Movement + Apparatus A Cultural Policy Study of Artist-Run Culture in Canada (1976 - 1994)

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Abstract

Movement + Apparatus: A cultural policy study of artist-run culture in Canada (1976-1994)

Clive Robertson, Ph.D. Concordia University, 2004

The terrain of artist-run culture in Canada and Québec discursively fabricates a network of artist-run production, presentation and distribution centres and collectives in the visual and media arts. Organized 'at a distance' from the state, this field of activity has been represented through depiction and delegation by national and regional representative associations and a significant body of theoretical and historical literature.

This study reads cultural studies and social movement theory to examine how this self-governing network and movement of cultural production interacted with and created its own policy apparatuses. The artist-run centre movement announces itself approximately at a mid-point in Canadian cultural policy development which spans fifty years from 1944-1994. The twenty-five year period covered by this thesis thus intersects with a substantial portion of Canadian cultural policy history. This thesis argues that the artist-run movement, in effect, advocated for and produced a hybrid model of aesthetic and social organization. I will further argue that in engaging with the state and its agencies, artists and artist organizations problematized the rights and responsibilities of cultural work and citizenship within a governmental framework.

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Introduction

Research Problematic:

This thesis constructs a history of the self-governance and policy engagements of an artist-run culture within an artist run centre movement in Canada. At first an organic network of artists visual and media arts cooperatives and collectives, emerging under various counter-establishment and countercultural signs, artist-run centres coalesced in the late seventies into a formalized apparatus to take up national forms of representation through a national service organization. The result was ANNPAC/RACA (Association of National Non-Profit Artist-Run Centres/Regroupement d'artistes des centres alternatif) and its bi-lingual publication Parallélogramme.

As I document, artist-run centres as a movement in Canada arise from two concerns: the first, from a transnational generational critique of contemporary social and economic forms of art (museums, art magazines, art educational programs, forms of patronage, etc.); and the second, from self-governance aspirations stimulated through new federal opportunities such as community-defined project employment programs and new arts funding.

The artist-run centre movement announces itself approximately at a mid-point of Canadian cultural policy development which spans fifty years from 1944-1994. This twenty-five year period of the thesis thus intersects with a

substantial portion of Canadian cultural policy history. I will argue that the artist-run centre movement in effect advocated and produced a hybrid model of aesthetic and social organization. I argue that in engaging with the state and its agencies, it problematized the rights and responsibilities of cultural work and citizenship within a governmental framework. This conjuncture can be identified by its critical reflections upon governmental practices in and across the field. These reflections, explicitly and implicitly included the following: the logics of traditional art institutional expertise, relevance and accountability; the scope and extent of artists' responsibilities; and finally, contemporary experiences and social uses of art emanating from other fields within a cultural politics of identity and difference.

Artist-run centres are multiply-coded and constructed as intermedia spaces for production and display practices, as material sites, and as loci for cultural and community activities. An organizing imperative resulted in artists collectives becoming policy actors engaged in processes of cultural reform that variously were encouraged, welcomed, denied and challenged. Temporarily displacing the traditional roles of curators and critics and acting as "cultural technicians" (Bennett, 1992: 83) across numerous promises of arts and cultural policy, 'common' strategies were proposed and realized around and within the fluctuating poles of social activism or entrepreneurship.

This thesis explores the internal tensions of confronting and being confronted by changing models and goals of self-governance within the movement; it looks as well at the external tensions from the institutional rationalities and expectations of the state, its agencies and other artistrun centres themselves. This is not just a tension between alternative and mainstream organizations, but a question of the creation of fractured subjectivities within the movement and its emerging apparatuses. For example, participants in the artist-run centres were expected to be good administrators, artists, workers, and democrats. In other words, artist-run centres were being confronted by the rationalities that such artist actors helped to structure. Further to this idea, what the artist-run centre has in common with museums and arts councils, are fluid ideal versions of itself; however, there is an important difference. Artists within this formation self-question their social and economic status, which informs the ethos of the organizations they construct for themselves and thereafter reflect upon. Whether it is an effect of policy paradoxes across sites of belonging - community to nation - or the enabling and disabling work of a representational politics that helps define this formation, much of ANNPAC/RACA's history is taken up with the named project of 'restructuring.' And it is in the identifying principles in documents of incorporation and mandates of such artist-run organizations where one can see the instantiation of 'the

norms of universal representativity' (ibid.: 79), which in turn then makes possible subsequent demands for representational parity.

This thesis therefore examines how the representational politics of policy and administration produce a dual identity for artist-run culture as both movement and apparatus. It is the explication of this dynamic and desire — to be both a fluid movement and a lasting apparatus — that this thesis explores. As such, artist-run centres, as both organic and bureaucratic entities, allows one to consider the usefulness of what in governmentality studies has been identified as 'technologies of power' and 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1978). Thus, this thesis posits what changed relationships do artists have with art museums, public galleries and artist run-centres as places and apparatuses to work in and to work for? This history, by and large, has not been taken up in the Foucauldian-inspired museum studies literature.

Identifying and accounting for the limits of the policy ambitions necessitates a recognition of the asymmetrical conditions within ANNPAC/RACA's constituency, conditions that troubled the possibilities for policy consensus and constrained the possibility for maintaining a national network. Such asymmetries range from an uneven development and stability of regional public funding bodies and programs, to the differing stakes and experiences of a lived politics around issues of nation, region, gender, sexual orientation

and race. ANNPAC/RACA, and Parallélogramme in particular, attempted to create an inter-discursive space for informed debates. According to its editors, Parallélogramme was consciously maintained as a publication 'of record.' Thus far a history of its interventions and effects has not been constructed or analyzed. The focus of the research for this thesis, then, is on the necessary contradictions of projects identified and paths taken.

This contemporary manifestation of a national network of community-based artist-run centres came to rework what had 'failed' in the larger social projects often associated with "re-construction" nation-building initiatives of the 1940's and 1950's. An earlier example of this impulse was the decentralized community arts centre movement of the 1940's in England and Canada. In the contemporary artist-run centre formation of the 1970's, artists again became implicated and interested in "democratizing and decentralizing" the power over their own practices of production. In part, this was because their numbers, education and approaches to practice necessitated facility expansion and reconsideration. From this particular moment of shared purpose with official Canadian state policies of 'useful work' (borrowed from the Gaullist cultural policies of André Malraux), I will arque that the artist-run centre movement instantiated what can be understood as new "technologies of governance," borrowing from Toby Miller's revisions of Foucault, in which the goals of the artist, as citizen, as worker, as social activist

became intrinsic to the aesthetic realm. The movement's characteristics are formed not only through different types of identity formations but through other movement strategies of reform and legal mobilization around censorship, status of the artist, and cultural equity.

This thesis, therefore, not only recognizes Foucault's influence upon museum studies, but also utilizes and contributes to Raymond William's sociology of culture work. Williams theorized distinctions between institutions and forms of self-organization, between "the variable relations between 'cultural producers' and recognizable social institutions...[and] the variable relations in which 'cultural producers' have been organized or have organized themselves, their formations" (R. Williams, 1981: 57). These discussions took place on the pages of Paralléllogramme. Because the politics within the field exhibits the presence and absence of more general organizational and individual activisms; questions of power and everyday life that offer clarifications of the "distinctions between empowerment, struggle, resistance and opposition" become productive (Grossberg, 1992).

The thesis is guided by a primary concern with three interrelated theoretical areas: governmentality; the policy 'push' within cultural studies and its relevance for debates on the Canadian state; and social movement and citizenship theory. These are explored throughout five chapters that are linked together in loose chronological fashion. Each

chapter examines one specific 'problem space' (Allor, 1984) in which the tension between principles, policies and practices of governance can be highlighted, to reveal the complexity of these strategic negotiations of power. Each of these is analyzed as key moments in the conjuncture.

This thesis asks the following questions: In what ways can the work that artist-run centres undertook be considered as a social movement and as an apparatus of culture? How did the representative politics of the artist-run centre movement meet or fail the promises of cultural democracy and cultural equity? What strategies were adopted to resist or conform to the pull, and the logics and mechanisms of traditional arts management?

Theoretical Engagements:

a) Governmentality and Cultural Policy Studies

I am reading Foucault's theory of governmentality — questions posed around the construction and management of subjects and populations by types of power within an administrative state — through the 'policy turn' in cultural studies known as cultural policy studies for three reasons. Firstly, because developments of Foucault's theory of governmentality have been productive of descriptions of the "morphology of the citizen" whereby understandings of culture and policy results in the recognition that "cultural policy becomes a site at which the subject is produced" (Miller, 1993:2). Secondly, in its project to transform institutional logics, cultural policy studies re-initiates a debate "that

contrasts 'administrative' research with 'critical' research to bridge the gulf between critique and practicality"

(McGuigan, 1996:19). And thirdly, because of Foucault's particularly impersonal view of agency, because of his explicit emphasis on the bureaucratic state in modern life, cultural policy studies reads Foucault and re-reads Raymond William's concept of culture as "a whole way of life" to produce a logic of culture as the product of various governmentalizations — understanding culture as itself an object of administration (Sterne, 2003).

Where my project limits itself to better understanding the interactive logics of policy between the artist-run centre and arts funding apparatuses and their technologies of power, I am hesitant of theoretical guarantees for an adequate reception of criticism or policy interventions by neo-liberal forms of government. This is not to doubt the continued possibilities for specific participatory policy development or consultancy, etc., with state agencies. It is to recognize the bureaucratic function of politics: one that prizes efficiency and function as a norm. What links the work of, say, representative artist organizations with cultural policy studies readings of Foucault is suggested again by Sterne who writes, "Bureaucratic values are clearly consonant with the administrative apparatus; they do not in and of themselves provide an oppositional stance from which to approach policy-making organizations" (ibid.) .

