultural democracy while concomitantly deconstructing the notion of the artist as (predominantly white, male western, middle-class) genius.[50]

In my research and participation within the distinct examples of collaborative art production, I have tried to understand how each set of creative processes were being used to create affective feelings of self-worth, health, well-being, to bring about the politicization of individuals by encouraging creativity, teaching skills, sharing knowledge, and to recognizing the value of each person's cultural contribution. I have also attempted to comprehend how these skills can become transferable outside of the specific creative projects and used in the process of creating further personal, social and/or political change. The variance between the examples in mandates, methods and communities necessitates a navigation of perceptions of difference and distinction of place. Instead it is useful to invoke an approach to the subject material, described by feminist theorist Rosi Braidotti as a *politics of location*.[51] A politics of location refuses universalizing notions and stresses the specificity of situated place, history and identity in an effort to explore individual thinking-knowing-acting subjects, and in doing so, illuminates acts of agency.[52] By invoking this idea of the temporal, geographical, cultural, imaginative and psychic boundaries of identity, I am striving to provide the ground for a feminist politicization.[53]

Friedman suggests that feminism, postcolonial theory and post-structuralism can be theoretically combined in what she calls a geographics of identity or a locational approach to feminism.[54] For Friedman the term geographic represents a "crystallized moment" of interdisciplinary in the new, rapidly moving field of identity studies. Links between ideas of space and discourse of spatiality, and crossovers between identity politics and coalition building, constructivists and essentialists, the humanities and social sciences, are creating new discursive fields of understanding identity as "a historically embedded site, a positionality and a location, a stand point, a terrain, an intersection, a network a crossroads of multiply situated knowledges"[55]

Drawing upon the work of Adrienne Rich, Caren Kaplan, Chandra Mohanty, Neil Smith and Cindi Katz, James Clifford, and Vivek Dhareshwar.[56] Friedman explains that a locational approach to feminism necessitates a geopolitical literacy produced by the acknowledgment of how different places and times create inconstant gender systems as they traverse diverse and multiple social stratification and political activism.[57] She draws attention to the imbricated dimensions of global cultures, and the reciprocity between the global and the local.

The influence of postcolonial theory saturates the language of Friedman's locational feminism. Using terms such as cultural hybridity, diaspora, nomadism and travel, she suggests that the geographic of identity has a material reality, political urgency and metaphoric resonance as subjectivities are negotiated between borderlands of liminality and boundaries of difference.[58] Appealing to post-structuralism, she complicates and displaces this material and political "self" and replaces it with multiple selves, able to contain overlayed positions which are enveloped in various combinations dependent upon the location and situation.[59] Incongruity thus plagues phenomenological experiences of subjectivity, and identity is not only contradictory and multiple, but also relational and situational.[60]

Adopting a locational and situational approach to identity enhances my efforts to situate collaborative creative process as potentially transformative. Geographics provides a way of conceptualizing both physical movement through time and space, and metaphoric understanding of how situational identity can be shifted in relation to the politicized environments of creative production, and by the complexities of art making processes themselves.[61] Friedman also advocates a more self-consciously locational criticism, with feminist writing itself a form of critical practice that applies the lessons of the geographic identity.[62]

To avoid essentialist notions of modernist subjectivity as stable and knowable, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, suggest a radical reconception of multiple intersecting identities which are formed in response to membership in overlapping groups and participation with political spaces.[63] Thus the idea of the encounter, literal and figurative, presents an exchange between geographics and intention for agency. Invoking Homi Bhabha's description of identity as an intersubjective, performative act also creates agency where the human subject is neither formed completely by "outside" social experience, nor by the "inside" processes of the psyche. Bhabha continues, "It is not 'self' given to consciousness, but a coming to consciousness of the self through the realm of symbolic otherness - language, the social system, the unconscious."[64]

Alfred Gell, in *Art and Agency*, uses the concept of agency to propose an anthropological approach to art.[65] Art, he suggests from an anthropological perspective, is about "doing," and needs to focus upon the social contexts of its production, circulation and reception, rather than on the evaluation of art works.[66] "Doing," Gell theorizes as agency, and proposes that the anthropology of art is constructed as a theory of agency, or of the mediation of agency by index, understood simply as material entities which motivate influences, responses or interpretations.[67] Instead of art being understood as symbolic communication, he reads art as a system of action "intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it."[68] Further for Gell, art does not exist outside of its manifestations in social relations.[69]

III

Art objects and the makers of art have been perceived to be agents of social change throughout the twentieth century.[70] Art historian Carol Becker explains how societal

beliefs in progress and the power of the imagination, specifically located in the art of the avant-garde, were believed to be able to play a key role in overcoming monstrous acts of injustice and horrific social conditions. Modernism offered the possibility of rationalism and promised that humanity was moving towards a greater good.[71]

Art in the service of politics abounded in the twentieth century. Some of the better documented examples of this type of work include: the posters and banners of the British Suffrage movement; the art of the Russian Revolution; the Mexican work of muralists; the street art of the Spanish civil war; the visual propaganda for both World Wars, on both sides of the conflict; Soviet social realism; the New Deal cultural programs such as the Works Progress Administration; Irish Republican murals; second wave feminism; the art of Allende's Chile; protest art against the Vietnam war; art activism protesting nuclear war; AIDS art; South African art against Apartheid; and the visual identity politics of postcolonial struggles.[72]

Although the visual manifestations of these different political agendas vary, they hold in common the idea that art objects can create, effect, or support social change by making meaning for the community and by doing so inspire their dedication to a political agenda. Owen Kelly has contrasted this "democratization of culture" with "cultural democracy." He explains while the democratization of culture involves making "high culture" available throughout society cultural democracy provides the opportunity for people from every sector of society to create their own culture.[73]

The differences between the case studies examined in this dissertation make it impossible to fix them within one specific category or genre of art production, however, they hold in common their efforts to create cultural democracy. The aims and objectives of cultural democracy have been embodied in the work of community based practices.[74] In "Postscript to the Past: Notes Toward a History of Community Arts," Arlene Goldbard

remarks that community based art seemed to demand constant definition, as if to anyone who was not directly involved in its practice, it was always a novel phenomenon.[75] And while as Nayo Malcolm Watkins points out in "The Partnering of Artists and Communities," "there are no neat boxes into which one can fit community art practice," it does have a history.[76] Richard Owen Geer attempts to situate community art practice historically in pre-industrial societies. His argument, although verging dangerously on nostalgia, claims that before the age of national, and later transnational telecommunications, communities provided their own forms of communications and entertainment.[77] For Geer, community arts served as the social glue, a medium through which community autobiography, the teaching of children, and defining ceremonies, kept communities united through shared cultural meaning.[78] He describes community art practice as being created by the community itself, of or about its concerns, and for the community itself as the primary audience. Rather than creating art stars, as "distant individual points of light surrounded by darkness," Geer explains community art meets the expressive and communicative needs of communities.[79]

Raymond Williams provides an eloquent intellectual foundation for community based art. Writing in 1959,

> Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact. Every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these, in institutions, and in arts and learning. The making of a society is the finding of common meanings and directions, and its growth is an active debate and amendment, under the pressures of experience, contact, and discovery, writing themselves into the land. The growing society is there, yet it is also made and remade in every individual mind.[80]

Williams discusses culture, as he understands it, as part of the production of one's life. The term culture itself has two common meanings that are both useful to Willams and, he claims, are revealing in their conjunction. The first of these is an entire way of life and

common meaning, and the second refers to the arts, learning and creative efforts made with the intent of discovering.[81] Thus culture is about "our general and common purposes," and concomitantly "about deep personal meanings. Culture is ordinary, in every society and in every mind." He continues, "At home we met and made music, listened to it, recited and listened to poems, valued fine language. I have heard better music and better poems since; there is the world to draw on. But I know, from the most ordinary experience, that the interest is there, the capacity is there."[82]

Community based art itself is a practice which is not easy to define but includes several distinct tendencies, in rhetoric if not always in practice. In addition to the belief that creativity and the opportunity to make art are already present in individuals and communities, there is an activist and/or pedagogical role for artists, whose working collaboratively within the community facilitates the expression of creativity and the articulation of shared social concerns. Whether from the community or outside such cultural agents must generate sufficient support within a community to work collectively if the project is to come to matter to the participants. Further, the artists ideally do not attempt to speak for a given individual or community of people, but rather supply them with the assistance they need to speak in their own voice.

By the early 1990s postcolonial theorist, Cornel West, in "The New Cultural Politics of Difference," describes a contemporary function of cultural workers, such as the community based artist, as radical organic catalysts. He described this type of artist as a cultural freedom fighter who is a committed and caring intellectual.[83]

For West, the new cultural worker came into being simultaneously with a "cultural politics of difference." A cultural politics of difference was understood as a recognition of concrete, localized, and particular historical situations contextualized through a highlighting of their contingent, shifting and ever changing nature. Inherent in this description is a

rejection of abstract, totalizing narratives which in their monolithic, universal, and homogenizing manner have erased diversity, multiplicity, and heterogeneity. Through a cultural politics of difference, artists were thought to be able to provide creative responses to the precise circumstance of a given situation. They are able to use their skills to align themselves with disorganized, depolitized and demoralized people in an attempt to empower and enable social action. If possible, they are also able to generate through their artistic practice collective insurgency for the growth of democracy.[84]

Largely unacknowledged in the general literature on community art practice is the role that American feminist arts of the 1960s and 1970s had in developing the process and art forms of community art activism.[85] The artistic collaborations and feminist communities which developed during this time, such as the performances of Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Lebowitz, the Woman's Building, WAC (Woman's Action Collation), and Judith Baca's collaborative murals, to name just a few, served to challenge traditional art practice, art criticism, and provide the ground and theoretical framework for community art activism throughout the 1980s, 1990s and into the twenty-first century.[86]

I view this dissertation as a feminist project. Analyzing and critiquing art making processes, creative collaboration, community production, consciousness raising and critical pedagogy, all my principal concerns have their roots in second wave American Feminism of the 1960 and 1970s, even though this current project does not deal exclusively with the creative processes and production of women.[87] My desire to look at multiple sites of oppression and agency reflects the development of my own critical subjectivity in response to feminist and postcolonial theory. While I concur with postcolonial critiques of white feminism,[88] I believe that these combined discourses provide the most rigorous, politically informed theoretical tools for analysis.[89]

IV

The selection of the sites examined in the dissertation charts my own mattering map —my overlapping academic concerns and activism—feminism and the material conditions of women; anti-colonialism and Native sovereignty; and the mounting resistance to corporate globalization. Politically CAF, Oujé-Bougoumou, and Bread and Puppet each perform a radical criticism of present forms of liberal capitalist democracy while simultaneously using artistic production to transform individual subjectivities and construct alternative societal possibilities. Socially they address the material conditions of people who are marginalized within current political/economic structures, and are using art making to change their lived realities and instill a sense of personal competency.

At each site creative processes are enacted by the participants and are inextricably linked to mandates for political and social change. Each example has an established history and a committed community of support, highlights a situational approach to art activism and emphasizes locational interventions, choice and self determination as opposed to universal panaceas for social change.[90]

Oujé-Bougoumou

The Cree town of Oujé-Bougoumou in northern Quebec is the result of the conscious effort of the community to gain political recognition and create a permanent home. It is fundamental to understand the history and political activism of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree, not merely as background to a consideration of the architectural environment and collective design process of the community, but as its very foundation. Oujé-Bougoumou is a place of agency. It is a place where a people once dispossessed have reaffirmed their right to the land, and their right as a culture to autonomous development. It is a place where the exploitation of the earth at the hands of colonial and

postcolonial capitalism has been (temporarily) halted and replaced with respectful and judicious use of natural resources. It is a place which inspires respect and self-respect.

The history of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree, as it is being constructed in contemporary discourse, is one of dispossession.[91] It is also a story of dynamic community and political activism. The Oujé-Bougoumou Cree are traditionally a nomadic people, whose previous land based existence relying primarily on hunting and fishing in the eastern James Bay region of northern Quebec, has been threatened drastically in the twentieth century. Forestry and mining companies in collusion with the Quebec and Canadian governments engaged in policies and practices which were tantamount to the deliberate erasure of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree. For example, in 1936 a federal Indian agent falsely declared the Chibougamau people to be "strays" of the Mistassini Cree, 100 kilometers to the north. The two groups were merged administratively in Ottawa in order to open the region to exploration by mining corporations.[92] The Oujé-Bougoumou and Mistassini Cree both recognize that they are two distinct "bands," and thus are entitled to be treated as such in their interactions with provincial and federal governments.[93] Represented by Chief Jimmy Mianscum, the community tried unsuccessfully to obtain recognition as a distinct band in mid 1960s. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs claimed the community was too small, numbering one hundred and twenty five people in 1968. By 1970 it appeared that no reservation guaranteeing the future of the community would be established and the residents were encouraged to move from the Lac Aux Dorés region, where they were living, to Mistassini. Such a move facilitated the expansion of operations of the Campbell mine, a company which wanted to look for new iron deposits at Lac Aux Dorés.[94]

The quest for natural resources resulted in the continual bulldozing and destruction of Oujé-Bougoumou Cree villages, forcing the people to abandon community after

community. Indeed, since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Band has been relocated nine times (Figure: 4), until eventually its members were living in scattered shacks and lean-tos in ditches along the side of the highways and logging roads. Their homes were crude, sometimes consisting merely of tent frames, overcrowded and in most cases lacking services. In the literature the living conditions of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree were deemed to be among the worst in the world.[95]

The land of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree has been abused, clear cut and mined. At the hands of the state and the capitalist quest for natural resources, their communities have been demolished and their people dispersed. In a sense they became diasporic in the territory their ancestors had lived on and cared for since *time immemorial*, squatters on their own land.[96] Yet the land has never been ceded or surrendered or conquered, including the two neighboring non-native towns, Chibougamau and Chapais, which depend almost exclusively on mining and forest industries as their economic base.[97]

Although there is a long history of exploitation of Native people and their land in the Americas, the situation of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree is unique in that until the beginning of the twentieth century there was little interest in developing northern Quebec. Elders alive today can still remember the first mining surveyors to enter the territory, as they can remember how conditions were before contact. This is a great source of historical and cultural knowledge which is being used by the community of Oujé-Bougoumou in their efforts for sovereignty. The memories of their previous ways of life, cultural traditions and political autonomy have propelled their resistance, and provided the basis for a new way of life and a promising future.

The Oujé-Bougoumou Cree have never lost their identity as a people, and their desire to live as a community has persisted. What prompted them to try once gain to seize this possibility, according to (former) Chief Abel Bosum, was the signing of the James

Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement in 1975.[98] This agreement recognized the land rights of Inuit and Quebec Cree and conceded benefits to Native communities in exchange for the province's right to build hydroelectric dams on the La Grande River. However, as Oujé-Bougoumou was not recognized as a distinct community, they were not signatories to the original agreements, nor were they accorded any settlement. Thus in early 1980s, they once again attempted to gain the government's recognition.

Chief Abel Bosum, who was elected Chief in 1984, was positioned as the person responsible for the renewed efforts to create a home for the Oujé-Bougoumou people.[99] However, Bosum eschews this recognition and shares the success with the entire community. As a strategic move to facilitate negotiations with the Canadian and Quebec governments Chief Bosum and other community members of Oujé-Bougoumou incorporated themselves in 1987 as the Oujé-Bougoumou Eenuch Association.[100] In the absence of formal Band status, the non-profit corporation was created to serve the same purposes as other local Cree governments and represent the political views and interests of the community as well as putting into place programs and activities. The mission statement reads, "To establish a foundation for future generations based on community self-determination, individual growth, mutual support, protection of our culture, protection of our environment and in peaceful co-existence with other peoples."[101] Within the Oujé-Bougoumou Eenuch Association authority is in the hands of the community, who elect a Chief and a Council, as well as providing directives for them at community assemblies

Despite the Oujé-Bougoumou Eenuch Association's rigorous attempts to negotiate an agreement with the Federal and Provincial Governments, it was not until 1989, when the community blockaded a logging road, that a settlement was proposed. Within a week of this direct action the provincial government came forward with an offer.[102] The Oujé-Bougoumou-Quebec agreement signed on 6 September 1989, settled long-standing

grievances of Oujé-Bougoumou Cree, gave them the right to establish a new village at lake Opemisca, and recognized land rights as accorded to other Cree bands under the JBNQ. The Quebec government agreed to contribute financially to the construction of a new village, fund social-economic programs such as job-retraining and post-secondary education, and work in cooperation with the community to ensure the Government of Canada would also recognize the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree as a distinct band. In 1992 the Oujé-Bougoumou-Canada Agreement was signed, providing an additional 50 million dollars.

On May 30, 1991, over ten years after the political battle to gain recognition and a permanent home for the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree was begun, the community hosted a ground-breaking ceremony at Lake Opemisca. In his speech, Chief Abel Bosum referred to the breaking of ground, not as a beginning, but as a turning point and culmination for the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree.[103] He begins his address by noting both the lack of resources that the community had when they began the battle, and their very limited understanding of the processes by which governments operate. While asserting how the Oujé -Bougoumou people have been empowered and grown on a personal level as a result of the struggles, Chief Bosum claims that the new community will be a place which not only provides the basics of life, shelter and services, but also provides an opportunity for people to grow and develop as individuals. Demonstrating an acknowledgment of their vision and dreams, Chief Bosum thanked the community's Elders for being the keepers of their collective history saying: "It is you who have protected for us our ties to one another and have kept alive our collective identity."[104] Looking towards the future of the new community, his speech places responsibility on the youth to become educated so that the skills necessary for the health of the community can come from within, while simultaneously reminding them of their responsibility to protect the aboriginal heritage and to be ready to struggle to

assert their rights. and the rights to the territory. Chief Bosum's address ended by stating. "if we could get to the point of building a new community in this context. then we know that we can do anything that we set out minds. our hearts and our hands to. Each one of you here today have in one way or another made a contribution to this affirmation."[105]

The construction of the new village was viewed from the beginning as a transformative process. Involving community members in the collective design process would create affective feeling of competency and self determination, while providing them with the opportunity to define the social and spatial structures in which they would live. Through the design and construction of the architecture, community members could be organized. For instance, it was an opportunity to equip community members with the training and education needed, and a way of providing and keeping work in the community. Furthermore, the importance of the physical aspects and appearance of the community were not considered to be an inconsequential "frill," but were viewed as an investment in preventing far more costly social problems. If people were proud of the appearance of their village and homes, it would have positive ramifications on their feelings of self-worth as individuals, and on their pride in and commitment to the community. For similar reasons the importance of culture was stressed as a way of engaging the population, especially the young people, who were (and continue to be) over half of the population. It was thought that such involvement could be used as a way of avoiding or preventing many problems which other Native communities in the James Bay area face—vandalism, addictions to alcohol and drugs, and high delinquency.[106]

The collective design process was from the beginning both the practical and philosophical foundation of the new community. The involvement of every member of the future community was the cornerstone of the new village and it was intended that, through their participation in the planning and design process, each member of the Oujé -

Bougoumou band would become part of the new community.[107] After the community had established the basic design concepts and village plan, and determined the function and services they wanted the community to house, they enlisted the services of Douglas J. Cardinal and his architectural firm.[108] Cardinal was by this time in his career an internationally renowned architect with accomplishments such as Saint Mary's Church in Red Deer Alberta and The Canadian Museum of Civilization in his portfolio.[109] At first the idea of Cardinal being the architect enlisted to design and build the community was seen as a utopian dream. His name was mentioned during a Band council meeting as a being the best imaginable person for the job. Members present at the meeting, however, buttressed by the knowledge that once having a community at all had been no more than a utopian dream, decided that they were obligated to contact Cardinal and initiate possible discussion. The community was pleasantly surprised, but nonetheless affirmed when Cardinal indicated that not only would he consider taking on the project, but that he would be delighted.[110]

Materially and metaphorically the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree built a community which attests to their permanency in their territory and their evolving cultural autonomy. The result of this collective design process is a unique Oujé -Bougoumou Cree community which combines traditional architectural forms with dwellings for modern living. Visiting Ouje-Bougoumou one cannot help but be aware that this place is like no other. There is an architectural unity which relates harmoniously to the environment.

Oujé-Bougoumou is a site of conjunction and hybridity, a place were traditional life ways of hunting and trapping and Cree values such as respect for the environment meet with contemporary social and political systems. Architecturally and politically, Oujé-Bougoumou represents a claim to sovereignty and autonomy, not by returning to a idyllic pure or pre-contact state, but by being a place where Native cultures and values can exist

and grow throughout the twenty-first-century. Concomitantly, it is a conscious effort of the community to participate on their own terms in the contemporary world. In doing so they have created a home which is receiving international recognition and from which architects, urban planners, politicians, and all those who value community and the environment have something to learn. Their identities, individual and collective, are ceaselessly being formed, and their participation in the transformation of the spatial and social environments is constitutive in this process.[111]

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes (CAF)

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes is an association in transition. Currently located 207 Duluth Avenue East in the Plateau region of Montreal, CAF is a non-profit organization which seeks to provide free artisanal training for women. In CAF's first decade there have been competing and sometimes conflicting mandates for the Centre. However, the common theme among them is that art making can improve the lives of women. An introduction to CAF demands that the varying ways that creative production has been conceptualized by the Centre as a transformative process be traced.[112]

CAF was founded in 1992 by the then 80 year old activist, weaver, and dancer Mildred Ryerson. Relying upon the ideals of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement, Ryerson believes that the production of a beautiful work of art can cure the social ills of contemporary society and she contends it is the artisan's responsibility to foster this process.[113] Ryerson's life has been shaped by art and activism. Her first experiences as an activist came in 1924, when she joined the Women's International League for Peace; in 1927 she founded the Toronto chapter. Ryerson trained in Occupational Therapy at the University of Toronto in the 1930s and since then has been

working with art production for psychiatric patients both in institutional and non-institutional settings.

Ryerson's first job in the art department of a small sanitarium influenced her thinking about art production as a transformative process. She found that the hospital environment isolated the patients in their illness. She wanted to create a space for patients to go during the day which would be removed from their hospital experience and provide an alternative focus for their minds. Ryerson contends that the use of art making as a form of therapy can radically change an individual's subjectivity: "You never know when a seed will take root and grow." She describes the changes she observed in the patients' physical conditions—the texture of their skin and hair, as well as their overall psychological improvement—as the result not only of the shift in environment and cognitive focus, but also, Ryerson contends, by the release of certain chemicals by the brain during artistic activity.[114]

Throughout her life Ryerson has maintained an active and supportive participation in Canadian Craft production. In the late 1940's she opened The Artisans, "an uncompromising grassroots enterprise," in downtown Toronto. Through The Artisans Ryerson endeavored to help professional craftspeople by advising them on design and providing a venue for the sale of their work. She saw running The Artisans as an enactment of her commitment to crafts as a way of life; rather than attempting to run a profitable business, she tried to promote high quality workmanship and this particular socialist ideology.[115]

In the late 1960s Ryerson moved to Montreal with her husband Stanley Ryerson, who had secured a teaching position in the history department at Université du Québec à Montréal.[116] In 1971, she created the Atelier d'Artisanat Centre-Ville, a non-profit craftworkshop. The focus of the Atelier was primarily to rehabilitate psychiatric patients in

a real-life situation, but it also offered training in crafts to some of the unemployed people in the community. Within this program, participants were trained as apprentices and received a weekly government stipend, roughly equivalent in amount to welfare. They worked daily, learning and then producing various types of crafts, such as stained glass, jewelry, leather work and weaving. Once the participants had gained sufficient skills to produce well-crafted items these would be sold in the Atelier's boutique.[117] Although the Atelier D'Artisanat is still running today, Ryerson retired in the late 1980s.[118] Ryerson has remained a member of the Montreal activist community and has received multiple accolades for her life's achievements including the Order of Canada in 1988, and several honorary Doctorates.

The founding of CAF was based on the same beliefs that Ryerson held throughout her entire career that learning to be a skilled artisan makes for a healthy and happy person and that the application of the philosophies of the craft person to society will create a better world. The explicit focus on women as the potential users of CAF was explained by Ryerson to be necessitated by the increasing violence towards women in society. She articulated in a letter requesting financial support that CAF would help women who had experienced violence by providing a place for their psychological recovery.[119]

Ryerson's original mandate for CAF was very similar in description to the Atelier. She envisioned CAF providing a training program for unemployed, under employed and unskilled women from the city centre. She aimed to provide a non-institutional environment with an emphasis on working cooperatively. For her CAF was to function as a part of the greater urban community at the same time as it created a community within itself. Therefore, its mandate was not to provide artisanal classes so much as it was to provide a "working" atmosphere where women participants could explore multiple crafts, locate their artistic talents, and learn to make useful, beautiful objects which were

marketable. Ryerson stresses that in order for the women to acquire the benefits through creative processes, they must strive to create high quality. aesthetically successful objects. She states. "This helps people look towards the future with confidence. Finding that you have a talent is one of the best ways of building confidence. Working cooperatively helps to plan a future."[120]

Currently to become a participant at CAF one must become a member.[121] There are no restrictions to membership other than gender. Asking women participants to become members is meant to emphasize that CAF is a community—rather than a drop-in-centre, and to simultaneously increase the individual's feelings of affective belonging. Members are entitled to take an unlimited number of courses with regular classes in weaving, stained glass, textile printing and sewing and special classes periodically taught in ceramics, book binding and metal work. Classes are taught by artists, some of whom are former students of CAF, and all materials and equipment are supplied by CAF.[122] The crafts that the women produce are then sold in the CAF boutique store, *Notre Place*; the revenues are divided equally between the individual producer and CAF, which reinvests its share into the Centre.

The women who belong to CAF have joined for many different reasons and come from a variety of backgrounds. Its members form a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic, and inter-generational group. Because of its monetary accessibility, many women who participate are on unemployment insurance, welfare, are employed part time, are students, or are otherwise living within a restricted budget. Additionally, some participants are referred to CAF by other community organizations, women's shelters, and professionals in the areas of social work and psychiatry, or by local CLSCs (Centre Locale de Sevices Communautaires). These women tend to be in a period of transition—new immigrants,

victims of violence, and those recovering from drug or alcohol abuse or overcoming psychiatric problems such as depression.

Although it has survived for almost a decade, CAF has yet to secure permanent or reliable sources of funding. It functions through private donations and sporadic provincial government grants, usually in the form of wage subsidies such as Programe Paie or Bon Emploi. Since CAF's inception it has been staffed by a series of coordinators and part time administrators. These women tend to come to CAF with an education and/or work experience in social work or health services. As a charitable organization CAF also has a Board of Directors which is made up of a shifting body of volunteers from a variety of backgrounds, but who for the most part, tend to be professional, white, middle-class, English or bi-lingual Francophone women.

Both the financial insecurity and a high turnover in staffing and board members has created a lack of clarity of vision and mandate for CAF. The utopian socialist visions of Ryerson are not necessarily shared by the staff who have come from health and social work backgrounds. Likewise the rigorous aesthetic standards forcefully demanded by Ryerson are thought of as secondary, counter-productive, or even cruel, by the staff and teachers, when compared to the priorities of creating a positive and safe environment for women at CAF.

In a mission statement written in 1997 it is claimed that by giving women a creative outlet and by teaching them skills to produce crafted objects, their feelings of self-worth are improved.[123] In an interview with (then) Workshop Manager Tracey Owens, who started at CAF as a student, she explained how for many women who use CAF, the Centre is their first community experience outside of their families and domestic environment. Owens felt that these women (and in this group she includes herself) come to the CAF

with very low expectations of themselves and their roles in society. To produce an art

object in a supportive environment is an extremely empowering experience.[124]

To this extent, Ryerson found her ideals of creating a retraining or work program,

and her demands for aesthetic quality, to be at odds with the alternative approach which

aimed to assist women in a more general fashion. The different emphasis on craft

production on the one hand, and the supportive environment of the Centre on the other,

created a stifling cleavage within the organization.[125] Both approaches, however, attest to

the conception of CAF as providing a social service rather than creating an environment for

social activism. To this extent the women students of CAF have little power within the

Centre. They have no representation on the Board of Directors and decisions are made for

them instead of with them.

In order to address the philosophical differences within the organization, a team of

consultants who work with women's community organizations were invited to facilitate a

visioning session with CAF's Board of Directors.[126] These workshops aimed to create a

shared mission for CAF, which would be agreeable to all concerned parties, and would

facilitate the continued and improved existence of the organization. The workshops

provided a list of core values, which detail the beliefs which were held in common by all

those who participated in the workshops. [127] Ryerson, choose to not attend the workshops

and has increasingly withdrawn from the organization.

CAF persists without a clearly articulated or enacted mandate. In part this short-

coming can be explained by its inability to obtain secure funding, and thus full time

permanent management, although it is the lack of clear leadership and vision which keeps

the Centre from gaining more stable financing. However, the women members continue

to use CAF. It is regularly busy with activity and provides an increasingly needed venue

for women in an urban environment where other social and community services are being

cut. As a space for women which offers free artisanal training, a place to make art, and a community of other women, CAF, despite its present difficulties, attempts to provide an affective experience of transformation through art making.

Bread and Puppet

In its nearly forty year history there has been a substantial amount of writing on the Bread and Puppet Theater.[128] As theater criticism and history, the majority of this work focuses on the performances themselves and the distinctive style of the theater. Within the literature, the Theater's director Peter Schumann is constructed as a heroic genius whose dominant and singular vision is responsible for the group's longevity and success, while his partner and wife Elka Schumann is strikingly absent. For instance, Stefan Brecht's massive two volume *The Bread and Puppet Theater*, is as concerned to document Schumann's life as it is to analyze Bread and Puppet, and relates the development of the Theater to Schumann's shifts of philosophy and mood. Elka Schumann is present in the footnotes, used through interviews as an interpretive authority on Peter Schumann's personality and art.[129]

The construction of Schumann as an artistic genius, and the lack of recognition of the collaboration of not only Elka Schumann, but of the hundreds of other collaborators creates a problem for a feminist analysis. Without wanting to deny the productivity, imagination and commitment of Schumann's work, by examining Bread and Puppet's use of collective art making as affective apparatus of social activism, this introduction to the Theater deconstructs the myth of the solitary male genius and situate Bread and Puppet's production as a result of decades of collaborative endeavours.[130]

Bread and Puppet was founded by Elka and Peter Schumann in 1963 in New York City's Lower East Side.[131] Peter Schumann was born in Luben, Germany in 1935 (what was then a suburb of Breslau), and fled from the Russians to Hannover as a refugee at the end of World War II. He trained, for a brief period of time, 1953-1954, as a sculptor at Hannover Academy of the Arts, Wekkunstschule. When Schumann ended his formal education, he went to Munich where he continued to pursue painting, sculpture, and dance. There he met Elka Scott, a college student in her junior year at Bryn Mawr college traveling through Germany on her way to Russia where she had been born. Scott, the granddaughter of American progressive radicals Helen and Scott Nearing, and daughter of American John Scott and Russian Masha Kalinovich, had a early education in political activism. [132] John Scott trained as an electrical engineer and went to the Soviet Union to help build the new communist society. In 1941, when Elka Scott was five, the family was deported across Siberia through Japan to United States two weeks ahead of the German invasion of Russia.[133]

In Munich Elka Scott became part of a dance troupe being organized by Schumann and Dieter Starosky. After marrying, Elka and Peter Schumann returned to the United States in 1961, and became part of the dynamic artistic environment centering around the Judson Church which included (now) well know names such as John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Allan Kaprow, Julian Beck and Judith Malina.[134] The first puppet shows produced were centred on and in the urban community in which the Schumanns were living. Hand puppet shows for children grew into more multi-layered productions involving music, sculpture, language and dance. The rough aesthetic of the work is derived from the combined influence of German wood cuts, and folk art, medieval art, and the art of the Dadaists and German Expressionists.[135] The majority of these early productions were done outside of traditional theater venues and took place in city parks or on the street.

From the beginning the work was participative and, with the growing politicization of the urban environment of New York City in the mid to late 1960's, Bread and Puppet's work quickly became the site for political activism. During the Vietnam War the company staged many performances and protests and participated in peace marches and processions involving hundreds of people to create moving theater, or pageants.

Puppetry has a history in the religious spectacle and popular theater.[136] For The Bread and Puppet Theater, puppets, masks and other performing objects have a distinctly political use creating what Victor Shklovsky's has called defamiliarizarition or in the vocabulary of Bertold Brecht, *Verfremdungseffekt*. [137] In either case the use of puppets draws immediate attention to the unreality of the performance of what are for the most part very real situations, thus presenting political issues not as closed narratives or programmatic solutions, but as events to be interpreted and acted upon.[138] Peter Schumann in 1969 indicated that for him the function of theater "is not to induce action, nor to propose solutions, nor even define problems, but to induce people to define their own problems."[139]

Within the first decade of its existence, Bread and Puppet gained a national and international reputation within experimental and populist theater discourses. James Roose-Evans in *Experimental Theater from Stanislavsky to Today* devotes a chapter to Bread and Puppet and claims that they brought theater to the people by taking the theater to the streets of New York City.[140] Roose-Evans comments that the performances had a feel of a "simple yet sophisticated folk tale, sacramental in its impact"[141] Later in the chapter he hints that Bread and Puppet performs biblical narratives with a contemporary political twist.[142]

The chapter devotes a disproportionate amount of its discussion to comment upon the author's perceptions of the puppeteers. Roose-Evans relates, "To see his

[Schumann's] actors seated on the floor when not in a particular scene, or standing by to make noises and effects, to see their faces, is to know and experience with them the continuing nature of what they are about. Their gentleness, their humor, their caring, their concern is part of the total action, more, it does not end with the performance."[143] A few pages later he continues, "One could not call them professionals in the accepted sense. They bring no conventional sense of skills, sophistication or polish to their performance. The plays are presented with a simplicity that radiates from the inner certainty...one feel that the first Franciscans must have been like this: it is impossible to separate the quality of their life form their work."[144] While Roose-Evans' discussion verges on paternalistic condescension, the centrality of the puppeteers to Bread and Puppet's work is an apt recognition.

By the late 1960s Bread and Puppet began lengthy international tours in Western and Eastern Europe. After returning from a nine month tour late in 1969 to find they had been evicted from their living and working place, the Schumanns and their family of five young children accepted a timely invitation to become the theater in residence at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont. At Goddard from 1970 to 1974, and then at their permanent residence in Glover Vermont from 1974 on, Bread and Puppet developed what has more or less been their consistent pattern of production for the last quarter of a century. During the winter months, a company of puppeteers tours both in the United States and abroad. These tours vary in size and scale, and involve workshops within a given community, turning potential audiences into puppeteers and performers. Whenever possible, Bread and Puppet also participate in both large and small scale parades and protests. These vary in theme from an annual celebration of a small Vermont community, to large anti-nuclear protests involving thousands of people and puppets. The summer

months are spent on the farm in Glover, gardening and until 1998 producing the annual
Our Domestic Resurrection Circus.

The rural Vermont setting provided the ideal setting for *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus.* The event was a large scale, multi-dimensional festival that was created by Bread and Puppet's permanent company of puppeteers who would be joined by dozens and then hundreds of volunteers, arriving in the weeks before the Circus to build puppets and create and rehearse shows. The weekend program for the event included many smaller shows, a big papier-mâché circus involving dozens of acts and performers, a parading Passion Play, a twilight Pageant involving massive audience participation spread over acres of field and forest and, after dark, more shows and concerts.

The audience for *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus* grew from one hundred people, to one thousand, to fifteen, twenty, and up-to twenty-five thousand people over the years. With the swelling crowds came non-performance related problems of traffic, garbage, sanitation facilities, availability of water, and safety. The residents of the surrounding towns began to complain about the infusion of tens of thousands of people who were using the annual festival as an excuse for excessive partying.[145] Among the growing community of Bread and Puppet's company there was concern throughout the 1990's about the growth of the Circus and attempts were made to curtail the attendance of spectators who were not there for the puppets.[146] In 1998, after the accidental death of man caused by a fight in a neighboring campground, Bread and Puppet decided they needed to stop the festival completely.[147]

However, large spectacles such as *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus* are only the end product of the larger process of Bread and Puppet. Randy Bolton, in *Peter Schumann's Creative Method Used in Making Plays with the Bread and Puppet Theater,* lists the five central elements of the Bread and Puppet Theater as: first, that theater is as

spiritually important as bread to society and culture; second that artistic expression grows out of a disciplined life style. and artistic work in turn teaches the performer how to live; third, that tasks of the performer's daily life are invested in the artistic performance; fourth, that dynamic expression in puppet theater is created through the use of movement, sound, sculptural form, and ritual; finally the importance of simplicity of statements.[148]

Bolton states that Bread and Puppet is impossible to position inside any specific movement, style, or trend. While the work deals with pacifist morals about good and evil and international politics, the performances eschew the theatrical use of psychological plot and conventional willing suspensions of belief in an effort to activate, not entertain, audiences.[149] Bolton continues to note the conscious desire of the participants within Bread and Puppet that their art not be consumed like so many other products and that it also be more than just theater: "to be in the world and of the world."[150]

Bolton also attends to non-performance aspects of Bread and Puppet, commenting upon life in the Theater. Bolton states that joining Bread and Puppet Theater is like running away to join the circus, adding in a more serious tone that the artistic community of Bread and Puppet was searching for a way to do work which would make a difference in society.[151] The connections between life and art and the shared spatial environments in which puppeteers, sometimes for years, live at Bread and Puppet, make it a unique creative environment. Bolton notes that the Theater is not a commune in the political or philosophical sense, but rather the living arrangement is expedient for their work. The rural Vermont environment makes it possible for the company, whose driving force is the Schumann family, to live simply, grow food and depend on outside finances as little as possible.[152]

The landscape in which the Theater is set is breathtaking, with rolling fields, pine forests, apple orchards and mountains in the distance. Everywhere there is the presence of

art, watchful puppets who have become garden sculptures, or tiny colourful square paintings attached to the trees in the forest. While not overwhelming of the land itself, its presence informs one of the all-encompassing creativity of the environment. The artistic tenet of Bread and Puppet which positions both art and bread as basic and sustaining necessities of life is more than a metaphor. Indeed bread, baked primarily by Schumann, in hand-made, wood burning clay ovens is served after every performance. About it he states,

> "I come from a stretch of land where bread meant bread, not the pretext for a hot-dog nor a sponge to clean up sauces with, but an honest hunk of grainy, nutty food which had its own strong taste and required a healthy amount of chewing. Until the end of the eighteenth century most bread eaters ate such bread, bread on which you could live. With the French Revolution people got what they needed, and more than they needed: the bread of the kings, or the delicate pastry which the kings called bread. And that is mostly what they eat ever since."[153]

Embodied within the serving of bread is the recognition of the ineffectual ability of art to immediately change the material conditions of people's lives. Schumann states, "all art is faced with starving children and apocalyptic politics. All art is ashamed, angry and desolate because of its impotence in the face of reality"[154]

This is not to say that Bread and Puppet does not believe in the political efficacy of art. Of the three sites examined within this dissertation, it is the most overtly political and politicizing. Performance art throughout the twentieth-century has been used by artists as a form of cultural resistance, be it the Futurists who felt performance provided the most direct approach for getting their audience to hear their message, the new generation of experiment in fantastic dance, acrobatics, mime, drama, music and spoken word of Dada and Surrealism; or feminism's increasingly sophisticated use of the body in performance art: All viewed this genre as a valuable political tool.[155]

Randy Martin contends in *Performance as Political Act* that while political

consciousness is important to move individuals into the political arena, it is through action

that social changes occur. Martin holds, therefore, that performance as a form of cultural

resistance is a political act itself and turns the performers directly into social actors. As its

process of production the Bread and Puppet Theater works with large numbers of

volunteers. It provides hands on experience in creating, building and performing a show.

As a process, participation demands creativity imagination, and intellectual rigor. The

politicized content of the majority of the performances also provides a political education

for many. Within the framework that has been created by Bread and Puppet there is also

space for individual experimentation and creativity. Further, the community of the Theater

provides a place for creative innovation, risk taking, and the research and development of

new projects. It encourages the application of its process and method be used and reused

by any participant to create political theater in their independent projects.

The production of art objects, printed books, posters, or banners at Bread and

Puppet is guided by a philosophy of "cheap art." The idea of cheap art stands in

opposition to art as the privilege of the rich and leisured classes and countries. This

philosophy conceives of art as being essential to society and therefore facilitates its

accessibility to all. At the same time, cheap art is not an important or a precious

commodity. Indeed, it defies, ridicules, undermines and makes obsolete the sanctity of

affluent economy.[156] The Puppets, except for the largest ones, are themselves produced in

multiples, and while they are designed to be used effectively, their permanence is not a

priority. To this extent even the Bread and Puppet Museum, which is situated in a century-

and-a-half old hay barn, is not meant to preserve indefinitely the lives of the thousands of

puppets it holds. Rather, the museum is a temporary resting place for puppets whose

accumulations reflect both the longevity of the Theater's productions and the social and political urgencies which inspired their making.[157]

The most recent format within which the creative process of Bread and Puppet is being used is a weekly summertime performance. Dubbed the "Humdrum Glorification Caboodle" in its first season in 1999, this performance series is an attempt to refocus the production of the Theater from the large scale *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus*. Caboodles were performed each Sunday afternoon for fourteen weeks in the summer of 1999, and eight weeks in 2000.[158] The weekly Sunday shows created performances in response to global and local political issues. The idea of humdrum glorification was meant to emphasize the importance of the local, and often opposed vernacular themes such as the rain-barrel, to global atrocities such as atomic water waste.[159] In anticipation of the Theater's participation in Expo 2000 in Germany, halfway through the 1999 series, and throughout 2000, the emphasis of the performance crystallized around the idea of the seven basic needs. The seven basic needs as defined by Bread and Puppet are: 1 friendship and friendliness; 2: all good things: health, water, air, seed, sleep, food; 3: ecstasy; 4: insurrection against existing forms of normality; 5: livelihood without slavery to the money economy; 6: demon confrontation; 7: courage.

The weekly summer performances at Bread and Puppet provide a community arts space for people, who live in Vermont, who want to participate in a creative environment as part of their daily, weekly, or seasonal lives. Further, it provides a performative venue in which they can act upon local issues that are of concern to the community. At the same time the summer performance schedule draws together an international community of people interested in working with Bread and Puppet and in learning to use puppetry and performance to create social change.

As a apparatus for affective transformation through art making, the Bread and

Puppet Theater provides individuals with an opportunity to participate in political

performances. Whether performing in Glover or abroad the collaborative working

processes of Bread and Puppet can themselves be read as an affective form of

politicization. Additionally, the spatial and social structures of the Theater in Vermont also

present the opportunity of living, for a specific period of time, in a collective environment

which values simplicity and attempts to embody a do-it-yourself mentality.

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[1] Jeanette Winterson, *The Passion* (New York: Grove Press, 1987), p. 5.

[2] Kym Pruesse, "Thoughts on Intervention," *Accidental Audience: Urban Interventions by Artists* (Toronto: off\site collective, 1999), p. 7.

[3] Suzanne Lay, "Seeing Mud Houses," Kym Pruesse, ed., *Accidental Audience*, p.69.

[4] Pruesse defines intervention art as being small and subtle works placed within public or common spaces which call attention to the nature of the public sphere and the role of art with in it, and/or offer social or political commentary. ibid, p. 8.

[5] In order to deal adequately with the rapidly growing discursive field of activist art I have organized the review of the literature in sections corresponding to the theoretical concerns of the dissertation.

[6] Nina Felshin, in her introduction to *But is it Art?*, deems this type of art activism, participation through interpretation. She does not offer any method of elucidating its efficacy in creating social change. Nina Felshin, *But Is It Art? The Spirit of Art as Activism* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995), p. 9.

[7] My choice to focus my discussion on the process of production and on multiple producers, rather than reception should not suggest that the audience is incidental. However, as discursive justification for activist art practice concentration upon reception is fraught with difficulties.

[8] In the following paragraphs I briefly introduce each site. However, I reserve more detailed introductions of each of the examples until after the theoretical framework which guides this dissertation has been presented.

[9] Lawrence Grossberg, "Is There a Fan in The House?: The Affective Sensibility of Fandom," Lisa Lewis, ed., *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 50-65. Interestingly Grossberg's article begins as a discussion of the reception of rock music. However, through his theorizing of affect, the rock and roll fan moves from a position of passive consumption to active participation through the enactment of fandom. This shift is key to his argument that affective investments in rock and roll create meaning and agency for individuals by positioning them as constructing their identities in relation to this cultural form rather than through their consumption of its products.

[10] ibid, p. 57., p.57.

[11] ibid, p. 59.

[12] ibid, p. 60.

[13] Lawerence Grossberg. *We Gotta Get Out of This Place: Popular Conservatism and Postmodern Culture* (New York and London: Routledge. 1992). p. 125.

[14] ibid. p. 61.

[15] Drucilla Cornell. *Transformations: Recollective Imagination and Sexual Difference* (New York and London: Routledge. 1993), p. 1. I am purposefully invoking the term transformation for its radical implications. However, complicating its definition of change from one form into another by using the concept as a way of theorizing the performative possibilities of collaborative creative processes creates a sense of transformation a metaphoric reframing used to understand the response to specific people, places, ideas, incidents or objects. While maintaining the hopefulness of social change, considering transformation as a process curtails the liberal humanist claims of identity as static and knowable.

[16] Here I am using Grossbergs definition of apparatus as "alliances which actively function to produce structures of power." Grossberg, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place*, p.397.

[17] Richard A. Schindler, "Democracy is Fun! Joseph Beuys and the Aesthetics of Activism," *The New Art Examiner*, (October 1996) pp. 20- 25 Schindler uses the concept of a "geography of activism" to warn against homogeneous discourses which by essentializing activism destroy the goals of political art.

[18] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture.*, p. 9.

[19] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p., 25.

[20] While other models of artistic collaboration may provide a affective experiences for the participants, without the mandate suggested by a program of cultural democracy, they lack the apparatus to transform that affect into social critique and political action.

[21] Hal Foster, "The Artist as Ethnographer?" George Marcus and Fred Myers, *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 302-307. Foster cites Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[22] ibid, p. 306.

[23] As his description of community based art, Foster offers the following caricature: "An artist is contracted by a curator about a site-specific work. He or she is flown into town in order to engage the community targeted for collaboration by the institution. However, there is little time or money for much interaction with the community (which tends to be constructed as ready-made for representation), Nevertheless, a project is designed, and an installation in the museum and/or a work in the community follows. Few of the principles of the ethnographic participant-observer are observed, let alone critiqued. And despite the best intentions of the artist, only limited engagement of the cited other is effected. Almost naturally the focus wanders from collaborative investigation to "ethnographic self-fashioning," in which the artist is not decentered so much as the other is fashioned in artistic guise." ibid, p. 306. This description elicits questions as to what motivates Foster's critique. Rather than attempting to provide analytical insight or constructive criticism, it would seem he is attempting to eradicates the presence community based art as a significant cultural practice by rendering its processes invisible. At the same time the article does present him with the opportunity to make very disparaging remarks about art as social activism, the role of artists as activists, and theoretical interdisciplinarity.

[24] ibid, p. 302.

[25] ibid, p. 303.

[26] ibid, p. 307.

[27] ibid. p. 303.

[28] ibid. p. 304.