Finally, the question Sterne (following Morris, 1992) puts to confining a discussion of politics to Foucault's governmentality is one of political representation:

For whom does cultural policy studies take its stand in the policy field?...Cultural policy studies work, by refusing to address the question of representation directly, ultimately cannot justify its position vis-àvis any group it purports to represent. (Sterne, 2003)

For my work this does not result in a rejection of the 'turn to policy' within cultural studies; on the contrary, accepting its arguments if not its axioms, it recognizes shared interrogations of the limits of general theoretical claims made for a practical politics.

b) Representation, social movements, citizenship

There are a number of similar definitions of the term 'representation' with a theory of representation necessarily pointing "on the one-hand, to the domain of ideology, meaning and subjectivity, and on the other hand to the domain of politics, the state and the law" (Grossberg and Nelson, 1988). Stephen Heath refers to three types of representation: the image, the argument and the deputy suggesting that the first two of these conventionally combine in the third form, that of the plenipotentiary or ambassador of the people (Heath quoted in Miller, 1992: 226).

Feminist, queer and postcolonial discourses assisted in calling for, to use Heath's term: an 'ethics of difference' requiring a repositioning of dominant forces to account for sameness and difference. Across disciplinary literatures,

frequent references have been made to Gaytari Chakravorty
Spivak's intervention, "Can the subaltern speak?" which revisited Marx's The Eighteenth Brumaire. Spivak addresses
representation as "speaking for" as in politics, and
representation as "re-presentation" as in art and philosophy
and of the significant contrast between "a proxy and a
portrait" and "identity-indifference as a place of practice"
(Spivak, 1988).

Following Spivak, Alastair Bonnett in his book

Radicalism, Anti-Racism and Representation (1993) names representation as interpretation and "'speaking for' the desires of somebody or something else as a not very convincing form of ventriloquism" (Bonnett, 1993: 13). He suggests that to 'speak for' requires having already found meaning and in doing so performing an act of interpretation.

Bonnett writes that this implies that a re-presentation is prior to a "speaking for" (ibid.).

In addressing an accounting of representative politics within cultural policy studies, Jonathan Sterne references and develops Pierre Bourdieu's argument that representative democracies operate through a "logic of transubstantiation." Since an entire group cannot act within the political field, it designates a spokesperson. An agent with access to the political field, in Bourdieu's words can also "create the group that creates him [sic]." Sterne concludes:

If enough people identify with the speaker (and not necessarily what is being said in their names) or simply fail to refute the speaker then that speaker can operate as though he or she was speaking for the entire group.

Even when clearly acting in their self-interest, agents within the political field must present themselves as though they were acting in the interests if the groups they purport to represent." (emphasis original) (Sterne, 2003: 125)

J. M. Barbalet's Citizenship (1988), a history of theories and rights of modern citizenship and the interventions of social movements has been useful to read in conjunction with Toby Miller's The Well-Tempered Self: Citizenship, Culture and the Postmodern Subject (1992). In particular Barbalet maps tensions between consequences of popular pressure and class (or state) requirements for security. His chapter on the relationship between social movements and citizenship argues that

social movements at best provide no more than the preconditions for an increased participation in citizenship through change in the culturally perceived criteria of social membership...[T]he creation of new elements of citizenship, such as political or social rights, is in practice realized through a set of processes which cannot be reduced to a redefinition of social membership but must also include... political, bureaucratic, administrative and legal practices which may be at best only remotely associated with social movement. (Barbalet, 1988: 103)

Toby Miller's argument for the limits of social movement politics are in its demands that

cannot be encompassed, either definitionally or administratively, inside the norms of democratic theory, because they do not aim to control state power. And the very existence emerged from the exercise of bio-power by the state in the first place. (Miller 1993: 228)

While accepting a critique of thinking about social space in narrow institutional terms as in separately defined categories such as industry, the state, civil society, etc., there are other articulations of social and political theory

that offer historical descriptions and analysis that intersect policy and citizenship. The edited collection: A different kind of State? Popular Power and Democratic Adminstration (Albo, Langille, and Panitch, 1993) nominally reflects on the successes of neo-conservatism in the "marketization of the state" in the Eighties. Its attentions to social movements and the state was particularly useful in its analysis of the relationships between social movements and their bodies and the location of different goals between movements and their apparatuses. These studies include definitions of the common features of a social movement.

Methods: Epistemologial Issues:

Foucault and Cultural Studies

Any theoretical 'approach' in its definitional sense of a 'tentative proposal' suggests certain paths and authorizations for work that can be done. Toby Miller outlines a commonality of concerns between cultural studies, social movement politics and the work of Michel Foucault:

Within cultural studies one hopes there is something about power and subjectivity and connectedness to social movement politics that maps out the enterprise, at least rhetorically. Those are concepts that compel Foucault, that are there throughout genealogy, archeology, discourse any of these other concepts that get applied to answer how is the world constituted through power relations, how are persons made up, and how is space occupied. (Miller interviewed with Grossberg by Packer, 2003: 28)

Following Miller's suggestion for reading Foucault in the context of cultural studies as an approach, this thesis works across disciplinary biases and boundaries within the field of

administrative and critical policy studies in Canada. It pulls in literatures that are seen to be separate and isolated from each other historically and theoretically. This project is challenged and supported by particular insistencies that are locatable within a cultural studies approach where

theory and analysis are always hybrid and strategic...[where] theory is "cheap" in the sense that you use whatever works, whatever gives you a better understanding to open up new possibilities...without knowing ahead of time what resources will work." (Grossberg, 1997: 291)

A cultural studies approach then is about finding theoretical and methodological resources that allow you to redescribe the context that has posed a political challenge.

With a cultural studies approach that is relevant to the politics of my thesis I will consider three interrelated theoretical terms: articulation, discourse and apparatus that are integral to my method:

a) articulation

Lawrence Grossberg writes that elaborations within the field of cultural studies of Gramsci's concept of articulation (by among others Stuart Hall and Ernesto Laclau) "provides a useful starting point for describing the process of forging connections between practices and effects, as well as enabling practices to have different, often unpredicted effects" (Grossberg, 1992: 54). Within a discussion of articulation and culture, Grossberg usefully provides a definition of a practice:

A practice is a mode by which effects are produced and reality transformed. Its origin whether biographical (in the intentions of the actor) or social (in the economic relations of its existence) is to a large extent irrelevant. Thus, what is important in history is what practices are available, how they are deployed or taken up and how they transform the world. It is not merely a question of what, in any instance, people do in fact do, but of the possibilities available to them: of the means available for transforming reality, as well as those taken up. (Grossberg, 1992:51)

Relatedly, Jennifer Daryl Slack's writes that cultural studies works with a conception of method as 'practice' suggesting that such an orchestration of research incorporates both techniques to be used as resources as well as the activity of practising or 'trying out.' Slack's essay on articulation as theory, method, epistemology - and the uses of articulation politically and strategically - insists that a cultural studies understanding of theory and method develops in relation to changing epistemological conditions, political conditions, and their guidance for strategic intervention (Slack, 1996). In reference to further statements made by both Grossberg and Slack, as a practice my thesis attempts to theoretically and historically reconstruct the context of the artist-run centre movement and in doing so pays attention to specific articulations of gender, race, community, policy, economy and the politics of institutionalization in a specific historical conjuncture.

b) discourse

This thesis incorporates a number of broader issues that
Michèlle Barrett describes as being necessary to 'get the
measure' of Michel Foucault's concept of discourse (Barrett,

1991). As a method to ascertain the regulated maps of meaning for identifying discourses of artist self-determination (i.e. 'artist-run') or cultural citizenship — including the rationalities of arts funding — in this conjuncture my study examines:

the statements which give us knowledge; the rules which prescribe the 'sayable' or the 'thinkable;' the subjects who personify the discourses; the processes by which such discourses acquire authority and truth at a given historical moment; and the practices within institutions which deal with these matters; and the idea that different discourses will appear at later historical moments, producing new knowledge and a new discursive formation. (Barker, 2000:78)

c) apparatuses

My understanding of the questions that can be put to apparatuses comes from Grossberg's descriptions of Foucault's notion of apparatuses that describe a particular sort of structured context, one which actively produces and organizes the larger context in which it is deployed. An apparatus can bring together various 'regimes' of practices — particular technologies or 'programmings of behaviour.' Grossberg writes that Foucault identifies two forms of such regimes, each of which includes discursive and non-discoursive practices. Regimes of jurisdiction prescribe what can be done: procedures and strategies. Regimes of veridication provide reasons and principles justifying these ways of doing things by producing 'true discourses.' Grossberg's concise definition of an apparatus is the following:

An apparatus is an active formation which operates as a machine of power, organizing behaviour by structuring economies of value, systems of social identification and

belonging, and their relations. Not every formation is an apparatus in these terms; specific formations have to rearticulated and deployed in specific ways around particular struggles if they are to operate, strategically, as an apparatus. (Grossberg, 1992: 102)

Grossberg further suggests that aside from simply using these regimes of practices to determine what 'programmings' are 'in play,' this concept of an apparatus suggests a need to analyse what 'true discourses' are produced and where, and what is the political history of such truths. I further recognize my project and its commitments in Grossberg's suggestion that the work of articulation involves (re)constructing the network of relationships including,

real historical individuals and groups, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously or unintentionally, sometimes by their activity, sometimes by their inactivity, sometimes victoriously, sometimes with disastrous consequences, and sometimes with no visible results. (Grossberg, 1992: 54)

Methodological Considerations: the specifics

This thesis is predicated on historical research, consisting of primary documents (such as minutes of meetings, policy statements, conference proceedings, funding applications, etc.) culled from various archives. It takes up a Foucauldian notion of both the process of archive building and conducts a discursive analysis of these materials as "traces of practices, the accomplishment of projects" (Allor and Gagnon, 1994:35). It allows for Stuart Hall's sense of a 'living archive,' operating in and through the stakes — the investments which it creates. "Archiving in this context is a

practice which both has its limits and disciplines yet has no definitive sense of origin, boundary or termination" (Hall, 2001: 91). Incorporating oral histories (conducted prior to the doctoral project) this thesis reviews analytical literatures and critical commentaries produced within the field. In the course of my past work as a cultural critic I conducted a number of periodic interviews with policy actors. One such interview found of significance produced revelations of a "collective noun" model of arts administration at the Canada Council. This rationality operated from the early seventies through to the end of the eighties.

My method of historical analysis has also included archive building which forms the corpus. I created a content index for Parallélogramme (1976-1994) a copy of which appears as an appendix to this thesis. Finally, the personal history of the researcher and the researcher's related studies within the field provides research insights into and across these events. To situate myself as a researcher implicated in the project and field I am analyzing draws attention to the 'intuitive aspects' of discourse analysis that can be expected from my own experiences as a policy subject and actor. My relationship to the artist-run centre movement as an artist, curator, critic, publisher and policy advocate has been long and deep. I served briefly as the Managing Director and Spokesperson at the beginning of ANNPAC/RACA in 1976 and again in 1989-1990. I co-initiated several artist collectives

and artists-run centres in Calgary and Toronto and worked for other artist-run centres in Toronto and Ottawa. I began contributing to critical writing about arts policy and the specific strategic possibilities for the artist-run centre movement in their relationships to museums and funding bodies at the end of the seventies in a media arts magazine Centerfold (now Fuse) in 1976 and I wrote frequently for Parallélogramme. I have attended many of ANNPAC/RACA and other national similar conferences over a thirty year period. My ability to continue to care for and critique this phenomenon and write this thesis project to my satisfaction (particularly within the intended limits of the exercise) has required a cautious scrutiny of how otherwise compelling theoretical frameworks might serve as a study of this terrain. What configurations of 'rights and responsibilities' were and were not taken up, were and were not recognized within the artist-run movement, ANNPAC, arts funding agencies, and, to a lesser extent, museums, will therefore be a privileged re-description of the context that posed political challenges.

Description of thesis: Chapters

The five Chapters delineate five moments or problem spaces that allow for the exploration of this contestations and distinctive strategies developed around forms and sites of governance and competing definitions of participatory democracy within cultural citizenship. The naming of the

Chapters is important in signaling a historical specificity that enfolds the theoretical debates — how things work out in the developments of key issues in key moments. Overlapping and discontinuous within these problem spaces, a history of 'the subjectivity of the artist' can be premised/located.

Shared Chapter themes focus upon: a) Concepts and definitions that can explain the mutations of governance and self-governance, and b) Questions on the useful representativeness of institutional sites as ideal versions of themselves allowing for productive challenges by those excluded in practice.

Chapter 1.

Artist-run culture: Locating a history of the present

The first chapter makes use of exchanges and discussions arising at a recent international conference, InFest: Artist Run Culture, held in Vancouver in the Spring of 2004. Debates in the present are then connected back to historical moments including art practice changes in the 1960s and the aesthetic, social, and finally political re-orientations to 'context.' This chapter unpacks the use of concepts within terms in use by artist organizations such as 'network,' 'centre,' etc. In describing alternative practices I incorporate bell hooks on centres and margins and Stuart Hall on staking out positions on theory as local and contested, localized conjunctural knowledges. The chapter ends with a

discussion of the founding of a new national association of artist-run centres.

Chapter 2.

Collective Consciousness as Network, Social Movement as Agent

This Chapter opens up and relates questions and observations on formations taken from social movement theory (Crossley, 2002), a sociology of art (Wolff, 1981,1993), and a sociology of culture (Williams, 1981). This is followed by cultural studies references to agents and agency. These consideration are then articulated to three 'moments':

- 1. The 'construction of Québec' by Québec artists and writers in regional specific issues of *Parallélogramme*.
- 2. A re-orientation of feminist art theory and mobilizing of 'women's cultural building' in Toronto through a collective critique of Judy Chicago's museum-displayed project, "The Dinner Party."
- 3. The workings of the artist of color and First Nations artists coalition, Minquon Panchayat and its attempted structural reform of ANNPAC/RACA.

Chapter 3. Contestations and legal mobilizations

Looking past the Massey Commission as an authorizing discourse on Canadian cultural policy and invoking the use of cultural policy reform by legal means, this chapter visits three cases of contestation where a negotiated politics shifts from lobbying to enforceable rights. The artist-run centre movement here is required to meet its progressive

aspirations by participating in anti-censorship activism by addressing the paradox of a non-profit vocation and the professional impetus for economic rights that surfaces in the possibilities of Status of the Artist legislation and the living wage contract efforts of the Independent Artists Union. The third case centres on invited public negotiations at The Canada Council on racial equality reform in accordance with federal and provincial legislation.

Chapter 4. Technologies of power and the re-structuring discourse of ANNPAC/RACA

The fourth chapter focuses on ANNPAC/RACA's embodiment of an apparatus through two technologies of power. The first of neglected importance here is structures of non-profit incorporation, choices made for 'open' or 'closed structures' of trusteeship and the various rules (by-laws) among the artist-centres and ANNPAC/RACA itself and the usage of 'statements of principles.' The procedures embedded in legal incorporation is then connected to an adopted "Handbook for Cultural Trustees" which overlays a complex ordering of art administration principles upon an alternative-seeking formation. This is followed by an examination of how ANNPAC/RACA restructures its own cultural apparatus beginning with the 'committed entrepreneurial' model of a national agency as a Living Museum and working through a politics of representation

5. Changing the rules at The Canada Council: Negotiating 'arm's length status' and 'peer assessment'

Self-regulated bodies are a common feature across professional, legal, economic and industrial domains whose autonomies are at times measured by their arm's length relationships to the state. Unlike, for example, ministries of culture, arts councils are commonly defined by their arm's length status and decision-making by peer assessment. Arts councils are therefore prime sites for 'measuring' how governance occurs at a distance from the state.

Against a description of public models of arts

patronage, in the fifth and final chapter of this thesis, I

will indicate where The Canada Council (for the Arts) has

been expected to pay attention to shifts in state cultural

policy. I will describe how the state intervenes and the

reasons for resistance against such interventions. I will

then examine to what degree this arm's-length model of

autonomy operates between an arts council and its clients,

how individuals and organizations applying for funding and

authentication are engaged in different regulatory protocols

and the extent to which policy changes that assist in

redefining the boundaries of art and culture flow into and

out of this apparatus.

I will argue that The Canada Council for the Arts has functioned as a technology of cultural citizenship in its textual strategies of defining ideals and principles of aesthetic judgment and fair funding through its peer jury system and as a model of social organization witnessed and taken up by other state funding actors.

Addressing the questions raised by cultural policy studies, I will assess how the logics of this apparatus were formed differently than the British Arts Council or The National Endowment for the Arts. To what extent did The Canada Council internally resist its externally assumed bureaucratic function? How did the alliances between different state actors and organic intellectuals ameliorate the frictions between cultural labour and management? To partially answer such questions I will rely upon a revelation of The Canada Council's 'collective noun' model of ideal peer assessment and public responsibility in its moment of management crisis precipitated by the state.

Significance of the Research:

A conceptual thesis with a historical dimension allows me to address the appropriateness of three interrelated literatures: governmentality; cultural studies and cultural policy; and issues of citizenship and social movement. It allows me to contemplate the issue of the working of power and representation within the arts field in Canada over a thirty-year period — a period which comes at a moment when the meaning and relevance of art itself was put into question by artists themselves who deliberately or not chose to put much of the energies into larger debates and projects of cultural activism.

Chapter One

Artist-run culture: Locating a history of the present

A response to *InFest: Artist Run Culture* (2004) and the formation of a new national association of artist-run centres

In light of discussions that took place at the most recent conference of international artist-run culture, this prologue requires some introductory references to the interconnections between art-making, its formations and institutions that make this activity possible. That is, whatever else artist-run activity is or has been that is worthy of study, it is situated and re-situated within a functioning discourse of art-making and art history. Though there are other points of departure I will begin by briefly connecting the emergence of artist-run centres to what have been regarded as key art-making strategies developed in the 1960s that point to the significance of 'context'. As a conversation with what was and was not said at the InFest: Artist-run Culture conference in Vancouver, this chapter will continue by introducing some of the concepts used or read into the category 'artist-run centre,' discuss how the stakes of the project might be defined, and further address how the social and cultural interventions and ambitions of

artist-run centres are re-designated by funding agency policy, and by artists themselves, to fit a narrower or more specific visual arts discourse. The chapter ends by considering the differences and similarities between the goals and representational structure at the start-up of this movement's national associations in 1976 and 2004.