[29] Steven Durland, "Looking For Art in the Process," in Mary Jane Jacob, ed., *Conversations at the Castle* (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1988). Durland discusses how difficult it is to judge collaborations between an artist and a community from an outside position and stresses the importance of identifying the interests of both the artists and the community. For the artist, he suggests there is the immediate gratification and justification each day the artist is able to see that art can have impact upon the lives of the people with whom he or she is working, while the community benefits by gaining access to the artists specialized skills at both art and organizing. pp. 147-148.

[30] It is important to note that I do not consider my participative research to have been ethnography. My initial understanding of my research method as involving participant observation, revised to the observation of participation, came from an article written by architectural historian Carolyn Torma, "The Spatial Order of Work," Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry eds., *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, VII.* (1997), Torma uses this methodology to study how workers in the Chicago Office of the American Planning Association modify their space, and how space is used and perceived by workers to define and subvert hierarchies. I did not set out to study the "other" in each of the communities, but rather wanted to use my active involvement within the communities as an additional way of knowing about art making practices. The use of anthropological theory, however, has helped me to understand this experience as a way of knowing, and has additionally helped me to develop an approach to writing. Further, I did not follow the anthropological practice of taking field notes, where one systematically writes down all observations to be analyzed as data at a later point in time. I have however always maintained a practice of keeping a journal in which I write about my experiences, perceptions and questions on a daily basis. Additionally, upon returning home after each site visit, I recorded my initial thoughts and impressions about the projects. These sources have become a valuable source of qualitative and subjective information and a complement to the other primary and secondary research I have conducted.

[31] Barbara Tedlock, "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography," *Journal of Anthropological Research* (Volume 47, Number 1, Spring 1991), pp. 69-94.

[32] For a discussion of the challenges to the discipline, methods, and writing of anthropology see: James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority," *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 21-54.

[33] For a recent and sympathetic description of participant observation, as well as a review of the literature, and extensive bibliography see: Kathleen Dewalt, Billie Dewalt, and Coral Wayland, "Participant Observation," in H. Russell Bernard, ed., *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 259-299.

[34] Tedlock, "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation," p. 69.

[35] ibid, p. 79.

[36] ibid, p. 79.

[37] ibid, pp. 72-73.

[38] ibid, p. 77. I reiterate that in my participatory site visits I was not studying the other community members, but rather my subject of investigation was the collaborative art practices.

[39] ibid, pp. 77-78.

[40] Natalie Zemon Davis *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), p.7.

[41] Friedman, *Mappings.*, p. 8.

[42] ibid, p. 153.

[43] White, Hayden, *MetaHistory: The Historical Imagination on Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p.ix.

[44] Carolyn Heilbum has observed that women authors who write about themselves rarely use themes of accomplishment, fail to emphasize their own importance, accept full blame for any failure in their lives, and negate their own ambitions. Thus it is important to me to emphasis my agency in the narrative and in the process of creating and understanding my subjectivity. Carolyn Heilburn, *Writing A Woman's Life* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), pp. 20-23.

[45] Susan Krieger, "Beyond Subjectivity" Annette Lareau and Jefferey Shultz, *Journeys Through Ethnography: Realistic Accounts of Fieldwork* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), p.109.

[46] ibid, p. 109.

[47] Friedman, *Mappings.*, p. 153.

[48] ibid, p. 151. Here Friedman is discussing Clifford's "Traveling Cultures," *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 154.

[49] ibid, p. 153.

[50] Deconstructing the artist as genius has been the focus of feminist critiques of art history, see: Griselda Pollock and Rozsika Parker, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (Harper Collins, 1981); Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History and Sexual Difference," *Genders* (Volume 3, Fall 1988); Chila Burman, "There Have Always been Great Blackwomen Artists," Hilary Robinson, ed., *Visibly Female: Feminism and Art: An Anthology* (New York: Universe Books, 1988), Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Women Native Other* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1989) Christine Battersby, "Introduction," *Gender and Genius, Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989),

[51] Rosi Braidotti, (1994), *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory.* New York: Columbia University Press. Pp.163-164.

[52] I do not wish to erase that Braidotti is specifically concerned with the multiple differences which exist among women. Although the nature of my project discusses both women and men it is situated with a feminist critique.

[53] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "Feminist Encounters: Locating the Politics of Experience," Michele Barrett and Anne Phillips eds., *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 74. Also see Doreen Massey *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). Massey discusses the notion of simultaneity as the construction of "now." The recognition of the contrived nature of "now" is fundamental to the formation of identity, both individual, and national.

[54] Susan Stanford Friedman, *Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 5.

[55] ibid, p.18.

[56] Adriene Rich, "Notes toward as Politics of Location," *Blood, Bread and Poetry: Selected Prose, 1979-1985* (New York: Norton, 1986), Caren Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal, eds., *Scattered*

Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Neil Smith and Cindi Katz, "Grounding Metaphor: Towards a Spatialized Politics," Michael Keith and Steven Pile, eds., *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); and Vivek Dhareshwar, "Marxism, Location Politics, and the Possibility of Critique," *Public Culture* (Volume 6, Number 1, 1993),

[57] Friedman, *Mappings*, p. 5.

[58] ibid, p. 19.

[59] ibid, p. 21.

[60] ibid, p. 23.

[61] ibid, p. 23.

[62] Conducting the research at each sites created an alteration in how I was conscious of my own subjectivities. It was most pronounced it Oujé-Bougoumou where questions of race and colonial history made me aware of my "otherness" in the community. However, in the previous examples, I also "othered" myself. In CAF, I was aware of the difference in class between myself and the majority of the other women participants. Although as a student I was not living a particularly middle-class lifestyle, my middle-class origins, university education and earning potential upon completion of school kept my subjectivity rooted there. Within the community at Bread and Puppet were perhaps the least visible differences. Although participating there meant crossing an international boarder, many other performers were also "foreigners." However, it was at Bread and Puppet that I was most aware, at least in the beginning of my split identity as an artist/activist on the one hand, and an academic on the other.

[63] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (New York and London: Verso, 1985).

[64] Homi Bhabha, "The Enchantment of Art" Carol Becker and Ann Wiens, eds., *The Artist in Society: Rights, Roles and Responsibilities* (Chicago: New Art Examiner Press, 1995) pp. 25-26.

[65] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University press, 1998),

[66] ibid, pp. 3-4. Gell also proposes that to develop a distinctively anthropological theory of art, it is insufficient to "borrow" existing art theory and apply it to a new object. One must develop a new variant of existing anthropological theory, and apply it to art.

[67] ibid, p. ii.

[68] ibid, p. 6. Gell holds that the "action" centered approach to art is inherently more anthropological than the alternative semiotic approach because it is centered upon the practical mediatory role of art objects in the social process rather than in the interpretation of objects as if they were texts. Gell also distinguishes himself from theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu and John Berger who are concerned with institutional characteristics of mass society, rather than networks of relationships surrounding particular artworks in specific interactive settings, p.8. Bourdieu's work will be discussed in chapter two in relation to collaboration.

[69] ibid, p. 4.

[70] Art as a political form of agency is not distinct to the 20th century. nor to the predominately western context in which I am about to place it. However. for reasons of brevity I restrict my discussion to this time period.

[71] Carol Becker. "The Nature of the Investigation: Art Making in A Postmodern Era" in Accidental Audience. p. 59.

[72] See: Charles Harrrison and Paul Wood eds., Art in Theory 1900-1990 (Oxford: 1992); David Castriota, ed., Artistic Strategy and the Rhetoric of Power (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1889); Murray Edelman, From Art to Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Lisa Tickner, The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Mikhail Guerman, Art of the Russian Revolution (New York: Abrams Press, 1979); Nancy Van Norman Baer, Theater in Revolution: Russian Avant-garde Stage Design, 1913-1935 (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991); Oriana Baddely and Valerie Fraser, Drawing the Line: Art and Cultural Identity in Contemporary Latin America (London: Verso, 1989); Desmond Rochfort, Mexican Muralist: Orozco, Rivera, Siqueros (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989); Leonard Folgarait, Mural Painting and Social Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940: Art of the New Order (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Cecile Whiting, Anti-Fascism in American Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Barbara Melosh, Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991); Linda Noclin et al, eds., Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics (Cambridge: Place, 1978); Betty La Duke, Companeras, Women and Social Change in Latin America (San Francisco: 1985); Toby Clark, Art and Propaganda in the 20th Century: The Political Image in the Age of Mass Culture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1997); Bill Rolston, Politics and Painting: Murals and Conflict in North Ireland (London Associated University Press, 1991); Norma Broude and Mary Garrard eds., The Power of Feminist Art (New York: Harry N. Abbrams, 1994); Carol Becker, ed., The Subversive Imagination (New York: 1994), p.77-95; James Aulich and Tim Wilcox, eds., Europe Without Walls (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1993); Carol Becker, "Transitional Vision: Artists in the New South Africa," The New Art Examiner (Summer 1994), p.16-23; Marilyn Martin, "The Rainbow Nation - Identity and Transformation," The Oxford Art Journal. (1996), p.3-15; Lyman Chaffee, Political Protest and Street Art (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993).

[73] Kelly, Community, Art and the State., pp. 98-100.

[74] The three case studies of this dissertation are not part of community based art movements by their respective self-definitions. Rather I am using a description of community based practice as a way of situating one possible way of looking at collaborative creative production as a transformative process. The links between creating culture and social critique of community based practice make more isolated production less likely to produce cultural democracy. However, the public performance dialogue works of Montreal artist Devora Neumark which engage random participants in conversations focusing on the connections between personal and social issues for instance can be situated as engendering cultural democracy. In such works the art is the conversation, thus the creative skills disseminated are those of dialogue. See: www.devoraneumark.com.

[75] Arlene Goldbard, "Postscript to the Past: Notes Toward a History of Community Arts" High Performance (Winter 1993), pp. 23-27.

[76] Nayo Barbara Malcolm Watkins, "The Partnering of Artists and Communities: New Methods Evolving in The Durham CAPP," High Performance (Winter, 1993), pp. 39-41

[77] Richard Owen Geer, "Of the People, By the People, and For the People: The Field of Community Performance," High Performance (Winter 1993), pp. 28-31

[78] ibid, p.28.

[79] ibid, p.29.

[80] Raymond Williams. "Culture is Ordinary." 1959. The Monthly Review Press. reprinted in Gigi Bradford. Michael Gary and Glenn Wallach. eds.. *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities* (New York: The New Press. 2000). pp.16-20. Williams is not setting out to define a mandate for community based art. However. his thoughts on culture capture the idea that the potential for making culture exist within every community.

[81] ibid. p. 18.

[82] ibid. p. 18.

[83] Cornel West, "The New Cultural Politics of Difference," Simon During, ed., *The Cultural Studies Reader* (New York and London, 1993), pp. 203-221.

[84] West, "The New Cultural Politics of Difference," pp. 203-205.

[85] The literature on arts activism which is written by, or includes articles about feminist art activism of the 1970s and 1980s fares better in this regard. For instance Lucy Lippard *Get the Message? A Decade of Art for Social Change* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1984); Douglas Kahn and Diane Neumaire. eds., *Cultures in Contention* (Seattle: Real Comet Press, 1985); and Arlene Raven ed., *Art in the Public Interest* (Ann Arbor" UMI Research Press, 1989); Broude, Norma and Mary Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970's - History and Impact* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1994); Nina Felshin, ed., *But Is It Art?* (Seattle, Bay Press 1995) Lacy, Suzanne, ed., *Mapping the Terrain: New Genre in Public Art* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995).

[86] I do not mean to create an art historic list of "great feminist artists" by citing these examples. However due to the topic of my dissertation, and its limitations of space and time, I cannot fully explores this rich period in art history. However, not to name any projects by feminists would be to erase their important presence from this history.

[87] Norma Broude and Mary Garrard, eds., *The Power of Feminist Art: The American Movement of the 1970's - History and Impact* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1994); Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (New York: Double Day, 1975); Amelia Jones, ed., *Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's Dinner Party in Feminist Art History* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); Arlene Raven, *Crossing Over: Feminism and Art of Social Concern* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988); Arlene Raven "Feminist Education: A Vision of Community and Women's Culture," Judy Loeb, ed., *Feminist College* (New York and London: Routledge, 1979);

Arlene Raven , Judy Chicago and Sheila de Bretteville, "The Feminist Studio Workshop," *Womanspace Journal* (April/ May 1973); Miriam Schapiro, "Recalling Womanhouse," *Women's Studies Quarterly*.(Spring/Summer 1987); Moria Roth, *The Amazing Decade: Women and Performance Art in America 1970-1980* (Los Angeles: Astro Artz, 1983); Lisa Tickner, "The Body Politic: Sexuality and Women Artists since 1970," *Art History* (1978); Faith Wilding, *By Our Own Hands: The Women Artist Movement Southern California - 1970-1976* (Santa Monica: Double X, 1977). As a specific example of this type of work Judy Chicago integrated consciousness raising sessions into her pedagogy, drawing on a technique borrowed from the Women's Movement. Within the context of an all female class each student would address her experience on a chosen topic. The knowledge gained was then contextualized in relation to social structures, rather than viewed as random individualized experience. This newly politicized content session was then used as the subject for a performance work in which Chicago had the students role-play different scenarios from their lives. The performance either stood on its own or would evolve into films, installations, paintings, drawings or sculptures. Regardless of the medium, the emphasis of the production was not so much on form as on process. Chicago however, has been criticized as an autocratic leader, who tightly controls all aesthetic decisions and fails to adequately acknowledge the labour of the women volunteers who make her large scale undertakings possible. See: Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism Verses Poststructuralism," *Signs* (Spring, 1988); Jennie Klien, "Sexual/Textual Politics: The Battle Over the Art of the 1970's," *New Art Examiner.* (1996); Cindy Nemser, "The Women Artists' Movement," *Feminist Art Journal* (Winter, 1973-74); Thalia Gouma-Peterson and Patricia Mathews, "The Feminist

Critique of Art History." *Art Bulletin* (September 1987); Griselda Pollock. What's Wrong with Images of Women?" *Screen.* (Autumn 1977); Griselda Pollock. ed.. *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings* (New York and London: Routledge. 1996); Lise Vogel. "Fine Arts and Feminism: The Awakening Consciousness." *Feminist Studies 2.1* (1974).

[88] See for instance. Himanni Bannerji. ed.. *Returning The Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics* (Toronto: Sister Vision Press. 1993); Theresa Harland. "As in Her Vision: Native American Women Photographers." Diane Neumaier. ed.. *Reframings: New American Feminist Photographs* (Philadelphia: Temple Press, 1995); bell hooks, *Ain't I A Woman? Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981); Lee Maracle, *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996).

[89] For examples of individual feminist's positioning within the contemporary genealogy of feminism see: Mira Schor ed.. with Emma Amos, Susan Bee, Johanna Drucker, Maria Fernádez, Amelia Jones, Shirley Kaneda, Helen Molesworth, Howardena Pindell, Mira Schor, Collier Schorr, Faith Wilding, "Contemporary Feminism: Art Practice, Theory, and Activism-An Intergenerational Perspective." *The Art Journal* (Winter, 1999), pp. 8-29.

[90] My description and analysis of each of the examples is based upon my participation within each of the sites, primary archival and secondary research. I have not endeavored to ascertain whether or not the projects actually do create social change or political activism. I did not conduct systematic interviews with other participants within each case study, nor did I undertake user-evaluation studies. I make no claims to be creating a sociological study, nor do I want to make generalizations. To do so would necessitate a different type of methodology, if not a different thesis altogether. Further as I write of my experience, I am reframing it. The artist, activist and educator Dian Marino discusses the difference between "the confused, incomplete, and inarticulate consciousness of a people engrossed in a process and the apparently "decisive form" that emerges from retrospective analysis." Dian Marino, *Wild Garden: Art Education and the Culture of Resistance* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1997), p.103.

[91]   There have been several detailed histories of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree. For this reason the briefest of outlines is offered, as a way of setting the political stage for the architectural environment. For more information please see: Jacques Frenette, *The History of the Chibougamau Cree.* (Cree Indian Centre of Chibougamau 1985);. Richard F. Salishbuury, *A Home for the Cree.* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986); Boyce Richardson, *Strangers Devour the Land.* (Toronto: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd.,1991); B. Richardson *People of Terra Nullius.* (Toronto: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd.,1993); John Godadard, *In From the Cold, Canadian Geographic* (July/August, 1994) pp. 38-47. In addition See the Ouje-Bougoumou web site www.ouje.com For media coverage of Oujé-Bougoumou's political battles and new village see:

Buron Bisson, "Naissance d'une Ville Indienne pres de Chapais,: *Le Presse* (22 Septembre, 1988); Andre Noel, "Le Nation Oujé-Bougoumou réclame 50 millions d'Ottawa." *Le Press* (28 Novembre, 1990; Cree Favour Fresh Town Design," *Daily Commercial News* (20 June, 1993), p.9; Michelle Lalonde, "Project Revitalized Weary Architect Cardinal," *The Montreal Gazette* (4 December, 1993), p. A5; Henri L. Comte, "Oujé-Bougoumou, un Village Modèle." *Le Devoir* (21 August, 1995); "New Cree Community a Model UN Village" *Canadian Press Newswire* (20 June 1995); "New Village in James Bay Cree Territory in Quebec Recognized by UN," *Canadian Press Newswire* (19 June 1995); Angele Cormier, "Oujé-Bougoumou, A Dream to Share," *Recontre* (Summer/Fall, 1995), pp. 17-2; Marie Claude Giarad, "Oujé-Bougoumou le Nouveau Village Cri," *Le Presse* 26 Juillet 1997), p. G9; Mike King, "Historic Judgment Vindicates Us: Crees," *Montreal Gazette* (12 January, 1998) p. A8; Tony Lofardo, "Expo 2000 to Showcase Seven Canadian Projects," *The Globe and Mail* (February 26, 1998), p. A1; Rob McKinley, "Chief's Community Efforts Receive National Recognition," *Windspeaker* (April 1998), p. 4; André Picard, "How a Phoenix Keeps its Nest Warm," *The Globe and Mail* (26 February, 1998). p. A2; Anne Gardon, "Oujé-Bougoumou Le Village de L'Espoir," *Geographica* (Juillet 1998), pp.-10; John Gray, "From a Scattered Community, A Model Village," *The Globe and Mail* 7 November, 1998), p. A8.

[92] Godadard. "In From the Cold." p.42.

[93] As part of the community attempt to regain recognition as a distinct group, they constructed a genealogy of the community members. Additionally they compiled oral history from dozens of people who discussed the relationship between themselves and the Mistassini Cree as having had summer camp on opposite sides of Lake Mistassini. Both the community family tree, and the oral histories are in the Oujé-Bogoumou Archives.

[94] Entraco -Conseillers en Environment et Aménagement du Territorie, *A Permanent Village for the Oujé -Bougoumou Community: Impact Assessment Study* (Montreal: Unpublished O-B Archives, October 1990), p.7.

[95] Oujé-Bougoumou Cree, *Living Conditions Survey* (Ottawa: Prepared by Roy/Lumby and Associates, 1996, Unpublished. O-B archives, 1986).

[96] The phrase *time immemorial* is used by many First People to indicate their spiritual and political belief that they have always occupied their ancestral lands, rather than to invoke the notion of timelessness. Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. i.

[97] The Oujé -Bougoumou Cree Nation considers that its traditional territory extends from parallels 48 degree 30' to 50 degrees 45' North and meridians 73 degrees 30' to 75 degree West, which represents approximately 9000 square kilometers of land. Entraco, *A Permanent Village for the Oujé-Bougoumou Community*, p. 3.

[98] Interview with Chief Abel Bosum, October 30, 1997.

[99] Rob McKinley, "Chief's Community Efforts Receive National Recognition," *Windspeaker* (April 1998), p. 4.

[100] Other signatories were: Glenn Wapachee, Sam Bosum, Kenny Mianscum, Joseph Shecapio Blacksmith, Bently Mianscum, Albert Mianscum. Oujé-Bougoumou Eenuch Association, *Letters Patent*. (Ottawa: Consumer and Corporate Affairs Canada, 1987). O-B Archives.

[101] ibid.

[102] The road block is documented in the CBC program "Inherit the Earth," *Man Alive* (March 25, 1995). O-B Archives.

[103] Chief Abel Bosum, *Speech for Ground-Breaking Ceremony* (May 301, 1991). O-B Archives.

[104] ibid, p.5.

[105] ibid, p.10.

[106] Chibougamau Crees, *Planning Session - Community Development* (no date, pre 1984). O-B Archives.

[107] A critical reconstruction of the collaborative design process used by the Oujé-Bougoumou community will be given in chapter 2.

[108] A detailed analysis of the village concept, architectural plan, and resultant spatial and structural environment will be presented in chapter I of the dissertation.

[109] Joan Reid Acland, *The Native Artistic Subject and National Identity: A Cultural Analysis of the Architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, designed by Douglas J. Cardinal.* (Ph.D.

Dissertation. Concordia University. 1994); Trevor Boddy. *The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal* (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers. 1989).

[110] Interview with Kenneth Mianscum. February 1. 2000.

[111] I would like to thank Dr. Joan Acland for introducing me to the architectural project in Oujé-Bougoumou, and for encouraging me to visit in October of 1997. Joan Acland and I co-authored a paper entitled, "Building Sovereignty: The Architectural Sources of Oujé-Bougoumou," *Futures and Identities: Canadian Issues* (Volume XXI, 1999), pp.124-142. To research the collaborative design process which the community used to build Oujé-Bogoumou, I returned to the community in the winter of 2000. At this point it was critically important to me, as a non-Native person, and given the historical legacy of the exploitation of First People by white academics, to have the sanction of the community for the research I wanted to do. To gain this approval the Band Council wanted a proposal which would indicate how my research could be used to feed back into, and foster the development of, the community and its members. The question was resolved by looking at the larger purpose of my research project in tandem with the other types of sites I was addressing. When the Band Council understood that I wanted to look at the collaborative design process that created the architecture of Oujé-Bogoumou as a type of political arts activism, I was asked to submit a proposal for an artist's residency and art-making workshop that would re-create the dynamic I was studying. This will be expanded upon in chapter 4.

[112] My relationship with CAF predated my interest in writing about the organization and its use of art making processes as a form of social activism. Like many of the women who use the services which CAF provides, I simply walked in off the street to investigate what went on in this colourful neighborhood organization. I became a member and student in January of 1998. During this time I was participating in a textile printing course, and I became curious as to what social role CAF might be playing for the women who were involved. When I started researching CAF for my dissertation I made a formal request to the Board of Directors of CAF to have access to their archives, and set up interviews with CAF's founder Mildred Ryerson, staff members, teachers and students. Because of my growing involvement the organization, academic research about CAF's history, and independent exploration of the possibilities of art activism, in January of 1999 I was asked to sit on the Board of Directors.

[113] All information about Mildred Ryerson unless otherwise noted is from an interview with the author conducted on April 15th 1998.

[114] Ryerson has never obtained any scientific evidence of her theory, and I included it in my discussion of her because of its centrality to her convictions about the value of the creative process. This is not, however, to romantize transformation, nor to suggest that I think it is possible to quantifiably document it as a process. Interestingly, current work being done at the Montreal Neurological Institute is investigating the effects of pleasurable activities such as gambling, playing video games, or eating chocolate on the brain's release of dopamine. Dana Small, Robert Zatorre, Alain Dagher, and Marilyn Jones-Gotman, "Changes in Brain Activity Related to Eating Chocolate: From Pleasure to Aversion," *Brain* (forthcoming 2001). When asked about Ryerson's hypothesis neither Dr. Dagher or Dr. Small could comment upon its validity.

[115] Mildred Ryerson quoted in Gail Crawford, *A Fine Line: Studio Crafts in Ontario from 1930 to the Present* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1998) p. 84.

[116] Both Mildred and Stanley Ryerson were high ranking members of the Canadian Communist Party throughout their lives. Stanley Ryerson, who died in the spring of 1998, was a well know and respected historian of communism in Canada.

[117] This information is taken from a description that was written by an unnamed Atelier employee in 1983 for an Unpublished community health study for the Montreal General Hospital. Jennifer O'Loughlin, *The Atelier D'Artisanat Centre-Ville: A Descriptive Study.* (Department of Community Health, Montreal General Hospital, 1983), appendix II. CAF Archives.

[118] According to Ryerson she was forced to retire by a Board of Directors who were hostile to her ideas and unappreciative of her decades of experience. Ryerson at this point was well into her late seventies.

[119] Letter from Mildred Ryerson to Anne Marie Marqui. Revenue Canada Taxation. September 21, 1992. CAF Archives.

[120] Letter from Mildred Ryerson to Anne Marie Marqui, Revenue Canada Taxation, September 21, 1992. CAF Archives.

[121] Originally membership was provided free of charge, however a Board of Directors decision was made in October of 1997 to charge a nominal five dollar fee.

[122] The artists are primarily paid through one year non-renewable government programs such as the program Paie, and Project Paie, rather than directly by the CAF. Without such programs CAF would have to rely on the volunteer services of its teachers.

[123] CAF *Mission Statement* .1997.

[124] Interview with Tracy Owens, Workshop Manager, March 20, 1998.

[125] This point will be revisited in chapter 2 dealing with issues of collaboration at CAF.

[126] The visioning process was conducted free of charge by Nicole Saltier, Judith Grad, and Sherril Gilbert-Rielly. Saltier is the Director of Equity Programmes at Concordia University.

[127] The CAF core values as produced within the visioning sessions are: the Centre and its activities should be socially relevant; CAF should be an ethical organization based on enacted values; the activities of the Centre should be based on truthfulness and trustworthiness, and on kindness; the atmosphere and the offerings at the Centre should foster creativity, inventiveness, self-sufficiency, self-esteem and self-actualization in clients, staff, volunteers, and the Board of Directors; the Centre should provide continual learning opportunities; the pedagogical approach of choice should be encouragement and empathy; the Centre should advocate social justice and not charity; the Centre should be based on an egalitarian paradigm - all stakeholders are equal, share equally the resources of the Centre and feel included in decisions, in the responsibility and the accountability; Decision making at the Center is participatory and collaborative; rapport is based on respect for the person and for the function that that person has been given within the Centre; The Centre fosters creativity as an opportunity for human-beings to self-revelation of their talents and as a result - to self esteem; the Centre provides opportunity for the humanity in each person to exist, though communication and human contact; the Centre's activities, its raison d'etre, and its goals are developed in consultation with clients, the community, other community agencies, social agencies, all stake holders who have an interest in its development; the Centre is flexible and responsive to the needs of the clientele and those of the community in which it resides; the Centre supports a non-violent environment; Its values are universal and its services adapted to the specific needs of women; the Centre offers tasks that engage the mind, and these are adapted to the client's ability to maximize the chances of involvement and success (as defined by the abilities of the client, not by external criteria)

[128] Theses/ Unpublished Papers From Bread and Puppet Archive: Irene Backalenick, *Bread and Puppet Theater* (CUNY: Unpublished Ph.D., 1983); K. I. Betwebung, "Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater - Eine Raptio-Skeptische Vauante Politischen Theaters, " (Unpublished, 1988); Sarah Hamlin, "Pentad of Puppets: Keys to a Better Understanding of the Bread and Puppet Theater." (New York: Unpublished graduate graduate, 1987); Bete Mailer, *Amerikanisches Volkstheater in Den Sechziger Jahren und Seine Enntwicklung Bis Zur Gegenwart: Das Bread und Puppet Theater, Die San Francisco Mime Troupe* (Universitat Erlangen Nurnberg, Germany 11.12.1985); Vera Pital, *A Theater of Miracles: Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater* (Unpublished MA Thesis, 1982); Sergio Secci, *Il Bread and Puppet Theater: Burattini, Maschere, Prestigiatori ed altre Maraviglie* (Univeraita

degli studi di Bologna. Ph.D.. 1978): Andrea Stulman and Richard Schechner. "Bread and Puppet and Political Popular Performance." (Unpublished paper): Amy Trompetter. "Making Theater in the Community" (Unpublished paper). Books and Journal Articles: Andrzej Bonarki. *Ziarno* (Warszawa. 1979): Kazimierz Braun. "Bread and Puppet: Rodzina Ludzi I Lake." *Dialog* (XVIII. 1973): Gerd Burger. *Agitation and Argumentation in Politician Theater* (VWB: Vertag fux Wissenschaft und Bildung. 1993); Margaret Croyden, *Lunatics, Lovers and Poets: The Contemporary Experimental Theater* (New York: Delta: 1974); Massimo Dini, *Teatro D' Avanguardia Americano* (Rome: Il Pellicana, 1978); Florence Falk, "Bread and Puppet Theater" *Performing Arts Journal.* (Spring 1977 Volume II, Number I); Barry Goldensohn, "On Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater, *The Iova Review* (Spring 1977-71-82); Ron Jenkins, *Acrobats of the Soul, Comedy and Virtuosity in Contemporary American Theater* (New York: Theater Communications Group, 1988); Franck Jotherand, *Le Nouveau Théatre American* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1970); Sainer, Artur, *The Radical Theater Note Book* (New York: Avon Books, 1975); Connie Price, "The Bread and Puppet Theater and the New World: Reflections and Recollections about The Daily New Nativity, the Judson Church, December 12-21, 1985. (January 1986, New York); Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); Joel Schechter, *Durov's Pig, Clowns, Politics and Theater* (New York: Theater Communications Group, 1985); Peter Schumann, "God Himself: Problems Concerning Puppetry" *The Puppetry Journal* (Volume 25 No 1, July/August 1973); Peter Schumann, "The Rise of Washer Woman Grace of New York City," *Delta* (No.14, may 1982); Theodore Shank, *American Alternative Theater* (New York: Grove Press, 1982); Shepard, Sam, *The Unseen Hand and Other Plays* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986); Karen Malpede Taylor, *People's Theater in America* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1973); Roger Winter, *On Drawing* (San Diego: Collegiate Press, 1991).

[129] Stefan Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater, Volumes I & II* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988). For an insightful review of the book see, Book Review: Philip Auslander, review of Stefan Brecht, *The Bread and Puppet Theater*. Review in *The Theater Journal* (May 1990), p. 270-272.

[130] To facilitate may research I arranged to conduct intensive primary and participative research by working and living with the company for the summers of 1999 and 2000. During this period I became part of the summer company, a crew of anywhere between fifteen to one hundred volunteers. As part of the volunteer company I built puppets, rehearsed shows and performed. Like all of the performers at Bread and Puppet, I also assisted with the maintenance of the company itself. This involved cooking, gardening, and other domestic tasks not directly related to performing. During this time I also conducted archival research and interviewed Elka and Peter Schumann.

[131] Named in Brecht as the founding "core" group of Bread and Puppet also are: Bruno and Eva Eckhardt, Bob Ernsthal, Charlie Addams, Mary Kelly, Irving Oyle, Andy Trompetter. Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater*, p. 220.

[132] Scott Nearing, born in 1883, educated as an Economist, was a prolific writer and committed activist, advocating for women's rights and against child labour. During World War I Nearing published a pamphlet *The Great Madness* that criticized the United States involvement in the War, for which he was arrested and put on trial for treason. Nearing was found not guilty. Stephen J. Whitfield, *Scott Nearing: Apostle of American Radicalism* (New York and London: Colombia University Press, 1974); Scott Nearing, *The Making of a Radical: A Political Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); Helen and Scott Nearing, *Living the Good Life: How to Live Sanely and Simply in a Troubled World* (New York: Schocken Books, 1954).

[133] John Scott, *Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1942). John Scott later took an 180 degree political turn and became a conservative editor for Time Magazine.

[134] Brecht describes Schumann as having an early childhood and adolescent fondness of puppetry, which was submerged for years until rediscovered when Schumann taught a puppetry course at the Putney School in Vermont where Elka Schumann was teaching Russian. Brecht, *Peter Schumann's*

Bread and Puppet Theater p.102 In a interview with John Bell. Schumann sites the impact of Happenings which were similar to the New Dance that Schumann had been doing in Germany as influencing his approach to theater with performing objects. John Bell. "Uprising of the Beast: An Interview with Peter Schumann." *Theater* (Volume 25. Number 1. Spring/Summer 1994).

[135] Elka Schumann. "A Short History of the Bread and Puppet Museum." *Bread and Puppet Museum* (Vermont: Bread and Puppet Press. 1991). p.7.

[136] This history is not limited to a Western Euro-American tradition but spans many cultures throughout history. For an excellent review of the literature on the religious and popular uses of puppetry see: John Bell, "Puppets, Mask, and Performing Objects at the End of the Century." *The Journal of Performance and Art* (Volume 43, Number 1, 3 Fall 1999). Also see: Petra Halkes, "Phantom Strings and Airless Breaths: The Puppet in Modern and Postmodern Art." *Parachute* (Volume 92, Autumn 1998; Scott C. Shershow, *Puppets and "Popular" Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995)

[137] Alice Rayner, *To Act, To Do, To Perform: Drama and the Phenomenology of Action* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press). p. 22. Rayner is referring to theater in general not to puppet theater nor Bread and Puppet.

[138] John Bell. "Beyond the Cold War: Bread and Puppet Theater and the New World Order." Jeanne Colleran and Jenny Spencer, eds., *Staging Resistance: Essays on Political Theater* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press. 1998) p. 39.

[139] Peter Schumann as quoted in Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater*, p. 580. Bread and Puppet is greatly influenced by Bertold Brecht's work, although a detailed analysis of this relation is beyond the scope of thee present work, the reader is kindly refered to: Walter Benjamin, *Understanding Brecht* (London and New York: Verso, 1998). Particularly useful is Benjamin's essay reproduced in this volume "What is Epic Theater?"

[140] James Roose-Evans, *Experimental Theater from Stanislavsky to Today* (New York: Universe Books, 1970), p. 138.

[141] ibid, p. 139.

[142] ibid, p. 142.

[143] ibid, p. 140.

[144] ibid, p. 143.

[145] Robert Benincasa, "Residents: Changes Needed at Circus Venue." *Burlington Free Press* (August 12, 1998), p.4; David Gram, "Bread and Puppet to End Festival." *The Burlington Free Press* (August 21, 1998), p. 7; "The Final Curtain?" *Vermont Times* (August 26, 1998), p. 8; Shay Totten, "Send in the Clowns: Sex, Protest, Rock'n Roll. Was it 1968 or 1998?" *Vermont Times* (December 28,1998), pp. V8, N53; Scott Weber, "Thanks to Bread and Puppet." *Seven Days* (September 23, 1998), p. 4; Liz Weir, "Domestic Resurrection Circus." *The Vermont Cynic* (January 28, 1998), p. 6.

[146] Interview Elka Schumann, June 28, 1998.

[147] John Bell, "The End of Our Domestic Resurrection Circus." *The Drama Review* (Volume 43, Number 3, Fall, 1999).

[148] Randy Bolton, *Peter Schumann's Creative Method Used in Making Plays with the Bread and Puppet Theater* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis: Florida State University, 1981), p. 4. Twenty years later Bolton's description is still an appropriate one.

[149] ibid. p. 129.

[150] ibid. p. 280.

[151] ibid. p. 143.

[152] ibid. p. 124. Within the literature there is some debate about the idea of the Theater's attempts to live simply. Bolton claims that all who work and live with the Theater are choosing a life of voluntary poverty. In contrast Janice Hurwitz Stone claims poverty is an inappropriate term and perfers instead voluntary simplicity. Janice Hurwitz Stone, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater: Populist Theater in America* (Unpublished MA Thesis: The American University, Washington DC, 1979), p. 134.

[153] Peter Schumann, *Bread* (Vermont: Bread and Puppet Press, 1994), unpaginated.

[154] ibid.

[155] Michelle Hirschhorn, "Orlan: the artist in the post-human age of mechanical reincarnation," in Griselda Pollock, *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*. (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 123. Also see: Philip Auslander, *Presence and Resistance: Postmodernism and Cultural Politics in Contemporary American Performance* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992); Johannes Birringer, *Theater, Theory, Postmodernism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991); Susan Broadhurst, *Liminal Acts: A Critical Overview of Contemporary Performance and Theory* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999); Michael Goldman, *On Drama: Boundaries and Genre, Borders of Self* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2000); Gay McAuley, *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theater* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).

[156] Peter Schumann, *A Lecture to Art Students at SUNY* (Glover: Bread and Puppet Press, 1994).

[157] Elka Schumann, "A Short History of the Bread and Puppet Museum," *Bread and Puppet Museum* (Vermont: Bread and Puppet Press).

[158] An eight week performance series is also planned for 2001.

[159] Other Caboddles focused on themes of the kitchen sink; military intelligence; the Vermont cloud/the (nuclear) cloud that hangs over our heads; plantain/the famous hamburger; slug/hyper speed; the broom; the knee/the stairmaster; baby bird/the comanchee helicopter; the choke cherry; rain barrel / atomic water waste; the ryeberry/capitalism; the potato/Monsanto; the caboodle/tickling someone for the purpose of keeping them oppressed.

The earth is round and flat at the same time. This is obvious.
That it is round appears indisputable: that it is flat is our common experience,
also indisputable.
The globe does not supersede the map; the map does not distort the globe.[1]

Chapter I: Constructing Community: Spatial Forms as Social Structures

In this chapter I suggest that art making within, by, and for community can be read as part of the apparatus of art activism, where the spaces of community and what happens within them construct feelings of agency. Once while traveling, I had a dream of doors. Each door pulled open revealed another door in a room large enough only to accommodate the swing of its arc. The doors were heavy and stuck from under-use so that their opening required force. Like an anxious scene from a horror film, I was running away from something that pursued me, becoming increasingly frustrated by the repetition of the narrative. As I opened what would be the final door, a cityscape in the process of being drawn in pencil was revealed. Before my eyes the horizon was mapped, buildings constructed, and streets disappeared in one point perspective. I

watched the city being created, confident that I had out-witted my assailant and escaped the confinement of the doors, but unsure of how I was to enter into a place that seemed to be only graphite lines on paper. The beginning and the end.

This dream narrative repeats itself at the threshold of community. That is to say each time "community" is encountered, the feelings of anxiety and panic, the physical effort of leaving/entering, and the trepidation and curiosity about what will be revealed within are consciously or unconsciously played out. Community necessitates moments of entry and departure and the concomitant psychic responses. The further the community is from "home"—differences entailing distance, nationality, culture, language, sexual orientation, purpose, class, race, gender—the more intense the transition. The experiential thresholds of community can also be created by spatial forms and social structures. Steps leading up from the side walk, doors, gates, long driveways, door bells, introductions, and handshakes all signal transitional encounters.

The specific sites of collaborative art making analyzed in this dissertation represent "communities" and underline how these function spatially, experientially, and socially to construct the identity of participants. As I entered them spatially and socially, the psychic responses of encounter with newness and difference described above were evoked. Opening the front door of CAF, crossing under the Oujé-Bougoumou gateway, or walking up the driveway towards Bread and Puppet, not only on the first visit, but with each renewed encounter, was a transversal of boundaries; the physical barriers that demark

space, the social boundaries that delimit who belongs, and the psychic boundaries that define my identity. Kathleen Kirby in *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity*, proposes that a consideration of space facilitates a theorization of political agency through post structural theory. She states, "space helps us to recognize that 'subjects' are determined by their anchoring within particular bodies or countries. At the same time, space in the abstract maintains a fluidity, a revisability that appeals to the reformative impulses of today."[2] What then is the relationship between the spaces of community and indivdual subjectivity and further, how do both community and identity function as part of the affective apparatus that makes art matter?

I

Raymond Willams described the contemporary usage of community as "working with the people," signifying various kinds of direct action and direct local organization,[3] the term however, is not impermeable to change, nor unilaterally progressive. The galvanizing of identity through appeals to community can manifest in a multiplicity of meanings and actions, but almost always seems to set up barriers between those inside community and those outside and/or in opposition. The frequently quoted statement by Benedict Anderson that "All communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" provides little consolation if "the style in which they are imagined" is tantamount to destruction and violence.

Essential to this examination is a theorization of community as *becoming*, where boundaries are permeable and community is understood as a process. Using this concept of community I hypothesize that in the three examples, Bread and Puppet, CAF, and Oujé-Bougoumou, each community's becoming is fostered, if not created by their respective processes of creative production, and that the formation of a community increases the potential transformative affect of participation for individuals.

Feminist art historian Rosalyn Deutsche asserts that "spatial forms are social structures."[4] Her goal is to make apparent the ways in which the spatial organization of the built environment and the allocation of meaning to spaces are part of social structures of control.[5] She refutes the ways in which the design of architectural and urban spaces are deemed to be "natural," "practical," and "objective." She claims that this functionalist view, whereby spatial order is controlled by organic, natural or mechanical laws, prevents a critical social and political analysis of the built environment and of the symbolic meanings attributed to places. It removes the agency from the individual or society by explaining space as an independent entity which in turn exercises control over the people who produce and use it. In contrast, Deutsche advocates that the organization of spaces, and the creation of meaning for those spaces, be interpreted as social processes.[6] Thus in creating social structures through spatial forms the three communities are making meaning, which in turn assists in defining collectively and or individually, who they are.

Owen Kelly also contrasts two different ways in which communities can function as either protective or expansive entities. A protective community attempts to maintain the minimum resources and social meanings that without which community would cease to be. Expansive communities in turn, strive to encourage and expand beyond a pre-given state of existence, and position their membership as producers of that community.[7] Within this expansive conception, community itself becomes one of the goals. This articulation is an apt model for the types of communities I am discussing as it allows for a consideration of flexible and changing membership based upon the experiences of participants with in the creative processes undertaken.

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes, Oujé-Bougoumou and Bread and Puppet each represent expansive communities forming around the common goal of creative production. Combining differing degrees of location, spirit, and tradition, the communities are becoming through the collaborative creative processes practised at each. At CAF learning artisanal techniques and producing crafts has drawn together a diverse community of women from a dense urban environment. In Oujé-Bougoumou the designing and building of a village and a home reunited a community which had been forced apart into scatter settlements, while concomitantly providing them with a place for their culture to grow. At Bread and Puppet the creation of innovative political performances and puppetry has created a community where local and international participants return year after year to contribute collectively. In each instance the

spaces of community, spatial and social, create an identification with and a belonging to, that help define the subjectivities of the participants in relation to other participants and the community itself. Not only can this be theorized as creating feeling of affect for individuals within a community, but membership also engenders a politicization where what might have been conceptualized as private or personal concerns are acknowledged as shared social and political issues. To expand upon these claims I provided a detailed analysis of the spatial forms and social structures that the communities are creating at each of the sites.

II

Oujé-Bougoumou

Peoples who have been subject to colonialism and neo-colonialism, according to Cornel West, have an urgent need to feel connected to a place—a home—as a step towards healing and agency.[8] Plains Cree artist Gerald McMaster states, "Territoriality is important for Native Canadians; as "Indian reserves" are spaces that signify home. Home is a place we can always return to." He continues to explain that for First People, "This return takes place daily and seasonally for social reasons: for instance to attend ceremonies like Pow-wows, Potlatches, deaths, births, weddings, rites of passage. For many Native people this does not mean a return to the margins; it is a return to the centre."[9] Similar to McMaster's home as place of return, Oujé-Bougoumou, in English "the place where people gather," is a spatial and social environment where the

community can become. The architecture the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree have

created is an act of cultural resistance. It is a resistance to the hegemonic

structures which have controlled how and where they live and has vastly

improved their living conditions and standard of life. By drawing upon Cree

cultural values and their traditional building types they have created a pertinent

architecture, a process that postcolonial theorist Stuart Hall has suggested is a

crucial part of affirming identity for people who have been marginalized.[10] Hall

continues,

> Cultural identity ...is a matter of "becoming" as well as of being. It
> belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something
> which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture,
> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like
> everything which is historical, they undergo constant
> transformations. Far from being grounded in a mere "recovery" of
> the past, which is waiting to be found, and which when found, will
> secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names
> we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position
> ourselves within, the narratives of the past.[11]

Oujé-Bougoumou is a community of spatial and social meaning. It is a

site of conjunction and hybridity where the identities of the Oujé-Bogoumou

people are affirmed and the success and continuance of their political struggles

grounded. Homi K. Bhabha has referred to this type of phenomena as a

"borderline work of culture." Transgressing a linear sense of time, such

endeavours demand an encounter with "newness," which is not merely a stop

along the continuum of past and present and where the past is not recalled as a

social cause or aesthetic precedent, but is renewed as a contingent "in between" space, which becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living[12]

The people of Oujé-Bougoumou have created a home where dynamic relationships exist between past, present and future, and spatial forms resonate with social structures. Recognizing that building the architectural environment was a just one step in the community's process of articulating its identity(ies), the space and the structures that comprise it are a cultural foundation for growth and a place from which the community's goal of political sovereignty can be sought. This section examines how the spatial and social environments at Oujé-Bogoumou are structured to foster the conscious subjectivity of community as part of an apparatus in which creative processes are read as political activism.