Conceptualizing relationships between art-making and organizational practice

In plotting art practice changes in the 1960s, survey art history texts are consistent in their arguments that the context of the artwork's display in the gallery or museum became a formal, a social and finally a political issue for artists. These attentions by artists situated themselves against a Modernist art indifference to context. So the practices commonly named minimalism, land art, conceptual art, body and performance art, etc., variously draw attentions to the "conditions of encounters with artworks" or the "conventions of art's visuality" or "the consequences of viewing the work of art as a commodity" (Harrison and Wood, 1992: 801). It is further agreed that these aesthetic and social concerns are in turn intensified by an activist politics in the late 1960s. Past practitioners and current historians of conceptual art

define the stakes of their project as "fundamental issues." Their questions ask: "What is the place or function of art in society? What is its relationship to its supporting institutions? Who is its audience? What is it that makes art's contribution to society in its present historical circumstances distinctive and valuable?" (Blake Stimson as cited in Baldwin: xlvii) In re-assessing the contributions of conceptual art Blake Stimson writes, "The most politicized among the various ambitions of conceptual art [was] the critique and transformations of the existing institutions of art" (ibid.). The ambitious scope of these sought-after structural changes both inside and outside of the art terrain was challenged by the degree to which professional artists have commonly "[relied] upon a small group of dealers, curators, critics, editors and collectors" and the dissatisfactions emerging through such conventions of power. Conceptual artists, in such accounts, recognized and accepted their "failure" in challenging and transforming the apparatus of art production including "the aesthetic criteria that governed and legitimated their social function and status." As a result, by the mid-1970's, conceptual art had narrowed its political focus or its social ambition "from the critique of its own institutions to a critique of larger social processes on

behalf of specific, non-artist constituencies" (ibid.: xlii).

Though there have been many continuing art practices that in some way or another incorporate "critiques of the larger social processes," the question of what would be entailed, what circumstances would be necessary for artists to construct institutions they might wish to call "their own," is not given much attention in contemporary art history texts that pay attention to the recurring matter of art and politics or art and policy. In retrospective accounts of conceptual art's failures, there remains a suspicion of self-administrative responsibilities and bureaucratic functions that I argue are inherent if for example the project of turning art from a commodity to a service is to be seen as a useful adjustment. Stimson refers to Art & Language member, Michael Baldwin's retrospective reflection on the "self-instituting or bureaucratic function of conceptualism's colonization of its own critical reception," (ibid.: xlvi) In Baldwin's "what we were creating was an iconography of administration. The artist turned businessmen or worse is one of the legacies of conceptual art" (ibid.). Similarly, Art & Language member, Mel Ramsden notes, "The situation becomes, to me, even more vain as we ourselves finally

become our own entrepreneurs-pundits, the middle-life of the market our sole reality" (Blake Stimson as cited in Baldwin: xlvi). Two points are worth noting here. The first is that conceptualism's intellectual currency as an art-making strategy is very much alive for the present generation of artists; and, secondly, that the projects of self-governance or self-administration and bureaucracy for artists have to be 'lived through' in order to comprehend and assess what rules are in play and which sets of rules provide the most or least acceptable ethical opportunities and advantages.

The appearance of 'artists spaces' was noted as a phenomenon in 1977 when the American periodical ArtNews observes, "The spread of alternative spaces may well provide the stamp of identity for the 70's" (Kay Larson, "Rooms with a Point of View," ArtNews, October 1977 as cited in Lewis, 1979: 110). This nebulous 'stamp of identity,' I argue, signals a move away from art-making's preoccupation with the renovation of existing models of institution to the construction of new ones, where, to continue this metaphor, artists exchange the problems of tenantry for problems of ownership or trusteeship. Art in America similarly took note in this transformation stage when it wrote:

In the 70's art was becoming increasingly difficult to define in terms of traditional classifications, many new mediums like video and performance became important, as well as site and situations-oriented work...The new type of art required new sorts of organizations for its presentation...Museums, too, frequently felt uneasy with the new situation-oriented work, which was often deliberately trying to escape the aesthetic and social effects of the established gallery context. (italics mine) (Patton, 1977)

One might suggest thereafter that research that participates in a sociology of culture is useful for an art history that wishes to map the "question of culture and democracy as a factor influencing the development and rationalization of artistic practice" (Harris, 1993: 71). Such a question can be addressed by examining what changes have been possible when artists seek out and are given opportunities to participate more directly in the responsibilities of art presentation, interpretation, criticism and advocacy and in doing so invite and confront new areas of accountability and expectation. What types of re-adjustments are required for artists who continue to "[see] themselves engaged in the culture - rather than placed, idealistically outside of it ?" (ibid.) What happens when artists continue working through a formation of co-operatives and collectives engaging with concepts of community versus public, with a politics of representation and accessibility, and the place of art in relation to

issues of 'culture' and 'democracy?' To study the project of artists simultaneous engagements with art-making and bureaucracies of their own and of the state necessitates a sociology of culture that has to account for more than the 'social material' or 'social relations' in art works themselves. Additionally, I suggest that the phenomenon of artist-run culture cannot adequately be explained by art historical accounts of social formations of artists where the task remains focused upon enhancing the biographies of selected important artists or associated art movements. So what appears missing is an account of how field constituents compete over the definition of issues and the legitimation of different organizational forms.

The manifestations of the artist-run culture movement in Canada has been widespread and enduring for many reasons aside from its existence within a particular conjuncture of nation-building through state funding. The next chapter will examine the extent to which Canadian practices of artist-run culture have had ongoing relationships with social movements and that the everyday reference to an 'artist-run centre movement' can be theoretically developed by examining social movement and social movement organization characteristics. Connecting this direction to a history of conceptual art has relevance because art

history's analysis of the failure of conceptual art's

"radical moment" is seen as "a gap in tone and ambition

between art and the new social movements of the late 1960s"

(Simpson, 1990: xlvii). Furthermore, this speaks to a

residual modernist art discourse of how art-making and

artists political affinities and actions are given separate

functions evidenced by the need to continue policing the

boundaries of what 'conceptual art' was as an art movement,

rather than include the 'external' activities of its

artists in social movement terms.²

While such critical art history approaches to artmaking and the locating of voluntary and imposed autonomies
remain productive, brought forward into the present they
can also bring comfort to those who prefer to limit the
responsibilities of artistic practice as essentially being
dedicated to exploring (neo) avant-garde aesthetic
problems. For those local artists, curators, critics and
arts funding personnel with interests in the well-being of
contemporary art-making in Canada, the emergence of artistrun centres are welcomed as an updating and expansion of an
existing art infrastructure. What produces less enthusiasm,
here borrowing terms from Raymond Williams' analytical
framework, are the 'external relations' of this cultural
formation, i.e. the degree to which it proposes and

actualizes its functions as 'specializing,' 'alternative' or 'oppositional' (Williams, 1981: 70). As can be expected, it is the degree and purpose of institutional critique defining these external relations that are either denied or challenged by those speaking in defence of particular trajectories of what contemporary art, 'cared for' by traditional art institutions, usefully does or can do. Despite an avowed preference for and attractions to a 'criticality' within art discourse, local questions put to the conditions of artmaking and its apparatuses ultimately are seen to be temporary 'detours' that when prolonged take attention away from a consensus required to produce 'good art' that can represent the nation and/or disciplinary qoals of excellence and innovation - as measured through recognizable contributions to various international arenas of art practice and knowledge.³

In the Canadian field, public galleries and art museums with responsibilities for contemporary art responded to the intervention of an administration of art by artists by employing or contracting those curators or critics who gained cultural expertise working with or within artist-run centres. The gallery/museum's given project of ascertaining what deserves attention, what contemporary art and which artists are deemed important is

a task traditionally shared between communities of curators, art dealers and art critics. Though galleries and museums may practice and seek a continued autonomy, with regard to questions of the legitimations of aesthetic criteria, they are also subject to scrutiny by artists and critics in terms of their curatorial relevance and productivity. An expanded field of assessment including arts juries, curatorial commissions and arts policy studies have afforded artists a considerable participating role. These two factors: new sites where public gallery or art museum contemporary art curators are trained and a systemic inclusion of artists into the assessment process does produce tensions for those who see this either as a strengthening or weakening of the Canadian field of art production.

What artists chose to build as production,

presentation and distribution spaces for themselves and for

participating adjacent communities and audiences is rooted

in a response not only to galleries and museums but also to

other cultural policy apparatuses that acknowledge a

'creative sector' including film, video, audio, music,

publishing, etc. The mutation of the role of the artist

through a collective project of self-governance changes the

policy role of the artist as cultural producer. Whereas

conceptual art usefully critiqued the idea of autonomous art and authoritative artists through artworks that commented on the decentered artist and as work that functioned to reduce the role of artist as producer, interesting questions remain about what artists can and do produce in excess of art.

The conference, InFest: International Artist Run

Culture took place at the Emily Carr College Institute of

Art & Design at the end of February, 2004. Organized by the

Pacific Association of Artist Run Centres (PAARC)

promotional materials declared that InFest's goal was to:

"build upon FESARS (First European Seminar for Artist Run

Spaces) in Stockholm (1999) and Space Traffic in Hong Kong

(2001) as international events that focused on issues of

interest to Artist-Run Centres."

InFest's sold-out discussion forums and their accompanying informal break-out discussion groups were organized into five themes: "Mutations: What are Artist-Run Centres?"; "Survival of the Fittest: Funding and Artist-Run Centres"; "Migratory Patterns: Internationalism and International Exchange"; and "Metamorphosis: The Artist as Curator." InFest succeeded at delivering convivial opportunities for information sharing between

participants from a range of national and cultural geographies and policy positions. Reports of 'artist-initiatives' ranged from various authorings of 'connective aesthetics,' to artists as conceptual and creative community-building consultants-for-hire, and to mainstream institutional curatorial practices in which artist-curators are given an administrative role. The more generic term 'artist-initiatives' was frequently used to describe the necessary engagements by artists with other communities, audiences, and institutions. Where it is relatable to an artist-run paradigm is in the suggested provision of services for and challenges to artists that other entities cannot or do not want to provide.

Despite much to be praised, there was a telling absence at the *InFest* conference. What was missing was an engagement with what-in-all-of-this matters for artist-run culture. Perhaps in the haste to look internationally and to function as good hosts, an opportunity was missed to more fully reconnect with past Canadian efforts not just in terms of alternative spaces but in terms of the movement and governmental complexities of cultural production within this field. As a new national association of artist-run centres was planned to be formed at the end of this conference, the topic of future possibilities to some

extent were already embedded in ongoing domestic discussions of how to overcome past problems of advocacy organization and focus. Since the dissolution of ANNPAC/RACA (Association of National Non-profit Artists' Centres / Regroupement d'artistes des centres alternatives) a decade ago some understandings of the project-as-movement appear forgotten. An exploration of this history might be one way to open a discussion that recognizes what is critically distinctive about this movement's organizations and, as importantly, what administratively is not.

The history of the artist-run movement demonstrates how possible it has been to create new organizational models for production, display and dissemination. Alongside claims that the artist-run centre has helped reform traditional art institutions there is some unease that the processes of professionalization embraced in turn have reformed artist-run organizations, erasing certain functional and ethical distinctions. Organizations of the artist-run centre movement share characteristics of other service organizations within the non-profit arts sector to the extent that they mimic a federal machinery of political representation, follow conventional models of, in this case, arts administration lobbying and attempt to incorporate demands arising from social movement politics.

It has been commonly acknowledged that the project of artists' self-governance itself is continuously amended by changing funding relationships and by shifts in generational and individual perceptions of where amenable working opportunities for artists reside (Robertson, 1980; Nemiroff, 1983; Wallace, 1991; Wood, 1993). And in addition there has been a considerable body of literature that documents contestations of what Nancy Shaw refers to as "embedded liberal values" working as notions of access and self-determination of artist-run culture that have resulted in exclusions (Philip, 1992; Fung, 1993; Srivastava, 1995; Dawes, 1992; Gagnon, 2000, Gagnon and Fung, 2002.). So by 'distinctive' practice I want to point to an attention gap between the continued critical interpretations afforded the art works produced and programmed in the alternative or mainstream spheres and the questions that can be brought to internal and external interpretations of the social relationships and organizations artists construct and inhabit. If an argument is to be made that the artist-run centre movement created cultural subjects that are different than subjects regularly produced by the art field's range of traditional institutions then what happens when assessments of such a movement are restricted to its

contributions to the art field's disciplinary and professional preoccupations?

The problems within the specific field of artist-run culture where they can be related to the reconciliation of these subjectivities have aesthetic, cultural and ethical histories and moments of shared common understandings of what it entails for artists to 'work with and for each other.' Though at times advocacy rhetoric has required making exaggerated differences between formations and institutions, I suggest that rather than reading 'artistrun' as an exclusive or segregationist formation, the concept is now better employed as a description of a particular choice. This choice and its discourse can be viewed in the construction of working relationships that are different than individual cultural producers making their own way in the 'artworld.' What types of new knowledges would allow artists to better assess concepts of 'artist-run' that are productive in the various circumstances known to be in play? The term 'artist-run' suggests that artists themselves have to solve these problems in ways that, regardless of other assessments, they see as being satisfactory.

Rationalizing the equal status of artist-run centres and art museums

As a primary sponsor of *InFest*, The Canada Council was invited to give an opening address. Written by François Lachapelle, the current head of the visual arts section of the Canada Council, the welcoming statement had addressed some of the links the organizers had made in the conference literature — links between past and present conditions and purposes. A two page introduction "Artist-Run Centres: Here for a Reason" appearing in *InFest's* proceedings publication identifies a continuity of practices deemed to be alternative:

During the 1970s, many artists were on a mission to challenge the confines of, and offer an alternative to the hermetic space of the institutionalized gallery, museological categorization, and the bureaucratic manouveres required to meet the needs of gallery directors, curators and critics. With the undoing of traditional aesthetic concerns and the advent of performance, video and other forms of new art, many private and public galleries were either unable or unwilling to exhibit them. (InFest, 2004)

This reiterates a common critique of the museum and gallery's rationality that includes their particular administrative allegiances and self-interpretations of mandates, resource purposes and allocations. For the conference organizers, the 'present' remains a place where

the practical relevance of the traditional art institution is still in question:

Since the 1990s, International Artist Run Centre activity has attained what can be considered a boom, and it is manifested in the most unlikely of places. They have emerged in a huge variety of forms — gallery spaces, websites, production centres, collectives and workshops. And many of these new centres emerge for the same reasons they did in the 1970s or even in the 19th Century. There is a need for spaces that nurture the emergence of art forms and discourses that might not initially garner the support of private or public art institutions...In addition, with the opportunities that new media and internet technology provide, the traditional institutions aren't always necessary as spaces to disseminate and validate the work. (ibid.)

Addressing a history of perennial questions about levels of program funding for different types of organizations and program efficiencies, The Canada Council's opening conference statement focused upon the attainment of "two equal entities of the visual arts" in Canada: art museums and artist-run centres. This state of institutional equilibrium, Lachapelle argued, is found in the similar number of art galleries and museums and artist-run centres currently funded by Council and a similar number of "exhibitions on contemporary art produced each year" by both entities. Lachapelle's suggestion of art institutional equality served his "wonder[ing] if the artist-run centre movement is willing any longer to locate

itself as simply an alternate system to the art museums, or one that is parallel to the traditional curator-dominated art world." This is followed by a proposition that "the future of artists' centres in Canada is tied to their capacity to be more than alternate [or] parallel. They must locate themselves in the Canadian imagination in terms of their own public authority."

Lachapelle's policy call for a further mainstreaming of artist run culture suggests that moving along a path of administrative professionalization and public visibility is a logical choice for the sustainability of artist-run centres. The issue of 'alternate' or 'parallel' organizational status refers back to 1973 when the Canada Council named a funding visual arts program for 'parallel galleries.' The term was rejected by artists centres who saw themselves and their functions differently. Barbara Shapiro, the first editor of ANNPAC/RACA's publication, Parallelogramme, provides one of the first clear definitions of a network of artist-run centres:

The term [parallel galleries] has always been somewhat of a misnomer, for the centres are neither 'galleries' in the traditional sense, nor do they run 'parallel' to any existing institutional art system. Each centre operates rather as an artistic complex, supporting new art in all disciplines...Together they form not a parallel line but a communication system, a multi-directional exchange, a 'Network .' [Within ANNPAC] every centre retains its particular identity,

characterizing the specific community (geographical and cultural) to which it responds and the individual interests of its artist-directors. (Shapiro, 1977: unpaginated)

Lachapelle's attention to exhibitions (with everything else in a supporting role), while understandable from a visual arts perspective, distorts and undermines what has and continues to be produced differently and distinctly within artist-run centres in terms of aesthetic, social, and cultural interventions. It is not only a 'Canadian imagination' and an incoming reminder of a need for public support that should be of concern to present artists, but also the renewals of artist organizational imaginations and how this coincides with or diverges from current arts funding agency articulations of its own priorities.

The emergence at the end of the conference of a new national association for Canadian artist-run centre advocacy suggests that the artist-run movement has been rethinking its responsibilities of how to influence the rewriting of arts funding policy to better fit its needs. With other similar artist representative organizations, the challenge is to insist on structures outside of funding juries where the implementation of funding program changes can be negotiated. The idea that funding clients are merely readers of rule changes is rejected both by professional

associations of gallery and museum directors and by those who see an artist-run movement in terms of participatory citizenship formed through processes of re-defining particular sets of rights and responsibilities.

International conferences and localized, conjunctural knowledges

The Canadian experience of conferences like InFest, with their long history of expected 'peer speech' opportunities, is that they are opportunities to review and compare paths in order to move beyond sameness and repetition. Guest-speakers commonly are invited from within the domestic ranks of newer and more established practitioners, from those abroad (frequently) with less experience and infrastructure, and from those either from here or abroad assessed as having significantly more intellectual or organizational capital.