When the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree embarked upon their political battle to regain recognition as the ninth Cree community of the James Bay region, one of their first strategic moves was to document their living conditions and create a framework to critique the political, social, and economic structures that were creating their spatial realities. To do so they, together with the Grand Council of the Cree of Quebec, hired Ottawa based consultant firm Roy Lumby to conduct a living conditions survey.[13]

At the time of the survey, February 1986, the Ouje-Bougoumou Cree were dispersed among six separate camps located in the general area of Chibougamau. The survey set out to document the immediate physical environment, homes, common amenities such as water supply and sanitation facilities, and to

highlight specific problems. In the introduction the authors note their inability to refer to the shelters being used by the Oujé-Bougoumou people as houses and, therefore, substitute the term "dwelling." This word choice, and its explanation, immediately shock the reader and alert him or her to the travesty of what is contained within the report. For instance, the survey documents that water for drinking, cooking and washing was not treated nor were there any piped water systems. Water was being stored in plastic pails with large necks and make-do dippers of various kinds were used. The dwellings themselves were deemed unsafe, "very poorly constructed, structurally and architecturally." None had foundations and a large portion were said to have non-solid roofs which were in danger of collapsing at any time (Figure: 5). The walls were made from a combination of 2"x4" or 2'x3" boards or small logs with board cladding generally used inside and out; paint as a finish was almost non-existent.[14]

These dismal conditions were attributed to the continual displacement of the Oujé-Bougoumou community, caused by refusal of the Federal and Quebec governments to recognize them as a distinct Cree community. The material poverty and social disorganization in which they were living created a sense of disillusionment and despondency, causing the majority of the community members to feel they had little ability to change the conditions of their lives.[15] The construction of the new village was meant to address not only the material conditions of the people's lives but to provide the structures for a renewed sense of community for the members, and to present as well a strong representational

form that would proclaim this to all others. The Oujé-Bougoumou Community

Orientation Initiative states, "The Oujé-Bougoumou community is about to

embark upon a course which represents an enormous upheaval in the way of life

with which we have become familiar. The community members will happily and

gratefully forego the necessity of continuing to live in squalid and intolerable

third-world conditions. We will undergo a profound transition from living in

marginal, informally organized dwellings to a new village with modern

facilities."[16]

When seen from above, Oujé-Bougoumou's village plan is said to represent

a raven in mid-flight[17] (Figure: 2). The raven's head, shown in the aerial

photograph in the middle left ground, is the Waapihtiiwewan School, which

translates in English as "vision." The plan is centralized, emanating from a

roofed, open-sided structure called a Saptuan (Figure: 6). The Saptuan was the

first permanent structure to be built, structurally and socially crucial as a place

where the entire community could gather. The Saptuan is aligned with and open

to the four cardinal directions. The symbolism of the circle and of the four

directions is important to the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree. The circle is the symbol of

all time throughout creation and of the world itself. A circle divided in four

parts signifies the four winds, each bringing their own gifts into the community.[18]

The design of Oujé-Bougoumou is based on two principles. The first is

that the village is to be "a village of roofs, not a village of walls." No buildings

exceed three stories, and roofs must be stepped and related to the ground with

the traditional round hipped ends and sky lights Secondly all buildings are to

be made from natural materials as flexible variations of the traditional building

form, allowing for appropriate use specifications.[19]

The design for all of the buildings is based on the traditional form of the

Astiiugamikw (Figure: 7). The Astiiugamikw, in English "moss house," is

constructed by digging a depression in the earth. An armature is then erected

with wooden poles. While the poles remain exposed on the interior, outside they

are covered with slabs of wood and moss. An opening to the sky is located over

the central fire providing a natural light source (Figure: 8). This building type

was noted for the poles protruding through the structure's apex and pointing

towards the sky. The doorway opens to the east. It does not have any steps or

slopes; rather, one walks directly into the dwelling by stepping up over a short

barrier of earth. The dirt floor of this one room house was covered with fresh

boughs serving as a mattress.[20]

As the principal architect , Douglas Cardinal's personal, aesthetic, and

political concerns were critical to the process that translated the community's

desires into structural forms.[21] To disregard the ideas of individuals would be

an act of disavowal in which the agency achieved by the collective design process

would be negated. Many examples of Cardinal's sensitivity to the specificity of

Oujé-Bougoumou's endeavour to use the creative processes of designing their

new home as an apparatus of political and social activism are apparent in the text

of his architectural concept. For instance, discussing the importance of using

culturally meaningful architectural forms he writes:

> This traditional dwelling has served the people for generations.
> Sitting in this space [an astiiugamika] during our discussion, our
> dreaming session, our visualization sessions, helped generate
> future concepts, for instance the conviction that the village housing
> should resemble this form. There was a feeling of well being in this
> space. The walls consisted of some four feet of softly sloped dirt.
> Natural light came from the skylight directly above the fire area.
> Being part of the earth and of nature was overwhelming and was
> reinforced by the awareness that only natural materials were used.
> There was a feeling of being rooted, of being sheltered, of being in
> harmony with nature and with the natural environment. Even
> more important than the dwelling itself, we found, is the
> embodiment in the dwelling of the traditional lifestyle and culture
> of the people. The people and we truly felt that this traditional
> form could provide the inspiration for the development of the
> entire community.[22]

Circulating around the Saptuan in the central core area are the public

buildings that are seen as important to the political growth and social well being

of the community. A consistent architectural language was used throughout all

the public buildings so that the community would appear as a cohesive

statement attempting to foster a positive identity for each person living in the

community while simultaneously communicating a distinct Oujé-Bougoumou

Cree aesthetic to every visitor.[23] The buildings within the central core from east

to west are the Cree Nation Head Quarters, the Jishemundo Mijwap or church,

and the Business Center and Tourism Office. A vacant space is left for the future

construction of the Aanischaaukamikw, the Cree Cultural Institute, which will

serve as a cultural centre and museum for the nine Cree communities located in

Northern and Central Quebec.[34] These spaces, as well as the Waapithtiiwewan School, the Petaapin Youth Centre, the Healing Centre, the Capissisit Lodge, the Cultural Village, and a large tract of land along the shore of lake Opemisca, which has been devoted to recreational use, are all crucial public places in which the community can convene (Figure: 9). Surrounding the central core are "semi-public" buildings such as the Elder's residences and the residences for the teachers and nurses. Fanning out from the community's centre, and facing Lake Opemisca is the community's housing. Finally, all commercial and industrial activities, such as the Nu Stan Nan Arts and Crafts boutique, the depenneur and the municipal garage are situated on Oujé-Bougoumou Meskino, the road that leads to and from Oujé-Bougoumou.

Aesthetically, the community buildings are meant to function to enhance a positive sense of personal identity and to promote and affirm the continual becoming of Cree culture. The visual references from historic forms, however, have been adapted to the needs of late 20th-century life. The Oujé Bougoumou Cree did not want to create a quaint picturesque community at the cost of practicality, nor create a community which was perpetually dependent on government assistance. Indeed the intention is to surmount both these prevalent stereotypes and create a home which is an embodiment of their contemporary identities. Moreover, day-to-day life and work is pleasant and more functional in architecture which has been designed to meet the user's needs, as opposed to

prefabricated, mass produced structures, that are unsuitable both for the occupants and the environment.

For instance, the Headquarters is a two story "winged building," symbolically important within the community and the pivotal element in the village's central core (Figure: 10). The structure is composed of high central element flanked on either sided by a composition of two story hipped roofs. All facades are united by continuous bands of windows and the pervasive stepped roofs related to the earth, as in the traditional buildings of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree. Although primarily natural materials such as wood and stone have been used, the abundance of glass windows, skylights and clerstory windows create an interior that is light and airy. The strong visual expression of the Headquarters emphasizes the strong character and pride of the Oujé-Bogoumou people in their culture.

The Jishemunda Mijwap or Pentecostal Church is a conical variation on the astiiugamikw[25] (Figure: 11). Like other the public buildings its design emphasis is on creating a gathering place for the community. The nave is open to the second story, providing an abundance of light from the clerstory windows and skylights. Around the periphery are single story rooms, used for smaller gatherings of specific groups of people. For instance, the Elders have a meeting room in the church as do the youth of the community. Although the conical structure is symbolically significant, it is structurally limiting. Having the nave in the centre surrounded by the single story rooms allows no room for

expansion, and from the time of its construction the space has been too small to accommodate the size of the community.[25]

On the other side of the ring road, Opemisca Meskino, that encircles the central core area is a "semi- public" area that includes Elders' residences, and "public residences" for the community's teachers and nurses (Figure: 12). Of the two Elders' residences, one is equipped for Elders who need continuous care, and the other is comprised of independent apartments within a single structure. It was important to the community that the Elders' residences be close to the central activities of the community. Accessibility to the Headquarters, the Saptuan and to the church were all necessary to optimize the Elders participation in community events and important decision making processes. In contrast, the "public residences" for non-community teachers and nurses are situated around the central core to separate them from the community's housing. This position was selected in order to limit the "transient labour force" in the residential housing areas.[27]

On the prime piece of land overlooking the lake, is the Waapihtiiwewan school (Figure: 13). The school is one of the most important elements in master plan of the Ouje-Bougoumou community, creating the opportunity to shape the future of the children positively by providing an environment which reflects the values, goals and aspirations of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree.[28]

Further, the school is used not only by the students and teachers, but by the entire community. The structure is composed of horizontal roof forms with

hipped ends, sloped ceilings, windows and skylights. The school functions as a transitional place between home and the world, preparing the next generation for employment and post-secondary education. The building is thus designed on a residential scale, as a "home for learning rather than an alien institution."[29] The school, even after close to a decade's use, has a pristine, bright and up-to-date interior with lab and workshop facilities and an large gymnasium with a permanent stage. A tremendous faith has been placed in the youth of Oujé Bougoumou who will inherit this community and education is privileged as one of the ways to prepare them for this responsibility.

The Petaapin Youth Centre, Sunrise, or "beginning of a new day" in English, is also designed to bring a critical segment of the community together. Here the youth of the community work to organize Oujé-Bougoumou's younger generation and to provide activities that socially and politically affect the subjectivities of the youth in personally and culturally affirming ways. Run independently from the Headquarters offices, the Youth Centre is administered by the Oujé-Bougoumou Youth Council, who in collaboration with other members of the community between the ages of twelve and thirty, collectively designed the building and the services which it would offer. Currently the Youth Centre spatially provides a gymnasium with a small stage, a café, smaller rooms for classes or workshops, offices for the Youth Council, computer and internet facilities, and a radio station. Open evenings from 6:00 p.m. until 10:00

p.m., it provides a key place for the youth to congregate outside of both school and home.

Five hundred metres away from the village proper, the Elders and other community members have designed and reconstructed a Cultural Village which houses archetypes of Cree traditional buildings. Laid out in the shape of a snowshoe pointing northward towards the Oujé-Bougoumou hunting territory, the Cultural Village is used by the community for ceremonies and provides a material foundation to which Cree oral history is being attached (Figure: 14). For instance, a Shaptwan or Walk Through Tent is used each spring after Goose Break for the Walking-out ceremony. Here children between the ages of one and two participate in the Walking-out ceremony where they take their first steps into the community (Figures: 15, 16, 17).

The Cultural Village is also used as a permanent exhibit of traditional Cree architecture, attracting hundreds of national and international visitors each year. Cultural tourism is an important source of revenue for Oujé-Bougoumou and the Cultural Village plays a key role as a simulacra of an "authentic" Native North American experience for non-Native visitors seeking the exotic (Figure: 18). While the Cultural Village can be criticized as recapitulating stereotypical understandings of First Nations culture as pre-modern, its proximity to and control by the community of Oujé-Bougoumou makes this escapist neo-colonial fantasy harder to sustain.

The original plan for domestic architecture, which was proposed by Cardinal as a clustering of houses based on traditional forms, was rejected by the community members in favour of more contemporary housing types. In the end the domestic buildings were sub-contracted out to Jeremy Jenkins Shelter Limited, an Ontario based firm.[30] These rectangular structures are mostly one story bungalows with basements that the owners can choose to finish to expand their living space. They are earth toned, dark or light brown or gray. Initially there were five models to choose from. However, currently there is a greater choice and flexibility of design. Each structure is self contained, but because the land itself is owned by the community, there is no demarcation of where one property begins and the other ends (Figure. 19).

Of all of the buildings in Oujé-Bougoumou, the housing has received the greatest amount of criticism from community members. The speed with which so many homes needed to be produced, over one hundred and forty in the first building season, reduced the amount of individual variation possible. Some community members feel that the interior spaces, comprised of large open concept kitchen/dining/living room areas and one to three bedrooms and one bathroom, are too rigid, not allowing for the expanding needs of large families or for extending hospitality to guests who wish to visit for periods of time.[31] Further, any renovations made by the home owner must be approved by the Housing Program.[32] In this sense there is a repetition of the pattern of state funded housing projects, where individual occupants have little power to alter

their living spaces. However, in Oujé-Bougoumou, home ownership programs are attempting to address this concern and assist the population in adapting to their often very new situation of home ownership.[33] It is hoped that such measures will help to instill a sense of pride and control over the domestic spaces, enhance a sense of well being and security.

All of the buildings in the village function harmoniously with the environment and traditional Cree philosophies of conservation that view culture and nature as part of the same continuum. Preservation of the environment is key to the continued life in the north and any development must respect nature. This consideration of the environment is apparent in the building materials and in the physical design. The community was created for longevity, and every decision made with consideration for the requirements of future generations.[34]

At Oujé-Bougoumou it is the spatial structures which have made possible the social reunification of the community. Simultaneously, it is the social relationships between community members which have made the construction of the architecture possible.[35] It is difficult to overestimate the impact that the creation of the village would have upon the Ouje-Bougoumou people. The community's physical structures and social networks are an important part of the apparatus which has help to create a sense of identity for Ouje-Bougoumou people who had been dispersed and living in impoverished conditions and is both a remarkable achievement of their social activism, and a

place from which their continuing political quests for self determination are being waged.

The postcolonial theorist James Clifford has said cultures do not hold still for their pictures to be taken.[36] The history of Oujé-Bougoumou is indeed one of transition. The current community is both an end and a beginning. It is presumably the last chapter in a devastating history of exploitation and displacement, decades of colonialism, alienation and marginalization. It is the first chapter in a story of new and renewed development and in the struggle to achieve political and cultural autonomy. As Chief Abel Bosum stated in his address to the United Nations in 1995, "God gave us hearts to give us visions— minds to devise solutions—and hands to build our communities."[37]

The community is a site of change, growth and development. Oujé-Bougoumou is an attempt to create an environment where the long-term financial needs of the people can be met through a self-sufficient economy.[38] Politically, economically, and ecologically the goal is sustainable development. Paramount to this is securing the protection and recognition of traditional access to the lands and resources within their territory. Chief Bosum states "Our achievements in constructing our new village represents living proof that aboriginal self-determination works. Give us the tools and the result will be an enormous release of creative energies directed at building sustainable communities."[39] He continues by quoting the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, "Respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and

traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment."[40]

Oujé-Bougoumou is becoming known internationally as a "model community." In 1995 they received a United Nations award for sustainable development, and in the summer of 2000 the community was a special invited guest at Expo in Hanover Germany. This discourse of a model community, while affirming the accomplishments of the people of Oujé-Bougoumou, concomitantly risks constructing a utopic vision of the community which fails address to the social and political realties of the people living there.

Oujé-Bougoumou still faces many of the same social and political difficulties which other Aboriginal communities in Canada are dealing with— violence, alcohol and substance abuse, poverty, unemployment, despair and hopelessness. Creating the spatial structures in which community can become is only a first, yet necessary, step in the process. It is how individuals, families, and the community as a whole, now choose to live within these structures that will continuously produce the community itself.[41]

The idea of community can be positioned as strategic to Oujé-Bougoumou. The renewed sense of relations to each other, the sense of self in relation to others, and of a shared history as a Cree Nation, is a foundation upon which they are constructing their future. The spatial environment enhances the feelings of belonging and provides support to individuals. A history of colonialism, and contemporary experiences of neo-colonialism, engenders the

creation of community, for both the subjectivies of the individuals and as a

collective identity as a form of resistance and contestation.[42]

Bread and Puppet

Space matters as it constructs places for communities and facilitates, or

disables the coming together of people. Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharp, in

the introduction to *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*, examine how

spatial relations are implicitly related to the constitution of social relations and

the structure and meaning of place. Inverting this logic they also contend that

spaces themselves are produced and given meaning through social practices.[43]

The Bread and Puppet Theater is both a place, constructed by the spatial

relations of built and natural forms, and a space of social relations. It is an

expansive community of location, spirit, and after almost four decades, one of

tradition.[44]

Bread and Puppet is also a place of resistance, providing an alternative

location to the spaces of late capitalist society. The spatial and social community

produces a context where hegemony can be contested, both through the

representational forms of performance, and in the enactment of daily life. By

blurring spatial delineations between "art making" and "living life," and by

choosing to live a life based on simplicity, rather than on hyper-consumerism,

resistance can also be located in the meanings of social actions and spatial forms

of the Bread and Puppet community. Thus the resistance of Bread and Puppet

not only takes place but seeks to appropriate space and makes new spaces. By considering the spatial forms and social relations produced by the Theater, I situate Bread and Puppet as a community of resistance. The creative practice of the Theater creates a community, which in turn constructs a new spatiality that engenders personal subjectivities privileging sharing, collective living, and political acts of resistance.

Bread and Puppet's innovated performance style, and commitment to radical politics, persistently creates a strong community of support. Indeed, its ability to encourage people to participate within the community and to inspire them to want to produce radical theater with Bread and Puppet, or to pursue independent projects, can be positioned as one of the markers of the Theater's success.[45] The community has as its solid base Peter and Elka Schumann and, in various ways and at different intervals, their five (now adult) children. Other participants have become part of the Bread and Puppet community by working with the Theater, as staff or volunteer puppeteers or in other supportive capacities. Some of these people are neighbors who became involved in the Theater when it moved to its present location in Glover, Vermont in 1974. Other people, from all over the United States and abroad, have actively sought out Bread and Puppet and have through years of working with them integrated socially and/or spatiality into the community.

As a community of resistance, Bread and Puppet needs to be situated geographically in north eastern Vermont, for as Steven Pile and Michael Keith

have theorized in *Geographies of Resistance*, acts of resistance take place in specific geographies, and distinct spatialities influence of resistance.[46] The Theater's location on a twenty-four acre farm in rural Vermont has, in part, defined their spatial and social structures and the concomitant construction of a community.

The relocation of the Theater from New York City to Vermont changed what was possible for the Theater to do.[47] The rural expanse of space, rolling fields and dense pine forests provide a dramatically different architecture than the streets of Manhattan. While critics such as Stefan Brecht have positioned the geographic relocation as a paradigmatic shift in the Theater's content and concerns—from dark political protest pieces in New York, to a more cryptic and detached spiritual mysticism in Vermont—Bread and Puppet has consistently produced work on both of these themes, often attempting to collapse the artificial binarism between the two.[48]   The shift in location altered the spatial environment for the work to be performed. This response to shifting spaces of performance is indeed a distinct part of the Bread and Puppet Theater's practice. Schumann himself is often quoted as disavowing traditional theater, as both a space of performance and a genre, critiquing the imposed spatial limitations and class associations.[49]   Instead Bread and Puppet creates space through its performance, integrating the natural and/or built surroundings into its spectacle. Thus a change in location can alter the framing of a performance, without necessarily changing the content.

The move to Vermont presented Bread and Puppet with the challenge of

integrating into a new community.[50] Vermont in the 1970s has been described as

a seemingly paradoxical mix of live-and-let-live liberal Republicanism, a

community-driven socialism in which people take care of their neighbors, and a

fierce independence or do-it-yourself mentality, fueled by both Vermont farmers

and the infusion of back-to-the-land newcomers.[51] Once Bread and Puppet was

situated in Glover, in 1974, the Theater was spatially isolated from both the

political environment of New York City and the hub of activity they had

experienced in Plainfield as the Theater in residence for Goddard College from

1970-1974.[52] The direct transposition of the Bread and Puppet's performative

criticism of the Vietnam war and other overtly politicized demonstrations were

not initially well received by the approximately 800 residents of Glover and the

surrounding rural areas. The Theater thus needed to find another way of

working with and for the Vermont community. Robert Francis Jenkins has

argued that the *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus* was initially a way of extending

the Theater to the community.[53] However, according to Schumann it took

decades before people from the local community would even roll down their car

windows to watch a passing Bread and Puppet Parade.[54]

Despite the local community's initial suspicion of Bread and Puppet,

throughout its history creating community has been a fundamental part of Bread

and Puppets' practice. Writing in 1974, Francoise Kourilsky in *Le Bread and*

Puppet Theater quotes Schumann discussing the importance of the communal act

of making art "with others and for others." He states, "I don't care about painting or a sculpture, but it should be embraced by the community."[55] In a similar sentiment, Robert Craig Hamilton in *The Bread and Puppet Theater of Peter Schumann: History and Analysis* states, "Schumann thinks that love is the highest human attribute. To awaken awareness and to love people are the ultimate goals of his theater, religion and life. To him, theater is an act of giving and its rewards are contained in the act, not in material returns."[56] Elka Schumann has also built an artistic practice which facilitates the social structures of community through her work in creating children's theater, in organizing weekly community Sacred Harp singing, and in print making, all provide venues for collective creative production.[57] Indeed Scott Stroot in "Radical Beauty in the Northeast Kingdom: The Bread and Puppet Theater and Museum," reiterates the importance of community at the Theater as its quintessential feature. Stroot comments on the interconnected nature of life and art, where cooking and eating a communal meal or building maintenance are as integral to performing as making music or creating theater pieces.[58]

Bread and Puppet has built a strong community in north eastern Vermont. Local residents have become participants and the Theater is marked on most Vermont state maps. The creation of community, at least in part, is because the participants care about the theater, about each other, and the important affect and effect that art making within the community has. Margaret Croyden in *Lunatics, Lovers, and Poets: The Contemporary Experimental Theater*, notes how

Bread and Puppet performers are committed to Theater not only as a livelihood, but as a way of life.[59] Indeed the Theater, and the community which it has created, are important to the participants, pulling strongly on their mattering maps. Dolores Hayden's proposition, that people make attachments to places that are critical to their well being,[60] is evident by the numerous examples of volunteers who emigrated to Vermont in the 1970s to work with Bread and Puppet and have now become committed members not only of the Theater but also of the larger community, as farmers, librarians, state officials, and judges.[61]

What then are the spatial forms and social structures which have facilitated the connective aesthetic between art and life and created a strong community of support? Moving to the farm in Glover gave Bread and Puppet greater spatial freedom and autonomy. Here a practice evolved which combined creating political puppet theater with communal living, growing food, and a commitment to living simply in material terms.[62]

The town of Glover is situated approximately thirty minutes south of the Quebec/Vermont border at the Stanstead/Derby Line crossing. The Theater is located on a hilly two lane road that winds by farmers fields and forests. The presence of Bread and Puppet is announced through the display of bright colours within the landscape of green trees and gray board barns, even more striking during the winter months of snow. Initially the visitor encounters an assortment of connected buildings, but most are drawn towards the largest structure, a

nineteenth-century barn, which has become the Bread and Puppet Museum

(Figures: 20, 21).

Entering the Museum during its regular season, June through October,

one passes through the clay pit where large masks and puppets are constructed,

providing an in-progress viewing to what will become the theater's next

performance. Here as well is the hand- built clay oven, where several times a

week Schumann bakes bread for the resident company and all audience

members. The Museum itself is housed in a hundred foot long, gable roofed

wooden barn, built in 1863. No major structural renovations were undertaken to

adjust the building for its new purpose; rather, after the old hay and machinery

were cleaned out, the former animal stalls became structural divisions for the

different installations of puppets, transforming the second and third stories of

the barn into curated arrangements of puppets. Puppets are installed in a

number of ways. There is a small section of the first floor devoted to puppets

from around the world such as Sicilian marionettes designed to tell the stories of

the Crusades, or Vertep puppets form pre-Revolutionary Russia and the Ukraine

(Figure: 22). In Figure 22 the Nativity is depicted, with the top stage showing

the Annunciation angel, holy family and the three Kings, while the bottom stage

presents King Herod, his henchmen, death and the devil. Here also are

examples of some of the earliest puppets made by Peter Schumman such as those

from the *Mr. Miller Stories*, from 1962-63 (Figure: 23).

Other installations recreate performances. For example *Fire,* (Figure: 24), which was enacted both as a theatrical performance and as a moving pageant during Vietnam war protests and demonstrations.[63] Other installations have been grouped by colour such as the red installation (Figure: 25). Every available space within the museum is used to display puppets, masks, or paintings. On the third floor of the museum the high ceilings and larger bays provide the space for the display of the giant puppets (Figure: 26) Here the viewers eye is drawn upwards, visually orienting their focus to the roof, where still more figures, such as the God Face Figure from previous Domestic Resurrection Circuses, look down upon the spectator (Figure: 27).

The puppets on display remain largely in place, although some are occasionally removed for special appearances in performances or parades.[64] Most recently, for the summer performances of 2000, the Theater launched a new project, entitled Museum Alive, in which different groups of puppets would be animated as visitors strolled through the Museum after a Sunday Circus. Conservation is not a high priority for the Theater, making the eventual disintegration of the mostly papier-mâché puppets inevitable.

The Museum also contains a small shop near the entrance of the building, where one can purchase the posters, banners and books produced by Bread and Puppet. Neither the Museum shop, nor the Museum itself are supervised; visitors are free to look on their own and are trusted to perform tasks such as

shutting off the lights as they leave and to pay the correct amount of money for their purchases.

Puppets that are used as part of the Theater's performances are stored in almost every available space, in barn lofts and storage sheds. The spaces of the Museum that are not used for the display of puppets have become storage spaces and areas for production and performance. The lofts above the Museum on the fourth and fifth floors are used as a costume room and for storage of large banners, puppets and props. Under the barn there is more storage for largely two dimensional puppets, a painting area, a music room, and a small stage with a low ceiling and seating for between fifty to one hundred people.

The Museum has in recent years become a pivotal social structure. Annual celebrations of the Museum's opening and closing bring together the community of neighbors, friends, and puppeteers who travel to Vermont to be part of the ceremonies. Unlike the performances that are temporal by their nature, the Museum is a constant and continuous representation of the community's achievements over the last forty years, and provides a strong spatial structure that links individual's subjectivities to the Theater's work.

Attached to the east side of the Museum is a series of three buildings, serving the mixed purposes of working and living. Collectively these spaces are referred to by residents and the larger community as "the farm," as they are comprised of a rambling set of old farmhouses and smaller barns and sheds. The first of these structures is a three story building which contains the lower

kitchen and workshop on the first floor and a space for rehearsals, production and performances on the second floor. Here the ceiling is open to the roof creating a two story space imaginatively referred to as the Ballroom which used throughout the year as it is one of the few location that can be heated for rehearsals and/or performances during the winter season, (October - May).[65] During the fall, winter, and spring this space is often used for community events such as weekly community sings, performances, and meetings, such as the Bread and Puppet annual general meeting. Often these events are accompanied by a potluck meal, creating in-and-of themselves a buttressing of the community. The Ballroom is also (at least nominally) home to Peter Schumann's "studio." Here he has a desk, which is the only space he claims as his own on the farm (Figure: 28).

The next building in this series is the Circus House, which has become the most communal living space on the property. There are few formal limits posed on individuals who want to volunteer with Bread and Puppet.[66] The most pronounced is the capacity for housing staff and volunteers. The Circus House is two story farmhouse, with a centrally located stone fireplace. It presently contains a large kitchen in which the communal meals are prepared for the larger summer crews of volunteers and staff. On the second story of the Circus house are dormitory type bedrooms, which can sleep between eight and ten people. The Circus House is also home to the one communal washroom with running water.[67]

There is a tremendous amount of traffic through the Circus house in the summer months, making it a busy and often congested space. Meals are eaten communally outside at a long picnic table behind the houses (Figure: 28).[68] This seemingly simple table is a critical location of community, used not only for meals, but also for morning meetings, where the days and weeks projects are discussed and planned. Because it is outdoors, there are few spatial limitations to the number of people who can congregate for a meeting or meal. The backyard also provides ample outdoor space for rehearsals, and contains a one thousand square foot vegetable garden (Figure: 29).

Next to the Circus House is the Puppeteers' House. The Puppeteers' House is actually two separate dwellings. A three bedroom apartment on the first floor, and a two bedroom apartment on the second floor. Both can function as autonomous dwellings with complete kitchens and bathrooms. Access to the Puppeteers' House is restricted in an effort to make the lives of the full time staff somewhat more stable, as the large numbers of volunteers and the continual turn-over of personnel can prove to be stressful for the permanent resident company. Although there are minimal structural barriers, such a closed doors or sporadic use of hand painted "private" signs, which distinctly demark this house as a more restricted space, recent arrivals are asked to respect this spatial limitation, and enter the house only when invited to do so by a resident. This restraint can create a spatial hierarchy among the participants of the Theater. Interns or recent volunteers experience the "exclusion" most sharply, often not

understanding why their access is limited. However, community members who are more familiar with the Theater, or who have lived on the farm themselves, understand the need for some personal space among the chaos of shared living conditions. To this extent, even Peter and Elka Schumann make sure to knock on the door before entering the Puppeteers' House.

The rooms in these apartments tend to be occupied by full time staff puppeteers, although there is some shifting of occupancy as "old puppeteers" (people with a long-standing relationships to the Theater), return for the summer.[69] The allocation of "personal" or "private" living space at Bread and Puppet is a spatial recognition of the social structuring of the community.[70] The greater the commitment to the Theater, in terms of historical longevity and current relation (meaning permanent company puppeteer, summer staff, returning volunteer, or intern) the more private space is allotted.[71]

Alternative living spaces during the summer months are provided by a combination of old renovated school buses, trailers, a cabin, and wooded areas for camping. The majority of the volunteers who work with the Theater during the summer months camp, living for between a few days and a few months in their tents. While living outside of the Circus or Puppeteers' Houses can be less comfortable, (especially during a rainy summer) it affords a personal privacy which is otherwise hard to come by.

The summer periods of large scale collective living are perhaps the greatest test of community. The preexisting community of "old puppeteers"

from Vermont and elsewhere, face the challenge of expanding their borders,

both personal and professional. Infusing a working and living environment

with dozens of new people and ideas can be incredibly stimulating, but also

draining and frustrating to the existing community. The largest burden of this

situation falls upon the full time resident community, who must not only

continue to produce work and perform, but also teach newcomers how to live

collectively on the farm with all of its incumbent tasks, and facilitate everyone's

creative participation. An ability to adapt quickly to change is key, as are highly

developed social skills. A good puppeteer at Bread and Puppet is thus not only

an excellent performer, musician, and artist, but also must be a good

communicator and enjoy interaction with other people.

Approximately five hundred metres behind these structures, Peter and

Elka Schumann have built their home, a shed and a small barn. Originally, the

Schumann family lived communally with the rest of the company, occupying the

Circus House. However, this became an increasingly stressful living situation for

the family as the Theater's productions grew and with the continual infusion of

new volunteers. In 1980, in exchange for the Theater paying for a new house to

be built for Elka and Peter Schumann, Elka transferred ownership of the

farmhouse to the Theater.[72] This allows them to continue to live at the Theater

but affords them a greater degree of privacy.

Between the Schumann's house, and "the farm," are two newer buildings.

To the east, constructed in 1997 is the Printshop (Figure: 30), and to the west the

New Building, built in 1991 (Figure: 31). The Printshop is a two story structure with facilities for printmaking such as a hand press, large tables, and drying racks on the first floor, and a painting studio on the second. An abundance of windows on both levels makes it a light and airy environment, somewhat more pristine than the other spaces on the farm. The construction of the Printshop was paid for by revenue from selling Bread and Puppet prints and banners in the Museum and on the Theater's tours. Throughout the years Elka Schumann, who runs the printshop and the Museum, holds a regular printing day in which members from the local community are invited to learn how to print, and help paint posters and banners.

The New Building is a gable roofed, wooden indoor performance space with a dirt floor and a twenty-five foot ceiling, allowing even the largest of the puppets to be played inside. The building was designed and built by long standing community members Everett Kinsey and Jack Sumberg. The New Building provides greater flexibility for performing night-time and rain-day shows. Its elevated seating can accommodate up-to five hundred people; it features rudimentary stage lighting, a proscenium and a backstage area, all of which make the space function like a conventional theater. The structure itself is a work of art, incorporating functional sculptural elements such as percussive attachments on the walls and ceilings and is painted inside and out with images and texts of Schumann's design (Figure: 32).

The most commonly used (summer) performance space, however is located in the fields and forest on the opposite side of the highway from the Farm. Here the landscape is a striking part of the Bread and Puppet spatial environment, and becomes itself a performative element. Pageants take place on rolling hills and the Circuses are performed in a natural amphitheater which was created when Elka Schumann's father, John Scott, sold tons of gravel from the edges of one of the hay fields to a local construction company, which was building the nearby interstate.[73] The removal of the gravel created a crescent shaped gouge in the hillside, creating an ideal space for performance (Figure: 3).

Above the circus ring, Peter Schumann has built a second clay oven and bread house, where bread is dispensed after large outdoor performances. Numerous small performances also take place in the pine forest adjacent to the Circus fields (Figure: 33). Here smaller stages, some more permanent than others, have been constructed and the trees themselves often become key performers. A short distance away from the pine forest stage are over a dozen memorials which have been constructed to mark the deaths of former puppeteers and cherished community members (Figure: 34). Within the small covered structures, large enough only for a single person to enter at a time, are placed photographs, letters, and small personal items belonging to the deceased. Each week during the summer, fresh flowers are placed in and around the memorials. At the end of the day the setting sun casts long shadows through the pine trees, making the entire space feel enchanted or other-worldly.

In many ways the spatial environment at Bread and Puppet is unique. Its structures and the use made of them, function to facilitate community and combine the everyday process of living with politicized art making and performance. To some extent becoming part of the Bread and Puppet community is in-and-of itself a politicizing experience. Over and above the daily political discussion and debate necessary to compose many of the performances, living and working collectively is a political act which resists the dominance of the capitalist mode of production.

Artist and activist Greg Sholette points out in "Counting On Your Collective Silence: Notes on Activist Art as Collaborative Practice," that as capitalism seeks to concretize people's identities as individuals in an effort to enhance consumption, the creation of collective identities or communities negates the need of individuation through consumption. The community group itself, he continues, become a defacto critique of the bourgeois public sphere and questions and attempts to subvert the naturalized division between public and private space.[74] The community of Bread and Puppet acts as a political collective. By their participation, if not their conscious acknowledgment, the members in the community agree to a process which necessitates flexibility about who the community is at any given time and extend participation in their creative practice to all who are interested.

Finally the presence of community, social and spatial, at Bread and Puppet can be read as heightening the experience of individual participants,

creating a strategic alliance where the multiplicity of creativity of the community

is channeled towards making of political performance. The meaning of

production becomes imbricated within the structures of the theater—the project

matters because it is the result of the shared social concerns and artistic work of

the community—and as such individual participation holds the potential for

transformation.

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes

Of the three communities, CAF has by far the most modest spatial

environment. In a rented space in a run-down, mixed-use three story building,

CAF appears to offer little architectural intrigue (Figure: 35). Dorlores Hayden,

in *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, has advocated finding

creative ways to interpret women's spaces as a way of positioning and

remembering their histories.[75] Women's relationship to space and their spatial

environments warrants specific and detailed focus. Hayden also elucidates the

importance of considering "a woman's place" as both a spatial and a political

issue.[76] While spatial designs have effected women's lives in a multiplicity of

ways, architecture is not indomitable.[77] Historically, however, both women and

their spatial environments have been marginalized. Consideration of gender in

architectural history, theory, and related disciplines such as geography,

sociology, and urban planning, is a relatively new and still limited area of

inquiry.[78]

Spaces specifically designated as women's spaces have been, and continue to be, relegated to peripheral sites.[79] Environments which house women's spaces exist in perilous conditions—in buildings which have been inherited, borrowed or rented.[80] Very seldom are women's groups in a financial position to design and build spaces to house their organizations.[81] This situation creates not only an impermanence and instability for women's organizations and communities, but it also serves to limit the possibilities of the spatial environment. Groups with limited fiscal means and temporary tenure are unlikely or unable to invest in costly renovations. Rather, their efforts to create spatial environments are manifest in alternate means of adaptation.

These innovations, and the concomitant empowerment of controlling one's environment despite limited resources, are key to my analysis of the creation of the spatial and social environment of CAF as a place for an expansive and politicized community to become. As detailed in the introduction of the dissertation, in order to facilitate this analysis, I invoke a *politics of location*. A politics of location refutes universalizing notions that would position women as dominated by spatial forms and social structures, and instead emphasizes the individual thinking-knowing-acting subject(s) within specific time/place to illuminate acts of agency.[82]

Women's monetary situations and feelings of entitlement, as both individuals and associations, play a key role in determining the creation of environments. The lack of funds to own and renovate, or to design and build,

limits the creation of an ideally suited spatial environment. Issues of class and

gender intertwine, for it is both which create this disadvantaged position. Again,

this is not to remove all agency from women as creators of their own space, for

even if structural changes are beyond their fiscal grasp, changes through non-

structural alterations, arrangement of furniture, and space use are all ways in

which women construct and control their environments.

Since its inception in 1992 CAF has had three homes. Initially it was

situated in a 1200 square foot loft in a turn-of-the-century building located in St.

Henri at 617 St Remi, Suite 201. The building itself was a multi-purpose

structure housing residential apartments, small businesses, and manufacturers.[83]

CAF's next location, from 1995-1996, was at 3886 Henri-Julien, just down the

street from the present location. This space, designed to be used by an

architectural firm, was said to be ideal, with a great deal of light and space.

However, the CAF could only secure a one year lease, which was not renewed

when the building was sold at the end of that year. With thirty days notice, the

current space at 207 Duluth East was rented and CAF moved in during July of

1996. This transience can be read as delimiting the ability of CAF to create a

space to facilitate community. Relocations involving both changes in location,

and periodic closures during the transition can result in confusion among the

participants, and potentially decrease their feelings of belonging.

Briefly, before I consider the 3000 square foot interior plan of CAF's

present location, its elevation needed to be analyzed (Figure: 36). From the

exterior, the CAF looks like the many other commercial and mixed-use buildings that line Duluth Street between St. Laurent and St. Denis. 207 Duluth East has a simple facade, which, despite the efforts of CAF in painting murals on the exterior and hanging a colourful banner, looks shabby and run down.[84] Its large picture windows are full of objects for consumption.[85] The items on display are largely women's or children's clothing and accessories and items for the middle or upper class home such as stained glass panels or lamps and hand-printed place-mats.[86] Indeed, the commercial appearance of the building makes it impossible to tell that it is a women's centre at all. Until 1999, there was no sign on the elevation that indicated that this was a women's space or artisanal workshop. That lack of signage made the space simultaneously safe and difficult to access. Without entering the building, one was unaware of what was going on inside. The addition of a sign signifies a more confident claim to an identity as a community group with a specific artistic and political purpose.

CAF retains a commercial appearance, and the objects being produced and sold there immediately raise important questions about conceptions of women's social roles and the nature of the community who constitute CAF's membership. The commercial facade with windows full of objects for domestic consumption draws upon middle/upper class women' socially constructed role as consumer.[87] While many sites for women's spaces end up being found in domestic architecture, thus heightening a connection between women and the

so-called "private sphere", the spatial environment of CAF plays into another

idealized stereotype of femininity and domesticity, that of the consumer.[88]

To discover the existence of CAF one must enter into a seemingly

commercial space which displays gender and class specific merchandise.[89] This

perhaps limits who passes through the doors, potentially determining who

becomes part of the community. While the feminine nature of most of the items

on display speaks primarily to a female audience,[90] women who have little

disposable income are unlikely to go into a store which sells items beyond their

monetary reach.

The entrance itself is unassuming (Figure: 37). A single door and three

steps mark the transition from the street.[91] Once inside CAF the visitor is greeted

by a staff person or volunteer who is situated at a desk six feet diagonally to the

right of the entrance (Figure: 38). This reception desk is fundamental to the

control of movement in CAF, and is indicative of the architectural limitations of

the open multi-functional space. The person at the reception desk must direct

visitors to their appropriate place in the Centre. Gender is a key factor to the

control of movement. Because the workshop at CAF is for women only and

because one of its objectives is to create a safe space for women, the presence and

movement of men must be controlled. The person sitting at the reception desk

must serve as a spatial filter. In general, men are not allowed to pass behind the

desk into the workshop area. They are however, invited to browse through the

store. Women visitors, on the other hand, are often allowed into the workshop

areas. The desk and its attendant serve a purpose which the architecture cannot. The absence of structural delineation of space necessitates constant human supervision.[92] (Figure: 39).

Despite the architectural limitations of an open space, through use and practice the women at CAF continue to strive to create an environment which is for women only. In doing so, they wish to create a space which provides them with the unique opportunity to function outside of the gaze of, or interaction with men. The aim of this segregation is to create a supportive, non-threatening environment for education, growth and development.

At the same time it also raises pressing theoretical questions in terms of separate spheres. The philosophy of separate spheres is highly contentious amongst feminist theorists and historians.[93] Questioning revolves around segregation versus ghettoization, integration versus unequal competition. In terms of the provision of architectural spaces for women only, feminists in favour of such endeavors have argued that the provision of women's only spaces should be read as women claiming space for themselves. Those who are critical of separate spaces argue that the gender segregated spaces result in the implicit prohibition of women from non-segregated spaces.[94] However, beyond arguing for or against the provision of separate spheres, their historical and contemporary existence can be read to provide an analysis of social conceptions about women and their places in society.[95]

Creating a social and spatial community for women only is indicative of CAF's attempts to use the processes of artisanal production to facilitate experiences of transformation for the participants. Rhetorically the justification for single gendered spaces has be presented as necessitated by the social threat, real and perceived, of violence against women. At the same time it is a political choice to permit women exclusively into the community; this itself can be read as potentially politicizing, and quite possibly unique within the participant's lives.

CAF, in use and floor plan, was designed by the community of women who use the space. Although structural changes to the interior space were minimal, impressive attempts to delineate and maximize space have been made. Past the reception desk there are a series of different storage units which act as a semi-transparent barrier between the commercial space of the store and the production place of the workshops. To the right of the reception desk is a double row of storage shelves sandwiched between 4 x 2 foot structural beams. While these shelves do provide the necessary storage for the supply of wool and dye needed in the various workshops, their placement also indicates that a barrier is needed or desirable between the spaces of production and the spaces of consumption. Another ingenious demarcation of space is provided by a display of hand painted silk scarves which block the direct line of sight between the workshops and the store (Figure: 40).

When asked about the open concept and the lack of structural divisions between spaces, the coordinator of CAF specified that an open feel to the Centre

was desirable, as were visual connections between each of the spaces.[96] However, different opinions were voiced by others. One of the instructors explained that she found it difficult when she began her job in July of 1997 to be under the constant scrutiny of her employers. Additionally, she found that it was difficult to keep women focused on their tasks when so much else was going on in the space.[97] Furthermore, a participant voiced the opinion that while she enjoyed the openness of the space, she worried that the great amount of activity and levels of noise made for an environment which was frightening and intimating to some of the women who were less used to being in a social or work environment.[98]

The design of CAF's interior space is intended to be welcoming and to provide a place where making art gives women experiences and skills which affirm their feelings of self-worth and which foster a self-perception of competency.[99] In an effort to construct an environment which presents the appearance of a non-hierarchical community, the office spaces of CAF are not behind closed doors.[100] All administrative spaces are located in what was once the garage, a space which has been connected to the workshop area by an eight foot opening. Both the Coordinator and the Workshop Manager have positioned their desks so as to be visible from the workshop area and to the women as they work (Figure: 41). Penser explained that she wanted to be seen and accessible. She feels it is important for the women at the CAF to know that they can approach her if they have any problems.[101] For Owens, the Workshop Manager,

being an integral part of CAF is facilitated by her not being removed from the physical activity of the workshop floor.[102]

Structurally, there is a single step up to the office space which elevates the administrative area from the rest of the workshop, giving an increased view of the activities of the Centre. While there is a temptation to read this as a form of control and surveillance, only the fabric painting area is in the direct line of vision. However, both this elevated position and also the presence of office furniture—desks and filing cabinets—give the administrative area and the administrators a feeling of authority.

The rest of the space at CAF is devoted to actual workshops[103] There are four workshops which run on a daily basis. The sewing area is tucked between the partial office wall and a large storage closet (Figure: 42). On the other side of the closet is the stained glass workshop, which perhaps has the most private space (Figure: 43). In the centre of the open space are four tables which serve as the area for fabric printing (Figure: 44), and, on the other side of the semi-open barrier of shelves, but behind the store, are five wooden weaving looms (Figure: 45).

The decision to put the looms in the more "public" space of the store was that of the founder Mildred Ryerson. Her decision was based on her fondness for the aesthetic qualities of the loom and of the act of weaving, not on whether the women were working in the space of production or in the space of consumption. I should like to suggest however, that the loom itself provides a

certain degree of privacy or separation for the user. Its physical structure itself becomes a barrier which protects the individual as she works.

The workshop then is meant to provide a functional integration of space. It also provides a social integration of women. Due to the visual contact of space women can see others as they work. As they move through space to use the sink or washroom, they pass by others at work. This provides an excellent opportunity for a sharing of ideas or encouragement, and indeed structurally promotes the becoming of community within the spatial environment. Participants have commented on the importance of this social contact as imperative to the experience of CAF. The regular interaction with other women, and the participation within a community is one of the motivating factors for the women to join CAF. As one participant commented, "to see the same women there every week is like having friends, also sort of like seeing a therapist."[104] The open plan and ability to move through the space encourages this type of interaction.

There is a curious blurring of boundaries between work and leisure. The production which occurs in the workshops is viewed by the majority of the participants as work. Moreover, the women are not making items for their own domestic use but rather they are producing items for sale. At the same time, the social environment and informal use of space may decrease the external recognition of the women's activities as work. As Faranak Miraftab has noted in her article *Space, Gender, and Work: Home-Based Workers in Mexico*, women who

spatially integrate their labour for remuneration with other activities are more

likely than men not to recognize or value their work.[105]

CAF, however, is not strictly a work place. It is not a factory, nor is its

mandate to make a profit, nor do any of the women sustain themselves

economically through the work which they produce. Instead the current goal of

CAF is to create a warm, friendly, and safe environment for women.[106] It is a

transition space from home to work; from a domestic environment to a social

setting. To enhance the friendly nature of the social environment, an area for

eating and having coffee has been included in the spatial design (Figure: 46).

One table with a maximum of eight chairs and a counter with a hot plate, a coffee

maker, and a small refrigerator is situated between the fabric printing and

stained glass areas. In the kitchen area there is a notice board about community

events and services, announcements of events at CAF, and a bulletin board with

pictures of the Centre and related social events. Such information on cultural

events opens up new spaces in the city for women, while information on church

bazaars and food banks provide invaluable information for their economic

survival.

The photos themselves are worthy of reflection. They are a mix of views

of women working and women involved in communal activities of eating and

socializing. The photos present the CAF as a busy, but relaxed space, and add to

the feeling of community. For the women who have been at the Centre for a long

time they are reminders of good times. For the newcomer they help to

communicate that the Centre is a safe space. There are other photos at various other points in the Centre, taken mostly from newspapers. Here CAF is represented either by pictures of Mildred Ryerson, followed by stories of her activism or alternately, by pictures showing a few women busy at work.[107] Their presence in the Centre serves to promote the rhetoric of success which permeates CAF and adds to its legitimacy.

The majority of the women who attend CAF are indeed "newcomers". The community then is not intended as one of permanence.[108] As such it is a space of transition, an expansive and fluid community. The spatial forms resonates with the needs and resources of the community. Physical structure has been transformed through patterns of behavior, ritualistic use, and the skillful disposition of furniture. Despite being unable to alter the architectural environment, the women as thinking-acting-knowing subjects have been able to construct space that facilitates the community's becoming.

There is a need for spaces like CAF in which women with limited financial ability have a space to go to that does not necessitate consumption. Further, CAF provides a place where women's creativity and artistic production is facilitated. The presence of a community of women, itself becomes a social structure of support in the participant's lives. While its modest spatial environment can be read a as indication of the lack of financial resources of the organization, the unpretentious environment is perhaps less overwhelming or intimating to participants, who may be less likely to enter large buildings with formal facades.

The diversity of women who use CAF and the variety of ways in which they participate also attests to the value and openness of the community.[109] Further, from within the heterogeneous community the possibility arises for individual women to experience an transformation of their subjectivies as creative individuals, artists, and craftspeople.

III

In distinct ways, each of the three case studies I have been discussing use art making to create community. The processes involved draw individuals together into collective spatial and social environments, which in turn link individual's subjectivities to the communities and their political concerns, placing these socially activist practices upon their mattering maps. In each instance community means something different. At CAF, community is a temporary experience that seems to last for as long as it is needed by the individuals who use the facilities. The structural existence of CAF provides a space where women can come together in an urban environment and feel that they have a place outside of their domestic lives to develop social relationships with other women from similar or very different backgrounds. The spatial structures of Oujé-Bougoumou, in contrast, appear to have resolidified a community, and in doing so are reconstructing the necessary social structures for the becoming of community identity and the quest for greater political sovereignty. By desire and necessity then, their community, in form and

process, needs to provide this solid foundation on which the community can continue to become. Finally, Bread and Puppet has created and uses spatial forms as social structures and, in doing so, has constructed an environment that enhances the continual renewal of community through the politicized process of working and living collectively.

Nevertheless, the very notion of community, as I have discussed at the beginning of this section, is not unproblematic. Dot Tuer in "Parables of Community and Culture for a New World (Order)," warns that the invocation of the very term community "runs the risk of devolving into sectarian defenses of cultural specificity based upon reactive and generalized, rather than proactive and contingent, stances."[110] She continues in her cautionary address to warn that the rhetoric of community necessarily relies on the "murky dialectic" of self and other, motivated by "utopian evocations to wholeness and mythic stories of unity."[111]

What Tuer describes as this "murky dialectic" between self and other evokes feelings of trepidation upon entering what one conceives of as a distinct community. However, the dialectic is too simple a concept to explain the experience of one's individual identity in relation to the perception of community. I believe rather that there are multiple positions for subjectivities in relation to community and the complete alignment on either side of a dialectical relationship—either complete estrangement or identities that are indistinguishable from community—are more rarely experienced.

Conceptualizing community as an "open" rather than "closed" site, where identity can become, is integral to the success of using "community" as a form of political activism. Notions of community that too rigidly enforce the collective identity of participants risk limiting their own ability to create radical social or political change by too tightly defining the individual subjectivities of the community members. My experience of the three communities discussed in the dissertation was that through participation in the creative process itself, community and feelings of belonging to community became. At CAF my initial entrance into the community was through my participation in a textile printing course. Over the years of my involvement in the organization as a researcher and on a more administrative level, it was the experience of this initial participation which kept me committed to the sometimes conflictual and troubled organization. My attachment to other participants was significantly increased by working collectively with a group of seven other women to produce a performance about CAF itself for the *Public Art as Social Protest: But Now I Have To Speak Project* symposium at Concordia University. Likewise, my feelings of comfort and legitimacy within Oujé-Bougoumou were greatly enhanced through participating with other members of the community to produce a puppet show about living in Oujé-Bougoumou.[112] Indeed, the ability of the community to embrace the project, and by extension my role within in it as a non-Native, non-local, suspicious by profession, is indicative of the openness of the community.[113] Lastly, my entrance as a researcher into the Bread and Puppet community was

predicated on my willingness to participate in their creative project but it was through my participation in their creative process that I began to feel accepted within in the community, both as a researcher and a participant. Indeed, within the Bread and Puppet community, the more I participated, the more integrated into the community I felt and, the more a part of the community I feel, the greater my participation. This is, at least in part, because the spatial and social structures which have been constructed at the Theater, facilitate collaborative participation as a necessary component of its process.

Community in these case studies thus functions to create a sense of becoming in relation to the collective goals of the community that, through the nature of participation, also become goals important to the subjectivity of the individuals. To use Grossberg's terminology, the experience of art making within "community" heightens the experience for the individual participants and places the community and/or its objectives upon their mattering maps. Community then is a effective element in the apparatus that makes art matter. Moreover, it is important to note that belonging to or becoming part of community is (or should be) the choice of the individual participant, rather than a pre-given or enforced expectation. Individuals who are not affected by participation within a given community are able to disengage with the group.[114]

Suzi Gablik, in *The Reenchantment of Art*, has theorized that art is created through relationships between people as an act of conscious collaboration, creating a sense of community and that the idea of collaboration itself is strategic

to dissolving boundaries between individuals creating permeable communities.[115]

Gablick's statement, however, I would contend is not unidirectional. Rather the

spatial and social structures of community can themselves facilitate

collaboration, and in turn, as I have just been discussing, collaboration in an

artistic process can create communities. Collaboration, however, is a not a

simple, nor pregiven process of community. In the following section, therefore, I

theorize collaborative art making and explore the processes of collaboration

within in each of the three case studies.

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[1] Jeanette Winterson, *Sexing the Cherry* (New York and London: Vintage, 1989), p. 81.

[2] Kathleen M. Kirby, *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity* (New York: Guilford Press, 1996), p. 7.

[3] Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Glasgow: Fountana, 1976), pp. 65-66.

[4] Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions: Art and Spatial Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press 1998), p. 52.

[5] Deutsche's work on the politics of space is part of and large a growing, interdisciplinary body of work on space. See for instance: Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism , or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* (Volume 176, 1984): Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); David Harvey, *The Condition of Post Modernity: an Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (New York: Verso 1993), Gillan Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994); Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and* Gender (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1994); Kathleen M. Kirby, *Indifferent Boundaries: Spatial Concepts of Human Subjectivity* (New York: Guilford Press, 1996).

[6] Rosalyn Deutsche, *Evictions*, p. 52.

[7] Owen Kelly, *Community, Art and the State: Storming the Citadels* (London: Comedia, 1984), p.51.

[8] Cornel West, *Keeping Faith: Philosophy and Race in America* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p. xiv.

[9] Gerald McMaster, ed., "Savage Graces," *Harbour* (Volume 3, Number 1, Winter 1993-1994), p. 13.

[10] Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematographic Representation," *Frame Works* (Volume 36, 1989), p. 69.

[11] ibid, pp. 69-70.

[12] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 7.

[13] The Oujé Bougoumou Cree, *Living Conditions Survey* (Prepared by Roy Lumby Consultants, Ottawa, 1986).

[14] ibid.

[15] Interview with Freddy Bosum, Oujé-Bougoumou January 18, 2000. Freddy Bosum has been actively involved in every stage of the communities' development from 1985 on. The disorganization of poverty is often explained as being more debilitating than the lack of money itself. For a insightful and critical discussion of poverty and its causes see: Nikki van der Gaag, ed., *The New Internationalist Special edition: Poverty Dismantling the Myths*. (Number 310, March 1999).

[16] The Oujé-Bougoumou Community Orientation Initiative, no date, p. 1. Within the report the profound difference between the life the community members were leaving and the life they were about to enter is highlighted with specific attention paid to what would be needed to meet regular schedules, permanent employment, expanded responsibilities, greater precision with respect to time, increasing personal financial responsibilities, maintenance of an entire community and village. Further, the frame of reference for each individual would shift from relatively small groupings of families to the entire community. All of these changes were anticipated as being the way the community members would relate to one another. Further the new possibility of increasing aboriginal self-government was also seen as creating social change and necessitating new attitudes of authority, accountability and skills to control major areas of community life. These changes were acknowledged as the direct result of the construction of the new village. Therefore, the report advised the community be provided with a series of workshops to address issues related to the orientation their new surroundings. These workshops are the focus of the following chapter on collaboration.

[17] Interview with Freddy Bosum, Oujé-Bougoumou, January 18, 2000.

[18] ibid.

[19] Douglas Cardinal, *Architectural Concept for Oujé-Bougoumou* (Unpublished: O-B Archives September 1991), p. 5.

[20] ibid, p. 3. Many recently constructed buildings in northern Native communities use traditional architectural forms to promote visual continuity and cultural relevance. For example, the Mission Ste-Catherine church in Amos, Quebec is a contemporary structure whose exterior and interior roof lines relate directly to the teepee. The emphasis on its interior support beams, a nod to traditional, refer to the "scared poles of the Algonquin teepee, and represent such virtues as obedience, respect, humility, love, kinship, sharing and hope. The central administrative building in Chisasbi also features a roof line reminiscent of its teepee. At Nemiscau, where Hydro Quebec moved the Cree in the 1970's, the main structure on Lake Champion houses the offices of the Grand Council of the Cree. This building is also reminiscent of a teepee, sky-lit and angle-roofed, featuring an assemblage of windows that provide an extraordinary view of Lake Champion. The exterior form of the building is of a stylized goose: wings in full span, head high, and tail fanned open. Caroline Stevens and Joan Reid Acland, "Building Sovereignty: The Architectural Sources of Oujé-Bougoumou," *Futures and Identities: Canadian Issues* (Volume 21, 1999), pp. 124-142.

[21] A detailed discussion of the design process as a collaboration between Douglas Cardinal and the community will be provided in the following chapter.

[22] ibid, 3.

[23] Cardinal, *Oujé-Bougoumou Village Architecture Concept*, p. 4. There is not unanimous appreciation of Cardinal's design interpretations. For instance Oliva Couchees who works at Oujé-Bougoumou's day care informed me of her frustration with the rounded walls of the building, which "while resembling the traditional architectural form" were a serious waste of interior space. Interview January 26, 2000.

[24] Like the other building in the central core, the Aanischaaukamiki, is to be designed by Douglas Cardinal. The nine James Bay Cree communities are currently conducting a successful fundraising campaign to generate the over twelve million dollars necessary to build and equip the structure. Interview with Kenneth Mianscum, February 2, 2000. As of the date of the interview, close to five million dollars had already been secured for the project.

[25] The Pentecostal Church is the only organized "western" religious denomination to have a physical structure in Oujé-Bougoumou. Traditional buildings in the Cultural Village (to be discussed shortly) are also used to meet the spiritual needs of the community.

[26] Approximately seventy percent of the Oujé-Bougoumou community are members of the Pentecostal Church. Former Chief Abel Bosum, in a CBC Documentary about the building of Oujé-Bougoumou states that while critics contend that Christian religions erode culture away from traditional Native spirituality, the Pentecostal Church upholds many Cree values as taught by their Elders. He notes how this Church has provided help for the hopeless and used the power of the creator to change people. "Inherit The Earth," *Man Alive* (CBC: March 23, 1995).

[27] Entraco -Conseillers en Environment et Aménagement du Territorie, *A Permanent Village for the Oujé -Bougoumou Community: Impact Assessment Study* (Montreal: Unpublished O-B Archives, October 1990). Currently all Oujé-Bougoumou's nurses and teachers come from other communities. While the construction of permanent residences for this transient labour force can be read as assuming the community will never produce their own teachers and or nurses, the placement of the structures on the ring road also means they could easily be renovated to become additionally housing for Elders.

[28] Douglas J. Cardinal Architect Limited, *Oujé-Bogoumou Primary and Secondary School* (Unpublished: Oujé-Bougoumou Archives, April 1992), p.2.

[29] ibid, p. 2.

[30] The speed at which the community housing was needed demanded that this part of the construction be sub-contracted. Another consideration was cost and Jeremy Jenkins Shelter was able to propose a more affordable design program. Interview, Charlie Mianscum, Housing Program Coordinator, October 29, 1997.

[31] Interview: Francis Shecapio January 20, 2000. Interview: Anna Bosum, October 28th, 1997. Finished basements often include additional bedrooms.

[32] The Housing Program is run through the Headquarters, and is coordinated by Charlie Mianscum.

[33] The Housing Program was designed to make home ownership avaliable to the largest possible segment of the Oujé-Bougoumou population. Within this structure The Housing Program, which is funded through the Headquaters, builds the housing and the homeowner then pays back the Housing Program for 50% of the construction costs, while also assuming the cost of the house's maintence and repairs. The Housing Program is designed so that no more than 25% of a family's monthly income is to be spent on housing, and the minimun annual income necessary to qualify for the program is $21,000. Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation, *Housing Program*.

[34] Examples of such planning for the future can be seen in endeavours such as the community's heating system. Rather than heating each house individually with oil or electricity, extensive research and investment was made to install a large furnace which is fueled by waste products from local saw mills. The furnace pumps heat to all homes through a series of underground pipes. Although each house has an individual thermostat to regulate temperature, the houses tend to be kept very warm, thus causing people to leave their windows or front doors open even in the coldest winter months.

[35] This argument is taken up further in chapter 2 on collaboration.

[36] James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 10.

[37] Chief Abel Bosum, *We the People: Address to the United Nations* (Unpublished, O-B Archives, 1995), 7.

[38] ibid, 7.

[39] Ibid, 15

[40] Ibid, 15.

[41] These concerns are the focus of the final section of the Dissertation.

[42] These speculations are the effect of several discussions with young (20-30 years old) women each of whom lived in Oujé-Bougoumou. Each one highlighted how their experience of living in Oujé-Bougoumou, in an all Native community, was preferable to their experiences of living in larger towns such as Chibougamau, where they felt subject to daily encounters of racism and sexism. In Oujé-Bougoumou racism is not a part of their every day lives, and although sexism persists, its form is altered because it is no longer mixed with racist preconceptions of Native women. Interviews: Mini Wappacci, January 14, 2000; Francis Shecapio, January 20, 2000; Oliva Couchees, January 26, 2000.

[43] Linda McDowell and Joanne P. Sharp, *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings* (London: Arnold, 1997), pp. 2-3.

[44] Bread and Puppet is organized as a not-for profit corporation, with a Board of Directors who collectively oversee the Theater. The Theater funds itself through performing, both at "home" and touring, as well as by selling posters, cloth banners, and Bread and Puppet Publications. They largely eschew appling for grants from either the private or public sectors, and keep the costs of their productions as low a possible. Peter and Elka Schumann are paid salaries, as are the permanent company of puppeteers, and the Theater's manager, Linda Elbow, The number of staff varies yearly and seasonally depending upon the needs and resources of the Theater.

[45] This marker of success is discussed by Schumann and other Theater directors in a publication that resulted form a Radical Theater Festival held in 1968, long before Schumann could have known the longevity of the Bread and Puppet Project, or the thousands of people who would participate in it over the decades. *Radical Theater Festival, San Francisco State College, September 1968* (San Franscio: The San Francisco Mime Troupe, El Teatro Campesion, Bread and Puppet Theater, 1969), p. 7.

[46] Steven Pile and Michael Keith, eds., *Geographies of Resistance* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-3.

[47] For a detailed description of Bread and Puppets activities in New York see, Robert Craig Hamilton, *The Bread and Puppet Theater of Peter Schumann: History and Analysis* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: Indiana University, 1978).

[48] Stefan Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater* (New York and London: 1988) My thanks to Elka Schumann for pointing out this constructed dichotomy in the literature on the Theater.

[49] *Radical Theater Festival, San Francisco State College, September 1968.*, p.28.

[50] The farm property just outside of Glover had been purchased by John Scott with the intention of giving it to Elka Schumann. Schumann remembers looking at several properties with her parents before the present location in Glover was chosen because of its remarkable vistas of the Vermont hills. Interview with Elka Schumann, June 28, 1999.

[51] John Bell, "The End of *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus*: Bread and Puppet Theater and Counterculture Performance in the 1990," *The Drama Review* (Volume 43, Number 3, Fall 1999), pp. 62-80

[52] Bell, "The End of *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus.*" Theater historian and long-time Bread and Puppet member John Bell argues that Plainfield, Vermont was a center for counter-culture. Goddard College was implementing the alternative education ideas of John Dewey, and Plainfield was becoming home to musicians, performers, artisans, radical activists and communes.

[53] Robert Francis Jenkins, *A Description of Working Principles and Procedures employed by Selected People's Theater Groups in the United States* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation Florida State University, 1980), p. 310.

[54] Interview with Peter Schumann, July 5, 1999.

[55] Francoise Kourilsky, *Le Bread and Puppet Theater* (Lausanne: Editions L'Age D' Homme, 1971), p. 120.

[56] Robert Craig Hamilton, *The Bread and Puppet Theater of Peter Schumann: History and Analysis* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: Indiana University, 1978), p. 379.

[57] Sacred Harp Music is an early American four part, shape-note singing tradition which implied democracy in its non church community origins.

[58] Scott Stroot, "Radical Beauty in the Northeast Kingdom: The Bread and Puppet Theater and Museum," *Art New England* (October/November 1998), p. 15, 80.

[59] Margaret Croyden, *Lunatics, Lovers, and Poets: The Contemporary Experimental Theater* (New York: Dell Publishing : 1974), p. 220.

[60] Dorlores Hayden, *The Power of Place.*, p. 16.

[61] Bell, "The End of *Our Domestic Resurrection Circus*," pp. 67-68.

[62] One of the guiding philosophies behind the development of the spatial and social structures of Bread and Puppet can be linked back to Elka Schumann's grandparents Scott and Helen Nearing. In 1934 the Nearings left New York City for southern Vermont to attempt to live what they conceived of as "The Good Life." As ardent socialists they combined their political and intellectual activities with subsistence farming demonstrating the possibilities of living one's radical beliefs in twentieth-century America by doing-it-yourself, and taking satisfaction from limited success. ibid, p. 63. Bell also believes that it was the Nearing experience which lead the Schumanns to focus on Our Domestic Resurrection Circus. Also see, Helen and Scott Nearing , *Living the Good Life: How to Live Sanely and Simply in a Troubled World* (New York: Schocken Books).

[63] To create the masks for *Fire*, Schumann cast the face Li Minh, who had been part of a protest march with Bread and Puppet October 16, 1965. *Fire* was dedicated to war protesters, Alice Herz, Norman Morrison, and Roger Le Port, who committed suicide by self-immolation. Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater*, p. 517. Brecht also provides a reprint of a detailed description and review of Fire by: George Dennison, "Fire" *Tulane Drama Review* (Volume 47) 648-653. The performance is positioned by Brecht as one of the Theater's most successful, yet no discussion is given to the complicated predicament of a work which, while wanting to criticize the United States involvement in Vietnam, uses simplistic representations of Vietnamese women as the "other" to do so. For a discussion of the social political ramifications of Western imaginations of the East see: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1978).

[64] Large parades, such as the anti-nuclear protest in 1982 in New York City have required the entire Museum to be emptied. See Robert David Hostetter, *The American Nuclear Theater, 1946-1984* (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation: North Western University, 1985).

[65] The primary heating sources used by the Theater's buildings, domestic and otherwise, is wood. Most facilities remain unheated during the winter months, thus shrinking both the working and living spaces of the company.

[66] Currently there is a Internship program in place, where people new to the Theater can arrange to come and work with Bread and Puppet for a three to four week period. This is in part an attempt to formalize and control the number of people at the Theater at any given time. However, there are almost always additional people who just show up at the Theater, either for a performance, or as a result of actively seeking the company out, and ask to stay for a while. Usually these requests are granted, for a specific time, and on occasion individuals have been asked to leave.

[67] The use of outhouses is mandated for all members of the company for the summer months in order to conserve water. Likewise, swimming in the nearby Shadow Lake is the suggested alternative to showering. [68] Breakfast is not an organized meal and everyone fends for themselves before 9:00 in the morning. Until 1998, with the last circus, a professional cook would be hired for the weeks leading before the circus to facilitate feeding the up-to 200 volunteers working at the Theater. With the shift in programming, (and an anticipated decline in revenue) the cooking of meals shifted to the volunteers themselves, with two or three individuals rotating the responsibility for the preparation of each meal.

[69] Individual puppeteers, however, sometimes choose to leave their houses for the summer weather and move to quieter and more private accommodations on the Bread and Puppet grounds.

[70] The allocation of space at Bread and Puppet does not appear to be predicated on cultural identity, such as at Oujé-Bougoumou, nor gender, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion of CAF.

[71] While this seems to be standard practice, there are other considerations taken into account, such as the distance some one is traveling from to work with the Theater, or any special needs that an individual may have. Further there are many "unofficial" living spaces such as the "dead communist's loft" which is a crawl space on the second story between the two farm houses.

[72] Brecht, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater, Volume 2.*, p. 483.

[73] Interview Elka Schumann, June 28, 1999.

[74] Gregory Sholette, "Counting On Your Collective Silence: Notes on Activist Art as Collaborative Practice," *After Image* (Volume 27 Number 3, November/December, 1999) pp. 18-20

[75] Dorlores Hayden *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge Mass. London England: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 7-11.

[76] ibid, p. 16.

[77] Current theoretical work in feminist architectural history attempts to return agency to the users buildings and environments. Examples work from this theoretical approach include: Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), Matrix, *Making Space: Women and the Man Made Environment* (London: Pluto Press, 1984); Katherine Bristol "The Myth of Pruitt-Igoe," *The Journal of Architectural Education* (Vol. 44, No. 3. 1991); Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal: McGill Queens, 1960.

[78] This is not to denigrate the important feminist work which is occurring in these disciplines, but rather to emphasis its importance. For feminist architectural history see: Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press. 1981); Gwendolyn Wright, *Building The Dream: A Social History of Housing In America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996). In geography see: Doreen Massey, *Space Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1993); Nancy Duncan, ed., *Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1993). For interdisciplinary work on women and the built environment see: Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1992).

[79] By this statement I do not mean to imply that such spaces do not, or have not existed, yet in both physical manifestations, and historical record, their presence has been rendered marginal.

[80] Extreme examples of this marginalization are perhaps women's associations which have no formal space, but rather have shifting locals. Such an arrangement serves to limit the visibility of a given association and diminish the importance of the work being done there.

[81] Frances Brashaw, in *Working with Women*, cites a rare example where the Stockwell Health Centre Group was able to have a women's health centre designed and built by utilizing the services of the Matrix Feminist Design Collective, thereby designing a space which architecturally suited their needs. *Making Space*. pp. 90-92.

[82] Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 163-164.

[83] When I asked why they had left that location I was told by Tracy Owens, the Workshop Manager that the building had been converted into condominiums. However the units in the building are still rental units for mixed functions. No one else available for comment knew why the St. Henri location had been abandoned.

[84] CAF constantly battles against neighborhood graffiti taggers.

[85] The prices of craft objects vary from between five dollars for a small stained glass panel, to over one hundred dollars for hand woven women's clothing. Prices are set by a committee comprised of the Centre's Coordinator, a member from the Board of Directors, and the teacher who oversaw the object's production. The women producers do not participate in the pricing of their crafts. This issue will be taken up in chapter 2 on collaboration.

[86] Also visible in the window are weaving looms, which will be discussed at a later point in the paper.

[87] On women's spaces and the private sphere see, Lynn Pearson, *The Architecture and Social History of Cooperative Living* (New York: St. Martins's Press 1989); Marianna Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); Deborah Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Review* (Number 40, Fall, 1994); Tamara Myers, *Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montreal, 1890-1930* (Montreal: Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, McGill University; 1996); Tania Martin, "Housing the Gray Nuns: Power, Religion, and Women in fin-de siecle Montreal," *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspective in Vernacular Architecture VII* (Tennessee,1997).

[88] On the stereotype of woman as consumer and the spatial built environment see: Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada 1945-60," *Canadian Historical Review* (Vol. LXXII, No. 4, 1991); Ellen Lupton, and J. Abbott Miller, *The Bathroom the Kitchen and the Aesthetics of Waste - A Process of Elimination,* (Boston: The MIT List Visual Arts Center, 1992); Annmarie Adams, "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," *Gender, Class and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, V.* Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press., 1995).

[89] Women are also sometimes refered to the Centre by social workers or psychologists, so not all of the women who join the CAF come to it as consumers. Interview with Julie Menard, April 14, 1998. Further, women can also find out about CAF through other community groups or social networks. The visual analysis of the facade is not meant to discount women's other ways of knowing, but to provide a reading of the elevation, and what it communicates.

[90] This is not to say that men never enter into the building, as will be taken up shortly.

[91] The three steps do, however, mean the CAF is not accessible to women in wheelchairs.

[92] For a fascinating analysis of the use of desks to control movement and communicate meaning see: Abigail Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[93] For a historiography of the use of separate spheres in feminism see: Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *The Historical Journal* (Volume 36, Number 3, 1993).

[94] Cynthia Rock, "Building the Women's Club in 19th-Century America," *Heresies II* (Volume 3, Number 3. 1993); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "Hull-House as Women's Space," *Chicago History* (Volume 12, Number 4 1983); Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots 1825-1880* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990); Lynne Walker, "Vistas of Pleasure: Women Consumers of Urban Space in the West End of London, 1850-1900, " Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[95] For instance, Abigail Van Slyck's essay, *The Lady and the Library Loafer*, examines women's reading rooms in 19th-century public libraries. Here Van Slyck suggests that the allocation of space within the library, and the design and furnishing of the Ladies Reading Room, can reveal to the late 20th-century observer social conceptions of women as non-literary and frivolous readers. To this she contrasts the library spaces which women have designed for themselves. Such spaces were much more akin, in space use and furnishing, to the parts of the public library which were considered male. Abigail Van Slyck, *The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America, Winterthur Portfolio* (Volume 31, Number 4, 1996).

[96] Interview with Joan Penser, CAF Coordinator. March 24, 1998.

[97] Interview with Natalie Trombley, Workshop Instructor, March 20, 1998.

[98] Interview with Julie Menard, April 14, 1998.

[99] Interview with CAF Coordinator; Joan Penser, March 24, 1998.

[100] In the following chapter dealing with collaboration I discuss CAF's difficulties in achieving a non-hierarchical working structure, despite the attempts to appear as one spatially.

[101] ibid.

[102] Interview with Tracy Owens, Workshop Manager, March 20, 1998.

[103] Additionally, there is a small table where people can eat their lunches.

[104] Interview, Julie Menard, April 14, 1998.

[105] Faranak Miraftab, "Space, Gender, and Work: Home-Based Workers in Mexico," Eileen Boris and Elizabeth Prugel eds., Homeworkers in Global Perspective: Invisible No More (New York & London: Routledge, 1998).

[106] There is some contention about this point, founder Mildred Ryerson being far more concerned with the quality of work which is being produced by the CAF than the current administrators and teachers. Ryerson is much more caught up in the rhetoric of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. However, being trained as an occupational therapist she is fully cognizant of the benefits of producing art for women's psychological and physical health. Interview with Mildred Ryerson, April 15, 1998.

[107] For instance: "A Way to Give Others a Future: St. Henri Women's Cooperative Craft Centre," Montreal Gazette (August 1, 1994) D3, "Activist Pursues Eclectic Interests" Winnipeg Free Press (June 16, 1992) C 26, "Veteran Activist Pursues Dream Over Decades," Montreal Gazette (June 11, 1992), p. F7.

[108]. Interview with Tracy Owens, Workshop Manager, March 20, 1998. Owens herself has been involved with the centre, on and off, for five years. She began in 1993 as a student at the St. Henri location; she attended all the various workshops given and branched out to open a stained glass cooperative of her own. At the time of the interview she was back at the centre as the Workshop Manager on a government program. She shared with me her deep gratitude to CAF, saying that it has changed her and her life. Before she began attending, she was a very quiet person who kept to herself. She said that before CAF did not realize she had any artistic ability and spent the majority of her time worrying about her children or watching TV. She had little involvement outside of her family home and no social links with other women, except family members.

[109] Modes of participation within CAF are discussed in chapter 2.

[110] Dot Tuer, "Parables of Community and Culture for a New World (Order)," Daina Augaitis, Loran Flak, Sylvie Gilbert, Mary Anne Moser, eds., Questions of Community: Artists, Audiences, Coalitions (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 1995), p. 10.

[111] ibid, p. 16.

[112] The process and content of these performance will be discussed in the following sections.

[113] After a month of living in Oujé-Bougoumou during the winter of 2000. my paternal grandmother. Audrey Jean Stevens-Campbell died. The sympathy and support offered to me by the community was phenomenal, and I believe a result of the relationships we had begun to make through working together nightly on the puppet show.

[114] The possibilty of leaving a community is a more complex process when one considers the community of Oujé-Bougoumou, as opposed to either CAF or Bread and Puppet.

[115] Suzi Gablik , *The Reenchantment of Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), p. 158.
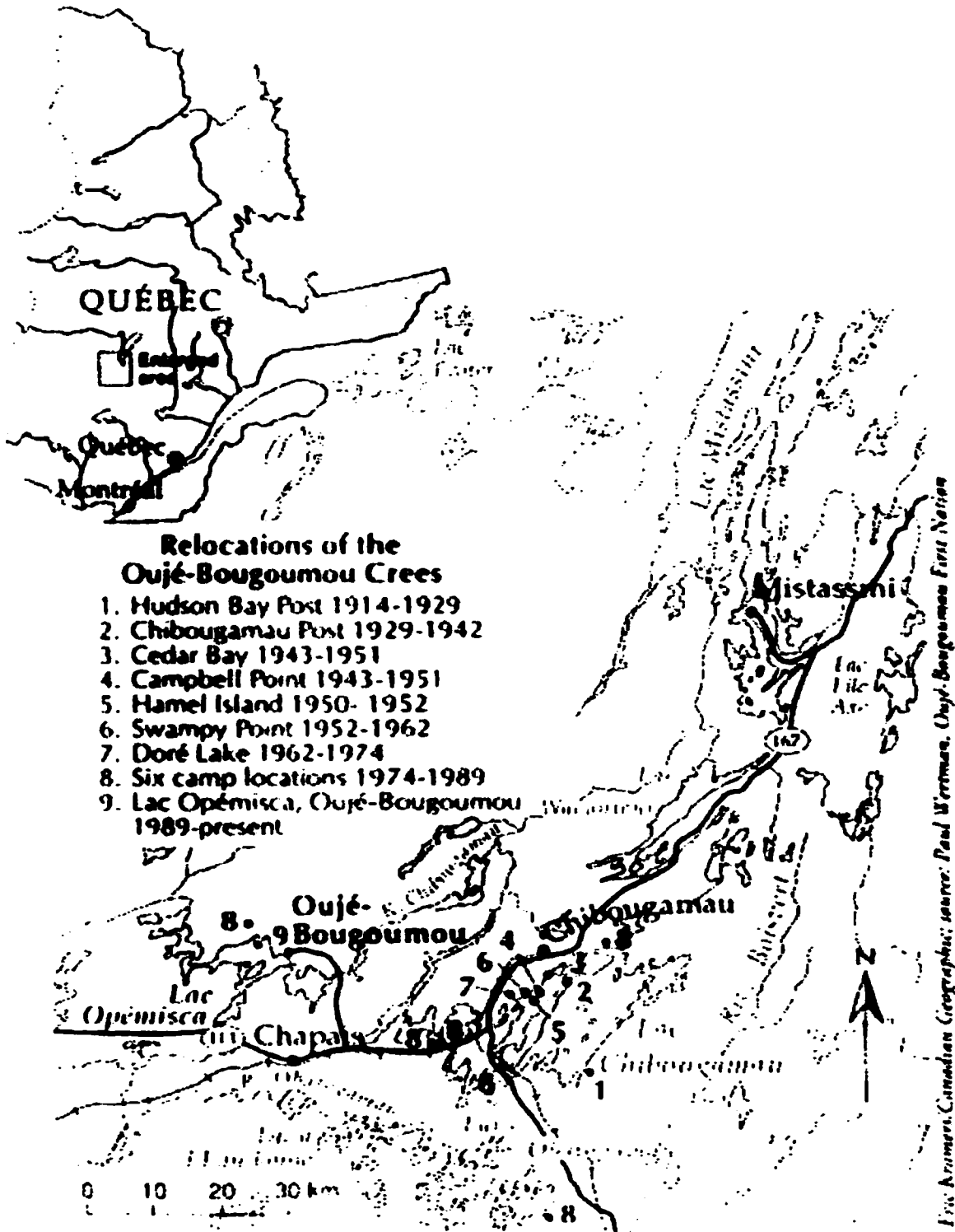
Figure 4: Map of the community sites at Oujé-Bougoumou during the 20th century, courtesy of Oujé-Bougoumou tourism
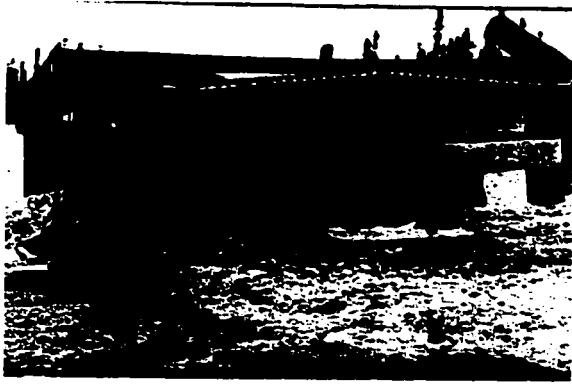
Figure 5: Dwelling, 1988
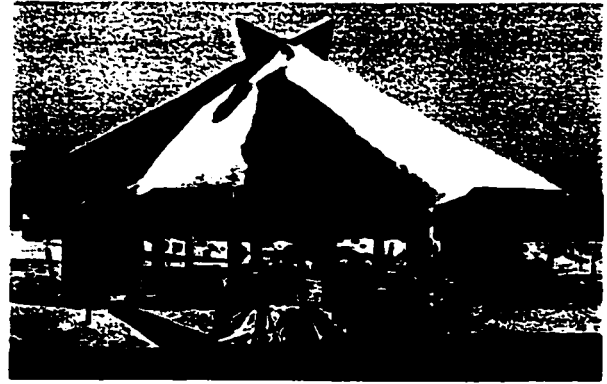
Figure 6: Saptuan, 2000

Figure 7: Astiiugamikw, 1995

Figure 8: Interior Astiiugamikw, 2000
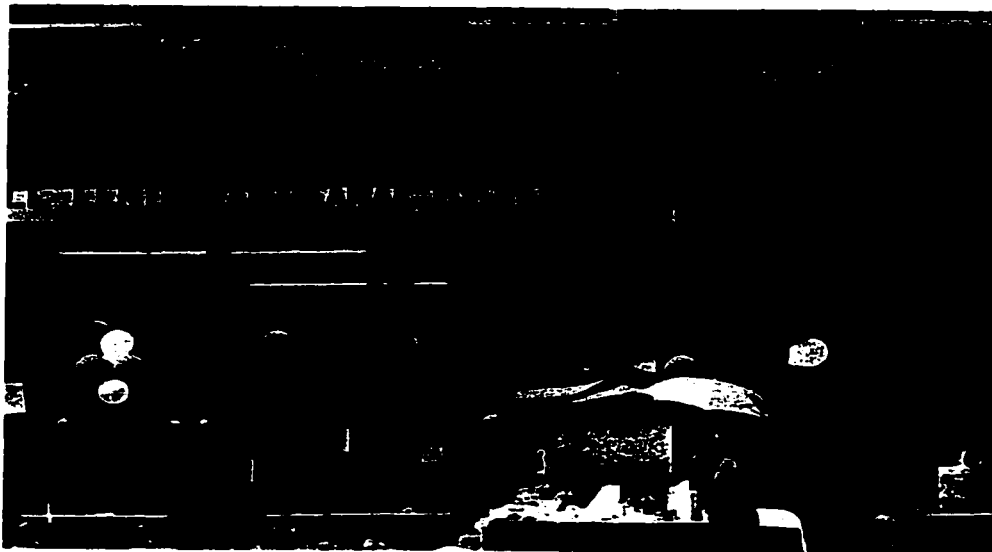
Figure 9: Village Map, 1998

Figure 10: Headquaters, 2000

Figure 11: Jishemunda Mijwap, 2000

Figure 12: Elder Residence, 1993
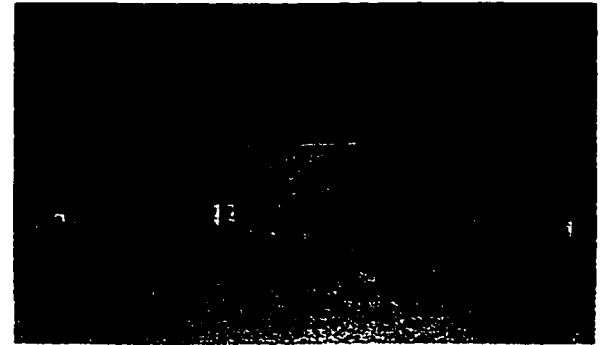
Figure 13: School, 1993
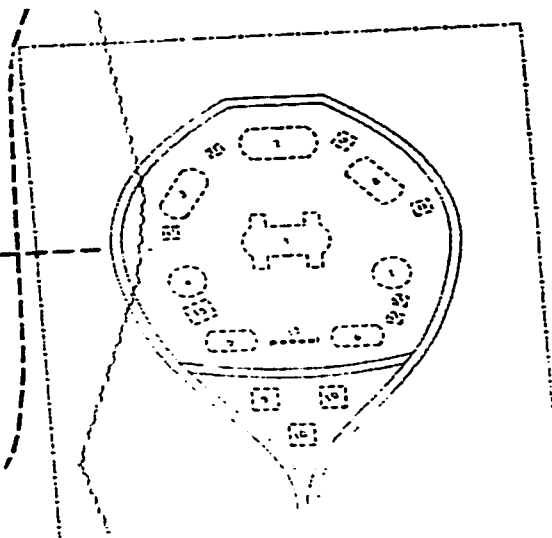
Figure 14: Map Cultural Village

Figure 15: Cultural Village, 2000

Figure 16: Cultural Village, 2000

Figure 17: Cultural Village, 2000

Figure 18: Tourism Brochure

Figure 19: Housing, 1997

Bread and Puppet Property
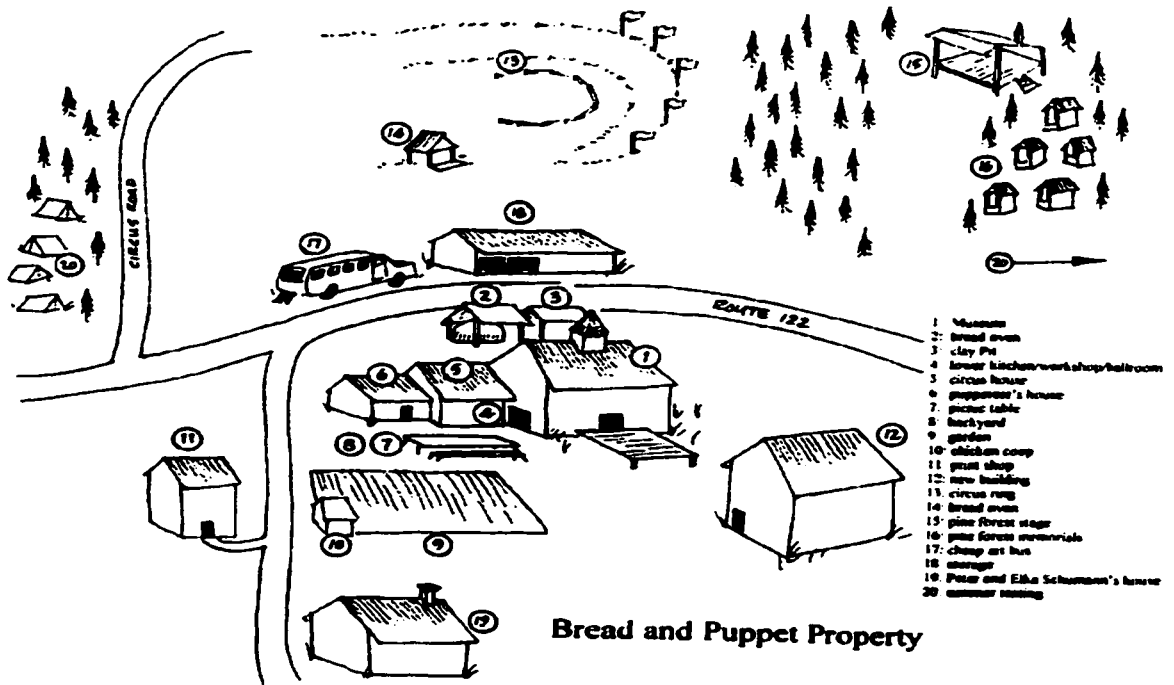
Figure 20: Bread and Puppet Property, 2001
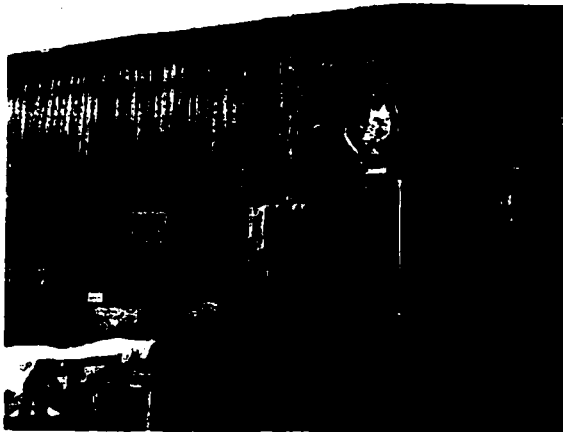
Figure 21: B & P Musuem, 1999
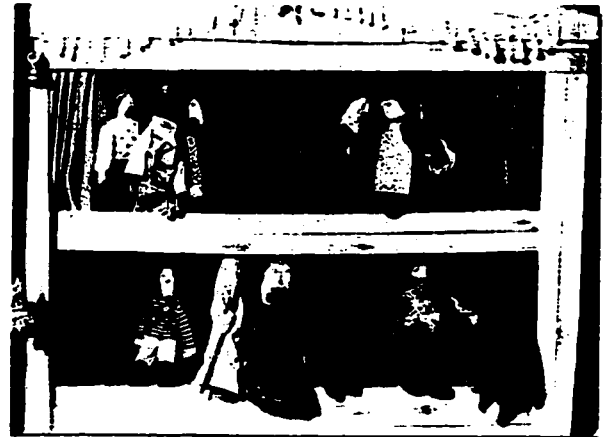
Figure 22: Vertep, 1999

Figure 23: Mr. Miller Stories, 1999

Figure 24: Fire, 1999

Figure 25: Bird Catcher in Hell, 1999

Figure 26: Museum Installation, 1999

Figure 27: God Face Puppet, 1999

Figure 28: Farm. 1999

Figure 29: Garden, 1999

Figure 31: New Building, 1999

Figure 30: Printshop, 1999

Figure 32: New Building Detail, 1999

Figure 33: Giant Puppets, 1999

Figure 34: Pine Forest Memorial, 1999
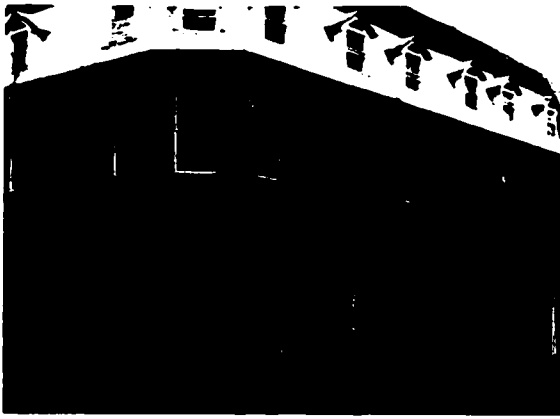
Figure 35: Duluth St. Montreal, 1999

Figure 36: CAF Exterior, 1999

Figure 37: CAF Entrance, 1999

Figure 38: CAF Reception Desk, 1999
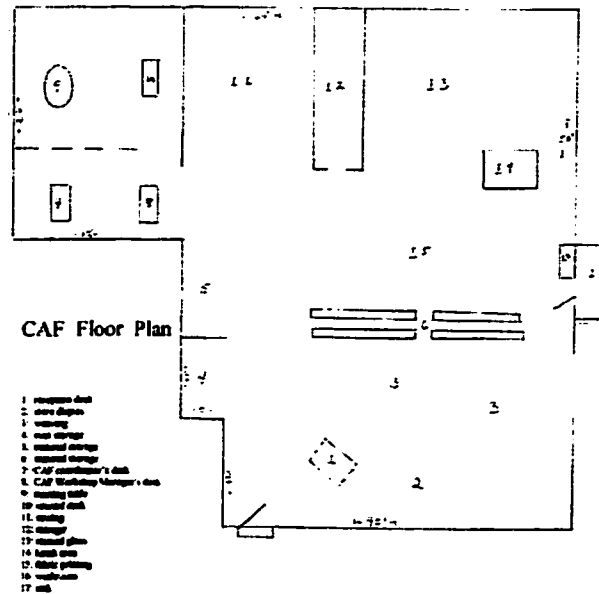
Figure 39: CAF Interior Plan, 1999

Figure 40: CAF Scarves, 1999

Figure 41: CAF Adminstration desk, 1999

Figure 42: CAF Sewing Area, 1999
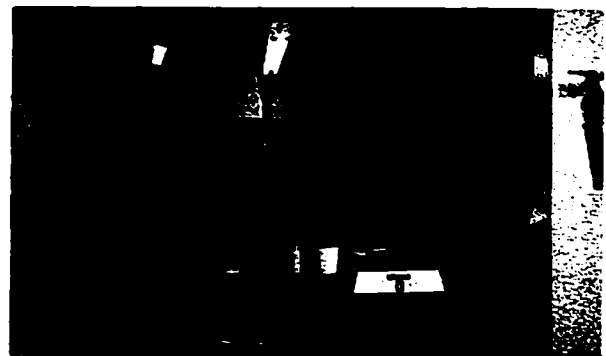
Figure 43: CAF Stained Glass Area, 1999

Figure 44: Textile Printing Area, 1999

Figure 45: CAF Weaving Loom, 1999
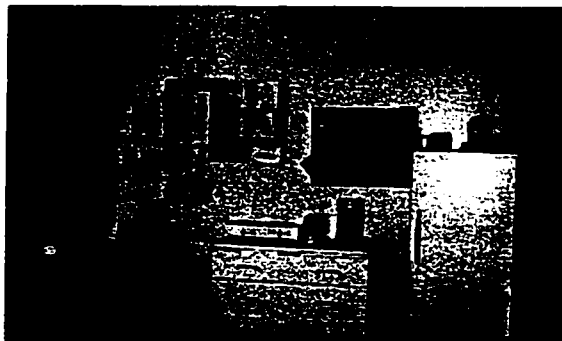
Figure 46: CAF Lunch Area, 1999

Running away from uncertainty and confusion but most of all running away from myself.
I thought I might become someone else in time, grafted onto something better and stronger.
And then I saw that the running away was a running towards.
An effort to catch up with my fleet footed self. Living another life in a different way. [1]

Chapter II: The Processes and Performance of Collective Creative Praxis

This chapter examines what collaboration means and how it is enacted

within each of the three sites. Collaborative art production has been practiced

throughout history, yet modernist art history has largely written collaboration

out of the discourse and thus rendered it seemingly non-existent.[2] Indeed, the

idea that a work of art is the product of a single mind/hand is a motivated

trajectory with specific effects that have served to canonize selected (white male)

producers and position privileged art objects (predominately painting) as

fetishized commodities.[3]

I: Producing Collaboration

In contrast, art history and criticism that addresses artistic collaboration is often grounded by a theoretical critique of the artist as a solitary genius. Such discourses deal primarily with the collaboration of two professional artists and seek to establish who within a collaboration is responsible for specific aspects of a production. How this division of labour within collaborations is documented is critical, as it serves to either challenge or reinstate the hegemony of the genius myth. For instance Robert C. Hobbs, in "Rewriting History: Artistic Collaboration Since 1960," divides the labour in collaborations by valorizing the production of one person (exclusively the man if it is a man-woman collaboration) and devalues the contributions of the other.[4] Conversely, art historians such as Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron's in *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership*,[5] or Janice Helland in "Collaboration Among the Four," offer more complex readings considering the impact of gender, sexuality, class and nationality on both productive relationships within collaborations and art historical writing about collective production.[6]

A different vein in the literature has attempted to negate an investigation of a division of labour by suggesting that collaborative production is indivisible, the product not of one or the other of the participants, but of a third, distinct subjectivity. Directly or indirectly drawing upon William Burroughs and Brion Gysin's ideas articulated in *The Third Mind*, collaborative practice is theorized as ambiguous and multi-layered space.[7] This theoretical manoeuvre serves to

annul the specificity of production within collaboration, erasing rather than demystifying working processes.

How collaboration is narrated by art history is ideological. As a practice, collaboration is historically pervasive, yet different theoretical trajectories strive to limit or emphasize its discursive presence and in so doing shape art history. For example Charles Green, in *The Third Hand: Collaboration in Art From Conceptualism To Postmodernism*, proposes that collaboration was a crucial element in the transition from modernism to postmodernism.[8] He postulates that collaboration changed art practice by challenging modernist definitions of art.[9] However, Green fails to consider the relationship between art criticism, art history and art production. By claiming that postmodern collaborative practice altered modernist definitions of art, he denies the significance of collaboration within modernism. Moreover, Green's hypothesis does not present the opportunity to investigate the resonance between postmodern discourse and collaborative practice as in and of itself providing the space to highlight collaboration.