This year's InFest was not merely 'building-upon' international events like FESARS (First European Seminar for Artist Run Spaces) and Space Traffic, it was also the third in recent domestic conferences produced by 'regional' artist-run associations. InFest was preceded by Convergence in Ottawa, 2002 (ARCCO) and Off-Printing in Québec City, 2003 (RCAAQ). This momentum towards regular conferences and

re-newed policy meetings of artist-run representatives made sense at the end of *InFest* with the launching of a post-ANNPAC/RACA national association of artist-run centres after an absence of a decade. The upbeat introduction to the conference program stated that:

with growing communication systems making international exchange more accessible, InFest marks a timely stage for evaluation of artist run culture and provides the opportunity for individuals from Artist Run Centres representing a broad diversity of nations to meet, share ideas and concerns, and to strategically position themselves within the international arena. The outcome will have a lasting impact on their future achievements, and bring a sense of confidence and stability to those working in this thriving cultural field... In Fest is the largest gathering in North America of representatives from Artist Run Centres around the world. Spanning five days, it includes exhibitions, discussion forums, a networking session, Artist Run presentations, public tours and an assortment of social event...generating a sense of community that transcends national borders... (InFest, 2004)

Aside from the big promises of 'lasting impact' and a 'sense of stability' InFest announced "an opportunity for the public to become more acquainted with an aspect of the artworld that may be unfamiliar to them." The substitution of vague optimism for an explicit politic in the conference goals gives a sense of what has changed since the international conference for artists, Strategies for

Survival: State of the Arts/The Art of Alternatives, in
1987. Strategies was organized by the Vancouver Artists
League and attended by ANNPAC/RACA members gathering in
Vancouver for their AGM. Then, the issues being faced were:

the increasing pressure towards privatization and the push for viable cultural industries; cutbacks and inadequate funding; artists participation in the jurying of grants; threats [through censorship] to creative freedom and [political] arms length policy; and pervasively poor living and working conditions [relating to initial discussions on federal Status of the Artist legislation]. 10

A shared purpose of Strategies and InFest was to compare and contrast other national models of collaboration, patronage, and artistic freedom. Strategies invited guest speakers from the U.S., Holland, West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Poland, El Salvador and Canada. Defining one's own conditions and opportunities by looking elsewhere in and around the contemporary art world can entail comparing achievement or success, or over-worrying the health or reputation of national output. (The latter is not particularly a Canadian woe. Reflections on inadequacies of artistic output is a perennial feature of art journalism and criticism produced in the U.S. and Britain.)

Additionally, opportunities for both national and international comparisons provide temporary relief from

localized concerns, repetitions, routinizations and contestations.

InFest attracted speakers and participants from Australia, Korea, Hong Kong, South Africa, Holland, Argentina, the Philipines, Mexico, Austria, Britain, the U.S. and Canada. Following the first session on artist-run centres and their mutations, a group from Britain told me they came expecting an 'International' rather than a 'Canadian' conference. This reminded me of Martha Rosler's question: "What is 'international' after modernism?" Problematizing concepts of 'international' or 'global' includes asking how we understand a relationship between theory and the local. In Stuart Hall's thinking this draws attention to "how we choose to understand theory and politics or the politics of theory. Not theory as the will to truth, but theory as a set of contested, localized conjunctural knowledges" (Hall, 1992: 295). Theory so noted therefore suggests parameters of what we can and cannot hope to know or learn through these brief international exchanges. Part of this knowledge specificity is about culture and policy, the extent to which we are governed by state private arts and cultural policies and how within such frameworks artists chose to set up alternative structures to govern themselves. This is not just about

different material opportunities between regions or countries, but about how we theorize practices, how theory's coherence is only local. So, for example, proclamations from art criticism or art history purporting to be within an 'international discourse' are useful to the extent that their locality is acknowledged and then taken into account.

Artist as programmer/curator: for whom, for what?

The topic of the 'artist as curator' and of independent curatorial work generally has received increased attention through specific conferences and publications in the 1990s. This, depending upon the circumstances allows for lively discussions as artists, curators and critics exchange notes and projects on common matters of institutional power, curatorial mediation and constructions of publics, audiences and participants. The InFest discussion forum "Metamorphosis: The Artist As Curator," chose not to address past and present difficulties that occur when artists, independent curators and critics share meagre resources and projects in their attempts to develop paid practices or new areas of research, nor was there any direct historical reference to

artists choosing to 'take back' critical and curatorial responsibilities and why this was deemed necessary. In other words, the 'specializing' functions within artist-run centres are at different stages of their development. In the course of these recent conferences that include curatorial discussion and analysis, it has been interesting to see how difficult it has proven to shake free from the museum/gallery model as an object of focus. Prior to the establishment of artist-run centres, 'museum interventions' suggested a radicalism that made a path from critique to refusal to substitution. Almost forty years later 'museum intervention' appears to mean more about how the museum's relevance can be re-asserted through critical collaborations. Jim Drobnick and Jennifer Fisher (partners in Display Cult) have written:

'Museum intervention' is the term used to describe the collaboration between artists and institutions to tranform the museum from a container of cultural artifacts to a medium of contemporary work...Artists have acted as curators of rearranged displays, unlocked storage rooms and offices, inhabited the museum's galleries, interacted with museumgoers, articulated alternative histories, and exposed the social, political and ideological underpinnings of the museum as an institution. (Drobnick and Fisher, 2002: 15)

While I admire Display Cult's critical mobilizations and a pragmatism that attends this now common method of working,

the suggested shift from 'container' to 'medium' I think continues or reasserts a modernist linkage between the museum and artists practices, a linkage that was, if not broken, re-configured by the relationships between artists, the production of art and artist-run centres. This linkage was described in Gary Kibbins' reading of Williams (1981) and Peter Bürger (1972):

Standard modernist art history proclaims that the final meaning of every modernist artwork is that the artist is at one with the institutions of art, and wishes nothing more than to advance their cause. This the artist accomplishes by making the uniqueness of the institution and its separation from daily life the very content of their artworks. (Kibbins, 1985: 13)

Within artist-run centre policy documents of policy and self-history there has been repeated emphasis that the political challenges made to institutions by artists using artist-run centres as examples of a self-reflexive practice assisted in the reshaping of public and university galleries, and, more generally supported an independent field of curatorial production that could choose to work contractually with artist-run centres, public galleries or public art museums. Keith Wallace (1991) notes such an admission from Toronto's Power Plant in a catalog statement for their 1987 exhibition, "Toronto: A Play of History."

spaces have displayed older, larger institutions in terms of the accreditation process...[there] has been a restructuring of the art community itself — a displacement of authority" (Dompierre, 1987: 18).

While the significance of artist-run centres has come to be widely seen as a home for emerging art practitioners, this acknowledgement in its efforts to fix institutional specificities for purposes of funding or public recognition limits the scope of artist-run responsibilities and ambitions and ignores a past momentum of artist-initiated cultural and organizational building. So while we can view artist-run centres as a continuity of the reform of exhibition sites where Canadian artists and independent curators or programmers contribute to and participate in a sprawling D.I.Y. project of national and international exchange, we also have to account for an array of local artist-run places that includes retail book and magazine outlets and archives, print and new media publishing, artist-run museums, festivals and performance spaces, radio and TV initiatives, community-arts initiatives, artists initiatives public housing co-operatives, a series that if extended would culminate with the provision of 'retirement homes' (or their imagined equivalents).

while I will be discussing this terrain's varying applications of the terms 'space,' 'centre,' and 'place,' it might help here to insert Michel de Certeau's notion of 'place' as a "recruitment, a milieu, a profession or business" (de Certeau, 1988: 57). This sense of 'place' nicely captures competing understandings of the artist-run centre movement as alternative culture infrastructure—building, and, in the different flurries of entrepreneurial activity required to build art scenes (Donnegan, 1986; Bronson, 1987). These art-purpose initiatives contribute to urban-based alliances of resources and facilities that from a generational perspective are seen as contributing to cultural renewal and in earlier manifestations address perceptions of 'underdevelopment.'

InFest produces a general dialog now expected within how an alternative sphere functions to introduce and reproduce itself. How audiences, communities and publics are constructed at different visual and media art display sites are considered, but how the visibility of these constructions has specific policy significance remains unchallenged. I am not thinking here about levels of audience attention (as indicated in Francois Lachapelle's comments above) but the assumptions of visibility and effect where the public invisibility of the artist-run

centre movement (and its histories) — defined in relationship to the public profile of art museums and public galleries (and their histories) — is seen to be a problem.

Selfish concerns for art

Session moderator Laiwan stated her artist-curator interest in "empowerment, capacity-building, survival and agency," a position implicitly shared with fellow panelist, Stephen Hobbs from Johannesburg. Laiwan acknowledged a similarity between her experience growing up in apartheid Rhodesia and Hobbs' experience in post-apartheid South Africa. Matthew Higgs, who had introduced himself earlier with a nod to his British working-class background and later as someone who "grew up under Thatcher," responded:

I don't sympathize with empowerment, survival, battle, frustration and struggle. This essentially seems to be a defeatist or negative position. The idea of us being outsiders I don't agree with at all. I do not recognize that concept [in the art field]. I'm an optimist. I genuinely cannot believe how exciting life is everyday...I don't see any struggle in the field we work in [which] is largely fuelled by the spirit of generosity.

Higgs leaned heavily on the purpose of artistic work
"as a looking for or thinking about what doesn't exist
in the world," to explain why "my practice as a

curator is largely selfish. I make exhibitions that I want to see...I spend almost no time thinking about who the audience might be for the work I do." Current museum curators of modern or contemporary art are hardly likely to make the 'fuck the audience' public statement that Higgs did; however, using the rhetoric of selfish concern for art or artist's intentions as an excuse to bracket out issues of empowerment or struggle has very much been the standard bailiwick of male art museum curators everywhere. While Higgs' personal ascension from Joy Division fanzine editor to the London's ICA and beyond is, for some, inspirational, it perhaps stretches the usefulness of a boundary-less concept of a curatorial-practice within artist-run culture.