Griselda Pollock, in *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art Histories*, suggests there is a psycho-symbolic dimension to the construction of the art historical canon where writing about artists is a form of "worship" based in male narcissism.[10] The question thus becomes to what extent does the literature on collaboration negate the "worship" of artist as genius. If such literature seeks to divide the collaboration by looking for the individual

producers without addressing the complexity of these relations—if it suggests the possibility of a third mind or subjectivity which produces the work—or if it fails to realize its productive role in creating the discursive space for collaboration—is it subverting modernist art historical practice and its concept of artistic genius? Shifting the liberal humanist conception of the artist as an isolated superhuman individual towards a model which recognizes the interconnected social and political roles of collaborative production necessitates a reformulation of art history's concerns. Such revisions aim to disclose artistic processes between individuals which necessarily involve negotiation, struggle, and questions of power. Further, it privileges the narration of collaboration as a space of intervention where myths glorifying anti-social behavior are replaced with an analysis of the social and political processes of making art.

To reformulate art history's approach to collaboration is to attend closely to discourse at the level of enunciation—how what is articulated (re)instates hegemony, and effectively maintains elitist hierarchies and dominant and dominating social structures.[11] By looking at the enunciation of the discourse—how collaborative processes are discussed—I propose that a shift from the production of collaboration to its performance can oppose the concept of the artist as genius and understand the process of collaboration as more than the production of art.

II: Performance of Collaboration

Grant Kester argues in his introduction to *Art, Activism, and Oppositionality* that the current political moment necessitates an aesthetics of art activism based on perfomativity.[12] Performativity, as a theoretical concept, positions identity as practice which is constructed and open to multiple readings.[13] Performance as a theoretical tool of analysis challenges the concept of art as a discrete object in favor of a process of dialogue and exchange.[14] Collaborative creation is then not static or pre-given but is continuously negotiated by the participants who are simultaneously active agents and subjects, directed by institutional and other social forces. The performance of collaboration calls for an examination of the process of art making as being in and of itself an apparatus of personal and political activism.[15]

An example of art history that inspires this model is "Collaboration without Object(s) in the Early Happenings," by Johanna Drucker. By focusing upon interpersonal relations through the experience of multiple sensory stimulus, Drucker describes the performative aspects of collaboration, and highlights the absence of objects in favour of the relations between individuals within Happenings. She suggests that relations among people within a capitalist class are displaced in almost every location of life, including the production and consumption of art, into relations with commodities. This displacement creates a fetish where "relations among individuals" are replaced by "relations among objects that represents those relations."[16] Happenings as collaborations that did

not result in a product, and that aimed to collapse the distinctions between audience and performer, laid bare this commodity fetishism and made it the subject of the work.[17] In her enunciation Drucker is attempting to capture the art of Happenings as process, instead of describing them as products or finite events.

It is difficult to investigate and theorize the performance of collaboration from a position outside its processes.[18] Unless the purpose of the artwork itself involves documenting its process, the performance of collaboration can virtually disappear.[19] To create such an art history warrants situated and detailed research. Therefore, in each of the dissertation's research sites, affect and its attendant reframing of subjectivity is located by my encounters of the three examples of collaborative creative processes as potentially transformative. Guided by a feminist geographics, this method provides a way of conceptualizing how situational identity or, in Grossberg vocabulary the affective individual, may be politically mobilized by the complexities of the art making processes. In this sense I am writing through my own experiences of the performance of collaboration at each specific sites, while also proposing such an approach as a possible model for other studies that would seek to understand how art making can be understood as contesting the transcendence of the artist/genius myth.

III: Three Performative Processes of Collaboration

The Bread and Puppet Theater

The Bread and Puppet Theater is propelled through collective production. Hundreds, if not thousands of collaborators have created, performed and maintained the Theater since its inception. Its production and performance relies upon this large scale participation and entails the united efforts of everyone involved to generate and carry out its ambitious performances. Simultaneously, individual participants, working in a collective politicized environment on both large and small scale shows, strive to push themselves beyond their own previous creative expectations and learn valuable skills in both the production and performance of puppetry. In *Performance Theory*, Richard Schechner explains that all parts of a performance must be considered relevant to its impact, including everything which is done to create a performance event, even if such activities are physically removed from the location of the performance.[20] In describing the collaborative creative processes used by Bread and Puppet, I therefore look first at the collective production of the performances including their political motivations, creating and rehearsing, and then consider collaboration in the actual performance of the shows.[21]

The Bread and Puppet Theater is political in its content and form. Its performances are motivated by a radical leftist critique of local and global issues ranging from land use and gay rights in the state of Vermont to transnational

capitalism and American foreign policy.²² The Theater's approach to political or social issues is not the product of a single ideology nor the pedantic teachings of one person. Rather, participants having various concern and levels of knowledge educate and inform each other. This exchange necessitates articulating clearly one's interpretation of contemporary politics, political theory, history and involves the acceptance of differing points of view. A proposal to address a specific issue can be made by any participant. However, there must be a collective will to create a performance. Further, the performance must move beyond a didactic rendering of the issue to become both socially and aesthetically evocative. Making political theater is a process which can matter to the participants. It provides not only an engagement with political issues and social concerns but engenders the subjectivity of an individual who possesses agency.

An integral aspect of Bread and Puppet is the building of the puppets. Various authors such as Stefan Brecht and John Bell have in their writings about Bread and Puppet detailed how "puppet" is somewhat a misnomer for the "live puppetry," (Brecht) or the "performing objects" (Bell) utilized in the performances.[23] Indeed, in addition to the small readily recognizable hand puppets (Figure: 47), and enormous pole puppets (Figure: 48), there are many types of life sized masked figures into which the performers place their bodies, (Figures: 49, 50), and masks which are worn with interchangeable costumes depending on their use. Additionally various two dimensional objects, either flat

or in low relief, are used within performances (Figures: 51, 52)   There is an

economy of materials used in the production of all objects. Cardboard and

papier-mâché are the dominant visual aesthetic and political choice. Where

possible, materials are found in the surrounding landscape, donated, recycled,

and reused. Clay for instance, which is used to construct the mold of three-

dimensional objects is consistently reused. Upon the completion of a papier-

mâché "casting," the clay is broken up in large bathtubs, and resaturated with

rain water and hay for its next use. (Figures: 53, 54).

The majority of the masks and puppets are designed by Peter Schumann.

Three dimensional papier-mâché puppets are first sculpted by Schumann in clay,

then papier-mâchéd by the puppeteers. Puppets are rarely made in the singular.

Schumann will sculpt several at once and from each model several editions will

be pulled. The painting of the mask and puppets is done almost exclusively by

Schumann, as is the painting of other two dimensional performing objects.

When the puppets need dressing, costumes are sewn by puppeteers either

individually, or collectively depending on the size of the costume. Large

puppets then must be mechanically rigged in order to make them operable and

the design of this is done collectively by small groups whom have the technical

skills to do so.[24]

The building of masks and puppets is a hierarchical collaboration, where

creative authority rests with Schumann. The aesthetic design of the puppets is

completely his responsibility, while the somewhat laborious processes of applying layers of papier-mâché, sewing and rigging are shared by the puppeteers.[25] The consistent and specific visuality of Bread and Puppet performances necessitates the consistency of a particular aesthetic. However, smaller scale projects are undertaken by individual puppeteers. Hand puppets, props, costuming, innovative musical instruments and noise makers, and exhibits on the grounds, are created either autonomously by participants, or in small groups. This combination of collaborative participation in Schumann's large scale building projects and independent creative endeavors provides an experiences for individuals who come away feeling that they have contributed to a larger shared project, while at the same time carried-out independent creative experiments.

The accumulation of puppets and masks is overwhelming. Puppeteers are encouraged to draw from the thousands of pre-existing objects available, rather than initiate new large scale productions. While this suggestion can be considered limiting to an individual's creativity, it serves to produce a visual unification, while placing emphasis on performance skills and use of objects, rather than on the objects themselves. Collaboration in production is geared towards the specific goals of creating Bread and Puppet Theater, and participants are expected to want to contribute to the specificity of this endeavour. This being said, there is a flexible capacity for incorporating the skills of collaborators and innovation is well received.

The contradictory elements of a tightly controlled aesthetic and a desire to promote the skills and autonomous creativity of the participants can be demonstrated within the two other types of art produced at Bread and Puppet— prints and cheap art. The Theater makes and sells hand printed and painted posters, books, and banners. (Figures: 55, 56). The wood cuts or lino blocks are designed and cut by Peter Schumann. Like the puppets themselves the blocks have accumulated over the years, and number in the hundreds. Elka Schumann runs the printshop with fastidious attention to aesthetics, choosing the blocks to print, their placement and colours.[26] While puppeteers assist with every aspect of the printing, thus learning multiple techniques, Peter Schumann's designs exclusively are printed, making this area of production the most highly controlled. Opposing this is the production of cheap art, where anyone who so wishes is encouraged to create small art objects, which are then sold for between fifty cents and $10 on the Cheap Art Bus. (Figure: 57). Cheap art provides a venue for the creation, display and sale of individual art objects, and is completely aesthetically unregulated.[27]

Creating performances is a collaboration between Peter and Elka Schumann and the puppeteers. Here Peter Schumann is the principle director, while Elka Schumann offers her opinions and critiques of his work, and to a lesser extent, also directs performances independently. Other puppeteers who have an established history with Bread and Puppet will also direct performances.[28] However, preceding any direction, individuals or small groups

of people work with puppets and masks experimenting with movements or creating dynamic visual relations between the puppets which attempt to show an idea rather than tell a story.

The puppets through their visual appearance, manipulation, combination of form, colour and symbolism, and the use of sound (provided either by the puppeteers or a live musical component) show a narrative. If a performance necessitates a large amount of text a narrator is used, often cast as an orator or political commentator.[29] As is often the case, when the specific performance is motivated by the desire to comment on a political issue, several different small teams will work to find a way to show it. These improvisations are then presented to the rest of the company and Schumann advises on what is working and what is not. (Figure: 58). At this point Peter and Elka Schumann's knowledge and authority as a directors are used to guide both individual performers in increasing their aptitude within performance and to create performances which are best able to communicate with an audience.

This method of creating performances emphasizes collaboration. Puppeteers must work together, often taking turns watching each other to establish whether the improvisations are successful. Puppeteers, with more experience in puppetry and a history within Bread and Puppet, often work with people lacking this knowledge, creating a productive exchange of new ideas and established methods. Certain proposals are then selected by Schumann and worked up in rehearsals to incorporate the entire performing community which

can include over one hundred people. Performances are rehearsed with the knowledge that they must be able to accommodate changes in participation, and facilitate the "last minute" participation of interested spectators. Despite this provision, there is an acknowledgment of individuals' strengths and weaknesses. For instance special talents in music, movement, or dance will be drawn upon, and physical limitations—such as the ability to carry a ten metre puppet on a windy day—are respected. (Figure: 59). The consistent attitude is, however, that participants involve themselves as they like. The choice of how to participate is important to the development of the subjectivity of the affective individual. Both the practice of choosing and the acquisition and performance of creative skills of one's choosing can facilitate feeling of agency where individuals feel empowered.

Community members from the surrounding area, or other interested people, can join the puppeteers the day of the performance, as long as they are present at the morning run through rehearsal. The performances are designed so that people with no previous experience can become performers within hours. Many puppets are played in groups, with crowd scenes requiring recent additions to the company to follow the actions of the other puppeteers. The aesthetics of the performance make the largeness of the crowd seem more impressive than the quality of the individual performance while concomitantly reflecting the activist mandate of the Theater to involve as many people as possible in their performances. (Figure: 60).

As briefly described in the introduction, after Bread and Puppet decided to end *Our Annual Domestic Resurrection Circus*, which they had been hosting in Vermont since 1970, an alternate summer performance schedule was created. Initially called *Humdrum Glorification Caboodle*, Sunday afternoon shows consisted of multiple components. They would begin at 2:00 p.m., with small simultaneous performances or "ding-dongs" involving from one to half a dozen puppeteers, followed by a parade and flag raising to begin the larger performances. When the resident performing company grew to be large enough, the flag raising would be followed by a large landscape piece or pageant play. The centre piece of every Sunday performance was the papier-mâché circus, followed by the distribution of bread. In the summer of 1999, the show would continue with an Insurrection Mass and Funeral March for Rotten Ideas, and then finally conclude with a Cantata performance, and a show which had been created and directed by one puppeteer. For the 2000 summer season, the afternoon's performance was concluded with a concert series performed by a variety of invited guests.

Sunday performances were held outside, weather permitting, (alternatively they were scaled down and played inside) and began with random Ding-Dongs as the audience arrived. (Figures: 61, 62, 63). In terms of the process of collaboration, these performances were used by the performers as an opportunity to create and perform their own projects and to work independently from Schumann's direction. Often under or unrehearsed, they were live

experimentation. The audience would then be gathered and the day's performance agenda detailed. As a way of moving these (sometimes numbering in the thousands) people to the site of the first performance, they would be invited to join a parade with the company of puppeteers. (Figure: 64). Noise makers and flags would be distributed. As a method of moving a large group of people to an appropriate location parading worked well. As a method of actively engaging the audience as participants, it was less successful. The interactions between people were not enhanced, as the noise would sometimes be quite loud and there was little creativity or thought invited on the part of the audience. They were being told how to participate rather than challenged to engage. Unlike other forms of collaboration practiced by Bread and Puppet, the lack of real choice or creative expression limited the meaning of participation for individuals. As a strategy for engendering activism this process created little impact, although optimistically one could speculate that this limited interaction could create the desire for a more authentic experience of participation.

The flag raising would be held at the end of the parade. (Figure: 65) This ceremony served to officially welcome the audience. If there was to be a pageant piece, it would then be played on the landscape. Pageants, such as *Passion Play for a Young Potato* (Figure: 66), are large scale works which work within the stunning landscape. Very large puppets, crowd puppets, and a pivotal performer are used. Although Bread and Puppet Pageants have a historical precedent in the American pageant movement, *Passion Play for a Young Potato*

served as a critique of the bio-engineering of food by such multi-national companies as Monsanto.[30]

For both the Pageant and the quick, colourful, politically satirical Circus which follows, collaboration between the performers is crucial. Performers must rely upon each other in order to achieve the correct timing of collective gestures, react simultaneously to sound cues, and respond to each other when a crucial line is forgotten by the narrator. The Circus itself is composed of as series of rapidly paced acts, or performances. These acts alternate in content and tone, ranging from a critical interrogation of the "Fast World" (Figure: 67),[31] to short buffoon like clowns acts (Figure: 68), to lyrical visual images combining colour, sound and movement. (Figure: 69). John Bell a puppeteer since the mid-seventies, comments upon the performance of circuses: "We concentrate, as it were, on a particular level of shared consciousness sensitive to colour, rhythm, and movement: a cymbal clash coming at the right moment, a gesture executed by twenty masked puppeteers with the same inflection, a whole Circus ring full of puppet animals coming to a sudden stop in order to achieve a climatic tableau."[32]

Circus acts also allow for audience involvement through direct participation. With as little as one rehearsal, people familiar or unfamiliar with the Theater, jump into roles as part of crowd scenes. While not every circus act can facilitate this "last minute" involvement, the pieces which do allow the audience a taste of what it feels like to perform, and give perhaps a more

profound experience of collective creative expression. After the circus, the

audience is given bread and, after a leisurely break, they are invited to enter into

the pine forest for an Insurrection Mass and Funeral March for Rotten Ideas.

(Figure: 70).

The Mass is a ritualistic performance in which Peter Schumann gives a

"sermon" in a monotone unharmonic singing voice about contemporary political

issues, while creating music- like noise on his fiddle. An example of a sermon

texts taken from "The Institution of Greed" reads,

> "INHABITANTS OF SNOW and MOTHERS OF EATERS are
> naturally greedy. But the GREED which acts as the guiding
> principle of an economy which WALKS ALL OVER THE GLOBE
> and controls life does not originate from hunger and snow but from
> a rotten class of mostly snow white mostly pompous mostly male
> supremacists who pay their way to the top ELECTED or SELF-
> PROMOTED and whose lecture to the world is: LOOK AT US! BE
> LIKE US!"[33]

The Mass is primarily Schumann's performance in which he acts more like

a soap box pundit than a priest, calling upon puppeteers at different intervals to

create sound, or manipulate puppets on the stage or in the surrounding pine

forest. (Figure: 71). At the end of the mass however, the performers follow

Schumann a little ways into the woods and yell a series of pitched notes into the

tress, followed by silence. The juxtaposition of sound to silence closes the mass.

While there is little room for participation from the audience within the

mass, as a ritual it perhaps involves them in another way. They are not watching

a performance per se, but rather an enactment of a weekly oration of political

commentary. For Peter Schumann the connections between the political content

of performances and the religious rhetoric that frames them is simultaneously anti-religious and a reappropriation of religion. He considers the organized religions as "fake consolidators of something that could be so much bigger in people without religious dogmatism." Thus performances such as the Insurrection Mass attempt to foster and enhance a spirituality which is already present in people without religion.[34]

The social and political efficacy of the collaborative production and performances of Bread and Puppet can be drawn out of the above descriptions by highlighting several themes. The most tangible of these is the reproducibility of the skills and performance techniques which are learnt through the collaborative processes used. The methods of building puppets, learning to animate them, and creating a performance can be adapted to many circumstances. Puppeteers who have worked with Bread and Puppet are encouraged to take these skills and reproduce them with other groups—activists, school children, community groups—elsewhere. As a form of political Theater and political activism, participants in Bread an Puppet have gone on to create similar projects.[35] My own participation in the collective working methods gave me the knowledge and skills to create two collaborative puppet performances, the first with the women of CAF, and the second with the youth of Oujé-Bougoumou.[36]

Secondly, the collaborative processes used by the Theater and the enactment of both the production and performance of Bread and Puppet shows

provides experiences for participants that maps a new location within their self conception and encourages the taking of creative risks. Richard Schechner has stated that the consciousness produced through performance is "subjunctive, full of alternatives and potentiality."[37] Learning to walk on stilts changed my posture and my entire sense of self. Watching other performers dance and run and jump on stilts, I was initially convinced that I could never learn that physical skill and that attempting to do so would damage my body irrevocably. After much encouragement and support, I tried and within two days performed with the other stilters. (Figure: 72) Being able to perform a skill which I had thought was beyond my capacity and being supported to face my fear and take a risk has altered how I conceive of my own limitations and allowed me to meet other challenges with a straighter back.

The collaborative production and the performance thereof at Bread and Puppets creates a great deal of dialogue and exchange between participants. In addition to practical concerns such as what goes where on a stage and how you might move a puppet a certain way, the discussions of the content of the performances can create and heighten politicized social consciousness. Collectively creating performances on issues of globalization, nuclear arms, US foreign interventions and economic sanctions, or over-consumption, inspire dialogue, research and careful theorization about the impact of these issues on contemporary societies. At the same time it urges individuals to consider their lives in relationship to pressing local, national and international issues. Further,

rather than stopping at the level of discussion, the work produced at the Theater

seeks to take action upon the issues. As such, political consciousness is

developed through a process of transitive learning.

Theories of transitive learning and collective empowerment through

performance have been developed by Augusto Boal in *Theater of the Oppressed*.[38]

Boal explores Theater techniques as a method of creating personal and political

change. Boal's approach to theater as a form of political activism was influenced

by Paulo Friere's dialogic philosophy of education. To adapt Friere's concepts to

a theatrical context, Boal introduced the concept of the "spect-actor" where

dramatic techniques are used to activate passive spectators to become engaged

participants rehearsing strategies for social change.[39] Randy Martin contends in

Performance as Political Act that while political consciousness is important to move

individuals into the political arena, it is through action that social changes occur.

Martin holds, therefore, that performance as a form of cultural resistance is a

political act itself, which turns the performers directly into social actors.[40] He

states, "There is a political heart, more than that, a political body, that must be

conjoined with the mind to turn social arrest to unrest and move people to the

centre stage of history."[41]

The specificity of performing with puppets and masks creates an

individual and collective agency. Performing a mask character or playing a

puppet allows the performer to "speak" through the puppet. (Speaking can be

with or without text or words.) The articulation belongs to the puppet or mask

not to the individual playing it. Puppets can say what the individual can not and through them the puppeteer speaks that which she or he could not, as themselves, say. The visual symbolism and choreography of puppets makes the commentary larger than words. Yet, it is the individual or teams of individuals who are operating the puppets and from within their masks, they know that it is their "voice" which is speaking.

Putting on a mask at Bread and Puppet is not acting, in terms of playing out a narrative drama, so much as it is performing the puppet. While the illusion of theatrical performance is not realistic, the masks persist to draw attention to the artifice of the performance. Through exaggerated character the puppets highlight the political (or otherwise thematic) nature of the performance. For example, the two-dimensional "Gent" puppets are obviously not realistic representations, but in their exaggeration—grey black grim homogeneity—draw attention to the hegemony of the business of capitalism as unrelenting monotony and the suppression of difference.(Figure: 73).

For the performer this dialectic between self and the representative presence of the puppet explores the performing of different personages as a politicized site of inquiry.[42] Rebecca Schnider has theorized how through performative actions, the symbolic is rendered literal.[43] In the enactment of political issues the performer may internalize the pressing concerns which motivate the performance in the first place. When there are multiple participants, united in their efforts to combine visual spectacle, dramatic

performance and political commentary, their efforts can be read as a rehearsal for life and social action.[44]

Collaboration in production and performance at Bread and Puppet can thus be read as a transformative apparatus for engendering emergent social change. Participation within collective creative processes fosters feelings of affect for individuals who in turn draw upon a subjunctive consciousness where the possibility of challenging existing structures of hegemony and dominance is linked to the shifting of subjectivity of the individual. Bread and Puppet's collaboration produces agency and performs political activism.

Oujé-Bougoumou

Analyzing architecture as a collaborative process is a growing field of study within the history of architecture. In "Collaboration: The Private Life of Modern Architecture," Beatriz Colomina comments upon the discursive change in the discipline whereby critics and historians are seizing upon the multiplicity of people involved in an architectural project, including the client, instead of producing histories of the architect as a singular figure.[45] While previously clients had been treated as of marginal or anecdotal concern, constructed as either a problem or a witness,[46] some researchers are now focusing upon the clients as active agents constructing (with or without the aid of an architect) their environments.[47]

When the architecture being discussed is a First Nation's community, such as Oujé-Bougoumou, positioning the client as a collaborative creator is critical to understanding the design process. In a recent reflection on working with First Peoples in British Columbia, for instance, John Gracey comments upon the unusually long collaborative work, involving extensive research through the community's Elders into the historical buildings, traditional relationships with the land, and spirituality.[48]

There is little analysis either within architectural history in general, or specifically concerning First Peoples' architecture, that considers the performance of the collaborative process in terms of affect. However, in looking for a way to theorize (historic) Aboriginal art beyond an anthropological interpretation, Joan Vastokas has suggested that the idea of the performative be invoked to locate the rich variety of Native visual expressions as "dynamic, metaphorical agents for human integration with, and participation in, a sanctified universe."[49] The design and creation of the architecture of Oujé-Bougoumou reflects this claim in its collaborative process. (Figure: 74).

The collaboration of the community members of Oujé-Bougoumou with professional consultants, engineers, and Douglas Cardinal was a process that spanned almost a decade. The level of participation of the community members differed with the projects duration, as did the divergent roles and levels of authority individuals undertook. My primary concern here is to reconstruct and analyze the relations created by a series of workshops held between 1986-1988.

The workshops were organized by members of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree

Nation who were involved in the political and legal battles to regain recognition

as the ninth Cree Nation in James Bay: Abel Bosum, Glenn Wapachee, Sam

Bosum, Kenny Mianscum, Joseph Shecapio Blacksmith, Bently Mianscum, Albert

Mianscum, Freddy Bosum and non-Native activist Paul Wertman who has been

working with the James Bay Cree since the early 1980's.[50] These workshops

aimed to involve the entire potential community, who would come to be the

residents of Oujé-Bougoumou, in designing the architectural and spatial

environment.

Indeed, the workshops were to engage the community in discussion about

the kind of community they would like to develop, not just in terms of physical

form—configuration of buildings—but in the broadest of terms. The

collaborative process endeavored to create a self-reliant and independent

community from which all community members would derive benefits such as

housing, employment, health care, and education. Retaining the culture,

customs and values of the Oujé-Bougoumou Cree once the new community was

established was considered to be enhanced through the collective planning

process. Further, this design process would place the responsibilities for the

planning, design, building, developing, maintenance and well being of the

community within the hands of the community itself, emphasizing their agency

and control over their living conditions. The design process was thus

constructed as a politicizing apparatus by which individuals would be affected

by their participation, transforming their self-conceptions by highlighting their abilities as creative, choice making individuals within a project to change the conditions in which the community was living materially.

Years before there were agreements with either the Federal or Provincial governments, the people of Oujé-Bougoumou had been working together to plan and design their future homes. In a preliminary report prepared by the Grand Council of the Cree in 1984, "Community Planning Study for the Crees of Chibougamau - Proposal," the importance of developing methods and processes of on-going community collaboration is stressed as being of primary importance. Specific Cree community members, the report details, must work in tandem with professionals throughout the project to ensure participation, and the entire community must be consulted at each stage of the design process.[51]

Every aspect of the new community underwent a detailed process of community consultation and workshopping. In May of 1986 the community published a report, "Oujé -Bougoumou Band Comparative Site Analysis, Selection and Priorities," which describes in detail the process which Oujé-Bogoumou undertook in order to select a site for the location of the new community.[52] This process was characterized by frequent and intensive consultation and multiple site visits over a eighteen month period. The site location was guided by a specific community-mounted criteria for selection that included physical environmental factors related to establishing self sufficiency, as well as social and cultural issues.[53] The detailed process ensured that each

individual had a firm understanding of the ramifications of the future site

selection and attempted to achieve the highest possible degree of consensus

among the community.[54]

To facilitate community involvement several series of workshops were

implemented. The first series was conducted in February of 1986 and focused on

the environment and housing. During these workshops, members of the future

community discussed different types of houses. The needs of the diverse

population were taken into account. The community realized very early on that

they would need to have a variety of housing types and wanted to experiment

with different community plans and financial scenarios in order to meet the

needs of everyone. For example the type of housing that was needed and

wanted by trappers who spent long portions of time in the bush on their trap

lines, the needs of the elderly, those of large and small families, or of single

people living alone, were considered.

Within the documentation the family is the primary unit which is

considered with regard to housing. There is little consideration of housing

which would be required by single women, single mothers with children, nor,

with the exception of the Elder's housing needs, is there any documentation that

any co-operative or communal housing types were discussed. Thus from the

beginning, housing is viewed within a paradigm which privileges the nuclear

heterosexual family unit, echoing a suburban environment.[55]

From June 1, 1987, part of the community had moved to Lake Opemisca. Their settlement there was initially composed of two trailers, with tents, cabins and homes for Elders being added as they could. The idea of working together was from the beginning both the practical and philosophical foundation of the Oujé-Bougoumou and the involvement of every member of the future community was the cornerstone of the new village. Through the collective participation in the planning and design process, each member of the Oujé - Bougoumou Nation would become part of the new community.

The most intensive period of community involvement in the design process occurred in 1988.[56] In Chibougamau in February of that year the Oujé-Bougoumou organizers held a series of workshops in which the community was specifically asked to think about aesthetics, services, and responsibilities. A flyer used to promote the workshops gave advance notice of what was to be discussed, it read:

> All Oujé-Bougoumou People: It is time for us to start seriously thinking about our new community: What will look like? What services will there be? Who will be responsible for the work? How will you be involved? The Band Council needs to hear from you and get some direction from you. Be involved and participate in the workshops being organized for you."[57]

The overall objective of the workshops was to have community members become involved in the planning of the various areas which need to be addressed in the establishment of a new community. The areas which were covered included: Local Government Administration, Social-Economic Development, Health,

Education, Community Planning, Tradition and Culture, and Recreation. Each session was given a one day workshop and the participants were documented as being actively involved throughout the entire process. The purpose of gathering this information was to provide a guide for use by elected Band officials in their discussions and negotiations regarding the establishment of the new community. Concomitantly, the workshops were also designed as an apparatus for involving the community in future planning activities and decisions. The experience of the initial planning sessions was foreseen as a process through which community members would be affected, able to understand that through their active participation their aspirations, hopes, and dreams for the future could be translated into the spatial environment of the new community.

Briefly, I draw from the various workshops to show the breadth and depth of decision making power which was allocated to the community. In the first workshop the topic of discussion was local government administration. Here the agenda focused on what local government is, how it functions, and the projects it carries out. A full day's workshop was also devoted to the discussion and planning of the future community's socio-economic development. Discussions began with the consideration of the community's dependence on the provincial and federal governments, for the majority of their employment and social services, and concluded with the aspiration to control their own socio-economic programs within the new community. Equally important to determining collectively a plan for the social and economic development of the

community was a detailed consideration of what the relationship should be between traditional and non-traditional activities. The community response to this section of the workshop indicated a desire for the compatible development between the two, stating clearly that no non-traditional initiative should impact negatively upon traditional activities.[58]

The last workshop to be held in this series focused on physical community planning. This session was left until the last day of the workshop, allowing community members to envision ideals for the community before thinking about specific structures and plans. Following a somewhat different tack, the participants in this session began by considering what the fundamental elements of community planning were and detailed the structure of the new village, the infrastructure, housing and employment. They then contemplated the foundations with which they were working; air, water, earth, minerals, fauna, rain and snow, smell, scenery, sunshine, day and night, women and men, vegetation, geography, wind, seasons, and the relationships between all of these elements. Next they examined the fundamental functions that they performed and would perform in the new community: eating, sleeping, breathing, reproducing, dressing, playing, working, transporting goods, learning, communicating, progressing, practicing beliefs, sharing, and constructing their identities. Links were then established between foundations and the functions and the ever present relationship, direct or indirect, which exists with the rest of the environment.[59]

Community needs and priorities were then listed according to function. For lodging they would need bachelor units, multi-family apartments, family housing, motel units, Elder's homes, and tents-emergency shelter. Eating necessitated homes, grocery stores, cafeteria, restaurants, and territory, cabins and equipment for hunting. Sleeping required homes, benches, motels, and beaches. Working would involve housing construction, job creation, areas for industries, and administration buildings. Sanitation would be provided through dump sites, running water, lagoon filtration and sewers. Playing needed an arena, Youth Centre, pool hall, gymnasium, trails, marina, wilderness retreat centre, community hall, playground, fitness centre, field and cultural centre. Education meant the building of a school, recreation spaces, teachers/personnel housing, and a wilderness retreat centre. In order to facilitate the communication needs of the community a radio/television station should be built, as well as a post office, telephone centre, and information centre. Commerce and trade necessitated a bank, market place, docks for airplanes, an air strip, public places for shopping, gas station, an arts and crafts center, and roads. The function of believing would require a church, school, graveyard, and housing infrastructure, while sharing could be enhanced by building a museum, information centre, and healing clinic.

The planning sessions, as indicated above, began by being as encompassing as possible. After this total "wish list" was compiled , the community then prioritized it needs. Homes, construction, water intake,

electrification, administrative building, peace keeping, telephone infrastructure,

lagoon, streets, and a garbage disposal site were all cited as essential to the new

community, and these projects were to be constructed first. Likewise, in the area

of service, a cafeteria, motel, school, gas station/depenneur, clinic, radio station,

grocery store, post office, general store, auditorium, community hall, marina,

and museum were deemed the top priorities. The sessions also considered the

overall plan of the village. There were lengthy discussion about the positioning

and orientation of the housing and by consensus it was decided that the homes

face south towards the lake and recreation areas. Further, the community

wanted the streets be curved rather than strictly linear. (Figure: 9)

At this point in the planning process, the Oujé -Bougoumou band council

retained the services of the Consortium Legault-Polytech, to develop a master

plan for the construction of the community.[60] The firm was comprised of

professional architects, engineers, designers and urban planners who presented a

working plan proposal in June of 1988. Within the document the firm outlines a

development process which will permit the community to pursue its

negotiations and build their new community. The report highlights the

importance of the members of the community taking an active role in each phase

of planning process—thus creating their own living environments.[61] This

relationship with professional consultants is critical to the process of

collaboration. The technical consideration of designing and constructing an

entire village necessitated specific skills and training, yet to exclude the

community from the process at this point would be to curtail their agency as valuable participants in the process.

The recognition of the importance of each member of the community being involved actively in the planning and design of the future community was the focus of an additional three day workshop in October of 1988 entitled, *Rise up and Build: The Oujé-Bougoumou Consult"*[62] The document is introduced by two quotes from unidentified Band members which set the tone. The first reads, "Building a community is more than just nailing wood together and putting a roof over the top. A community is more than just houses, pipes and roads. If all we wanted was a roof over our heads we could have gone to Chibougamau or stayed where we were in the camps." The second continues, "Let us work together. The youth, the elders, everybody has a job to do for when the whole community participates we can reach our goal. Let us not look to the past, let us look forward to tomorrow."

The goal of *Rise Up and Build* was to create momentum at the local level for the development of the new village. More than any other of the community planning workshops, *Rise Up and Build* takes a activist tenor, encouraging the community members to take action and become involved in their future. The workshop endeavored to bring the entire community together, while simultaneously inviting Cree Chiefs from some of the other eight communities in the James Bay region to describe their communities' experiences with relocation and development.[63] Important issues which were considered included

deliberation on the kind of community the people would like to have, the types of people who will comprise the community —youth, trappers, Elders, transients—as well as the special needs of these groups. Additionally, collaborative discussions were held about whether Native or non-Native workers would be employed in the actual building of the community. At the beginning of the sessions community members were advised to keep their expectations realistic and reminded that community development is a long-term and on-going endeavour. Skills must be developed, plans coordinated and funds negotiated. *Rise Up and Build* can be viewed as a call to the community to take action, but to take action only after careful consideration of all factors involved.

The workshop opened with an address by Chief Abel Bosum, in which he stated that the theme of the conference was for the people of Oujé -Bougoumou to take control over the process of building their community. He acknowledged that for the community to have reached a point where they could convene such a meeting was demonstrative of their ability to make decisions for themselves and of their hard work and determination. At the same time he emphasized the importance of continuing to strive for the creation of a self-sufficient and viable community which was not dependent on others making the decisions and doing the work. The creation of a self-sufficient community, Bosum claimed, would necessitate a change in the community's self conception as passive observers who watch while other people become the beneficiaries of the wealth of their land.

The importance of involving members of the community in the planning of their future home was echoed by the other visiting Chiefs. Chief James Bobbish from Chisasibi shared how his community made the mistake of having only band employees involved in planning the relocation. By not consulting with the youth or the Elders, they alienated both these groups of community members. The Elders ceased participating and the youth defaced the new buildings with vandalism because they never felt that they belonged to them. Both the youth and the Elders of their previous community of Fort George had felt that the community was theirs and felt that they had no place to go in Chisasibi. There was little for the youth to do in Chisasibi, and no centres for community activities were planned as part of the design process. Chief Bobbish lamented that not all sectors of the community had been involved in the planning process and recommended to the people of Oujé-Bougoumou that all families should identify where they wanted to live, where the commercial centre should be and where the industrial park should be. He also recommended listening to consultants but not necessarily taking all of their advice. He advised that final decisions must be made within the community, by all of its members.

For the technical aspects of the community development workshop, *Rise Up and Build*, the community worked with professional consultants, designers, planners and architects. The community people, working in small four person groups with an animator, completed questionnaires—each person filling out one questionnaire. The content of the first workshop focused on location and

orientation of the houses and the residential area vis-à-vis other parts of the community, as well as the type of living space they wanted their homes to consist of. The second workshop dealt with location of public buildings and their contents. After each day's workshop, the consultants would compile the findings of the questionnaires and present design concepts as well as drawings to the group the next day. Further comments were made by the group, and revised drawings were presented.

At the conclusion of the workshop, the community reflected upon the process. One (unnamed) community member comments, "We have seen how the consultants have tried to translate our ideas into a concrete plan. This might not be the community plan we end up with for the ideas are just the result of a two day workshop. This is what they understood from us. Some of my ideas are there, but some have been changed."[64] Thus, while this member is acknowledging his or her participation in the planning process he or she is also indicating that the workshop itself is only part of the process. Furthermore, he or she is aware of the divisions between his or her ideas and those of the other community members, and what the consultants were able to visually transcribe from those ideas. Other conclusions about the workshop noted how timely the gathering was due to a concurrent split among community members with regard to the site selection for the future village.[65] *Rise Up and Build* offered a good opportunity to forge a sense of community solidarity by convening the community to provide input and make decisions about the future

By the end of the community workshops held in 1988, the Oujé-

Bougoumou people had determined a great deal of how they wanted their

community to look and function. Through both qualitative and quantitative

assessments of the needs and interests of the community, they developed a urban

plan for the entire village.[66] Several concepts were discussed for the layout of the

village including a linear grid and radial pattern. A radial concept was preferred

by the community as it gave prominence to the centre of community activities

and was more aptly suited to the terrain of the site. Further, because it was

based on geometric shapes, it met Native cultural criteria, reflected traditional

motifs generally found in native craft, and was also reminiscent of radial sun

motifs. This plan included detailed concepts for the Nation's administrative

building, community centre, health clinic and church, all of which the

community wanted to be placed in the centre of the community and easily

identifiable, creating a core of activity. It was decided that the community

housing should be composed of detached single-family homes close to, and with

a view of the lake, surrounding the centre of activity. Recreational facilities

should be on the shores of Lake Opemisca and school should be close to

recreational facilities and the lake and, finally, the cemetery should be located on

the outskirts of the village.

Having established the design concepts, the village lay-out, and

determined the function and services they wanted the community to house, the

community hired Douglas J. Cardinal Architects Limited. Cardinal and his firm

were an appropriate choice in several ways. Cardinal had received national and international recognition as having created an indigenous Canadian style of architecture through his curvilinear, organic buildings.[67] His firm's philosophy emphasized the process of design as being from the "inside out," placing people who would use the built environment at the heart of the evolution of the design. Cardinal has also stated his belief that the design of each building is a spiritual act that demands from all participants the very best of their endeavors: "To reinstate our humanness is the most important element in all our efforts."[68]

The hiring of Cardinal's firm did not mean the community simply handed over the responsibility and commitment to being actively involved in the design and construction processes.[69] On August 12 and 13, 1991, the community held another set of collaborative design workshops, this time with Cardinal himself and other members of his firm present.[70] Additional workshops were held with Cardinal on September 23 and 24. At both of these workshops Cardinal worked with the community to establish their desires and criteria for both the design and function of the buildings for the village's central core.[71] Cardinal worked especially closely with the community's Elders. He made numerous trips to Oujé-Bougoumou and worked intensively through translators to understand and interpret the Elders' memories of their traditional architectural forms. (Figure: 75).

The collaborative process used by Oujé-Bougoumou Cree to create their community can be read as an act of cultural resistance. It is a resistance to the

hegemonic structures, that have controlled how and where they live, and has vastly improved their living conditions and standard of life. Cultural theorist bell hooks has commented on the process of the dehumanization of the spatial imagination of people who are prohibited from defining their living conditions. To live in an environment in which one has no control informs how inhabitants see themselves in relationship to space and power.[72]

In contrast, through their participation in the collaborative design of their community, the people of Oujé-Bougoumou exercised their spatial agency and control over their futures. Gail Valaskakis asserts that for First People "resistance is cultural persistence...continually negotiated in the discourse and practice of everyday life."[73] Through the performance of collaboration, necessitated by the various workshops and design consultations, the participants enacted a process of self-articulation. They, individually and collectively, decided through a process of self reflection, of sharing and critique, their futures and their future community. Indeed, this process involved dreaming and the very best of the community's imaginations, as well as the negotiations of the different desires of the people within community. The participants were encouraged to speak and demand what their ideal community would be like. Angelika Bammer, has deemed this "anticipatory consciousness" as necessary to progressive social change. She argues that such utopian thinking is a process that involves human agency — "a belief not just in the possibility of other and better worlds, but in possibility of changing the world."[74]

While the community of Oujé-Bougoumou was not striving to create utopia (nor is their realization utopian in any sense of the word), this freedom of the spatial imagination made possible their contributions to the dramatic improvements of the material conditions of their lives. Through the collective design process the community of Oujé-Bougoumou performed "cultural activism as a locus of transformation,"[75] in which they reflected and revisioned their lives. The processes of collaboration which occasioned creativity, choice, and conflict resolution can indeed be read as a "dress rehearsal" for a politicized community. Affect and its attendant reframing of subjectivity is located by positioning the design process as a potentially transformative apparatus through which a community that has been socially, politically, and economically marginalized becomes an alliance of activists. The narration of their collaboration situates their agency and frames the resultant architecture as an activist intervention.

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes

Collaboration within the history of crafts production and collaborative production at CAF, is a contested terrain. The push and pull of various discourses that seek to establish the autonomy of the craftsperson, either as a critique of industrial capitalism's mode of production, or as refined artistic practice equal to the fine arts, counter the theorization of communal if not collaborative craft production as a form of personal therapy, social philanthropy, or political activism. Collective production and the performance of collaboration

at CAF is caught in the weave of these ideological discourses. In order to analyze how collaborative processes are used (and not used) by CAF, I discuss the above approaches to and the negations of collective production within the literature.

Mildred Ryerson's political and artistic philosophies are embedded within the writings of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement. Morris held that the faults of his society were to be found in the division of labour within industrial production, the separation of the work from joy and of art from craft. In contrast, he advocated that aesthetic activity should embrace all of life, and endeavored to reinstate the ideal of universal craftmanship as society's salvation. Eileen Boris, in *Art and Labour: Ruskin, Morris and the Craftsman Ideal in America* states that the craftsman ideal sought a new wholism that would end the division between the mental and the manual process, reconcile the human spirit with material reality, and offer a reprieve to society through the reunification of art and labour.[76] Two tenets of the Arts and Crafts movement as elucidated by Boris, have been taken up by Ryerson and are manifest at CAF—that social change proceeds in a top down direction through the conversion of the individual heart,[77] and that any unskilled enthusiast can learn craft techniques.[78]

Boris details the change within the praxis of the Arts and Crafts movement when it came to America. She explains, "what began as a critique of art and labour under industrial capitalism—turned into a style of art, leisure activity and personal and social therapy."[79] By the mid nineteenth-century, she

continues, craft production had one of two functions in women's lives—to help them support themselves financially or as a forum of creative expression. By the early twentieth century, the use of craft production had expanded to asylums and settlement houses as individual and social therapy.[80]

Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, in *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, detail how the production of crafts in places such as London's Toynbee Hall, Hull House in Chicago, South End House and Denison House in Boston, provided a collective environment which offered an escape from the tedium of factory work. Classes in craft production and sales rooms for the objects produced, offered opportunity both to earn money and to receive artistic instruction.[81] In *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930*, Kathleen McCarthy considers how through philanthropy, women could play an active role shaping the arts while simultaneously constructing socially acceptable public lives for themselves.[82] Craft production as a philanthropic enterprise was an area, McCarthy holds, where women philanthropists could meet both these goals, without challenging the prerogatives of men.[83]

As an example of this type of philanthropy, McCarthy discusses Candace Wheeler, who held the joint goals of producing "great art" and improving the opportunities and living conditions of working women. Despite the conflicts between aesthetic and charitable priorities that this twofold ambition presented, Wheeler, contends McCarthy, thought that one would enable the other. Further, Wheeler is positioned as envisioning craft production as an escape from the

turbulence and violence of society, providing a "symbolic resolution to societies deepest fears."[84]

Indeed women's involvement with the Arts and Crafts movement has been constructed as predominately aligned with philanthropy. When Anthea Callen in *Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914*, divides the role of women in the Arts and Crafts movement into four principle areas, three of the four areas position women as either philanthrops or the recipients of philanthropic endeavors.[85] Positioning women within the Arts and Crafts movement in this fashion preserves the role of master "craftsman" largely for men, creating a double displacement of women from "artist."

Feminist scholarship, such as the work done by Rozsika Parker in *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, has analyzed and critiqued the hierarchy within the arts as reflecting not the art forms themselves, but "where they are made and who makes them."[86] Crafts, Parker argues, have been denied the status of art, and are instead conceived of as expressions of femininity.[87] Although a great deal has changed in the theorization of crafts more recently, craftspeople are still struggling to be accorded the same recognition as painters and other (so-called) fine artists. There is a reluctance among contemporary craft artists and craft criticism to return to discourses which highlight women's roles as philanthropists or recipients of philanthropy. Rather, when collaboration is discussed it is constructed as two professional artists working together and on the objects their collaborations produce. For

instance Gerard C. Bodeker in "Reflections on Creativity and Collaboration," discusses collective production as a synchronicity of the creative processes of separate artists, indicative of "the more fundamental levels of connectedness between all dimensions of life."[88] Alternatively Bonnie J. Miller, who in "Double Vision: Glass Artists Joey Kirkpatrick and Flora Mace Blend Their Talents in Fine Harmony," suggests that collaboration is the bringing together of two very different artists whose individual skills and styles produce work which neither could make on their own.[89]

The performance of collaboration as a site of political activism is considered in the contexts of specific historically based social circumstances. Writers considering the use of craft production within emancipatory political moments such as women's suffrage, American abolitionist campaigns, or Chilean women's subversive protests against the Pinocet Government have concentrated on collective production and personal politicization through art making.[90]

Le Centre Artisanal des Femmes struggles between these historical and contemporary legacies. Its mission (which itself is shifting) is stretched between utopian socialist critique, social philanthropy, personal therapy and contemporary political activism. How collaboration is read within the processes of CAF is filtered by theoretical predisposition. It is more complicated than either of the other two case studies, as its objectives are not the production of shared art objects, but rather individual pieces. However, collaboration at CAF is implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, inherent to its affect as a possible agent of

personal and social change. I shall thus describe the processes and performance of collaboration of CAF, linking each occurrence with its theoretical trajectory."[1]

CAF, like its predecessor, "L' Atelier D'Artisanat Du Centre Ville," is grounded in Ryerson's long held belief that making high quality craft objects and training professional craft people will provide the basis for a better society. In her "Address From The President" speech at the CAF Annual General Meeting in 1998 Ryerson states, "The artisan is the embodiment of the useful member of society. Their engagement with others and their productivity is an answer to the emptiness which is produced in today's media crazed, technology driven society. The loss of the social in our lives, and the time for connections and interactions, can be brought back through the traditions and skills of the artisan."[2] In a draft document, "The People's Community Workshop: Building a Better Future," Ryerson outlines a proposal for a new workshop. "The creative process is integral to the social well-being of the community. To connect the imagination of the mind to the production of the hands through the creation of art is integral to the health - mental, physical, and spiritual - of the individual ... I envision the workshop as a solution to the problems of the environment and the community as a social body."[3]

In both these declarations of belief, Ryerson highlights artisanal processes as providing solutions to social problems. Her rhetoric situates this creative production within a workshop environment, where "free of competition women can learn from others," and the importance of the social and dialogic processes

used within the artisanal project.[94] Collaboration for Ryerson is presented in the united agendas of the participants. Ryerson envisions this atmosphere not as a school—where people come to take classes–but as a workshop where "master crafters" teach apprentices. The learning process is a performance of collaboration through hands-on learning involving both teachers and participants. Further, the workshop environment rhetorically enables sharing and collaboration between participants and a collective belief in the social worth of their enterprise.[95]

For Ryerson, it is not the process of collaboration in-and-of itself that can cause an transformation but, that through the production of beauty, the craftsperson functions as an agent of social change.[96] Ryerson therefore emphasizes that the CAF makes its primary objective the creation of high quality craft objects with good original designs and high standards of skills, the ultimate goal being "to work towards perfection."[97] Through the process of the creation of quality craft objects and by striving for perfection, rather than within the objects themselves, that Ryerson believes the women will take pride in completing a project successfully and that they will gain confidence and self esteem exploring their talents.

This focus on the craft object, however, emphasizes the fostering of individual skills and rewards independent achievement. Thus the "engagement with others," the "non-competitive" environment, and performance of collaboration is of secondary importance within the art making process. From

the beginning of their involvement with CAF women are focused on producing craft objects. For instance, in weaving students would begin with a small baby blanket, or bed throw, in stained glass, a small, decorative, two-dimensional window decoration. The goal of producing an object is to equip women with all the necessary skills to complete an original art work. Especially in the nascent stages, participants work very closely with the teacher, often producing what is indeed a collaborative work.[98] While collective production is thus implicit, its transformative potential is not seized upon, creating a twofold disadvantage where the idea of the artist as an isolated producer with specialized "gifts" is rhetorically reinstated and, partially because of this, the impact created through the act of collaboration is minimized.

Ryerson's ideal of a workshop system of apprentices is not realized at CAF but rather, the Centre functions as a community organization offering craft classes.[99] Simultaneously, her goal of creating beautiful, well-crafted objects is replaced with the philosophy that the creation of crafts promotes the psychological well-being of the independent producer. These differences represent a loss of overt and radical politicization.[100] To draw a simplified parallel, the transference of Ryerson's ideal for CAF into its practice is similar to the American experience of the Arts and Crafts movement. In CAF's specific instance, what for Ryerson was a radical solution to contemporary societal problems, becomes the philanthropic provision of services. Absent from practice

are the rhetorical claims about the role of the artisan as agent of social change and instead the concentration is upon the problems faced by individual women.

Within this shift their is greater importance placed upon the process of art production as therapeutic, and a decreased emphasis on the craft objects themselves. In a description of the Centre's philosophy, dated December 17 1992, the importance of working in groups is highlighted, conceptualizing a collective environment as providing appreciation for the success of each student where, "each creation is the pride not of one person but of the whole group."[101] Concomitantly, a collective caring environment is accentuated and the collaboration between teachers and students and among the students themselves becomes explicitly part of CAF's process of team work, where "the success of one is the success of all."[102]

Here, however, CAF has positioned itself as using crafts to help individual women by providing a supportive environment, without using the community of women it creates as a political and politicizing force. Collaboration as a transformative process which connects the personal to the political is subsumed within the rhetoric of providing emotional support for the students. While the atmosphere created by the collective activity of craft production can encourage sympathetic interaction, by not providing an apparatus for the linking of the individual concerns of the women to political structures, CAF presents few opportunities to imagine social change. Indeed CAF's use of craft making as a

type of social service or individual therapy, in the absence of social critique, has created a construction of the women who use the Centre as victims.[103]

In various mission statements, descriptions of CAF, and grant applications, they are described as victims of violence, women living in shelters, poor and/or living on welfare, isolated single mothers, recent immigrants, emotionally or psychologically unwell.[104] Rather than drawing upon the collective process of making art and the performance of collaboration as a method of reflection and critique of the social structures that create violence, poverty, isolation and instability, CAF positions itself as using craft making as a reinserting of women into present social and economic systems.[105]

Defining the women members as "victims" has created a hierarchical style of management which denies collaboration within the organizations' decision making processes. Although there appear to have been isolated attempts to involve the women students in defining the Centre, their involvement in this area has been resisted.[106] As such, there is little reason for the individual women to make long-term investments in CAF, and a resultant high turnover of women. Although learning through collaboration to produce crafts and experiencing the support of a collective creative environment may help women cope with their individual problems, as an organization that attests to be working to improve the lives of women, CAF's denial of collaboration within in the administration is disempowering and dehumanizing.

Despite this situation, there have been several interventions at CAF which seek to use collaborative art making as a way of increasing women's reflections on feminism and the social structures which necessitate the Centre, as well as a collective generation of their critical reflections of CAF itself. For example, in February of 1999, student-member Leoine NewHouse organized the collaborative creation of a collage for International Women's Day. For this project sixteen women—students, teachers, managers and board members—each created a one foot square representation of a woman whom had helped shape her life. Participants could use any materials they desired and styles varied from realistic head and shoulder portraits, to symbolic renderings, to abstract compositions. The portraits were then collected and mounted to create one work. It was then hung at a celebration at CAF on International Women's Day.

During its production, and at the celebration where it was hung, women engaged in discussions about women as personal and social role models. The variety of women represented in the collage fostered discussions about difference and how the lives of women had been impacted by other women. This, combined with the celebration of International Women's Day, promoted the consideration of CAF as a feminist organization—a striking absence from all written documentation—and the role that the Centre did and could have within the lives of the participants. Additionally, as an artwork collaboratively produced as an activism intervention there was no pressure placed upon the

participants to create a work which would be marketable. This factor allowed for greater creativity and more experimentation.[107]

Collaboration is a conscious choice of context.[108] It necessitates trust, honesty, clearly defined roles and offers security and the safety to take larger risks.[109] CAF's use of collaboration as a method of teaching women artisanal crafts and the concomitant creation of a supportive collective environment for creative process, endeavours to provide experiences of personal transformation. In spite of the difference of opinion and perspective about how to best achieve this process, CAF is committed to using art making as a way to help women.

The authors of *Feminist Organizing for Change: the Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* have argued that individuality can be most fully developed and expressed within a collective context. Indeed, they argue the collective creates the material and emotional support necessary for individuals to meet their needs and develop their potential. They warn, however , that this process only works if the collective is not autocratic or authoritarian, but one with a shared vision and collectively determined structures.[110] The experience provided by CAF can be read as being a result of the performance of collective creative processes. However, the organization is not structured to promote an activist subjectivity and may in fact hinder this process by focusing upon the women participants as victims and not allowing them to participate in the organizations governance. In defiance of the confused and contradictory mandates of the

Centre, members can make interventions which supersede CAF rhetorical limitations and through their own efforts create an transformative apparatus.

III

Three related questions arise from the examples of collaboration I have been discussing; the first is control of the aesthetics within collective art production, the second, the relationship of the participants to the art work they have helped to produce, and thirdly the role of leadership within collaborative practice.

Questions of aesthetics are perhaps among the most sensitive issues to examine. In each of the three case studies the importance of the "look" of the final product is as important as the process itself, but important to whom? The answer to this question points quite obviously to the person or people who are controlling or attempting to control the aesthetics of production. At Bread and Puppet the aesthetic vision of the objects themselves, and the performances themselves, are Schumann's. His direct intervention at critical points in the production process, and his directoral zeal create work which is unmistakably Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater. Merely scanning photographic representations of the Theater's performance over the last four decades, or walking down the central corridor of the Bread and Puppet Museum quite clearly reveals his aesthetic control.

The architecture that was the result of the collaborative design process at Oujé-Bougoumou resembles comparable examples of Cardinal's work, where his signature curvilinear designs and use of natural materials have been integrated with the traditional Oujé-Bougoumou Cree architecture. Cardinal, differing from both Schumann and Ryerson was, however, contracted by the people of Oujé-Bougoumou, in part, because of his aesthetic sense, his distinctive style, and his aesthetic vision. Indeed the buildings that Cardinal did not design are the buildings which have received the most criticism from the community.[111]

There is a resonance between these first two sites that does not necessarily extend to CAF. The aesthetic vision held by both Schumann and Cardinal is part of what makes individuals or communities want to collaborate with them. The volunteer puppeteers who travel from all over the world to work with Schumann are not doing so just to participate in a collaborative process, but to provide themselves with the opportunity to work with Schumann and within the company. Similarly, the community of Oujé-Bougoumou did not select Cardinal as their principle architect accidentally, but rather sought him out because of his aesthetic reputation. Thus, in both cases, the dominant aesthetic visions of the artists involved must be considered as one of the important aspects of the process and performance of collaboration.

The importance of aesthetic control at CAF is less easy to pin-point. Ryerson herself has very strong ideas about what is, and what is not, an example of a high quality craft object. She has often reduced students to tears and

infuriated their teachers by loudly proclaiming that their work was fit for the garbage. However, for the management who see CAF as a social service that functions to support women and the use of craft production as a way of building the participants sense of self-worth and self esteem, questions of aesthetics take a lesser priority to creating a nurturing and supportive environment. The result of this disparity creates a situation where neither vision is appropriately recognized. The participant's production at CAF is uneven in terms of design and execution. There is inconsistent teaching, and with the awareness of the Centre's desire to create objects for sale, little experimentation is taken. Without a clear alternative vision, and consequently insecure finances (and with the sometimes destructive input from Ryerson) the desire for a process of psychological transformation through the collective art-making environment at CAF is not assured either.

Although it might seem a regressive question to ask, having set up the discussion on collaboration as an attempt to move away from objects in and of themselves, it is critical to consider who at the end of the collaborative process owns the work? Each of the collaborative processes do result in objects and by examining who possesses these I want to address the potential limitations of affect. At CAF, the craft objects the women participants produce belong to CAF. The Centre's understanding of this is that they are providing the materials, the space, and the instruction free of charge, and thus in an effort to regain some of their investment they attempt to sell what the women produce. After a

successful sale, the women participants are given half of the price, and the Centre keeps the other half.

The motivation, however, is not primarily financial. The percentage of their operating cost covered through sales is minimal. It is seen rather as a appropriate part of the process, where women are being shown that their work has value. Further, the possibility that a work might sell is thought to increase the likelihood that women will see their projects through to the end and attempt to do their best in the creation process. CAF also wants to discourage women from internalizing or devaluing their production. Ascertaining its monetary value, displaying it in the Boutique, and the object's sale itself, are thought to provide valorization to the participants for their production. If after thirty days a participant wants to buy her own object back, she may pay the Centre half its price. However, the thirty day period means that the object has been publicly displayed for a month.[112]

While the benefits of this policy of ownership at CAF are understood, it also further illuminates CAF's resistance to social criticism of the capitalism system, which oppresses many of the participants. Additionally, it is worth considering what would happen if the women were allowed to keep their objects if they wanted, display them if they wanted, sell them if they wanted, and for the amount of money that they themselves saw as an appropriate price. This greater flexibility would accord the participants with the authority to make

decisions about their own creative work and thus increase the impact of the entire creative process.

Ownership of the performances at Bread and Puppet and of the objects produced there remains with the Theater. Collaborators come away with the experience of working with the Theater and the basic production skills to create their own projects and, in a sense, they then "own" the collaborative process. Further they take with them the experiences of performing collaboration in a radicalized environment and of performing itself. They do all go away. That is to say that puppeteers—as volunteers or staff—all must eventually leave Bread and Puppet. Although some have stayed and worked with, and lived at the Theater for over ten years on a full time basis, and many people make annual visits to work again with the Theater, eventually the puppeteers want to produce their own independent or collaborative work.

The architecture that the Oujé-Bougoumou people collectively designed belongs to all members of the Oujé-Bougoumou community. The Nation has created a unique situation among Aboriginal communities in Canada by creating a housing program through which people of the community can purchase and own their homes. This measure is considered by the community as a progressive step towards creating appropriate aboriginal housing, and benefits individuals by allowing them to build equity.[113] The Housing Program, however, regulates who can buy a house and also any renovations that a home-owner wishes to make. Further, if a individual wishes to sell their home, they may only sell it

back to the housing program, which in turn has the power to set the house's value unilaterally.

Facilitating individual home ownership, despite the above restriction, furthers the goals of the community's involvement in the design process. It enhances a feeling of empowernment by creating greater individual security. It could also provide a tangible product or result to the political battles and the design process that the community members participated in for over a decade. At the same time it can also be interpreted as potentially divisive, when individual home owners become more invested in the maintenance of their individual property, and value its importance above the overall growth and well being of the community. Further, it runs the risks of recreating a suburban environment, where each family's needs are met within the domestic environment and community members are isolated from one and other.

To conclude, the concept of leadership needs to be addressed. When describing collaborative artistic endeavours involving two or more participants, it is often implicitly if not explicitly interpreted to mean a non-hierarchical partnership. When an artist's working process is demonstrated to be non-egalitarian they suffer criticism from both the sympathetic and the antagonistic.[114] The pitch of the criticism is heightened if the artist is one whose work is politically or socially engaged. While one would hope that the processes used for collaborative creative production would not reproduce authoritarian or hierarchical relationships, this is not a given. Artist, educator, and political

activist Dian Marino reflects on her collaborative work, "Intellectually I was still grappling with issues of authoritarianism, but more and more I was beginning to suspect that having a political analysis did not free me from certain interpretive habits."[115] Similarly William Easton in "Collaboration and Other (Not So Scandalous) Plots," points out "Behind the scenes of collaboration there also lurks the figure of the tyrannical author, an autocratic director, or a dictatorial conductor. Wagner's dream of an 'integrated work' of art or 'Gesamkunstwerk' seems at best wishful thinking and at worst a prelude to the excessive obscenity of fascist spectacle."[116] To counter this fear, Easton advocates recognizing art as a social experience and collaboration as a specific social praxis that creates particular forms of cultural production.[117]

Rather than trying to eradicate leadership from collective art practice, and disavowing that practice once this goal is shown to be a next to impossible, it is critical to make the function of leadership open and defined. Once leadership within collaborative artistic practice is no longer a not-so well kept secret, and thus an always already reason for the rejection of entire projects and the political causes they espouse, how leadership works within collaborative practice can be examined. Each of the three case studies analyzed within this dissertation function through, and produce leadership. They are of different kinds, and variously acknowledged. In the following section I examine Antonio Gramsci's concept of the Organic Intellectual as a way of theorizing leadership within politically motivated collaborative art processes.

Specifically analyzing collaborative production within art activist practice is key to situating its processes as transformative, able to facilitate affect for participants and place social change on their mattering maps. Such an approach itself creates particular meaning by constructing a narrative around collective production, suggesting that a shift in the way in which art activism is written can move away from the worship of artists and objects and establish the particularities of art production as a space of emergent social change. This focus is imperative to an art history which does not eradicate collaboration nor disengage from the specificity of activist projects.

Bread and Puppet, CAF and Oujé-Bougoumou each largely rely upon collective modes of production. Architecture and Theater both necessitate multiple participants, and although craft production can be a solitary act of creativity, it also has a history and present of collaboration. Similar to an art history of proper names, in all three areas, there has been a discursive tendency to locate and focus upon a singular individual—the director, architect, designer, or master craftsperson—who is responsible for the creation of the work.[118] Recently, however, spurred on by feminist scholarship and led by feminist scholars, the literature in each field is beginning to investigate collaborative practice as generative of the work. These disciplinary specific approaches will be dealt with in tandem with an intensive examination of collaboration in each of the three case studies.

Before I delve into this material it is imperative to construct an

appropriate model in which to analyze collaborative practices in order to

theorize the processes of collective art making as potentially providing an

experience of transformation or creating affective individuals. How

collaboration is narrated itself produces meaning, while determining whether the

liberatory aims of such activist endeavours are remembered, communicated and

analyzed, or in contrast, displaced by a more traditional art historical discussions

of artists and objects. Indeed a comprehensive review of the art historical

literature on collaboration is warranted by the striking paucity of instances

where the processes and the enactment of collaboration are documented and

critiqued.[119] This chapter will be concluded with a comparative analysis of the

collective processes used at Bread and Puppet, Oujé-Bogoumou, and Le Centre

Artisanal des Femmes and supports my belief that, while there are no ideal

models for creative collaboration, the weaknesses or short-comings of one project

can be read as the strengths of another.

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[1] Jeanette Winterson, *Sexing the Cherry* (New York and London: Vintage, 1989), p. 80.

[2] The discussion which follows is focused upon collaborative practice in the twentieth century. This limitation is due to time and space considerations and not as a failure to recognize the historical practices of collaboration. For analyses of pre-twentieth-century collaborations see: Wendy Stedman Sheard and John T. Paoletti, *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Yale Even, *Artistic Collaboration in Florentine Workshops* Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1984); Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrant's Enterprize: The Studio and Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Thomas Crow, *Emulation: Making Artists for Revolutionary France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[3] Pierre Bourdieu contends that the construction of "great individuals" plagues both art history and literary studies, ignoring structural relations which make the production not only of the art work, but of the artist possible. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 29. Bourdieu contrasts his analysis of the "field" as a structure of objective relations with theories of "interactions" as studies by sociologist Max Weber. Interactionist theory focuses on the relations between agents, rather than between agents as constructed by structural discourses. For analysis of contemporary collaborative production that relies upon interactionalism see: Seana S. Lowe, "Creating Community: Art for Community Development," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* (Volume 29, Number 3, June 2000), pp.357-386. Feminist art history, for over three decades, has sought to dismantle the myth of the white male singular artists. See for instance: Griselda Pollock and Rozsika Parker, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (Harper Collins, 1981); Lisa Tickner, "Feminism, Art History and Sexual Difference," *Genders* (Volume 3, Fall 1988); Chila Burman, "There Have Always been Great Blackwomen Artists," Hilary Robinson, ed., *Visibly Female: Feminism and Art: An Anthology* (New York: Universe Books, 1988), Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Women Native Other* (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1989) Christine Battersby, "Introduction," *Gender and Genius, Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London: Women's Press, 1989); Judith Stein "Collaboration," Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994); Fran Cottell, "The Cult of the Individual," Katy Deepwell, ed., *New Feminist Art Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[4] As perhaps one of the most ignorant and an erroneous analysis of collaboration, Hobbs claims Lee Krasner to be a follower of Jackson Pollock and insists that she embarrasses herself in the mimicking of his artistic technique, looking more like a cleaning lady than an artist as she kneels, spilling paint on her canvas. Robert C. Hobbs, "Rewriting History: Artistic Collaboration Since 1960," Cynthia Jaffee McCabe, *Artistic Collaboration in the Twentieth Century* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), p.70. Hobbs is by no means the only critic who focuses upon the division of labour within artistic collaborations. Glenn Zorpette, in his article "Dynamic Duos," discusses artists whose primary practices are collaborative. In a tone which seems incredulous about collaboration, Zorpette sets out to ascertain who in a collaboration does what and asserts as fact that a consistent gendered division of labour exists within collaborative couples in which women are in the library doing the research while the men are welding. Glenn Zorpette, "Dynamic Duos," *Art News* (Volume 93, Number 6, Summer 1994), pp. 164-169. For other examples of artistic collaborations between couples see: Eleanor Heartney, "Combined Operations," *Art in America* (Volume 77, Number 6, June 1989), pp. 140-147; David Barrett, "Co-Operators," *Frieze* (Number 28, May 1996), p. 64.

[5] Whitney Chadwick and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., *Significant Others: Creativity and Intimate Partnership*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993). The essays in this anthology focus on couples, including both heterosexual and same sex long term relationships between artists, as wells as creative partnerships between artists and writers.

[6] Janice Helland, "Collaboration Among the Four," Wendy Kaplan, ed., *Charles Rennie Mackintosh* (New York, London, Paris: Abbeville Press, 1996), pp. 88-112. Helland is discussing the work of the Glasgow Four: Margaret Macdonald, Frances Macdonald, James Herbert McNair, and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. She theorizes three models of collaboration—exclusive authorship, shared production, and shared authorship. Exclusive authorship denotes the accreditation of a single author for a work which was collaboratively produced. Shared production signals that the different elements of a single object are recognized to have been made by distinct individuals. Shared authorship defines work in which the of hands individual makers are indistinguishable and the object itself is viewed as the result of collective production.

[7] William Burroughs and Brion Gysin *The Third Mind* (New York: Viking Press, 1978). For instance see: Debra Bricker Balken, "Editor's Statement" *The Art Journal* (Winter 1993), pp. 16-17. Balken uses the concept of the third mind to posit that collaborations involve a "shredding and reconfiguration" of two peoples texts to create a "total union of identities." For her, the third mind goes beyond a post-structural idea of the death of the author, as theorized by Roland Barthes, to the idea of collaboration itself as social exchange. Also see Balken, "Notes on the Publisher as Auter," p. 70-71, in the same volume.

[8] Charles Green, *The Third Hand: Collaboration in Art From Conceptualism To Postmodernism.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

[9] ibid, p. x.

[10] Griselda Pollock: *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: 1999), pp. 13-15. Here Pollock is drawing upon the work of Sarah Kofman, *The Childhood of Art: An Interpretation of Freud's Aesthetic* Trans. Winifred Woodhull, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). My thanks to Janice Helland for elucidating how Pollock's ideas are useful to my project.

[11] ibid, p. 12.

[12] Grant Kester, ed., *Art, Activism and Oppositionality: Essays from Afterimage* (Durham: Duke University Press,1998), p. 15.

[13] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York and London, Routledge, 1993) and Judith Butler, "Imitation and Gender Insubordination," Diana Fuss, ed., *Inside/Out: Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories* (New York and London: Routledge, 1991).

[14] Kester, *Art, Activism and Oppositionality*, p. 15.

[15] Following a similar theoretical trajectory, art historian Suzi Gablik claims that a model of social conscience can replace the aesthetic framework, based on Cartesian dualism, art-life, subject-object polarities. The model of social consciousness examines collaborative art practice between two artists and/or explores large collective group productions by concentrating upon interactions between participants. In doing so, Gablik attempts to move art discourse beyond an aesthetic function, thereby undermining the idealized autonomy of the artist.[15] By privileging how the production of art can "call us into relationship," she contends that a socially conscious model critiques art's supposed transcendence and the artist as genius, making way for a paradigm of "connectedness." Suzi Gablik, *The Reenchantment of Art* (London and New York: Thames and Husdson, 1991). Also see: Nina Felshin, ed., *But is it Art? The Spirit of Art as Activism* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995) particularly Dot Tuer, "Is It Still Privileged Art? The Politics of Class and Collaboration in the Art Practices of Carole Conde and Karl Beveridge;" and Andrea Wolper, "Making Art, Reclaiming Lives: The Artist and Homeless Collaborative;" and Jan Cohen-Cruz, "Mainstream of Margin? US activist performance and Theater of the Oppressed," Mady Schutman and Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Playing Boal- Theater, Therapy, Activism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994) pp. 110-124.

[16] Johanna Drucker, "Collaboration without Object(s) in the Early Happenings," *The Art Journal* (Winter 1993) pp. 51-58

[17] ibid, p. 51. Drucker is relying primarily on John Cage's method for Happenings and specifically his attempts to create an opportunity or situation within which the aesthetic experience of ongoing, ordinary existence could take place. p. 52.

[18] Drucker does not position herself within the process of Happenings, nor does she recount any personal experience of participation.

[19] For a discussion of collaboration by its participants see: Carole L. Beaulieu, Melanie Boyle, Sabrina Mathews, Solomon Tzeggai, and Martine H. Crispo, "Notes on Collaboration," Daina Augaitis, Lorne Falk, Sylvie Gibert, Mary Anne Moser, *Questions of Community: Artists, Audiences, Coalitions* (Banff: Banff Centre Press, 1995), pp. 179-190.

[20] Richard Schechner, *Performance Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 39. Although Schechner's proposition could be extended to aspects of production such as public relations or booking, I have limited my analysis of collaborative production at Bread and Puppet to its artistic processes. This is

not to disavow the important contributions of Bread and Puppet's manager Linda Elbow. who as well as arranging employment for the Theater. has herself been an puppeteer with the company for over twenty years.

[21] Despite this difference I highlight the performative or the enacted aspects of both producing and performing the show.

[22] It is difficult to convey the vastness in scope of issues seized upon by Bread and Puppet. The Theater functions both in response to the concerns of the company and current political events. Additionally there are meta themes, protest against war and nuclear arms, environmental concerns, critiques of capitalism or "business as usual," as well as representations of a "simpler life" in many ways reflecting the ideas of Elka Schumann's grandparents, Helen and Scott Nearing. Feminist issues and question of gender are worked on in performance when a group of people decide to take it on, and regrettably this seems to still take the form of an "intervention" into more standard themes.

[23] Brecht Stefan, *Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater, Volumes I & II* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988; Bell John, "Puppets, Mask, and Performing Objects at the End of the Century," *The Journal of Performance and Art* (Volume 43, Number 1, 3 Fall 1999).

[24] Such tasks are usually the responsibility of puppeteers who have experience either from Bread and Puppet, or other work in Puppet Theater. All work at Bread and Puppet is volunteered for, rather thank assigned. While there appears to be little gender theoretically, there can be a tendency in the distribution of tasks such as digging a new out-house hole to assume male strength is needed. Savvy feminists are quick to pick up on this and make vocal contestations and perform the physical labour.

[25] A consideration of the (somewhat paradoxical terminology) of hierarchical collaboration will be taken up in the final section of this chapter.

[26] Smaller prints on paper are done with a antique rolling press, while larger prints and banners are hand pressed. Prints are done predominately with a single colour, and then painted by hand.

[27] Elka Schumann, or a specifically designated puppeteer, is responsible for displaying the art work in the Cheap Art Bus and for handling the inventory and money. Payment for Cheap Art, as for the majority of prints, books and banners, is not monitored, except on days of large performances, but relies on the honesty of the purchaser to deposit money in a cash box. Sales of prints, banners and books make up a substantial part of the Theater's income, while the money from the sale of Cheap Art is given to the individual producers.

[28] For instance in 1999 puppeteer Clare Dolan directed a serialized version of Tolstoy's *The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, and Maria Schumann (youngest "child" of Peter and Elka Schumann now in her thirties) directed a furtistic science fiction production.

[29] Adapting to this method of production can be difficult for individuals who are used to thinking of Theater and puppetry as being largely narrative, and proves most difficult for professional actors who are used to performing a character through dialogue.

[30] On the American pageant movement see: Linda Nochlin, "The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913," *Art in America* (May/June 1974), pp.64-68; W.E.B. Du Bois, "Pamphlets and Leaflets," *The Complete Published Works* (New York: Krauss Thomas Organization, 1986); Naima Preots, *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy* (Ann Arbour: U.M.I Press, 1990); On Bread and Puppet pageants see: John Bell, *Landscape and Desire: Bread and Puppet Pageants in the 1990s* (Glover: Bread and Puppet Press, 1997). Bell also notes the similarities between Bread and Puppet's work, and pageants produced early in the 20th century in Russia as part of the Bolshevik Revolution, where street festivals incorporated giant puppets, masks and the participation of hundreds of amateur performers., p. 7. Bell, *Landscape and Desire*, p. 5.

[31] In this performance a human sized peace hand, painted like the United States Flag, gives the following speech to the audience: "We Americans are the aposoles of the fast world. The prophets of the free market. The high priest of high tech. We want enlargement of both our values and our pizza huts. We want the world to follow our lead and become democratic and capitalistic. With a web-site in every pot. A Pepsi on every lip. Microsoft windows in every computer. And everyone, everywhere, pumping their own gas."

[32] Bell, *Landscape and Desire*, p. 5.

[33] Peter Schumann, "Institution of Greed," performed September 4, 1998 and published in *Fiddle Sermons from Insurrection Masses with Funeral Marches for Rotten Ideas*, (Glover: The Bread and Puppet Press, 1999), p. 9.

[34] Interview with Peter Schumann, July 5, 1999.

[35] Better known examples of such projects would include The Heart of the Beast in Minneapolis, The Red Moon Puppet Theater in Chicago, The Great Small Works Theater in New York.

[36] These projects will be discussed in chapter 4. I have also jointly established a feminist puppet Theater, Between Her Legs, with another Montreal based Bread and Puppet participant, Myriam Legault.

[37] Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), p. 6.

[38] Augusto Boal, *Theater of the Oppressed* (London: Pluto Press, 1974). Bread and Puppet does not use the methods of Theater of the Oppressed, although Theater workers who do often come to work with the Theater.

[39] Mady Schutzman and Jan Cohen-Cruz, eds., *Playing Boal, Theater, Therapy, Activism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994) This anthology contains a variety of authors' reflections on different case studies where Theater of the Oppressed is utilized. Additionally Cohen-Cruz and Schutzman offer a theoretical analysis of Theater of the Oppresses in the light of other political movements - Marxism, feminism, post modernism.

[40] Randy Martin, *Performance as Political Act: The Embodied Self* (New York: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, 1990).

[41] ibid., p. 1. Also see, Michael Vanden Heuvel, *Performing Drama/Dramatizing Performance: Alternative Theater and the Dramatic Text* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991). David Parkin, Lionel Caplan, and Humphery Fisher, eds., *The Politics of Cultural Performance* (Providence: Berghahn, 1996). Victor Tunner, *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriouness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982) Victor Turner. *On the Edge of the Bush: Anthropology as Experience* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1985).

[42] Clare MacDonald, "Live and Kicking," *Women's Art Magazine* (Number 61), p. 12-15.

[43] Rebecca Schnider, *The Explicit Body in Performance* (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 2.

[44] Edward Little, *Theater and Community: Case Studies of Four Colway-Style Plays Performed in Canada* (University Of Toronto: Doctoral Dissertation, 1997), p. 6. Also see Baz Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theater as Cultural Intervention* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).

[45] Beatriz Colomina, "Collaboration: The Private Life of Modern Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (Volume 58, Number 3, 1999) pp.462-471.

[46] ibid, p.465.

[47] For analyses of non-architects as designers: Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal: McGill Queens, 1996); Annmarie Adams, "'The House and All That Goes in It': The Notebook of Frederica Shanks," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Volume 31, Summer/Autumn, 1996), pp. 165-172; Annmarie Adams, "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," *Gender, Class and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995); Annmarie Adams and Pieter Sijpkes, "Wartime Housing and Architectural Change, 1942-1992," *Canadian Folklore Canadian* (Volume 17, Number 2, 1995), pp.13-29. On architectural design/change by use see: James Borchert, "Alley Life in Washington: Family Community, Religion, and Folk Lore in the City, 1850-1970," Dell Upton and Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1986), pp. 281-291; Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs Homes, Neibourhoods and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981) Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996); Tania Martin, Housing the Gray Nuns: Power, Religion, and Women in fin-de siecle Montreal," *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspective in Vernacular Architecture VII* (Tennessee, 1997). On the construction of domestic architecture as a profession see: Dell Upton, "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860," *Winterthur Portfolio* (Volume 19, Numbers 2-3, Summer-Autumn 1984), pp. 107-150. For interesting discussion of post- colonial spaces and spatial interventions see, Gulsum Baydar Nalbantoglu and Wong Chong Thai, eds., *Postcolonial Space(s)* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1997).

[48] John Gracey, "Vancouver Firm Tries Native Collaboration," *Architectural Record.* (Volume 188, Number 3, February 2000), p. 34. Gracey is specifically referring to the Hadia community of Skidegate. For other example of First Peoples involvement in design the community architecture see, Carol Krinsky, *Contemporary American Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. For a discussion of traditional and contemporary First Peoples' architecture see: Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton, *Native American Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[49] Joan M. Vastokas, *Beyond The Artifact: Native Art as Performance* (Toronto: The Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, 1992). Vastokas is discussing various types of First People's creative production, and situates each example she analyzes within its specific context of production and cultural use.

[50] This is a list of official names I could gather from both interviews and archival documents. I do not know if there were other individuals who were involved in organizing the activist campaign and I apologize for any absences my research might contain. I am struck, however, by the absence of women involved at this level of organization and by the paucity of consideration of gender throughout the entire process. Simultaneously I am wary that this concern is a product of a feminism which Native women feminist such as Lee Marcle have stated positions them in a double bind—to confront sexism is perceived as divisive to struggles for Native rights; to ignore it is to suffer the effects of patriarchy. Lee Maracle, *I Am Woman: A Native Perspective on Sociology and Feminism* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1996).

[51] Le Groupe Ectone Incorporated, *Community Planning Study for the Crees of Chibougamau - Proposal* (Montreal: Unpublished: O-B Archive, May 1984).

[52] Oujé-Bougoumou, *Comparative Site Analysis, Selection and Priorities* (Unpublished, O-B Archives May 1986).

[53] These criteria included the availability of drinking water, construction suitability of soil, size of site large enough to allow for future growth, political autonomy of the site—that is the possibility of obtaining a land regime identical to that granted to other Cree bands as outlined in the Cree/Naskapi Act, aesthetic value of the site, availability of fire wood, sufficient distance from non-native towns to foster a decrease in certain

social problems and to ensure the preservation of the cultural identity of the community. access to navigable waterways, fishing. and existing roads. *Community Assembly - Oujé -Bougoumou Cree*. April 21, 22 1986 (Unpublished: O-B Archives).

[54] ibid.

[55] As I am reconstructing this design process largely through archival material is difficult for me to ascertain whether those present represent the diversity of the community.

[56] All information about this series of workshops, unless otherwise cited is from a unpublished document entitled, *Ouje-Bougoumou Workshops - February 1988* (Unpublished O-B Archives, pp. 1-34).

[57] Flyer "ALL OUJÉ -BOUGOUMOU PEOPLE!! (Unpublished O-B Archives, February 1988).

[58] Activities and spaces that would foster community were listed as: spaces for dances, legends telling, pow-wows, the use of traditional medicines and herbs, work by hand and traditional crafts such as snowshoe making, activities like checkers and dodge ball. Additionally the community felt that their new village should ensure the preservation of wildlife and small game, the natural beach front, canoe trips, historical hunting and traveling routes, ice fishing, dog sleds, and snowmobile trails.

[59] The relationship of everything to the natural environment was recorded in the notebook of band member Bently Mianscum as a "moral" to be considered quintessential to community planning. Community Planning - Feb. 11, 1988.

[60] The Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation, *Planing and Development of a Cree Community: Work Plan Proposal*. Prepared by, Consortium Legault/Polytec (Unpublished O-B Archives, June 1988).

[61] ibid. The plan states that the determination of needs for the construction of the new community will be based on a consideration of the interests of the community on a short, medium, and long term period. p.25.

[62] The Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation, *Rise Up and Build: The Oujé-Bougoumou Consult*. Prepared by Susan Marshall, Cree Region Authority, (Unpublished O-B Archives, December 1988), pp. 1-88.

[63] The invited Cree Chiefs were: George Wapachee, Nemaska; Chief Abel Kitchen, Waswanipi; Chief James Bobbish, Chisasibi; and Chief Henry Mianscum, Mistassini.

[64] *Rise Up and Build*, p. 65.

[65] This reference to a split in the community over the potential site location for the new community is an indications of divisiveness within the community itself. Although I did not find other documentation which recorded such information, I would speculate that the nature of the process—where individuals are defining how they want to live—is bound to create conflict and dissension.

[66] A summary of the communities involvement in the entire planning process is detailed in an assessment study commissioned by Oujé-Bougoumou. Groupe Conseil Entraco, *A Permanent Village for the Oujé-Bougoumou Community: Impact Assessment Study*. (Unpublished O-B Archives, October 1990), pp. 1-134 and appendices A - G.

[67] Joan Reid Acland, *The Native Artistic Subject and National Identity: A Cultural Analysis of the Architecture of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, designed by Douglas J. Cardinal* (Montreal: Ph.D. Dissertation, Concordia University, 1994); Trevor Boddy, *The Architecture of Douglas Cardinal* (Edmonton: NeWest Publishers, 1989).

[68] Douglas J. Cardinal Architects Limited, *Firm Dossier* (Undated, O-B Archive).

[69] Cardinal's contract to design the central core buildings and school was accepted by the Oujé -Bougoumou band council at a meeting on June 19th, 1991. An agreement between Douglas Cardinal and the Oujé-Bogoumou Eenuch Coporation was signed on April 14, 1992. Cardinal had agreed to create schematic designs, preliminary designs, construction documents, services related to tendering, services during construction (excluding resident supervision) programming and a 1:100 scale model of each facility, for the Band Council Office, Church, Elders Residences, Youth Centre, and Office Building. Cardinals firm additionally created other building including the Healing Centre, teachers and nurses residences, and day care facilities. He has also been involved in the design of a cultural centre, which is still to be built.

[70] 1991 NOTICE - Chief and Council of OB organizing a series of workshops on Aug. 12 &13 1991 at the village to address the mission statements of the council - "Everyone is invited to participate and contribute towards the building of our community. Bring your own ideas and solutions and be part of the process."

[71] 1991 - Sept. 23-24 Memorandum From Abel Bosum, Chief, to all staff to participate. "Cardinal to be present at meeting to present the concept of the centre core. In workshop we hope to determine the functions of each building and to provide direction to the planning of various buildings."

[72] bell hooks, Art on My Mind: Visual Politics (New York: The New Press,1995), p. 150.

[73] Gail Valaskakis, "Parallel Voices: Indian and Others," Journal of Communications (Volume 18, 1993) pp. 283-298.

[74] Angelika Bammer, Partial Visions: Feminism and Utopianism in the 1970's (New York and London: Routledge, 1991), p. 3.

[75] Faye Ginsburg, "From Little Things, Big Things Grow: Indigenous Media and Cultural Activism," Richard G. Fox and Orin Star, eds., Between Resistance and Revolution (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 238.

[76] Eileen Boris, Art and Labour: Ruskin, Morris and the Craftsman Ideal in America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. xi-xvi.

[77] ibid, p. 6. Here Boris is referring to John Ruskin's philosophy.

[78] ibid, p. 9. This comment reflects Morris's practice.

[79] ibid, p. xiv.

[80] ibid, pp. 100-103.

[81] Cumming, Elizabeth, and Wendy Kaplan, The Arts and Crafts Movement (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), pp. 154-155.

[82] McCarthy, Kathleen, Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. xi.

[83] ibid. p. 29.

[84] ibid, pp. 54-56.

[85] Anthea Callen, Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement, 1870-1914 (New York: Pantheon, 1979), p. 2. Callens's four categories are: 1 - working class or rural women who were organized and employed in the revival of rural crafts, 2 - the upper and middle class women philanthropists who organized

both the rural revival and artistic training and employment of destitute gentlewomen, 3 - the destitute gentle women themselves, and 4 - the educated middle class women who were intimately involved with in the vanguard of the movement. Also see Callen, Anthea. *Angel in the Studio: Women Artists of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Pantheon, 1979), and Anthea Callen, "Sexual Division of Labour in the Arts and Crafts Movement, " *The Oxford Art Journal* (Volume 3, Number 1, April 1980), pp. 22-27.

[86] Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine* (New York and London: Routledge, 1984), p. 5.

[87] ibid, p. 6.

[88] Gerard C. Bodeker, "Reflections on Creativity and Collaboration," *Fiber Arts* (Volume 21, Number 2, September October, 1994), pp.34- 39.

[89] Bonnie J. Miller, "Double Vision: Glass Artists Joey Kirkpatrick and Flora Mace blend their talents in fine Harmony," *American Craft* (Volume 49, Number 5, October/November, 1989), pp. 41-45.

[90] Nancy Callahan, *The Freedom Quilting Bee* (Tuscalossa: The University of Alabama Press, 1987); Ariel Dorfman, *Scraps of Life: Chilean Aprillera, Chilean Women and the Pinochet Dictatorship* (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1978); Betty La Duke, *Companeras, Women and Social Change in Latin America* (San Francisco: 1985, Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[91] I am reconstructing this history of collaboration through interviews, archival research and my experiences as a student, volunteer, and Board member at CAF. However, the CAF archive is far from complete, sometimes with entire years of files missing. When I inquired about these absences it was hypothesized that certain CAF coordinators have viewed the files produced during their tenure as personal property and have removed them when they left the Centre. Also, a substantial amount of material from CAF had become part of Mildred Ryerson's personal archive to which I had some, but not total access.

[92] Mildred Ryerson," Address From the President," CAF Annual General Meeting, June 29, 1998 (Unpublished, CAF Archives).

[93] Mildred Ryerson, "The People's Community Workshop: Building a Better Future," (Unpublished, May 1999, Mildred Ryerson's Archive).

[94] Mildred Ryerson, "Untitled," (Unpublished, Undated Mildred Ryerson's Archive).

[95] There is a striking similarity between the program Ryerson details and the guiding principles of the late nineteenth century English "Home Art and Industries Association," which sought to "reconcile the pleasures of the rich with the needs of the poor, the pursuit of individual culture with the duties owed to our fellow-citizens." For a concurrent description of the Association see E.L. Jebb, "The Home Arts and Industries Association," *Magazine of Art* (1885), pp. 294-298. For contemporary feminist analysis see: Joanna Bourke, "Home Industries," *Husbandry to Housewifery, Women, Economic Change and House work in Ireland* 1890-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[96] Interview with the Mildred Ryerson, April 15th, 1998.

[97] ibid.

[98] Nominally the work is the student's.

[99] At the date of CAF's incorporation, December 1991, the official philosophy entailed an acknowledgment of the therapeutic effects of craft production, the value of working in groups, collaborative learning, and the use of craft production as method of self discovery and reclamation of dignity for individual women. Minutes of BOD Meeting, October 10th, 1991. CAF Archive.

[100] Within a few months of joining CAF in January of 1998, it became apparent that CAF was in a state of crisis. Having no secure sources of funding, the Centre was perpetually facing closing. More than this financial instability, and perhaps partially causing it, was a lack of clear vision and mandate for the CAF, creating antagonistic relationships among Board members, undirected management, frustrated teachers, and uncommitted students. As I began researching the archives at CAF, it was clear that this was an ongoing and acute condition, rather than an isolated phase. Ryerson as President of the Board of Directors continues to contest either verbally, or through her action, any vision which is not her own. However, because of its status as a charitable organization, Ryerson's will is often superseded by other Board members. This relationship has made it impossible for CAF to create a mission that can be collectively agreed upon. Within the minutes of Board of Directors' meetings, and detailed in several letters of resignation (both staff and Board Members) is the destructive friction created between Ryerson and the managers and teachers at the Centre. The constant turn-over in these areas themselves makes for an inconsistent governing body and a lack of real authority for any one vision.

[101] CAF Objectives, December 17, 1992 (Unpublished, CAF Archive).

[102] CAF Objectives, 1993 (Unpublished, CAF Archive).

[103] Philanthropic associations which use craft production as a way of helping women while simultaneously constructing them as victims also has a historical legacy. This rhetorical marginalization is exacerbated by questions of nationality and ethnicity, where women who have recently immigrated to a country or Native women become the "special targets" for such endeavors. See: Boris, "Women Culture as Art and Philanthropy" *Art and Labour*, p.122-138; Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native American Arts from the North East 1700-1900*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill/Queens Press, 1998); Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, eds., *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1999).

[104] Letter to Anne-Marie Marquis, Charities Divisions, Revenue Canada, From Board Member Penelope Soteriou, November 17th, 1992 (CAF Archive). The use of the word poor is from the letter, and not of my own choice of terminology. Grant Application to The Canadian Women's Foundation Violence Prevention Fund, 1995 (CAF Archive). History and Mission of CAF, 1995 (CAF Archive.) General Letter from Joan Pesner asking for financial contributions to CAF, November 1997 (CAF Archive).

[105] For instance in 1995, the CAF defined its mandate as a Women's training centre for both craft and entrepreneurial skills. Here for the first time the Centre retail boutique, Notre Place, is mentioned as being an integral part of the program, where through participation women can gain small-business management skills (Grant Application to The Canadian Women's Foundation Violence Prevention Fund, 1995 CAF Archive). At this time CAF's mission statement and history is concluded with the statement from the International Bill of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to work, to Free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment." (History and Mission of CAF, 1995. CAF Archive.) While rhetorically this strategy could be a strategic effort to not alienate potential funding bodies, its practice is depoliticizing for the participants. In 1997 CAF is defined as centre for women where "women learn marketable skills while developing their creative talents and elevate their self esteem. Our ultimate goal is to enable women to make a living." (General Letter from Joan Pesner asking for financial contributions to CAF, November 1997. CAF archive). In the spring of 1999 the mission statement read "To empower women as skilled, creative, confident, choice making individuals active in the growth of a supportive community organization." (Mission Statement 1999. CAF Archive).

[106] Some examples of trying to encourage greater participation in the administration of CAF are apparent in documents such as the announcement for the Annual General meeting of 1995 by coodinatrice Michelle Pascal, that stated "la redefinition des orientation et politiques d'action est impératif." (Announcement of AGM 21 April, 1995. CAF Archive) Or coordinator Georgette Laliberté attempts to engage the participants to contribute on a regular basis, "Les apprenties son invitées à participer á une réunion hebdomadaire où elle sont encouragées à exprimer leur opinions et aussi faire des suggestions sur le déroulement et le fonctionnement des cours auxquels elles participent." (Undated announcement. CAF Archive.)

[107] As a second example of this type of collaborative process that will be discussed in the final section is the performance created collectively, "In and of Ourselves, for the *Public Art as Social Transformation: But Now I Have To Speak* symptom at Concordia University, November 1999.

[108] Betty Park, "Collaboration: A Vision of Unknown Territory,: *Fiberarts* (Volume 12, Number 5, September October, 1985) p.20.

[109] Lillian Elliot and Pat Hickman, "The Pleasures and Problems of Collaboration," *Fiber Arts* (Volume 12, Number 5, September October, 1985), pp.22-23.

[110] Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing for Change: the Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) p. 101.

[111] Here I am referring to the residential housing as was discussed in chapter 1.

[112] All completed craft projects are put on displace for sale, however Ryerson is not unknown to remove items she thinks are poorly made or poor poor aesthetically.

[113] Oujé-Bougoumou Cree Nation, *Housing Program* (Unpublished, no date, Oujé-Bougoumou Archives), p., 1.

[114] Dan Cameron, "Against Collaboration, *Arts Magazine* (March, 1984), pp. 83-87.

[115] Marino, *Wild Garden*, pp. 31-32.

[116] William Easton, "Collaboration and Other (Not So Scandalous) Plots," *Fiber Arts* (Volume 21, Number 2, September October, 1994), pp. 45-49.

[117] ibid., p.49.

[118] Rosalind Krauss, "In the Name of Picasso," *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1985), pp. 23-41.