An earlier and different account of the differences between curating in alternative spaces and art museums appeared in *The New Artsspace*. This publication was produced for the first international conference attended by both Canadian and American artist-run centre/space representatives, organized by LAICA (Los Angeles Institute of Contemporary Art) in 1978. Here is a *New Artsspace* quote from Alanna Heiss,

then-Director of New York's P.S.1/The Clocktower on different curatorial rationales:

The curator, especially in an alternative exhibition setting should recognize a primary responsibility to the artist, a secondary responsibility to the art, and a tertiary responsibility to the audience. For museums with their contrasting economics, architecture and perceived function - the schedule of priorities is some permutation of this. Museums are, to a greater extent than alternative spaces, in the audience business, a business that often includes subsuming a work of art to the composition of a room or theme. Alternative spaces are in the artist business - the business of allowing an artist to make coherent statements which take precedence over the location and circumstances of exhibition, and to then get personal and direct with his or her audience. (Heiss, 1978: 11)

The idea of an artist taking precedence over the "circumstances of exhibition" is an important institutional reminder for artist-run centres or museums. 13

Staking out positions

I think after thirty plus years of 'artist-run culture' it is healthier to admit that artist-run centres ,while now institutions in their own right, are 'simply' a way of stabilizing artists' collective initiatives. Such organizations were (and I assume are) quite happy to program rather than curate, to co-ordinate rather than to edit. Curating and editing imply other purposes, gate-

keeping being one them, that we ought to consider to be at odds with artist run values. 'Artist-run' is neither only nor simply a personnel question. It is an ethical refusal by artists not to 'anthropologize' other artists or to use artists productions merely as ingredients for other recipes and theses; not to exploit expressions of difference while stripping away their politics. Such refusals by artist-run organizations assert an alternative to what has and is being done consistently and effectively elsewhere in the fields of contemporary and historic art management. Perhaps this speaks to what matters in 'artist-run culture' as a formation which I see functioning best when its internal organization and its external relations, as Raymond Williams demonstrated, are better understood and conceptualized. If art institutions play a significant role in preserving and protecting the distinct social domain called art then it matters (at least to artists) what institutions are or can be made available for what social purposes. Gary Kibbins identified two related historical reasons why artists lacked gratitude for the institutions of art: [1] They are undemocratically structured, denying to artists control over their activities, and [2] they devalue the historical significance and social effectiveness of the artwork (Kibbins, 1985: 14).

While not wanting to disclaim the necessary imaginings of 'what can be,' I think an overly-expanded sense of 'artist-run culture' tells us too little about what artist-run centres are and how they position themselves.

Though they are different endeavours, I view the task of re-thinking the cultural politics of artist-run culture (or the artist-run movement, or the local specificity of a Canadian network of artist-run centres) in similar ways to those suggested by Stuart Hall's questions of what is worth thinking about in the development of cultural studies:

Now does it follow that cultural studies is not a policed disciplinary area? That is what ever people do, if they choose to call or locate themselves within the practice and project of cultural studies [is cultural studies]?.. Although cultural studies as a project is openended, it can't be simply pluralist in that way. Yes, it refuses to be a master discourse or a meta-discourse of any kind. Yes, it is a project that is always open to that which it doesn't yet know, to that which it can't yet name. But it does have some will to connect; it does have some stake in the choices it makes. It does matter whether cultural studies is this or that. It can't be just any old thing which chooses to march under a particular banner. (Hall, 1992: 263)

While acknowledging that artist-run centres have been many things over three decades, I don't think they can be anything. In part this view resides in the demands made upon them, and the responsibilities they take up —

including their quite specific policy engagements. Hall writes about the project of cultural studies in its different "unstable" formations and histories emphasizing that "there is not one politics inscribed in it. But there is something at stake..." The particular task of engaging with a history of the present includes registering the tension between "a refusal to close the field, to police it and, at the same time a determination to stake out some positions within it and arque for them." This dialogic approach to theory disallows a closing of knowledge while recognizing that politics is impossible without what Homi Bhabha (quoted in Hall) calls "social agency [as] an arbitrary closure." This closure, Hall explains, is the result of a need to take positions (never absolute, never final) within a practice that "aims to make a difference in the world"(ibid.: 264).

How might this form of project analysis be relevant to a field of artist-run culture? I presuppose that the plane of artist projects, artists collective initiatives and in particular artist-run centre culture is a practice that aims to make a difference in the world, that has, as Hall says, some points of difference or distinction which have to be staked out, which really matter. If art institutions play a significant role in preserving and protecting the

distinct social domain called art then it matters (at least to artists) what institutions are or can be made available for what social purposes.

Centres and Margins, Centres and Peripheries

In responding to In/Fest I want to refer to what I think I know about how the term 'artist-run centre' came to be used. This 'invitation' was provided by Laiwan, who said: "If there are artist-run centres, there must be artist-run margins." I plan to add to what is implied in Laiwan's statement, but first I think it useful to ask what identity or concept of power was implied in the earlier usage of the word 'centre'. Why was the full phrase "artist-run centre" selected?

The archival record of this etymology is vague and the circulation and taking up of concepts by artists spaces and artists centres remains difficult to pinpoint. The term 'artist-run centre' becomes generally accepted sometime between 1976 and 1978. In 1976, twenty-two Canadian artists spaces/galleries had their first national meeting in Ottawa as existing funding clients of the Canada Council and at this meeting decided to form and name an association of 'artists centres.' Though the terms 'artist(s) space' or 'artists centre' now appear sufficient terms of agent-hood 15

without the explicitness of 'artist-run,' the need to utilize this self-naming I think indicates the degree to which many artists felt excluded from or opposed to forms of existing display art organization's decision-making. writing the original by-laws for ANNPAC/RACA (then CANPAC) the lawyers were requested to restrict membership to 'artist-directed' organizations. Instead they allowed for artist-run centres to be legally defined as "artists initiated and majority controlled."16 I hesitate to insert here what might appear to be an authorial claim: Marcella Bienvenue and I(as representatives of The Parachute Center for Cultural Affairs in Calgary) contributed separate essays for ANNPAC's first Parallelograme Retrospective, 1976-7, edited by Barbara Shapiro. These were the only texts that incorporated the specific phrase 'artist-run centre.'

What were some other influences that were brought into this naming of 'artist-run centres'? More commonly implicated is the French Fluxus artist, Robert Filliou's popular idea of a network (proposed with George Brecht in 1968) that influenced Canadian artists groups like General Idea, Image Bank, W.O.R.K.S and others at the beginning of the seventies. Filliou explained the usefulness of what he called the "Eternal Network" to counter a history of art

metropolises and dictates and the obsolescence of the (historical) avant-garde. Anywhere you lived and worked "was now the centre." This model unlike say Allen Ginsberg's mid-sixties proclamation that "Liverpool was [had become] the center of the universe," was both intentionally utopian and decentralizing. Like other artist collectives, W.O.R.K.S. instituted international network exchanges of performance and process-based work we called "World Festivals" and "Conceptographic Readings" in a sense proving (through national and international art press recognitions of our projects) the practicalities of Filliou's suggestion. Except that Filliou never used the term 'centre' in his proposition; after saying "there is no more art centre in the world," he instead chose the word 'place.' "Nobody can tell us where the place is - where we are is where things are taking place and although we may need to meet at times or gather information at certain places - the network works automatically" (Filliou, 1978: n.p.).

Information exchange networks were made visible through published contact lists of artists and artists projects that W.O.R.K.S. accessed for its exchanges. Among them were the artist publications: Catalyst, in London, England and by 1972, File in Toronto. Another route to the

adoption of the term 'centres' comes from a small outpost of the correspondence art network: Klaus Groh's International Artists Cooperation based in Oldenberg, Germany. Groh's newsletter announcing collaborative mail art projects included a listing of 'foreign contact centres' from northern and southern hemispheres consisting mostly of individuals and some artists groups who authored exchange projects.¹⁸

I have long been comfortable in assuming that, with a collective ingestion of Filliou's network logic, Canadian artists organizations not 'centred' in Vancouver, Toronto or Montréal chose to incorporate 'centre' in their names because they wanted to signal an inversion of 'centre and periphery.' 19 While this naming happened following the formation of a national association of artists centres (ANNPAC/RACA) in 1976 it appears that only the Parachute Center for Cultural Affairs, through its 'lineage' to W.O.R.K.S., used the term 'center' to convey this particular meaning. 20 Neither the correspondence art network nor the Fluxus-prototypes called for the material construction of artist-run spaces/centres as special types of artist collaboration, although such influential practices reproduced a discourse not just found in words but in models of being and living life as an artist. 21

It is necessary to acknowledge here that the 'responsibilities' of being a post-1960s artist are typically complex with art and its non-profit artist-run organizations being formed from the justifications of vocational and professional practices depending upon ideological commitments to the former and the existing possibilities of the latter. While Fluxus artist George Maciunas suggested that artists should preferably make a living outside of the sphere of artistic production, we can only claim that artist-run centres became a means of mostly secondary employment for a percentage of artists responsible for their existence. Though this in itself provided alternative employment for a burgeoning population of artists who could not all gain part-time jobs teaching, the matter of who was subsidizing art and how artists could earn an income though frequently debated and periodically addressed is never satisfactorily resolved.

From the beginning, artist-run centres, in varying degrees and ways, saw themselves as sites of radical possibility, as sites of resistance — even if such resistance was limited to critiques of existing categories of art and arts funding or debate over which types of institution could be run more effectively by artists.