[119] I choose to start from the field of art history and art criticism for two primary reasons. The first of these is that I feel because art production has been thoroughly constructed as a solitary endeavour, that the historical and theoretical work is most provocative. Secondly, (and of course the second may be the cause of the first,) my primary academic training is as an art historian, so it is the literature with which I am the most familiar. Specialists in the fields of architecture, theater and craft production may disagree about my claim, thus drawing attention to one of the limits of interdisciplinary research, and I welcome their contestations.
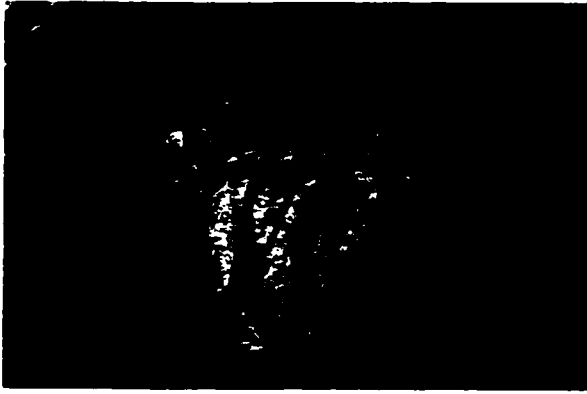
Figure 47: Hand-Puppets, 2000

Figure 50: Zebra Puppet, 1999

Figure 51: Dollie Puppets, 1999

Figure 48: Washer Woman, 1999

Figure 49: Garbagemen Puppets, 1999
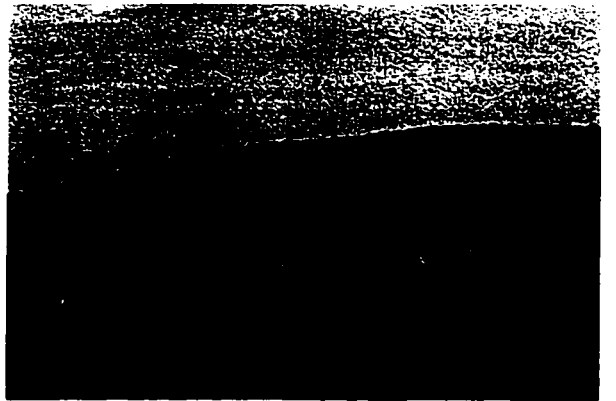
Figure 52: Feet Puppets, 1999

Figure 53: Breaking-up Clay, 1999

Figure 54: Mixing Clay, 1999

Figure 55: Peter Schuman, *Bread*, 1984

Figure 56: Peter Schuman, *Courage*, 2000

Figure 57: Cheap Art Bus, 1999

Figure 58: Rehearsal, 1999

Figure 59: Death Puppet, 1999

Figure 60: Garden Puppets, 1999

Figure 61: Ding-Dong, 1999
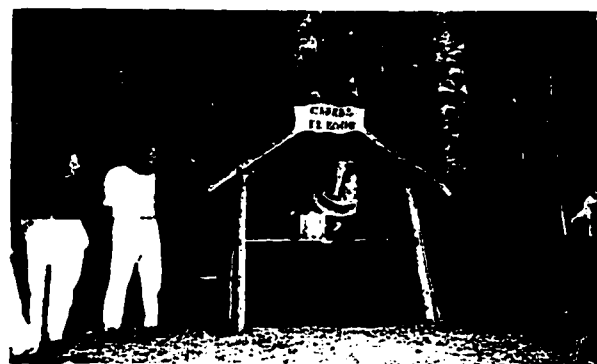
Figure 62: Ding-Dong, 1999

Figure 63: Ding-Dong, 1999

Figure 64: Parade, 1999

Figure 65: Flag Rasing, 1999

Figure 66: Passion Play, 1999

Figure 67: Fast World, 1999

Figure 68: Clowns, 1999

Figure 69: Singing Cows, 1999

Figure 70: Insurrection Mass, 1999

Figure 71: Insurrection Mass, 1999
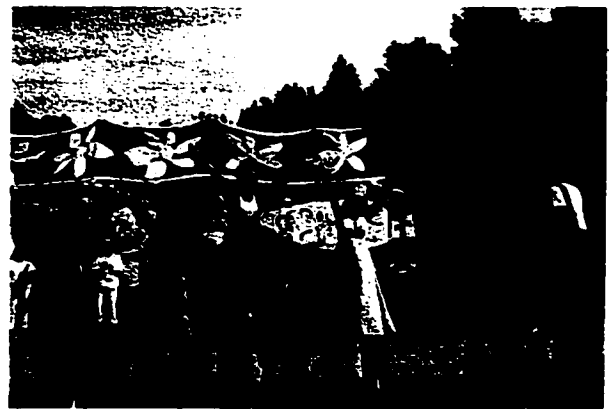
Figure 72: Stilters, 1999

Figure 73: Gent Puppets, 1999

Figure 74: Community members of Oujé-Bougoumou at Ground Breaking, 1991

Figure 75: Douglas Cardinal with communiity members of Oujé-Bougoumou, 1992

Why doesn't every mother believe her child can change the world?
The child can.
Here we are still looking for a saviour and hundreds are being born every second.[1]

Chapter III: The Organic Intellectual and Critical Pedagogy in Transformative Practice

Antonio Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual is developed in

fragments in *The Prison Notebooks*. In this work he states, "All men are

intellectuals...but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals."[2] He

elaborates that intellectuals are created within every distinct social assemblage,

forming a particular and specialized internal category, rather than being an

autonomous and independent class onto themselves. He states, "Every social

group, coming into existence on the original terrain of an essential function in the

world of economic production, creates together with itself, organically, one or

more strata of intellectuals which give it homogeneity and an awareness of its

own function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields."[3]

Understanding the cultural function of Mildred Ryerson, Peter and Elka

Schumann, and Douglas Cardinal through the theoretical concept of the organic

intellectual is critical to position the practice of the artists as transformative

within the model of art history that is proposed in this dissertation. As cultural

workers who have devoted their lives and artistic practices to the arts and

political activism, they are presented here as motivated and socially concerned

agents who use their creative and organizational skills to help galvanize

individuals and communities into action. Contrary to the transcend romanticism

of the artist as hero/genius and the liberal humanist notion of the solitary, anti-

social producer, the organic intellectual is a social actor able to organize,

empower and enable political action and collective insurgency.

It is essential for my thesis project, considering collective processes of

artistic production as forms of participatory social activism, to develop a

theoretical understanding of both the pedagogical and political nature of such

cultural work. The non-authoritarian leadership of a transformative practice is

transparently situated as the enactment of politicized social relations necessary to

support the affective processes of art making within each of the case studies.

Simultaneously locating the function of the Schumanns, Ryerson and Cardinal

through this model underlines the importance of the specific, local, contingent,

and particular nature of each of the projects by rejecting totalizing narratives or

unitary solutions which erase the diversity, multiplicity and heterogeneity,

among the sites, within each of the communities, and of the individual subjectivities of all participants.

I

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1948) was a Sardinian Marxist political activist, journalist, and theorist. He wrote for and helped publish the socialist papers *Avanti!, Il Grido del Popolo* (The people's cry), and *L'Ordine Nuovo* (The New Order). He was one of the founding members of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and in 1924 became its leader. Gramsci was arrested in 1926 and sentenced in 1928 to prison where he spent the next nine years. There he began to write his *Prison Note Books* on themes ranging from art and culture to political strategy.[4] Gramsci was a strong critic of scientific Marxism and committed to the belief that human beings can alter their historical circumstances when consciousness and praxis interact.[5]

In her book, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics: Beyond the Pessimism of the Intellect* Anne Showstack Sassoon argues that Gramsci's principle theoretical preoccupation is the role of intellectuals. Motivated by the goal of increasing real democratic control, which, she argues, was the defining feature of communism for Gramsci, his writing investigates the conditions which would make such expansion possible. Intellectuals were to play a critical role in achieving this effort by providing increases in the skills, autonomy and, therefore, power of the population.[6]

Imperative to understanding the theorization of the intellectual that Gramsci proposes, Sassoon contends, is "filling" the concept the same way he does. He moves beyond liberal and socialist ideas of the intellectual, redefining it in terms of organization and connective functions, rather than by the skill of thinking.[7] Gramsci outlines the purpose of this reconceptualized "organic intellectual" as fostering the circumstances which will best serve the expansion and hegemony of the class with which they are aligned. Organic intellectuals are marked by their social roles and professional categories: "Each man finally outside his professional activity, carries some form of intellectual activity, that is he is a "philosopher,' an artist, a man of taste, he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct and, therefore, contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought."[8] At the same time, Gramsci holds that it is the organic intellectual's position within a system of relations in which activities are situated, within the general complex of social relations, that determines his or her status and function rather than being an intrinsic element of their intellectual activities.[9] Gramsci accords the organic intellectual the responsibility to assimilate and conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals of the dominant class and thus expand a counter hegemony to a larger portion of society.[10] The organic intellectual, therefore, has a socially critical function because of his or her location within a specific social group and because of the

way in which the interests of the group are positioned within the larger social whole.

Roger Simon, an English economist researching trade unions wrote, *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction*, in which he interprets Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual as a broad category including all those who have a role in shaping the forces of production, civil society and the state. This group is then subdivided into organic intellectuals of the capitalist class and organic intellectuals of the working class. In either case the organic intellectual is a partisan participant who aligns him or herself with an emerging class and supports it in its production and reproduction of hegemony.[11]

The organic intellectual of the working class has a role of organizing the working class and preparing them to assert their own hegemony. Key aspects of this role, according to Simon, are the role of leadership, without which the working class cannot organize, and the relationship between the organic intellectual and the working class. Here Simon interprets Gramsci as asserting that the working class must produce their own organic intellectuals. It is unclear, however, whether this means that an organic intellectual of the working class must be of working class origins or whether he or she can work to form alliances.[12] Despite this confusion, the organic intellectual of the working class has a distinct way of knowing what distinguishes him or her from a traditional intellectual. That is to say, they know through feeling and understanding the conditions of the working class and as such they become permanent persuaders

fully engaged in the social and political struggles of the working class, rather than objective or disinterested orators or rhetoricians.

Renate Holub in *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Post Modernism* attempts to further untangle Gramsci's theory of the organic intellectual. She views his concept as a tool with which Gramsci begins to conceptualize the direct reproduction and dissemination of effective hegemony and as a method of channeling the production of meaning and signification.[13] Holub traces four types of intellectuals that develop chronologically in Gramsci's writings: the traditional intellectual, a "structure of feeling" or "intellectual community", the organic intellectual, and the universal intellectual.[14]

The traditional intellectual in Holub's interpretation are the select few, the famous philosophers, poets or artists who, while claiming to be detached from any given social group, in fact serve the interest of the dominant group in power. In model four, the universal intellectual, conversely, everyone is an intellectual capable of reasoning and everyone should, therefore, participate in a universal exchange of ideas. Holub assesses the second and third types of intellectuals as being of more use, in her opinion, in trying to analyze contemporary societies.

The second type, the "structure of feelings" or "intellectual community", she explains as being those individuals who carry with them the possibility of mobilizing resistance on the part of a subaltern social group. These individuals are professionals or semi-professionals, educators, doctors or priests with whom the proletariate comes into contact. Although these individuals may not come

from the same class origins or occupy similar material realities, because of a "corporeal proximity of various social bodies," they can come to share common concerns, a dialect, and a "structure of feelings." Holub interprets Gramsci as seeing dialogic encounters between the professional and subaltern classes as containing the possibility of mobilizing counter-hegemonic positions. The professional, because of his or her given privilege and respect within a community, is able to propose a world view. Such a world view can either support or (more importantly for Gramsci) contest unequal social relations. Gramsci attempts to prevent this understanding of the role of the intellectual from colliding with either paternalism or philanthropy. He asserts that it is not only the professional who can enable such a relation, but every person, who according to Gramsci, is able to reason and to propose views that can engender such a dialogic relation.[15]

Within model three, the organic intellectual, Holub distinguishes two types—the new intellectual and the critical specialist. The new intellectual, she states, is a technocrat, unaware of how his or her role is related to other aspects of complete systems of relations. Conversely, the critical specialist understands his or her relation to the social systems and to political and economic relations.[16]

In questioning the possible relevance of Gramsci's theories in contemporary society, Holub seizes upon the ideologically educative function of intellectuals and launching of cultural organizations designed to involve socially less advantaged groups.[17] As such, she understands the "structure of feelings"

intellectual as an arbiter of progressive philosophies and as insurgent of struggle for democratic change, as the most tenable model. His or her social role accordingly is to participate in politically productive negotiation while recognizing the artistic potential and intellectual abilities of the people with whom they work. Further, the "structure of feelings" intellectual is charged with the identification of those forces or figures among the liberal intelligentsia whose collaboration can further the cause.[18]

To varying degrees, the practices of Mildred Ryerson, Douglas Cardinal, and Elka and Peter Schumann can be theorized as combining the critical specialist and "structure of feelings" models. For instance Ryerson's work, with its intention (if not its success) to create social change through the transformation of urban women into William Morris inspired "craftspeople," can be aligned with the above conception of the "structure of feelings" intellectual, while her use of artisanal skills places her practice within the domain of the critical specialist. Cardinal's work with the People of Oujé-Bougoumou, as trained and accomplished architect, positioned him to assist technically an already politically organized community articulate their goals. Attendantly, his political and pedagogical predisposition shared the "structure of feelings" of the community's collective activism. The practices of the Schumanns which necessitate teaching large numbers of participants the technical skills to create and perform politicized spectacles functions as form social organizing akin the the critical specialist, while the absence of a single guiding ideology creates an ambivalence

allowing individuals to map out their own process of performing social activism within the "structure of feelings" of Bread and Puppet.

Teaching as a socially motivated project can thus be read as part of the praxis of the organic intellectual. Sassoon elaborates upon this pedagocial function positioning Gramsci's revisions to the meaning and function of intellectuals as prompted by altered social hierarchies that organized capitalism created through a technical division of labour.[19] Sassoon contends that rather than eschewing this division of labour, Gramsci seizes upon it as providing the necessary conditions through which the democratization of society can occur. While social hierarchies based on class are static, technical divisions of labour based upon skills that can be acquired permits movement, Sassoon states:

> Position in a hierarchy and authority and discipline based on the recognition of skill (Gramsci's example is that of the leader of an orchestra) are defined democratically, and those with more advanced skills can be considered representative of the people, *if* the conditions are being created for an organic exchange between specialists and people, leaders and the led, *if* the traditional division between those with power and the rest of society is being overcome, class divisions are being eliminated, politics as control by few over the many is being socialized and therefore transformed.[20]

The strategy of using education as a politically mobilizing force is one of the founding principles of adult education. Educators and theorists such as Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, Stuart Hall, Angela McRobbie, Dian Marino, and Diana Coben all use Gramsci's work to change and politicize education. William's *Culture and Society 1780-1950, The Long Revolution*, and Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*, are remembered by Hall in "Cultural Studies and

its Theoretical Legacies," as being revolutionizing texts responsible, in part, for the founding of British Cultural Studies.[21]

As a pedagogue, Williams is a transitional thinker, educated as a traditional intellectual but committed in his own writing, teaching and adult education to producing socially relevant texts. In *Culture*, Williams develops Gramsci's concepts of hegemony, structure of feelings and the organic intellectual to theorize the role of culture and the cultural producer in organizing society. The ambiguities and absences which characterize traditional thinking on the role of the intellectual troubled Williams, and it was here that Gramsci was of use. Gramsci's thinking on intellectuals opened the framework for thinking about teachers, artists, and cultural producers as social organizers.[22]

For Williams, the importance of intellectuals directly attached to a class, especially a rising class, cannot be isolated or underestimated. The ideas, concepts and specialized concerns of the organic intellectual are both produced and reproduced in the whole social and cultural fabric.[23] Further, these concepts have an active role in shaping institutions, social relations, cultural and religious occasions, ways of work and performance indeed, Williams attests, the entire system of signification and that which is signified. The organic intellectual is thus an organizing agent of culture within a historically determined and specific system.[24]

The work of Peter and Elka Schumann, Ryerson, and Cardinal as activists can be read as attempts to create social change. In differing ways it is possible to

read their maps of political activism in both the spaces and performances of their work. Cardinal works with the people of Oujé-Bougoumou to create a culturally meaningful productive space for their community to become. The goals of the community, of forging a self defined and sovereign political entity, are reflected through his collaboration with them and the architecture that has been created. The Schumanns and Ryerson also have both created spaces for potential activism, with the striking difference being the ability for individuals within each respective community to play out, or perform, activist roles within the places of community. For Ryerson, any activism that challenges her preconceived ideals of how making high quality crafts will restructure society's value system is interpreted as a threat to her authority and thus eschewed. The Schumanns' practice, however, seems to be able to accommodate a greater spectrum of activist strategies, adding to the dynamism of Bread and Puppet, while still keeping the community united under Bread and Puppets' aesthetic and general political vision.

One of the most developed analyses of the organic intellectual within Cultural Studies has been produced by Stuart Hall. Hall has written specifically about the importance and liabilities of Gramsci's concept to the work at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS).[25] In an article published in 1990, "The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities," he discusses the type of engaged theoretical practice which CCCS tried to instill in the students, and proudly relates how the teachers and students

together created a new discipline. Politically-committed theoretical work, he

states, meets both requirements of the organic intellectual: that is, to be at the

forefront of philosophical-theoretical debates, knowing them better than anyone

else does, and to make them relevant and understandable to those outside the

academy.[26]

By 1992, in "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies," Hall would

lament the fact that CCCS never managed to produce any organic intellectuals.

While he felt that the staff and students there were engaged in valuable

theoretical debates, their knowledge was never aligned with any emerging social

movement. Hall indicates that the students were able to think about how their

theoretical knowledge could be made useful to a given political movement, but

that such a movement or social cause did not present itself.[27]

Hall's assertion creates several difficulties. The first is the passivity with

which Hall writes about the problem of student's non-engagement with social

movements. It was contrary to the Centre's own understanding of political

organizations to expect such groups to "present themselves" to graduate

students. Rather, one of the critically important intentions of CCCS was the

ability to locate social movements with which the theoretical knowledge being

generated could be used. Perhaps the difficulty was in the students and teachers

prioritizing theoretical investigations before relationships to social movements

had been formed. If the political engagement of the students existed as an

"organic" condition, then the theory which they were learning at CCCS would

come to be understood as a transferable tool. Theoretical analyses could then be used to assist the goals of a social movement, rather than the students locating a social movement onto which theories were then applied.

At the same time Hall's assertion that CCCS never produced any organic intellectuals needs to be questioned with regard to the feminist scholarship which took place in the 1970s at CCCS. Women were recruited to do work on women's magazines, girls' subcultures, romantic love, girls' comics and the culture of working class women.[28] Hall briefly mentions how feminism "broke" into Cultural Studies and "jumped up on the table," but he does not recognize these women as organic intellectuals.[29] For the female students at CCCS, the desire to have feminist issues discussed within the context of Cultural Studies, and interventions, such as taking over the annual Cultural Studies publications which they renamed "Women Take Issue," sprang from the alignment to, and involvement in women's liberation organizations.

My criticism of Hall's blind spot is not intended as a disavowal of the importance of his own work as an educator, theorist and activist. Indeed, Hall is referred to by the editors of *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* as an organic intellectual.[30] The importance of the concept of the organic intellectual for those academics, artists, and theorists who see themselves as politically engaged is paramount. Edward Said perceives the organic intellectual to be someone who, like Hall, is not afraid to ask difficult or embarrassing questions. He sees the organic intellectual as having a particular public role in society which

is intimately tied to the specificity of an individual's voice, and through this is able to represent, embody, and articulate a message to, as well as for, a public.[31] Further, to be an organic intellectual for Said means that one's whole being is staked on a critical awareness of contemporary power relationships and an ability publicly to confront injustice and abuse.[32]

Michel Foucault has critiqued and expanded upon Gramsci's concept and, in doing so, proposes an alternative theory of the "specific intellectual." He states that the epoch of the "universal intellectual" acting as the spokesperson for the universal and speaking about universal truth and justice has passed and that the very conception of the intellectual as "everyone's conscience" is indeed passé. Instead, the "specific intellectual," similar to the "critical specialist," is enabled by a specialized expertise and knowledge to engage in situated and localized sites of struggle.[33]

Again drawing upon the concept of the "specific intellectual," the technical skills and creative abilities of the Schumanns, Cardinal, and Ryerson can be demonstrated to be critical to the apparatus within which each participates. Indeed, without Cardinal's architectural practice, the Schumanns' combined skills as artists, performers, print makers, and directors, and Ryerson experiences using craft production as occupational and social therapy, their attempts at creating experiences of art making for individuals and communities would be impossible. By working in, with, and for communities of people, they are utilizing their skills for political activism to create social change.

Opponents of the use of the concept of the organic intellectual have criticized it as being utopian and authoritarian. For instance, David Harris in *From Class Struggle to Politics of Pleasure: The Effects of Gramscism on Cultural Studies*, proposes that the use of Gramsci in Cultural Studies has become uncritically automatic. He feels that to be effective politically intellectuals need to acquire the best bourgeois education possible, enabling themselves to break with it decisively, at a later stage.[34] Other theorists such as Tony Bennet in "Putting Policy into Cultural Studies," or Linda Curti, "What's Real and What's Not: Female Fabulations in Cultural Studies," feel that Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual is not applicable to a post-Marxist, post-modern society because of its inability to distinguish the specificities of multiple innovations in cultural technologies. They characterize the use of the organic intellectual in cultural studies as "too automatic a politic" and as the "last bulkward of totalizing theory," respectively.[35] A more developed critique has been offered by Angela McRobbie's, "Post-Marxism and Cultural Studies,".[36] McRobbie is building on the position offered by Ernesto Laclau in *Reflection of the New Revolutions of Our Times*, where he criticizes Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual as authoritarian. McRobbie similarly questions the leadership role of the organic intellectual, and considers the politics of knowledge of who, in the era of post-Marxism, will be leading who, and questions on whose behalf the organic intellectual is working.[37]

Addressing concerns of authoritarianism and leadership within Gramsci's writing, Sassoon reads Gramsci as proposing a democratic relationship between intellectuals and people which is mediated by the various positions or levels that can be obtained through education or training within a web of "intermediate intellectuals," who are organized in a series of democratic, representative relationships. This situation creates the structures needed for the practice of democracy, whereby the more people who become organized within such networks, the greater the the ability of the population to set the political agenda and challenge leadership.[38]

My sense of the organic intellectual is that this exchange and reciprocity of knowledge is critical to the development of a working relationship which is not authoritarian. Even if the role of the organic intellectual as a motivator and organizer is to theorize the experiences of the groups with which he or she is working, in order to demonstrate the commonality of social problems and the need for social action, it is the very experiences of the given group which is the basis for any theoretical analysis and thus the foundation of the relationship. Moreover, people who are experiencing poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, hunger or homelessness do not need a theoretical analysis to explain to them that they are suffering from an injustice. Rather, such analysis can only be useful in organizing effective and targeted resistance to the social mechanisms which create such inequalities.

As such, the spaces of CAF, Oujé-Bougoumou, and Bread and Puppet need leadership which can direct individual experiences of injustice and orient the collective action most likely to be individually affective and socially effective. However, I am not proposing that this leadership be unidirectional or totalitarian but rather, that the processes used create communities of individuals who collaborate and that the spatial and social environments facilitate the contestation of leadership where necessary and productive.

Adult educator Diana Coben, in her book *Radical Heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the Politics of Adult Education* seizes upon the "active and reciprocal" relationship in the transfer of knowledge which Gramsci states as necessary to the concept of the organic intellectual.[39] For her, teacher and student are engaged in a mutual process of learning, in which the hierarchies of traditional education have no place. She draws upon the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire to demonstrate how a politically motivated and committed form of adult education can be guided by Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual. Further, she examines Gramsci's notion of agency through education to produce resistance and his belief that every person should be educated to think, study, and have an effective role in overseeing those who rule through a participative radical democracy.[40]

Gramsci's theories have also been influential for theorists and educators working on critical pedagogical approaches to education and culture. Henry A. Giroux and Roger Simon in "Popular Culture and Critical Pedagogy: Everyday

Life as Basis for Curriculum Knowledge"[41] discuss a type of education, based on the every-day life experiences of the students, which will expand human capacities, enabling people to alter the material and ideological conditions of their existence and play active roles in the construction of their own subjectivities.[42] They contend that to propose a pedagogy is to construct a political vision and define the very term as an effort to influence how and what identities and knowledge are created among and within specific arrangements of social relations. Pedagogy is an act of producing experiences which can organize, or conversely disorganize, understandings of the social world. At the same time it is an open process, focusing upon the ways in which knowledge is produced and aims to recreate the social imagination in the service of human freedom. "Required is an education rooted in a view of human freedom as the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity."[43] For artists and cultural workers, the above sense of critical pedagogy is a useful concept for understanding their production as serving an organizing function. It is essential to the dissertation's consideration of the collective processes of artistic production as participatory social activism to create a theoretical comprehension of both the political and pedagogical attributes of such transformative practices. Henry Giroux, in *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education,* has examined the necessity of creating engaged pedagogical practices within artistic production which analyze critically the working methods and

representation of meaning while also considering how these practices and their effects are implicated in the dynamics of social power.[44]

For Giroux, such a process creates empowerment for individuals and social groups. He defines empowerment as the capacity to think and act critically. He feels that freedom and human abilities of individuals must be developed, while balancing the democracy and overall social benefit.[45] I find the term empowerment to be somewhat problematic. Perhaps because of its current depolitization through over use and corporatization, it has come to be an empty slogan. In my thinking about the role of the cultural worker as an organic intellectual, or radical organic catalyst, I prefer to use the term encourage or encouragement, in its true etymological sense—to give or foster courage.

Conceiving of Cardinal and the Schumanns as critical pedagogues is an apt way to theorize their leadership roles within their collaborative processes. While Ryerson's theoretical approach to teaching crafts and her relationship with the women participants, make it difficult to position her practice as a critical pedagogy, the day-to-day running of the Centre possesses the potential of enacting one. Teaching in this sense, however, is not a hierarchical model where the teacher imparts knowledge and the student passively accepts it as objective truth. Rather, each of the communities participate (to differing degrees) in a dialogue, which in both content and form encourages responses from all participants.

To encourage seems to be a more achievable concept than to empower and, simultaneously, lacks the hierarchy inherent in the idea of the transfer of power from one person to another. Encouragement, as the role of a critical pedagogy suggests working in ways which facilitate learning for individuals, who can engage not only in their own self formation but also develop the skills to take an active role within society. Giroux asks similar questions of a critical pedagogy. How does one come to self-understanding? How does one situate oneself in history? And how do we relate to questions of knowledge and to questions of power?[46]

To answer his questions Giroux introduces the concept of a transformative intellectual. Again, the influence of Gramsci is apparent in the description of the transformative intellectual who is an engaged critic, self-actualized, who realizes the importance of education as a public discourse and is committed to providing students with the tools necessary to become critical citizens. Transformative intellectuals for Giroux are partisans, and while not doctrinaire, they have beliefs and are not afraid to engage in critical inquiry and debate on the basis of those beliefs. Further, they are aware of their own theoretical convictions and are able to translate them into practice, to exercise power, and to shape public life and social relationships.[47]

Much of the above discussion of critical pedagogy and the role of the radical organic catalyst has been developed by feminist teachers, artists and activists. Although largely unacknowledged, feminist theory and practice of the

1960s and 1970s recognized early in its own development the importance of pedagogy which was non-authoritarian and which was based on the life experiences of the students. Educators and artists such as Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro developed complex and comprehensive fine arts programs which encouraged their students to take active roles both in their own development and as social actors.[48]

Following suit from such examples of feminist art activism, David Trend in "Cultural Struggle and Educational Activism," pinpoints the need for positive representations of difference and egalitarianism. Such imagery cannot, however, be totalizing but rather should be the embodiment of a radical democracy or a unifying ethos of decentred authority in which a multitude of social groups produce and disseminate representations which do not necessitate conformity.[49] Here Trend is building upon the work of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe who state, "if the demands of a subordinate group are presented purely as negative demands subversive of a certain order, without being linked to any viable project for the reconstruction of specific areas of society, their capacity to act hegemonically will be excluded from the outset."[50] Thus Trend suggests that the lack of ability to put forward a positive agenda condemns social activists to positions of marginality.[51]

Moreover, Trend emphasizes the need to create coalitions of those peoples who are estranged from power.[52] This notion has assisted in the structuring of my dissertation; the different material and ideological conditions, interests and

issues of the communities of people discussed, provides a way to begin to

consider how people with such seemingly divergent concerns as Aboriginal land

claims, women's poverty, and anti-globalization, (to name just three), are

working through similar methods and how they each could learn from and

support the other.

Trend also details how cultural workers are in an ideal location to perform

such social functions. He notes how traditional Western liberal schooling begins

the process of depersonalization and control by fragmenting knowledge into

categories and units of measurement. At the same time conventional education

removes the links and relationships between different types of learning to the

extent of denying the legitimacy of the student's own desires, knowledges and

cultural heritages.[53] Artists and cultural workers who can critically negotiate,

physically and philosophically, the parametres of such educational systems,

where student participation is voluntary and without direct economic

motivation, can reconnect ways of knowing and link theoretical concerns to

active and relevant practice.[54]

In his book *Cultural Pedagogy: Art/Education/Politics* Trend discusses the

distance people in the United States feel from common rituals and thus from

social and political instrumentality. As citizens lose touch with each other they

become more susceptible to mythological representations of power which place

them "outside" its realm.[55] Trend also devotes a significant amount of his text to

uncovering the economic and institutional factors which impede cultural

workers from functioning as organic intellectuals. He cites the profound reverence for authorship that creates a preoccupation with individual production. He expands on how funding structures through foundations and government agencies often emphasize the achievements of single artists and discourage collaboration. Further, Trend continues, this fetishization of individualistic expression is exacerbated through the market which views cultural production as a high art commodity, most aptly suited for gallery walls or specialized publications. Once this initial identification is made, the public is hard pressed to imagine that art belongs in places outside of the museum or art gallery or that it can play a meaningful role in their lives. Moreover, the cult of expertise within the market enforces divisive hierarchies that allow a few artists to dominate distribution, publication, and exhibition, thus denying access to others. Such competitive values force artists and writers, for the most part, to battle each other for audiences, while promoting an elitist view of culture in which stars dictate to non-stars and power accumulates in the hands of a few.[56] To make matters worse, this same structure of competition has destroyed cooperation among artists and their organizations, making even alternative centres and resources unable to work together fruitfully.[57]

Each of the three case studies offer spaces for the creation and enactment of community. Over and above the specificities of their respective creative processes are the social practices developed and enacted in each place. Social ritual therefore, also becomes part of the apparatus that can create feelings of

affect and the space from which to create further social and political activism. Indeed while it is easy for an individual to feel overwhelmed in the face of hegemony, the communal support enacted at Oujé-Bougoumou, Bread and Puppet and CAF presents the possibility of making resistance seem more plausible.

Institutional systems of competition and the emphasis on the individual also affects how the individual conceptualizes him or herself. To challenge ingrained apathy means tackling the structures which hold political indifference in place. Trend contends that the most dangerous types of indifference are produced by the processes of objectification, rationalization and commodification.[58] The artist as radical organic catalyst then has the challenge of countering objectification where people see themselves and others as unable to alter the course of their own lives. To do so, it is necessary to change the role of involvement in the arts from that of passive spectator to active participant.[59] At the same time this can challenge the widely held belief that personal satisfaction is derived through consumption and that individual freedom is tantamount to the ability to choose between prefabricated products. Rationalism must be countered through regenerating a sense of accountability and responsibility to challenge the status quo.[60]

Taking on the role of the organic intellectual carries with it a large responsibility for the cultural worker. Theorist and artist Dian Marino has discussed one of the roles which the socially active artist can fulfill as assisting

people in gathering up their long personal histories, and sometimes social

histories, of resistance and transformation so they are not so fragmented and

incoherent.[61] However, within this process there is the need for the artist to

construct a critical reflexivity and consciously attempt to avoid the reproduction

of hegemonic patterns in the process and products of creating collective artistic

projects.[62] Marino states...

> Those who want to understand injustice, or be in solidarity with the
> silenced, must learn to listen carefully to the language of silence.
> Silent resistance needs to be transformed into histories of
> resistance. Hidden cracks in our social consent need to be made
> visible. Personal stories and social histories of resistance and
> change, the failures no less than the successes, need to be widely
> shared. Otherwise we are left with the impression that community
> issues and struggles are born out of nothing - or that only
> extraordinary heroic people can get involved and make a
> difference."[63]

Further, she argues the collective process needs to be reflected upon by the

participants themselves. Recognizing the difference between the confusion of an

artistic process while it is process and the decisive forms that can emerge from

such retrospective analysis is perhaps where the most socially critical and

successful work can be done.[64]

Julie Salverson in "The Mask of Solidarity" also cautions the artist who

works with people from marginalized social groups. She discusses a category of

activists which she deems "enablers." Enablers are individuals who see

themselves as "serving" a community rather than belonging to it.[65] However,

enablers are often working on their own issues by attaching themselves to a

group of people who they feel have a more justified source or cause of oppression. Salverson states, "Inside many white/middle class activists is an avoided place, the place of our own experience of being violated. How do activists tend to avoid? Perhaps by staying in the thinking/doing territory where they are comfortable and can somewhat control what they are investigating."[66] To act as such is an act of charity, not solidarity, and the social group in question is rarely fooled by the artists/activist's attempt to hide. As such, organic intellectuals must always be conscious of what the activist setting "echoes" inside of them.[67]

A final theorist whose use of Gramsci's organic intellectual I shall consider is Carol Becker. In "The Artist as Public Intellectual" Becker considers the importance of educating artists in such a way that they will not hesitate to take a stand on social issues in the public arena.[68] She laments the still prevalent image of the artist in contemporary western societies as existing on the fringes as a "wild, needed, visionary, alone, ahead of his time, misunderstood or artist as bohemian - somewhat irresponsible, less than adult, immersed in the pleasure principle."[69] In contrast, she would like to propose an image and a concomitant educational program which would produce artists who are politically concerned citizens of the world, who because of their knowledge, skills, and insight could help determine the future of society.[70] Specifically, she sees some of these skills as being able to raise difficult questions, refusing assimilation and simplistic moral values that reflect present political climate. In this role artists will be seen

as public intellectuals creating art which goes so far into the personal that it broadens its own particularity and touches the world.[1] Again, echoes of Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual as a caring, personally committed individual who knows through feeling, can be heard in Becker's description of the public intellectual.

The theoretical variations upon Gramsci organic intellectual—the radical organic catalyst, transformative intellectual, or public intellectual are useful concepts for considering the political and pedagogical role of leadership within collaborative artistic processes. Ultimately, the leadership and the processes which it creates must function as dialogue, engender feelings of agency for the individual participants, and construct spatial and social structures to encourage communities as a forum for and of cultural democracy—the subject of the next and final chapter of this dissertation.

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[1] Jeanette Winterson, "Newton," *The World and Other Places* (Toronto: Vintage, 2000), p.165.

[2] Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," Richard Kearney and Mara Rainwater, *The Continental Philosophy Reader.* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p.184. Anne Showstack Sassoon in *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics: Beyond Pessimism of the Intellect* points out that this frequently quoted statement by Gramsci is seldom followed by the following example he uses to illustrate what he means: "Thus, because it can happen that everyone at some time fries a couple of eggs or sews up a tear in a jacket, we do not necessarily say that everyone is a cook or a tailor." Sassoon argues that this absence has prevented an understanding of the complexity and importance of Gramsci's thinking on intellectuals—how they come into being as well as their social/political functions. Anne Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics: Beyond Pessimism of the Intellect* (New York and London: Routledge, 2000), p. 16. I shall elaborate upon Sassoon's arguments througout this chapter.

[3] Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," p.184.

[4] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci.* Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith eds., (London:Wishart, 1971). Gramsci wrote the *Prison Notebooks* without access to libraries or other reference books. It is a fragmented body of writing, and is currently located in the Istituto Gramsci in Rome. Some volumes, such as the one noted here have been published as part of a planned eight-volume critical edition of the collected works.

[5] Kearney and Rainwater, *The Continental Philosophy Reader*, p.181.

[6] Sassoon, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics*, p. 17.

[7] ibid, p. 17.

[8] Gramsci, "The Intellectuals," p.187.

[9] ibid, p.186.

[10] ibid, p.188.

[11] Roger Simon, *Gramsci's Political Thought: An Introduction* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982).

[12] ibid.

[13] Renate Holub, *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Post Modernism*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). p.6.

[14] Holub is of the opinion that the second model of intellectual is the most complex and productive Gramscian account of intellectuality. ibid, p.24.

[15] Such intellectuals are also in a position to maintain current hegemony, and in fact may become a conduit through which the views of the dominant political powers are mediated. ibid, pp.24-25.

[16] ibid, p. 25. The critical specialist can be an effective complement to the "structure of feelings" intellectual as I demonstrate through the discussion of the Schumanns, Ryerson, and Cardinal.

[17] ibid, p. 154.

[18] ibid, p.155.

[19] Sassoon, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics*, p.17.

[20] ibid, p.21. My emphasis. Sassoon cites: Antonio Gramsci, *Prision Notebooks* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), p. 318-26.

[21] Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*. (London: Chatlo and Windus, 1961); Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*. (London: Chatlo and Windus, 1957); Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies," David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). pp. 262-276.

[22] Raymond Williams, *Culture*. (London: Fontana, 1981). p.214.

[23] ibid, p.215.

[24] ibid, p.216.

[25] Stuart Hall explains the founding of CCCS as emerging out of a crisis in the humanities in Britain. It was initiated by Richard Hoggart, who, when hired by the Department of Literature at Birmingham, declared that he wanted to put into practice the theories expounded in *The Uses of Literacy*. Hoggart hired Hall as a Research Fellow and together they established the CCCS as an interdisciplinary centre for the study of culture, society and politics. Hall, "The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities," *October*. (Volume 53, 1990), pp. 25-43.

[26] ibid, p. 36.

[27] ibid, p. 41.

[28] Charlotte Brunsdon, "A Thief in the Night: Stories of Feminism in the 1970's at CCCS," (Morley and Chen, *Stuart Hall*, pp. 276-286. Brunsdon notes how more time was spent at CCCS trying to work out what feminist intellectual work would be, and how it related to cultural studies than actual specific research, and that it was a "truth acknowledged" by all women studying at CCCS that no women had ever completed a Ph.D. p.276.

[29] Hall, "Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies," p. 269.

[30] Morley and Chen, *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies.*

[31] Edward Said, *Representation of the Intellectual: the 1993 Reith Lectures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994). p.11.

[32] Said, *Representation of the Intellectual*, p.23.

[33] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, Paul Rabinow ed., (New York: Pantheon, 1984). pp. 67, 70.

[34] David Harris in *From Class Struggle to Politics of Pleasure: The Effects of Gramscism on Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p.55. Here, although perhaps unwittingly, Harris emulates Leon Trosky's approach to culture and education offered in *Literature and Revolution*. Leon Trotsky, *Literature and Revolution* (London: Redwords: 1991).

[35] Tony Bennet, "Putting Policy into Cultural Studies," pp.34-51; Linda Curti, "What's Real and What's Not: Female Fabulations in Cultural Studies," pp.134-154; both published in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992).

[36] Angela McRobbie, "Post-Marxism and Cultural Studies," Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp.719-731.

[37] Ernesto Laclau, *Reflection of the New Revolutions of Our Times* (London and New York: Verso, 1990). The criticism of both McRobbie and Laclau is directed at academic or other "organic" leaders who use the group's interest, rhetorically or in practice, to serve their own purposes.

[38] Sassoon, *Gramsci and Contemporary Politics*, p.22. Here Sassoon positions Gramsci as referring to both intellectual and political leaders.

[39] Diana Coben, *Radical Heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the Politics of Adult Education* (New York and London: Garland Publishers, 1998).

[40] ibid, pp. 136, 165, 182. The term radical democracy will be expanded upon in chapter 4.

[41] Henry A. Giroux and Roger Simon, "Popular Culture and Critical Pedagogy: Everyday Life as Basis for Curriculum Knowledge" Henry Giroux and Peter L. McLaren, eds., *Critical Pedagogy, The State, and Cultural Struggle* (New York: State University of New York, 1989), pp. 236-252.

[42] ibid, p.237.

[43] ibid, p.239.

[44] Henry Giroux in *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), p.2.

[45] ibid, p.11.

[46] ibid, p.11.

[47] ibid, p.15.

[48] For a discussion of the pedagogy of Chicago and Schapiro see: Faith Wilding, "The Feminist Art Program at Fresno and Cal Arts, 1970-1975," Broude and Garrard, eds., *The Power of Feminist Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994).

[49] David Trend in "Cultural Struggle and Educational Activism" in Grant Kester, ed., *Art, Activism and Oppositionality: Essays from After Image* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998), p.172.

[50] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Moufee, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics.* Translated Winston Moore and Paul Cammack (London: Verso 1985), p.189.

[51] Trend, "Cultural Struggle and Educational Activism" p.172.

[52] ibid, p.173.

[53] ibid, p.176.

[54] ibid, p.178.

[55] David Trend, *Cultural Pedagogy: Art/Education/Politics* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1992), p.4.

[56] ibid, p.41.

[57] ibid, p.34.

[58] ibid, p.83.

[59] It is interesting to note that interactive electronic art has focused on "active participation." Yet shows, in my estimation, with the exception of some feminist practitioners, few signs of performing radical critiques.

[60] Trend, *Cultural Pedagogy,.* p.136.

[61] Dian Marino, *Wild Garden: Art, Education and The Culture of Resistance* (Toronto, 1997), p.130.

[62] Dian Marino, *Reframing: A Critical Interpretation Of Collective Production of Popular Educational Materials* (Toronto: Ph.D. Thesis Department of Education, University of Toronto, 1984), p.i.

[63] Marino, *Wild Garden* p. 30.

[64] ibid, p.103.

[65] Julie Salverson, "The Mask of Solidarity" pp. 157-170, in Mady Schutzman and Jan Cohen-Cruz eds., *Playing Boal: Theater, Therapy, Activism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 160.

[66] ibid, p.166.

[67] ibid, p.168.

[68] Carol Becker, "The Artist as Public Intellectual, " Gigi Bradford, Michael Gary, Glenn Wallach, eds. *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspective for Individuals, Institution, and Communities* (New York: The New Press, 2000), p. 246. Becker does not expand upon how this transformation will take place if educational institutions remain under the control of the dominant class.

[69] ibid, p. 239.

[70] ibid, p. 239.

[71] ibid, p. 244.

How shall I live?[1]

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Chapter IV: Creating Cultural Democracy

How shall I live? The question is not rhetorical, but it seems that it is

seldom asked or answered within the discourses of art activism, nor is it

manifest as particularly important to broader contemporary political or artistic

debates. Kenneth L. Ames in "Outside Outsider Art," makes a brave foray in

this direction by asserting, "it is neither quaint nor passé to think that art and

ethics, art and morality, art and spirituality might be linked. While art itself need

not be explicitly ethical, moral, or spiritual, a society's definition of art, its uses of

art, and its hierarchy of arts all provide valuable if often unintended testimony to

its ethics, morality, and spiritual state."[2] I have little use for the so-called "art

world" as long as it is perceived as a discrete entity. My dismissal is not of art

per se, but of a rhetoric that, as Griselda Pollock elucidates, claims all but a "white, masculine, heterosexual" canon "is an unaesthetic aberration: bad art, politics instead of art, partisanship instead of universal values, motivated expression instead of disinterested truth and beauty."[3] Such an approach isolates artistic production from the ethical, moral, and spiritual dimensions— articulated differently the social and political spheres of life. Art can matter in terms of how life is lived.

Art matters if it helps people to participate actively in how their lives are lived. What has been deemed "cultural democracy" by theorists such as Owen Kelly and David Trend, strives to make accessible the means of artistic production in order to allow individuals or groups of people to make their own culture.[4] Understanding why cultural democracy can be part of an apparatus of political change necessarily involves a critique of both capitalism and the existing system of democracy, and in turn these critiques themselves need to be part of the praxis of cultural democracy. Kelly asserts that capitalism is not restricted to a form of economic organization, but hegemonically permeates consciousness, creating the "fragmented, bewildered and defeated" subjectivity of consumers. Here, democracy is understood as the freedom to choose between a limited number of produced-elsewhere products, be they, as in Kelly's example "packets on the supermarket shelves" or political parties of so-called experts who know best how to run a country.[5] In either case participation is limited to consumption. Making art can affect the development of a consciousness that

questions the separation of production and consumption and critiques

commodity fetishism. Kelly states, "if we are concerned...about widening and

deepening democracy, we must insist on access to social input as well as social

control over the state's output."[6]

David Trend aligns cultural democracy with political philosophy of

radical democracy. He locates the current state of public disaffection in the

decline in quality of common discourse, and the deterioration of political debate.[7]

While currently, he contends, people perceive themselves as spectators rather

than participants in the ongoing "drama of democracy," Trend refuses a unitary

forum for citizenship and instead proposes the need for multiple "publics,"

where viewers can become actors.[8]

Terri Lynn Cornwell in *Democracy and the Arts: The Role of Participation*,

discusses the role of participation in each of the varying shades of democracy,

along with a discussion of how participation in concurrent cultural activities can

help develop an individual's feelings of personal effectiveness and self-

confidence in everyday interactions, as well as specific skills transferable to

participation in the political arena.[9] The argument of the participatory theory of

democracy, she contends, is that participation in the alternative areas, such as

cultural production, enable the individual to recognize connections between the

(so-called) "public" and "private" spheres. While the majority of people would

remain locally engaged, the existence of a participatory society would enable

more acute assessments of the performance of representatives at the national

level, better equip people to make decisions of national scope when the opportunity arose to do so, and assess more critically the impact of decisions taken by national representatives on their lives.[10] Participatory societies provide "multiple opportunities" for individuals to act as public citizens, one of which is through cultural production.[11]

Indeed, Cornwell continues, the sphere of artistic production provides the artist— "professional or amateur"—with the ability to think critically and make decisions, thereby reinforcing skills needed for a participatory society.[12] She quotes David Rockefeller Jr.'s study, *Coming to our Senses: The Significance of Arts for American Education,*

> The arts are a function of life itself, and the process of making art—
> both creative and recreative —can give insight to all other areas of
> learning. The arts help people understand themselves in historical,
> cultural, and aesthetic terms; they provide people with broader
> choices about their lives. Since artistic expression is also truly basic
> to the individual's intellectual development, it must be included as
> a component of all education.[13]

Creative production, however, is not only a training ground for political participation, but a "new political space" unto itself. Indeed this "new political space," a concept, originally articulated by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, advocates that the definition of the political be expanded to include (among many) the dynamic domain of cultural practices, thereby giving new vitality to democratic principles.[14] Similarly to what Grossberg theorizes as the affective individual, Laclau and Mouffe (and through them Trend), suggest that radical democracy reconceptualizes citizens as developing multiple intersecting

identities unencumbered by essential notions of modernist subjectivity in response to membership in overlapping groups and participation with political spaces.[15] Mouffe states, "it is not a matter of establishing a mere alliance between given interests but of actually modifying their identity to bring about a new political identity."[16] Trend simultaneously draws attention to critiques of radical democracy that hold that the concentration on identity fails to address the material conditions of people's lives, while its universalizing impulse fails to acknowledge existing social inequities. As such, radical democracy may be an extension of an enlightenment liberalism, with socialist goals, but no program for how it will work or address issues of redisitrubution.[17]

Responding to radical democracy's aporia, Trend contends that cultural democracy offers a greater specificity in how art production can both increase an individual's participation in their own lives and begin to address material and social inequalities.[18] Kelly as well maps out how cultural democracy can function as a radical agent of social and political change.[19] Cultural democracy demands access to the means of cultural production and distribution, as it contends that art making is situated within, and is fed back into, wider social contexts and discourses. As such, the creative processes produce not only pleasure for the participants, but also create knowledge. This knowledge then, becomes part of the subjectivites and shared beliefs of the community.[20] Thus cultural democracy does not claim that art objects are political but that the processes of production are and, when such process are made transparent they

can be politicizing for the producers. Similar to Paulo Freire's concept of conscientization, where the development of a critical consciousness is a dialectical, coming out of a process of critical dialogue and praxis, or action and reflection,[21] in the theory of cultural democracy critical thought is situated in, and understood through, a lived experience of art making. Further, the skills learned and the materials used within the process themselves are congruent with the material conditions of the person or community in question, playing a critical role in sustaining and encouraging the struggle towards competence and agency.[22]

Cultural democracy in praxis also questions democratization of culture—where previously elite-sanctioned high arts are made accessible through educational programming to the "masses," who in turn are persuaded, by watching, to gain an appreciation for the fine arts despite differences in class, race, gender or sexual orientation.[23] In seeking to uncover the motivations and effects behind a centrally controlled and coordinated "high culture," the practice of cultural democracy problematizes the agenda of showing the art of one small group of producers that represents their interests and values, to as many people as possible for their own edification and expansion. Kelly claims this is an oppressive imposition, where a specific way of representing and organizing of experience is exerted by a hegemonic monopoly.[24]

The consumption of art, despite its designated "quality," cannot replace participation in the production of one's own culture. Such participation

increases the likelihood of collective understanding and social agency more than even the most informed consumption, which can only ever create a weak, formally recognized but fragmented understanding.[25] Further, while such works are said to be chosen for their importance, they are gathered and presented by a social elite and present values that are neither neutral nor natural. This imposition disavows the experiences of other societal groups, labeling the practices as hobbies, past-times or popular culture, generating feelings of inferiority while driving the impulse to consume what is constructed as "products of genius."[26]

Arthur C. Danto affirms the limitations of the elite arts to meet the creative needs of the majority of contemporary Western populations. In his article "Museums and the Thirsting Millions" he asserts that the millions of Americans who are "thirsting" for an art of their own will not find what they are looking for in museums.[27] Likewise, Homi K. Bhabha calls for the democratization of artistic production, not as agitprop programs nor utopian promises of the new digital technologies, but based upon a belief that values and knowledge are deeply linked to the matter of cultural practice and that issues of morality and action are wedded to the concept of "good" citizenship.[28]

Critics of the participative use of art making as a forum for cultural democracy, Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, and M. Richard Zinman, in *Democracy & the Arts*, contend that the expectation that the arts can provide a viable alternative to the current governance of laissez-faire capitalism is

productive neither for politics nor the arts.[29] They continue by asserting that the arts are the least qualified avenue for social change and deride the "multiculturalists" who for the sake of "evangelical gestures" are threatening the hard-won achievements of the arts for the sake "tribalist handicrafts."[30]

The need to advocate for cultural democracy in the face of such classist and ethnocentric beliefs is specific to the present situation in Western, late capitalist societies, for as feminist, materialist, postcolonial, and anthropological studies of art's relationship to society demonstrate "art for art's sake" has extremely limited applicability.[31] The democratization of culture, on the other hand, is often the result of public policy. In Canada for instance, Dot Tuer contends, the recommendation of the 1957 Royal Commission on the Arts, the Massey Report, to subsidize the arts formally through the creation of the Canada Council was a way of protecting and promoting national identity.[32] In the United States, Glenn Wallach describes a similar situation. In his introduction to the edited anthology, *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities*, he asserts the definition of culture became imbricated with American nationalism and Cold War foreign policy in the 1950's. At this time, culture, defined as the performing and visual arts, was rhetorically conceptualized as a scarce resource in need of protection from, and a defense against, mass culture, thus providing justification for the creation of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities in 1965.[33]

Without denying the great significance bodies such as the Canadian Council or the NEA have had for the fine arts in Canada and the US, nor the importance of continued state support, it is imperative to problematize the conflation of fine art and culture in order to begin to redress the balance between the democratization of culture and cultural democracy. Indeed, Wallach points out that at the same time as the NEA (and the Canada Council) were being formed, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, (UNESCO) began discussing cultural policy. However, UNESCO defines culture not as the fine arts but as "the distinctive and specific features and ways of thinking and organizing the lives of every individual and every community."[34] Cultural well being was then as important as economic well being and should embrace human development and the promotion of pluralism, as well as the fostering social cohesion and creativity.[35]

These two different definitions of culture resonate with Raymond Williams' dual understanding of culture, proposed in "Culture is Ordinary," as both an entire way of life, and the distinct process of discovery and creative effort.[36] While Williams contends that he is concerned about both types of culture and where they intersect, I question the elitism inherent in the binary opposition that separates the process of creativity from an entire way of life. In both *Culture* and *Keywords* Williams complicates the term "culture". As a noun he relates it to the process of cultivation—of crops, animals, and the human mind. In the late 18th century he contends culture came to be understood to

mean the "spirit which informed the whole way of life" of a group of people.[37] Culture also means a practice and cultural production that is not only reflective of an already constructed social order but is part of its very constitution and a signifying system through which that social order is communicated.[38] Williams is careful to define the difference between 'culture and ideology,' and 'culture as ideology,' stating that one is not reducible to the other as both are produced by sets of complex and real processes.[39] Culture can support an ideology but is itself ideologically laden.

Anthropologist Virgina R. Dominguez in "Invoking Culture: The Messy Side of "Cultural Politics" strengthens William's claim by asserting that any invocation of 'culture" is a strategic social and political intervention. As anthropology is committed to the idea of culture as what people do rather than the more restrictive definition of the fine and performing arts, she demands that the discursive use of the term culture be scrutinized for its attempts at impositions or exclusions as it is, to her, an ideological mechanism for subordination and social control. Further, Dominguez questions the continued use of the term by anti-elitist studies, "Why, when the concept of culture has such an elitist history, would sympathetic anti-elitists contribute to it discursive objectification by trying to argue for the value of other things *in terms of it?*" [40]

Rather than abandoning the term altogether, however, (and while Dominguez claims this is both possible and desirable in anthropology, it presents a far greater difficulty to both art history and cultural studies) it is possible to

disassociate cultural from elitism by reconnecting the seemingly divergent definitions in a program of cultural democracy, where what people do is make art. What then is discursively necessary is the demystification of the art making processes themselves. Art making can be situated as a matrix of activities that in and of themselves are neither exclusionary nor limiting.[41] Additionally, the terms used to describe who makes art, and what this means could be unpacked and thus rendered less mysterious and obscure.

Elucidating art making processes becomes part of cultural democracy and, as Dian Marino demonstrates in both her writing and her activist art practice, resonates with analyses of our lives, reconnecting creative and critical actions and reflections.[42] She continues to advocate the necessity of not depoliticizing the contexts of production and of directing creative momentum towards personal change and social criticism, stating "Flashes of creative integration can also be used as palliatives and distracters to keep people privatized and slightly pleasured."[43] As a process of taking control of how our lives are lived, creative production connects "learning and research, cultural contexts and political economy; people with structures, heads with hands; critical with creative, drawing with discussion," all as methods of contesting the hegemonic patterns of alienation and fragmentation that confound us.[44]

Activist-Curator Mary Jane Jacob also contends that art can matter to peoples lives, and refutes the assumption that art is only a luxury for those who have the time and money to acquire objects. She contends that art is a useful and

necessary part of individual lives regardless of their economic or social

circumstances, and that a non-art-educated public needs to be actively engaged

in art's processes. As a constituent element of the human spirit, art, even in the

most devastating of situations, plays a important role in the survival of culture.[45]

The efforts of cultural democracy then must be organized so that, in

addition to specific affects and material results, the overall effect is increased

competence for the participants and a conscious realization that this competence

has been achieved. For these objectives to be possible, Kelly contends, projects

need to be tied to a larger vision and social critique, serving as concrete examples

of widely applicable ideas.[46] Working collectively with communities, even on

humanitarian grounds with so-called marginalized communities, is not sufficient

justification for the project of cultural democracy. The lack of political

motivation results in a patronizing relationship where participants are treated as

patients who can be helped to overcome their deficiencies through art making,

while doing nothing to challenge the hegemonic systems in which they are

positioned and in which they position themselves.[47]

Cultural democracy asks the question, *how shall I live?* by facilitating the

active and conscious participation of people in their own lives. The provision of

the artistic means of production as a process that connects the social concerns

and material conditions of the participants, while simultaneously connecting

these issues to broader social and political systems implicitly and/or explicitly

critiques the currently conflated systems of capitalism and democracy. The

projects of cultural democracy provide participants with the experiential learning of skills, such as critical thinking and the ability to make decisions while concomitantly engendering knowledge and ways of understanding themselves, their communities, and their cultures in terms of histories, societies and aesthetics. The possibility of the existence of multiple "new political spaces," in which individuals come to form their identities, provides the grounds for the development of politicized consciousness, where the personal is political and the authoritarian mechanism of knowledge, such as the democratization of culture, are problematized. Finally, cultural democracy seeks to reconnect production and consumption and in doing so, demystify creative production and the discourses of art, (re)positioning art making as a constituent element of the human spirit.

II

I now return to the three sites examined throughout the dissertation and consider how, and to what extent, they enact the processes of cultural democracy. Each project is distinct in its stated goals, processes used, and productions. Yet each, to varying degrees, strives towards cultural democracy. In many ways it seems a lofty ambition to analyzse the creative processes undertaken at CAF, Oujé-Bougoumou, and Bread and Puppet as facilitators of the active and conscious participation of people in their own lives, and yet not to do so is to shy away from subjectively evaluating the projects as apparatuses of

social change and thus do a disservice both to the projects, and to the dissertation.

Of the three sites, the collective design project for the community of Oujé-Bougoumou represents the most conscious attempt to involve people in how their lives are lived——addressing the material, social and psychic realms. To do so, the primary means of artistic production provided to the community was a reconnection to the powers of their individual and collective imaginations. By focusing on their current living situations and their desires for a better life and a permanent home, the community created the opportunity to redesign not only their architectural and spatial environments but also their lives. The relevancy of this creative and critical initiative are apparent to the community members each day that they live in Oujé-Bougoumou; the success of the project manifests itself by their continued efforts to become a sovereign nation.

The social and spatial structures of Bread and Puppet provide a place where individuals can actively participate in their lives. Indeed the Theater's integration of political performance with day-to-day life make it virtually impossible not to. The community that gathers becomes active producers not only of puppet theater but of daily essentials such as the food that they eat, creating a conscious recognition of the connection between production and consumption. Further, the breadth of concerns covered within the content of the Bread and Puppet performances also fosters critical participation with the

political sphere and challenges the formulation of critical responses to social issues of local and international interest.

CAF creates still yet another situation. The basis of their mandate (in its various incarnations) is to use the teaching of artisanal skills to improve the quality of women's lives. Whether this is explained using rhetoric borrowed from the Arts and Crafts movement, or justified as a form of personal and social therapy, the core belief reflects the idea that participation in a creative process will facilitate the participant's control over their lives. Although participation in CAF is limited by gender, as it is a centre for women only, there is little that is explicitly feminist about the organization. Further, little attempt is made to connect the creative processes to larger social or political issues, in this respect limiting CAF's structural ability to function as a form of cultural democracy. However, this absence within the formal organization of CAF does not limit agency of the individual women at CAF who use its services as a form of cultural democracy without, or sometimes in spite of, the Centre's effort to provide a social service. Coming together in a collective environment to make art does provide an arena for the women to discusses the material conditions of their lives and their social concerns. Indeed, their efforts to seek out CAF and become a members are an indication of the attempts many are also making to play an active role in their lives.

Of the three case studies, CAF makes available the means of artistic production to the greatest number of people. Participation in the Oujé-

Bougoumou project was based on a shared cultural and historical background, largely circumscribing who the participants were. In contrast the participant's of Bread and Puppet are drawn together by a shared interest despite differing histories, cultures, ethnicities, and locations of origin. However, the rural location of the Theater and its large reliance on volunteers, means participants must be able to support their travel to the theater and have the financial means to work without pay for the period of time they are at Bread and Puppet.⁴⁸ CAF on the other hand, located in a urban environment, presents a flexible opportunity to participate in art making which does not have to detract from other paid pursuits.

The ability of each of the case studies to provide an experiential environment of skill acquisition and critical thinking, while also facilitating the increased knowledge and understanding of the participants about themselves and their communities, histories, cultures and aesthetics is relative to, but not necessarily limited by, the goals of the projects. For example, while CAF provides skills training in artisanal production and, in doing so, ultimately increases the participant's understanding of aesthetics, the processes are not intentionally connected to knowledge seeking about oneself, community, culture or history. Conversely, the project at Oujé-Bougoumou intentionally emphasized the acquisition of knowledge about the participants identities as individuals and as a community and culture with a shared history. The skills that were shared, while not necessarily providing the participants with the

ability to repeat a similar scale project, could enable parallel creative action within in their domestic environments. Further the Anischaaukaamikw, the Cree Cultural Institute will provide opportunities for the members of the community to define and represent their past, while also producing their present culture(s).[49] Bread and Puppet manages to do both, sharing the technical skills involved in creating puppet Theater and a space for greater knowledge and critical understanding to be gained.[50]

I also contend that each of the three case studies posseses the potential of becoming a "new political space." Oujé-Bougoumou and Bread and Puppet are already alternative arenas for the enacting of citizenship. In both places it is a participation of contestation demonstrated not only in the implicit and explicit questioning of the democratization of culture but also of the existing forms of democracy and/or capitalism. This is evidenced by looking at their respective relations to the American and Canadian states. Bread and Puppet, in both rhetoric and practice, is opposed to the existing American form of democracy and capitalism. As such it refuses to apply for any form of state funding. For the Theater to take money from a government whom they are contesting would legitimize the government while ethically undermining their protest, if not, in fact, by the nature of the stipulations with which state funding comes.[51] Instead, Bread and Puppet holds that they should be able to subsidize the Theater and live through money collected at performances and more recently through the sale of posters and banners. The money that comes from performance is largely

through donations, although more formalized ticket prices are sometimes necessitated when Bread and Puppet performs in other institutions in the States and abroad. Their rational is that art, like bread should be cheap, and universally available.

The Oujé-Bougoumou community, while not disavowing capitalism, and indeed trying to make themselves become more fully integrated into the money economy, does fundamentally question the legitimacy of the Canadian and Quebec government's role as legislators of their lives. The current debate in the community as to whether or not to become an official Band under the Indian Act is driven by the desire to foster their autonomy as a sovereign Nation.[52] Further, they consider that their governing processes, such as decision making through community consensus, better embody the principles of democracy than the federal and provincial systems of elected representatives.[53]

CAF, in contrast, appears to be trying to strengthen its financial situation through appeals to all levels of government. Positioning itself as a social service, it (largely unsuccessfully) has applied for grants throughout its history. Unable to generate sufficient operating revenue in this way, CAF relies on private sponsorship, largely from individuals.[54] Their inability to receive funding as a social service is based, in part, on the presence of the Centre's boutique and the policy of paying the women 50 percent of the revenue generated through the sale of their crafts. This presents itself as a conflict because of CAF's non-profit status and has, in the past, also threatened their status as a charitable organization. In

many ways, CAF as an organization might be better off to eschew their efforts to sell the women's production and present itself as a organization primarily for the care and support of "disadvantaged" women, or alternatively realize its potential as an agent of cultural democracy and find ways of operating which politicize its lack of government funding while creating the commitment and affect among its members to generate alternative sources of income.

The extent to which politicization results from participation is currently difficult to determine at CAF. Individual women may experience a greater deal of political agency as a result of participating at CAF, or some may be inspired to become more politically active through informal relationships between themselves and other community members. However, as an organization, the unwillingness to take this project on as part of their mandate frustrates the process, and limits CAF's ability to function as a cultural democracy.

Politicization as a result of participation in Bread and Puppet can be evidenced by the projects and actions taken by the participants both within the Theater and without. For example former Bread and Puppet members are currently centrally involved in organizing performances and participative actions at anti-globalization protests.[55] Others have started small activist Theaters or puppet Theaters of their own.[56] This political response is not always necessarily causal, as some participants who come to Bread and Puppet are already predisposed towards political and arts activism.

The potential for politicization was perhaps greatest in Oujé-Bougoumou's project to design their community collectively, although it is also the location where a politicized momentum is hardest to maintain. As a community, where generations of people have been systematically oppressed, internal-colonization needs to be continuously contested in order to maintain the hope necessary to continue to wage their political battles. The significant material gains of the people of Oujé-Bougoumou are tangible evidence of the first phase of this effort but, as the community is acutely aware, far more needs to be done in order to sustain the community as a new political space of cultural democracy.

Art making at Ouje-Bougoumou as a constituent element of the human spirit is a fundamental part of this process. The resources currently being directed into the creation of the Anischaaukaamikw, the Cultural Center for the nine Cree communities that is being built in Oujé-Bougoumou, is one of the most tangible expressions of this belief. Similarly the community's invitation extended to me to produce a workshop in performance and puppetry for the youth marks their belief that art making can help them to achieve their political goals, while also meeting the needs of individuals. Bread and Puppets nomenclature, their way of making art, of building community and of living attests to the primacy of art making to the human spirit. Despite CAF's plethora of administrative and financial difficulties, the commitment of women to the

Centre, including myself, is based upon the shared belief that art making is a necessity to the human spirit.

III

As part of my own participation within the case studies I organized two performances, the first with six women from CAF and the second with the Youth of Oujé-Bogoumou. I conclude this section of the discussion by sharing my experiences of trying to foster cultural democracy, and by doing so attempt to both deepen my analysis of it and articulate the difficulties I encountered.

The first performance was the result of my participation in a project entitled *Public Art as Social Intervention - But Now I Have To Speak* organized by Montreal artist Devora Neumark and Dr. Loren Lerner through the Fine Arts Faculty at Concordia University.[57] For this project, six artists created works that addressed how public art could be used as a forum for social intervention.[58] The group project sought to explore the ways in which art could be used as a method of dealing with, and moving through, experiences of trauma. My overlapping participation in this project and CAF lead me to recognize a resonance between this mandate and what CAF aimed to do. The use of collaborative creative production as a form of social activism was to me the ultimate goal of an organization such as CAF and yet, as an organization it seemed to be unrealizable in practice. I wanted therefore to use the program of *Public Art as Social Intervention* to help shift the conception of CAF as an organization that

provided a social service, to one that could foster both social action and social change. Rather than this work manifesting itself as one intervention producing a public art work, the project was about the process of working with a community based group over a substantial period. My hope was to set the stage for change within the organization which would continue after the completion of the *But Now I Have To Speak* project and beyond my own involvement. Further, I wanted to find a way of encouraging the women participants to take greater control over the organization and articulate how they felt it should run.

In practical terms, this resulted in my proposing a collaborative performance for the symposium. Such a performance would provide not only the opportunity for the women to present their perspectives on CAF but the process of producing the performance would give them an active role in discussing and analyzing how they saw the organization. The performance itself would also allow them to frame CAF for the staff and Board of Directors, as well as the general public.

The performance was introduced to the women at CAF as being the final part of a six week course in puppetry and performance. The participants would learn how to make simple hand puppets, larger pole puppets and masks, and then would collectively write and produce a performance based on their experiences of CAF. Eight women signed up to take the course, which was given by myself and an assistant.[59] As a group we were coming from different backgrounds and experiences. We ranged in age from 21 to 95 and were a multi-

lingual, multi-ethnic group, with different religious, class, educational, and artistic backgrounds occupying different social strata with various levels (varying daily sometimes) of mental and emotional stability. Together we produced a thirty minute puppet show/performance entitled, *In and Through Ourselves,* or *En Nous et Entre Nous.*

Having the process begin with the production of puppets provided an immediate site where the women could express their individual creativity, while giving us the opportunity to get to know each other as a group. Although we all recognized each other from CAF, our weekly class gave us the time to develop trust in each other as collaborators (Figure: 76). Three weeks into the course, when we began to write the narrative for the performance, we already had a significant commitment to the project.

I structured the writing process by having us collectively develop characters for each of the puppets the women had produced. The characters came out of our very different experiences of being women using CAF, but were projected onto puppets that came to stand for the types of women who needed CAF (Figure: 77). The use of puppetry and masks provides both a safety and a freedom for performers. Through their use, none of the women participating had to stand for what the character was, while concomitantly she—the woman— could speak that which was difficult to say, through the puppet. I then proposed a simple narrative which the women adapted and improvised based

upon how they felt the characters which they had developed would act and interact.

The resultant bilingual performance told the story of six different fictional women who each by their own path had come to belong to CAF. As narrator, I introduced each character while a masked woman from the audience stood up and walked to the stage. As each woman disappeared behind a puppet Theater built to represent CAF, a hand puppet appeared to take her place. The narrator in an monotone voice then began to read the mandate and objectives of the organization. The puppets became more and more agitated as she read, and finally erupted rudely and let the narrator know that she did not have the slightest idea about CAF at all. The puppets then began to state what CAF was for each of them and their voices became louder and louder. They began to argue and disagree about who CAF was for, and what role it played in the community. While this pandemonium increased a large pole puppet in a gray business suit slithered across the stage and hung a bankrupt sign across the proscenium of the puppet Theater. The puppets fell silent. The narrator grasped this opportunity to again invoke the monotonous voice to detail to the audience what the problems with CAF were. While she droned, the puppets worked together to remove the sign from the proscenium, noting that because it was indeed a puppet show all they needed to do was to remove sign for the symbolic narrative transformation to take place. Victorious, their hoorays silence the

narrator, and the performance ended with the puppets themselves trying to work out ways for CAF to remain vital and functioning.

Friends and family of the participants, members of the staff and Board of Directors at CAF, and participants in the *Public Art as Social Transformation* symposium attended the performance. It was well received, and brought words of praise from the Coordinator of CAF, and several Board members. This valorization was extremely satisfying for the women who had made the show.

While our work, courage and creativity was affirmed, I am uncertain as to whether our critique of the hierarchical management of CAF was received, and I cannot claim that any changes have been made to the structure of the organization. However, I do know that it made the women who participated in the project aware of the strength and importance of their views on CAF, while simultaneously giving them a place to express these opinions. The act of performing a theatrical representation of one's values, beliefs, opinions and abilities is not so far away from enacting them on life's stage. Further, as a process, the production of the performance allowed for the expression of individual creativity within a collaborative working method.

When I had a second opportunity to facilitate a workshop on puppetry and performance with the youth of Oujé-Bougoumou in the winter of 2000, I wanted to address some of the limitations of the CAF performance in terms of cultural democracy. My biggest concern centred on the role of my own participation within the projects. At CAF, I felt that my leadership was too

pronounced, making it difficult for the women participants to challenge my vision for the performance. I was also concerned that after the performance, the collective of women who had been working upon the puppet show ceased to have a reason to continue the work they had begun.

From the beginning of the Oujé-Bougoumou performance project I made a conscious effort to convey to the participants that this was to be their project and my role was as a facilitator only. When I arrived in Oujé-Bougoumou I began by setting up a studio space within one of the rooms of the Youth Centre. I had brought with me examples of puppets I had made for other projects, a pair of stilts to use as a model, and dozens of photographs that I had taken the previous summer at Bread and Puppet. I displayed these on the walls of the studio in an attempt to spark the participants imagination and challenge any prior conceptions they might of had about what a puppet was. Before my arrival, members of the Oujé-Bougoumou Youth Council had been promoting the workshop, advertising when and where it would occur.

On the first night of the workshop I began with the making of papier-mâché hand puppets. Rather than providing a formal lesson or demonstration, I worked simultaneously with the participants, explaining what I was doing at each stage in an attempt to teach by doing, rather than by telling. This pedagogical approach was taken in part because I did not want to position myself as a teacher. I also wanted to inspire them to use their imaginations rather than concentrating upon following my directions.

The response of the youth to the initial building phase of the workshop was frantic. In the first evening over twenty people participated, beginning work on twenty-three small hand puppets. (Figures:78, 79, 80). Over the course of the next several weeks these puppets were completed (not always by the people who started them due to some dropping out of participants who were not interested in continuing with the process) and we additionally made a giant four foot moon pole puppet, and a half dozen pairs of stilts. The participants in the Oujé-Bougoumou workshop were Alice Wapachee, Olivia Couchees, Varley Mianscum, all in their early 20's; Bianca Shecapio-BlackSmith, Janie Fawn, Jamie Mianscum, Samatha Iscrhoff, Nikta Shecapio-Blacksmith who were teenagers; Owen Simard, Catjun Coonishish, Albert St Pierre, Adrian Coonishish and Jacquline Dixon who were between the ages of eight and twelve; and a mother and daughter team of Judy and Paulina (age 3) Cooper.

At the beginning of the workshop I told the participants that the puppets we were making could be used to create a puppet performance about their experiences of living in Oujé-Bougoumou if they were interested in creating one.[60] In stating this I wanted to separate the building of the puppets from the idea of creating a performance, at least initially, so as not to intimidate potential participants who wanted to make puppets but who might be uncomfortable with the idea of performing. I also wanted the participants to feel from the beginning that any performance produced was to be by them and for them. The three participants in their early 20's, Alice, Olivia, and Varley, thus took on the role of

organizing the performance. They wrote the narrative, and generated the support from other participants to perform. I participated in all of their rehearsals, helping them to create characters for the puppets, showing them how to manipulate the puppets, and how to transpose the narrative into dialogue for the puppets. By taking a lesser role in organizing the performance, the skills necessary to recreate it were learnt by the participants, enabling them to carry on with similar type projects in my absence.

The resulting performance, *How Rocky Made the Community Care*, written and narrated in Cree, was as follows. (Figure: 81). The narrator, Varley, walks onto the stage behind the giant moon pole puppet, and introduces the performance. Behind a puppet theater, constructed by the participants out of heavy black fabric and held at either corner by participants, the first act begins with Rocky, who is a student, and other puppet-students in a class room setting with their teacher. Rocky is a "problem-child" and disturbs the class with various antics. The teacher, who can no longer maintain his composure, kicks Rocky out of the classroom just as bell rings at the end of the period. All the students file out after him. The second act takes place outside the school, with Rocky and two other puppet-students smoking. They talk about how boring school is, what a dolt their teacher is, and how much they can't wait to get out. They finish their smoke, and Rocky walks home. Upon arriving home in the third act, Rocky finds that his puppet parents are drinking. He tries to sneak past them to the safety of his bedroom, but they see him and a fight arises. The

puppet-parents yell at Rocky about smoking and misbehaving in school. The parents then turn on each other, and Rocky takes this opportunity to sneak back out of the house. His parents, exhausted from their fight, pass out. The Moon Puppet as Narrator then crosses the stage, symbolizing the traveling of the moon across the sky. The fourth act begins with Rocky's parents waking up the next day to discover that Rocky is missing. They panic, and search the house for him. After not being able to find Rocky, they go to their neighbor's house and inquire if Rocky is there. The neighbor tells them that Rocky is not there, but that he will go with them to look for him. This sequence repeats itself three times, until symbolically the whole community is together looking for Rocky. At the last house, they find Rocky with one of his pals. There is general community rejoicing, the parents embrace Rocky, and the performance ends with the narrator asking, "Now that we're all here together, why don't we talk about what has been going on in our community?"

The performance was given for the first time in the Waapihtiiwewan school for the other students, their parents, and other community members. There were plans being made as I left Oujé-Bougoumou to repeat the performance on the following Friday night for those people who had missed it, and talk of trying to tour the show to the other eight Cree communities in the James Bay region. I was much more pleased with the process in this workshop than I had been with the CAF performance, largely because of the way in which I changed my role between the two.

Both performances represented the creation of ordinary culture, in Raymond Williams terms. They were not, nor were they meant to be, fine art or sophisticated performance. They were, however, meant to offer the opportunity to participate in a collaborative artistic endeavour, demystifying artistic production while making accessible the means of artistic expression and potentially providing an effective experience for individual participants. The puppet shows also engaged both sets of participants in thinking critically and creatively about their communities. Further, the specificity of the medium of performance allowed them to speak these concerns to other, non-participant members of their communities.

My own experience, not only within these two puppet performances, but within each of the three case studies has been one of profound affect. They have made me care far more than I ever thought possible about the production of art, and challenged almost every preexisting conception I have had about what art is. My participation in these projects has also made me more critical both of what is deemed high art and of the relationship between artists and non-artist, community based art practice, and the role of a capitalist state within political art activism. Finally (for now), it has also presented a new challenge to me, which is to think about the ramifications of the processes of art making as I have been discussing in this dissertation, in terms of how art history is taught. Thus, as a conclusion to this dissertation, the following section maps a critical pedagogy of art history.

[1] Jeanette Winterson, *Art & Lies* (Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada, 1994), p. 25.

[2] Kenneth L. Ames, "Outside Outsider Art," Michael D. Hall and Eugene W. Metcalf, Jr., eds., *The Artist Outsider: Creativity and the Boundaries of Culture* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), pp. 253-275.

[3] Griselda Pollock, *Differencing the Canon: Feminist Desire and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 12. Pollock's assertion of heterosexuality needs qualification as a great deal of the canon of western art history circulates around the work of homosexual men. However, the compulsory heterosexuality of much modern art history is perhaps more accurately the target of Pollock's criticism. My thanks to Joan Acland for raising this issue.

[4] Owen Kelly, *Community, Art and the State: Storming the Citadels* (London:: Comedia Publishing Group). David Trend, *Cultural Democracy; Politics, Media, New Technology* (New York: SUNY Press, 1997).

[5] Kelly, *Community, Art and the State*, p. 98.

[6] ibid, p. 98.

[7] Trend, *Cultural Democracy*. Trend is referring specifically to the United States in the mid-1990's. Since that time, I believe, there has been a narrow increase in participation in the public sphere, for example the major anti-globalization protests. Canadian public discourse is similar in both these patterns.

[8] ibid, pp. 15-17.

[9] Terri Lynn Cornwell, *Democracy and the Arts: The Role of Participation* (New York: Praeger, 1990)., pp. 12, 50.

[10] Here Cornwell is referring to national leadership elections and referenda.

[11] ibid, p. 28.

[12] ibid, p. 53.

[13] David Rockefeller Jr., *Coming to our Senses: The Significance of Arts for American Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977)., p 248. As quoted in ibid., p. 54.

[14] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (New York and London: Verso, 1985).

[15] ibid, p. 122.

[16] Chantal Mouffe, "Democratic Politics Today," *Dimension of Radical Democracy* (London and New York: Verso, 1991). Grossberg would argue this process occurs because of affect.

[17] Trend, *Cultural Democracy*, p. 186. Here Gramsci as interpreted by Sassoon could be useful.

[18] Trend continues in his book to look at the ways in which technology driven media can create greater cultural democracy.

[19] Kelly does not position himself as proponent of radical democracy, and indeed his book predates the publications that Trend's arguments are relying upon.

[20] Kelly, *Community, Art, and the State*, p. 101.

[21] Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1973), p.19.

[22] Kelly, *Community, Art, and the State*, p. 98. Here I believe Kelly responds more adequately than Trend in addressing existing inequalities. Cultural democracy based upon art making processes that are beyond the economic means of the individual or communities in question fails to provide access to the (literal) means of production.

[23] ibid, p. 99.

[24] ibid, p. 99.

[25] ibid, p. 100.

[26] ibid, pp. 61, 100. Lawrence W. Levine in *High Brow/Low Brow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*, examines the nature of the hierarchy of culture, through an analysis of the transformation of Shakespearean drama in 19th Century America from popular culture to elite culture. He posits that the fine arts are not "cosmic truths" but are rather the result of the way in which our culture operates and the result of ideologies which are themselves always subject to modifications and transformations. Cultural divisions therefore are permeable and shifting rather than fixed and unchanging. Lawrence W. Levine, *High Brow/Low Brow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. (Cambridge mass: Harvard University Press, 1988).

[27] Arthur C. Danto. "Museums and the Thirsting Millions" Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, M. Richard Zinman, eds., *Democracy & the Arts*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999)., p. 62.

[28] Homi K. Bhabha, "Conversational Art" in Mary Jane Jacob, ed., *Conversations at the Castle*, (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1988)., p. 40. Exploring further the "panacea" of digital utopia, while a pressing issue for cultural democracy, is beyond the present of this chapter.

[29] Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, M. Richard Zinman, eds., *Democracy & the Arts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp.5-6.

[30] ibid, p.17.

[31] Feminist, materialist and postcolonial approaches are used extensively throughout this dissertation. For a survey of recent anthropological studies of art see Richard L. Anderson & Karen Field, eds., *Art is Small Scale Societies: Contemporary Readings* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1993). p.446.

[32] Essay: Dot Tuer, "Is It Still Privilege Art? The Politics of Class and Collaboration the Art Practices of Carole Conde and Karl Beveridge," Nina Felshin, *But is it Art: The Spirit of Art as Activism* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1995), p. 202. For an example of the democratization of culture in Canada see: Joyce Zemans, "Establishing the Canon: Nationhood, Identity and the National Gallery's First Reproduction Program of Canadian Art," *Journal of Canadian Art History* (Volume 16, Number 2, 1995).

[33] Glen Wallach, "Introduction," Gigi Bradford, Michael Gary, Glenn Wallach, eds., *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities* (New York: The New York Press, 2000), pp.2-3.

[34] ibid., p.4. Wallach sites: World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico City, 26 July - 6 August 1982, *Final Report* (UNESCO: 1982), pp. 7-8.

[35] ibid, p.4.

[36] Raymond Williams, "Culture is Ordinary," (1959), Gigi Bradford, Michael Gary, Glenn Wallach, eds., *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities* (New York: The New York Press, 2000), p. 17.

[37] Raymond Williams, *Culture* (London: Fontana Press, 1981), p. 10.

[38] ibid, pp.12-15.

[39] ibid, p.29.

[40] Virgina R. Dominguez, 'Invoking Culture: The Messy Side of "Cultural Politics." Gigi Bradford, Michael Gary, Glenn Wallach, eds., *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities* (New York: The New York Press, 2000), pp. 21-22. Also see, Meredith Tax, "Introductory: Culture is not Neutral, Whom Does it Serve," in Lee Banaxdall, ed., *Radical Perspectives in the Art* (Harmondswarth: Penguin, 1972).

[41] Here I am not denying the monetary cost of some forms of art production do necessitate, thus rendering the processes accessible only to those with the financial means necessart for them, I want to rather reclaim creativity and creative processes as anti-elitist pursuits.

[42] Dian Marino, Wild Garden: Art, Education and the Culture of Resistance. (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1997), p. 71.

[43] ibid, p. 73.

[44] ibid, p. 88. For an example of cultural democracy resulting from public debate over public art see: Erika Doss, *Spirit Poles and Flying Pigs: Public Art and Cultural Democracy in American Communities* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995). Doss discusses six public art examples: Barbara Kruger - Mural in Little Tokyo Los Angeles, Gary Rieveschl's abstract sculpture Spirit Poles in Concord California, Claes Oldenburg's Free Stamp Sculpture in Cleveland Ohio, Michael Heizer Effigy Tumuli Sculpture, Ottawa, Illinois, Judy Baca's mural in Guadalupe, California which she states is a "civic success story because of public engagement" Andrew Leicester's Cincinnati Gateway (a.k.a. Flying Pigs) sculpture. The chapter on Baca's mural project with the residence in Guadeloupe California is the most interesting and successful of the six chapters. Also see: Joseph Golden, *Pollyanna in the Brier Patch: The Community Arts Movement* (New York, Syracuse University Press, 1987); Linda Frye Burnham and Steven Durland, eds., *The Citizen Artist: 20 Years of Art in the Public Arena* (New York: Critical Press, 1998).

[45] Mary Jane Jacob, ed., *Conversations at the Castle* (Cambridge: the MIT Press, 1988), p. 17.

[46] Kelly, *Community, Art and The State*, p. 102.

[47] ibid, p.112.

[48] Bread and Puppet does, however, provide more opportunities for participation when they are on tour, thus eliminating the need to travel to Glover. Further, for residents of Glover and the surrounding Vermont communities, participation is possible while also having other paid employment.

[49] Cree Cultural institute Working Group: *Anischaaukaamikw, Cree Cultural Institute - Functional Program* (Unpublished Draft Document, O-B Archives, 1995).

[50] The issue of culture at Bread and Puppet presents an interesting question, combining together with in the US a segment of the American population, who are most likely to be critical of their country and

government, with international participants, who are also likely to be critical of America and Americans. Alas, this tangent will have to wait.

[51] For a discussion of the difficulties of state funding for activist art groups see Kelly, *Community, Art, and The State.*, pp. 102-109, 124-132.

[52] One of the arguments which supports recognition of official Band status in Oujé-Bougoumou and against greater self government of Aboriginal communities across Canada has been articulated by Native women. Their cautioning towards Aboriginal sovereignty stems from their trepidation that self government will allow discrimination against women without the restrictions now afforded to them under the Indian Act, such as Bill C-31 will be diminished. Quebec Native Women incorporated, *Report from the Executive Members.* (Montreal: September 29, 1989). For a discussion of the political battle to instate Bill C-31 which facilitated the reintegration of women (and their children) who had lost their status through marriage see: Janet Silman, *Enough is Enough: Aboriginal Women Speak Out* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987).

[53] Interview Freddy Bosum, January 18, 2000.

[54] I am not at liberty to reveal who the specific donors are, although I can indicate that there is one philanthropist who annually donates a significant proportion of the Centre's budget.

[55] For instance for the most recent protest in Quebec City in April 2001, half a dozen Bread and Puppet participants who were not on the Bread and Puppet Tour of the southern United States, brought dozens of puppets and Flags which they had made, and distributed these to other demonstrates with whom they produced a protest performance.

[56] Activist groups involved in organizing "puppet protesting" at anti-globalization protests are the Insurrection Landscapers and The Combustible Puppet Cabaret. Additionally from August 27-30, 2001 Bread and Puppet will host the Radical Puppetry Festival in which other puppeteers and performance activists will meet and perform in Vermont.

[57] The other artist/organizers were: P.K. Langshaw, Bonnie Baxater, Denise Tanguay, Barbara Crow, Katja Macleod, Cynthia Hammond, Rachel Echenburg, and Elizabeth Saccá (Saccá eventually withdrew her participation.)

[58] The artists who produced work for the project were: Rachel Echenburg, Cynthia Hammond and Katja Macleod, P.K. Langshaw, Devora Neumark, and Caroline Stevens. There were also several satellite projects which took place simultaneously to the symposia. These involved the work of Collete Sparks, Karen Spencer, Lucia Cipriano, Alexandra Daskowski, and Susan Sinkinson.

[59] At the time of writing this chapter some of the women who participated in the project are no longer at CAF and have left no contact address. Thus I have found it impossible to reach them gain their permission to identify them by name. The thoughts and reflections included within are mine alone. The woman who assisted us was Myriam Legault.

[60] The performance's focus on the youth's experience of Oujé-Bougoumou was part of the proposal I made to the Youth Council.

Figure 76: CAF Making a Mask, 1999

Figure 77: CAF Puppets, 1999

Figure 78: Oujé-Bougoumou Puppet, 2000
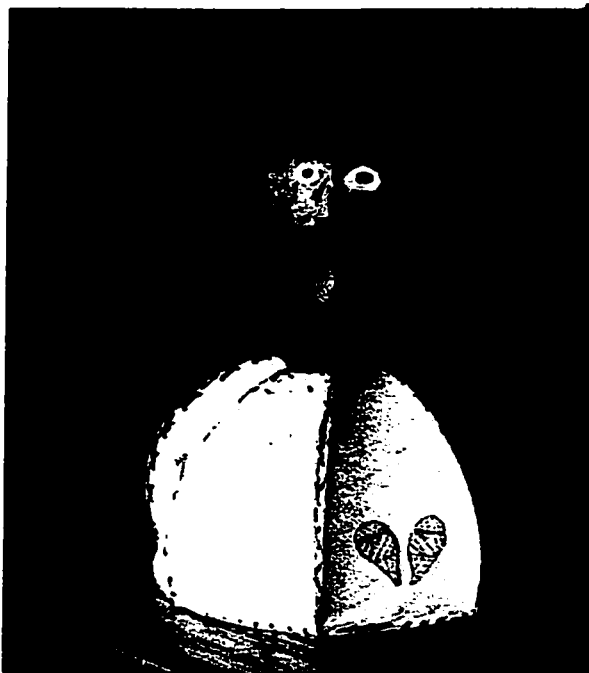
Figure 79: Oujé-Bougoumou Puppet, 2000

Figure 80: Oujé-Bougoumou Puppet,2000

Figure 81: Rocky, 2000

Conclusion: Making Art Matter

When I began my doctorate, I was seeking a way to integrate what I perceived to be my "split" identities as an academic, activist, and educator. To this extent, I wanted to produce a dissertation which itself could serve as an intervention, while investigating if and how art could be social activism. The growing ubiquity of art which claimed to be activism and the concomitant increase in academic and popular discourse of "activist art" raised additional questions that needed to be addressed: Was art capable of achieving the professed goals of political change? Given the hegemony of global capitalism, was it possible for cultural activist to make meaning that could withstand depolitization, co-optation, and simulation? Moreover, what role did art history have in documenting, analyzing and critiquing art activism?

Addressing these issues compelled a situated and reflective critical

analysis of art(s) activism, which questioned whether and how projects which

claimed to be working for political and social change enacted creative processes

which were themselves progressive and transformative. Such research

warranted a shift in the focus of the investigation from attempting to document

art activism's effects on a given audience, to questioning of the efficacy of activist

art through the affective experiences of its producers. The dissertation therefore

sought to address how participation within collaborative art production could

construct "mattering maps" where individual transformation and political

change were linked by the processes of making meaning.

The three sites discussed—Oujé-Bougoumou, Bread and Puppet, and Le

Centre Artisanal des Femmes—all use collective creative production as a form of

political activism. At each site, the creative processes enacted by the participants

are connected to mandates for political and social change, performing radical

critiques of the present forms of liberal capitalist democracy. Socially, they

address the material conditions of people who are marginalized within current

political/economic structures while simultaneously using art making to change

their lived realities, constructing alternative societal possibilities, instilling a

sense of personal competency, and transforming individual identities.

The research for this dissertation mandated a combined program of

archival and participant research that closely examined the creative and

cognitive processes of collaborative art activism. Writing about the creative

processes utilized at each site called for the construction of a new model of art history that could narrate collective production without removing the agency of individuals. In doing so, the specificity of activist interventions in each of the examples could be analyzed, and the of processes of creative production concomitantly theorized, demonstrating how art making can matter as a form of social activism.

Throughout the dissertation I have theorized the processes of art making as engendering the becoming of subjectivity necessary for social change. Invoking a locational feminism, I contend that a situational conception of identity, as formed in response to membership and participation within projects of art activism, subverts modernist appeals to an essential humanistic subject, while maintaining the possibility of agency. Collaborative art projects can serve as an apparatus for political action and provide a place to begin to theorize how individual identities and social change are imbricated processes.

Political activism is a process of becoming rather than an already achieved state. Understanding its motivations, intentions and effects means questioning personal desire, local initiative and human inventiveness.[1] I therefore began my analysis by considering how communities function spatially and experientially to construct the identity of participants and the reciprocity between creative processes and community structures. Creating community then too can be read as a political act, necessary to positioning art making as an apparatus of social

activism. Further, it highlights that activism is grounded in a location and articulated through communities.

Central to my argument has been a detailed examination of the collaborative process practiced at each of the three sites. Processes of art making are political, and an analysis of collective production facilitates understanding of the potential capability and limitations of the projects to bring about participation and create social change through the producers. Moreover, detailing the collaborative process also demystifies art making, elucidating it as a complex social and political interaction. Detailing collaboration furthermore challenges claims to the political transcendence of art and the mythic status of the artist as hero/genius, by situating the both art production and activism as collective endeavours.

Constructing an art history which privileges collaboration requires a particular type of cultural agent who performs a socially motivated praxis. Artists as "organic intellectuals," inspired by their desire to create social change can facilitate transformative pedagogical practices within communities. Maude Barlow and Tony Clark, in *Global Showdown: How the New Activists Are Fighting Global Corporate*, speculate civil society politics are the politics of the twenty-first century, and that the importance of the non-profit sector of contemporary society is akin to the historical development of the nation state at the end of the nineteenth century.[2] Constitutive of this activist potentiality is social organization based not on authoritarian leadership, but on organic associations

of individuals in multiply situated communities. Artists working collaboratively are positioned to encourage and support the agency of such groups and the individuals within them.

Cultural democracy as a form of political activism, where making accessible the means of artistic production facilitates the creation of culture and meaning by individuals and communities, is a potent antidote to growing economic globalization and its attendant cultural hegemony.[3] Indeed, the variance between the examples discussed in this dissertation is indicative of my desire not to position any one example of creative production as a model to be replicated, but rather highlights the multiplicity of possibilities which exist for using art as a form of social activism. It is also a recognition that "art" matters when it is meaningful to individuals, when it is socially and politically relevant, when it activates human agency and demonstrates their ability to become political actors.

Finally, this work has raised questions with regards to a critical pedagogy in art history and my own future praxis as a teacher, art historian and activist: How can processes of education echo the three examples of collaborative art making discussed in the dissertation? How can art matter to students in ways which encourage their agency, competency, critical skills, and encourage them to participate in the political and social structures which govern how their lives are lived? And how can the teaching of art history provide an affective transformation for students and teachers.?

Provisionally I would begin to answer these question by addressing both the content and form of the discipline of art history. The subject of a "transformative" art history needs to address the complex social and political processes of making art throughout history. Within such an approach, the "worship" of artists becomes antithetical to the goals of education, as do analyses of art objects isolated from the conditions of their production, consumption and reception.[4] Moreover, attending to the production of art history itself as a motivated practice serves to position students as critical thinkers with the skills to connect art production to social, economic and political forces.

Comparable to the emphasis on subjectivity within the dissertation, situated knowledge is indispensable for a critical pedagogy in art history. Knowing through one's subjective experience, rather than the accumulation of "rational" or "objective truths," increases the sense of agency for students as producers of knowledge, while also providing the theoretical foundation for critically redressing history. Educator Parker J. Palmer stresses the importance of subjectivity, writing: "The academic bias against subjectivity not only forces students to write poorly ('It is believed...,' instead of 'I believe...') but also deforms their thinking about themselves and their world. In a single stroke, we delude our students into thinking that bad prose can turn opinions into facts, and we alienate them from their own lives."[5] Instead, by adjoining the subject

material to student's subjectivies, it is possible to bring about agency, where students can formulate opinions, theorize and learn dialogically.

Creating education which can affect students' subjectivities also obliges the address of how one teaches. Similar to the importance of the processes of collective art production, education can be approached as a collaboration. How art history is taught and the relationships created within the "community of the classroom" impact upon both students and teachers. Martin Buber's approach to human relations, "I and Thou," is an apt model for a collaborative pedagogy. Buber contends that mutual respect and dignity among all humans is signified through the "I—Thou" relation, where each individual's intense personal world of meaning becomes the basis for subjective relations of empathy and the sharing of knowledge.[6] The teaching of art history can be constructed as collaboration produced by processes of dialogue, exchange and engagement. Within such a critical pedagogy of art history, the process of education itself can be shown to be political, and student participation extended to self-reflective critiques of education as a social and political structure, while encouraging them to take an active role in their own learning within and beyond art history.

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[1] Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn, eds., *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 1997), p. 8

[2] Maude Barlow and Tony Clark, *Global Showdown: How the New Activists Are Fighting Global Corporate Rule* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing 2001), pp.3-5.

[3] Naomi Klein, *NO LOGO: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (Toronto: Vintage, 2000).

[4] Unlike my focus in the dissertation which was necessarily limited to production, issues of reception are of critical.

[5] Parker J. Palmer, *The Courage to Teach: Exploring the Inner Landscape of a Teacher's Life* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1998), p. 18.

[6] Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Charles Scribenr's Press, 1958).

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