Though we understand the marginality of the historic avantgarde or its more contemporary neo-avant-garde manifestations to be different than the experienced marginalities of gender, class and race they can be articulated as activism, as movements "constituted primarily to obtain a positive result, for a concrete end."22 In 1990, bell hooks, speaking to the experience of black Americans, wrote a postscript to her influential book, Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center, reemphasizing the useful tensions between center and margins not in the abandonment of the latter but in the ability to "look from the outside in and inside out" (hooks, 1990: 341). Hooks writes, "I was not speaking of a marginality one wishes to lose, to give up, or surrender as part of moving into the center, but rather as a site one stays in, clings to even, because it encourages one's capacity to resist" (ibid.) This, hooks insists, is not "a mythic notion of marginality. It comes from lived experience" (ibid.).

My articulation of where these resistances may have co-habited in artist-run culture is not the same thing as claiming that postcolonial intentions or actualities shaped the priorities of the artist-run centre movement in the seventies or much of the eighties. What is important now is

how to re-state the past and current significance of the 'marginality' of the artist-run centre movement, embraceable in itself as a local and international alternative to an orthodox artistic career. In doing so I recognize that many have seen and want to see artist-run culture differently, located near the bottom of a career ladder that still requires climbing. Valuing being at the 'centre' and at the 'margins' at the same time further complicates strategies for collective advocacy. Attention to issues that arise from lived contradictions or how representations are structured nonetheless are necessary engagement when mobilizing artists' organizations.

There are domestic 'centre' histories that in a heterotopic sense have more importance in the ways they culturally re-situate the history and continuity of an artist-run centre network as a wider phenomenon. The first Indian and Métis Friendship Centre was founded in Winnipeg in 1959. As Gerald McMaster writes, by the 1970s the federal government began:

supporting Indian centres emphasizing a new accord on multiculturalism through the setting up of the Indian Cultural Education Centres program. The cultural centres proved their worth to communities across the country. One shining example was on Manitoulin Island, where the First National Native Artists Symposium was held in 1978. (McMaster, 1994: 10)

Similarly it was not until 1990 (through the appearance of Maria Tippett's Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission) and 1991 (with Michael Bell's introduction to the 1941 Kingston Conference Proceedings reprint) that the artist-run movement could connect the dots between itself and the Community Art Centre movement present in both Britain and Canada in the 1940s. In post-war reconstruction Canada this desire for a national network of community centres - each equipped with a theatre, movie projector, art gallery and library - was a massive project proposed to the federal government by a coalition of artists and art groups in 1944, with public and national media backing. Dot Tuer has written, "Artists in the 1940s were as concerned with decentralizing culture as a system of community arts centres as they were with recommending the establishment of a government body to supervise cultural activity that would become the Canada Council (Tuer, 1992: 32).

A discussion and clarification of the Canadian artistrun movement's namings is additionally important not only as a way of understanding historical developments within the movement itself, but also because organizational terms like 'parallel gallery,' 'artist-run centre,' 'media arts centre,' and 'artists collectives' became regulated funding categories in Canada. Such enunciations then allow and prohibit certain types of projects and practices within the fields of visual, media and intermedia/disciplinary art.

The Parachute Center's name has one other story to tell about how 'artist-run centres' came to be defined by their source of funding. We chose our name after a discussion with a Canada Council visual arts officer about the funding for a possible 'centre.' He informed us that the Council was unwilling to 'parachute' sole support for such projects into communities. By 1977, the network participants as members of ANNPAC/RACA consisted of a mix of artist co-op galleries and artist-run centres. This included an assortment of media production and specific cultural-building organizations like Montréal's Powerhouse Gallery, the first women's artist-run centre, and Vancouver's Video In, a community and art video production centre. 'Parachuting' in itself was and remains a policy effect of rationalizing the need for new 'national programs,' which required (and continues to require) locating and accessing potential funding clients in all regions of the country. (The same program justifications apply in provincial policy jurisdictions.) For the nascent parallel gallery program and film and video co-op program of the Canada Council in the mid-seventies, this nudging of

individuals and collectives into more formal entities by funding agencies - as 'accommodations' of various margins into the cultural funding centre of a nation state features in the history of domestic artist-run culture. Common to all recipients of public funding in the "cultural sector" the process of assembly works equally well in reverse. In the present, where the federal government, provinces and/or cities are cutting back or withdrawing services and programs, arts funding can disassemble projects or organizations by shuffling them into lesswelcoming programs or deeming them ineligible by 'priority re-definitions.' Where funding survives, questions of which artist organizations get funded (based upon what criteria and by whose selection of 'peer assessors') are difficult for national or regional associations of artist-run centres to face. An obvious question members raise is: Is there any common voice or is everyone on their own?

Champagne and history for the birth of ARC3/C3A

At the end of the *InFest* conference on 1 March 2004, a new artist-run centre national/federal service organization came into being. The chosen name for this post-ANNPAC/RACA (1976-1994) advocacy body is to be "Artist-Run Centres and Collectives Conference/Conference des centres et

collectives d'artistes autogeres" (ARCCC/CCCAA).

Intentionally or not, incorporating the word 'conference' resonates with other organizational names within a history of domestic arts advocacy. This, in English Canada, includes the "oldest and largest" arts and cultural industries advocacy body, The Canadian Conference for the Arts (CCA) founded by artists in 1945, and the Kingston Conference, 1941, credited as "the first national meeting" of Canadian artists.

The minutes of the InFest meeting on models for a new National Association of Artist-Run Centres makes possible the following description and response. A group of forty-six centre, collective and caucus representatives present at Infest agreed to a governing council that initially consists of seven caucuses. This model was voted in by four existing regional artist-run centre associations: PAARC-B.C.; RCAAQ — Québec; ARCCO — Ontario; PARCA — Saskatchewan and Manitoba and a Maritime caucus; an Alberta caucus; and an Aboriginal caucus. There was also discussion of a Women's caucus and various disciplinary (e.g. performance art) caucuses giving a clear sense of what categories of representation are currently deemed appropriate. It is useful here to point to similarities and differences

between the start-up of ANNPAC/RACA and the new ARCCC/CCCAA.

The forming of ARCCC/CCCAA has included considerations of how to remedy ANNPAC/RACA's faults by those who were involved in the previous organization. This 'lessons learned' exercise requires a broad knowledge of ANNPAC/RACA's actions as an apparatus and some assessment of what resources and skills ANNPAC/RACA had (and did not have) and how much it moved (and failed to move) new policy agendas. We should also consider the broad areas of artist self-determination in which it intervened and how it could be both deeply conservative and radical in its collective policy actions and management models. Also worth exploring is how it identified needs and serviced both movement and professional arts lobbying demands. What, if anything, has replaced the function of Parallélogramme as a bi-lingual, regionally-edited national publication of artist-run centre discourse? And, finally, we need to rethink what it means for the short or long term to pursue the alternative and oppositional status of the movement or surrender to the magnetism of re-joining the 'family compact' of traditional art institutions.

This is not to suggest that ANNPAC/RACA did not require disassembling. Its re-structuring and de-

centralization efforts in the early nineties - which is where the ARCCC/CCCA engages with this project of representation - were irrelevant to the pressing demands for systemic cultural equity. They were also irrelevant to the RCAAQ who, with the legal opportunities presented by the Québec Status of the Artist legislation in hand, required a more organized and tightly-focused advocacy partner. ANNPAC/RACA's membership actions in Banff (1993) will never be forgiven by history for their resistance to sharing power, resources and speech with First Nations and artists-of-colour organizations. Having committed itself to a two-year anti-racist initiative at the Moncton AGM (1992) - a refusal to continue a re-making of ANNPAC/RACA with the Minquon Panchayat (the caucus of First Nations artists and artists of colour) at the subsequent AGM in 1993 effectively exposed the movement's weak investments in its own project of self-determination and institutional reform. In her last Parallléogramme editorial and introduction to a special issue on anti-racism in the arts, editor Lynne Fernie offers both a map of artist-run centres engagements with difference and an opening for my study's need to further an explanation of this network's relationship with social movements.

Artists working in the artist-run movement in Québec and Canada historically have paid as much attention to the cultural, political and economic context of artists and art-making as they have to the "art object"...During its lifespan, the artist-run network has initially resisted, yet been altered by specific social and political critiques. In the early 1980s, feminist artists forced the network to deal with its inherent sexism. At that time, many artists despite their "alternative" approach, could not discern how sexist attitudes worked against women artists... [A]lthough the artist-run movement has always been chock-full of sexually adventurous heterosexual, lesbian, gay and bi-sexual artists it was not until the late 1980s that some of these artists began to insist that artist-run centres exhibit work dealing openly with issues of sexual orientation within political and cultural contexts...It has certainly not been until the 1990s that the artist-run movement as a network, has moved beyond the efforts of a few individuals and centres to concretely attempt to address systemic racism. While each of these movements for change has its specific history of legal and social expression, the artists who spearheaded them share the experience of encountering overt resistance to their analyses and countless invalidations of their experiences. Thus in order to create a context for their work, artists who have been discriminated against carry the extra burden of consciousnessraising. (Fernie, 1993: 12-13)

While the historically significant 'blow-up' in Banff over cultural equity and institutional racism and the adroit challenges to ANNPAC/RACA by the RCAAQ in Québec City (1991) more or less sealed the Association's fate, there remain both internal and external challenges to complicate a desire for a 'clean and efficient' new formalized coalition of mutual advocacy interests a decade later.

ANNPAC/RACA's first challenge at its inception was to

continue the relevance of intermedia work within multidisciplinary centres (funded largely with visual arts funding) that could, among them, offer production and display resources for visual art exhibitions, video, performance, audio art and music, spoken word, new dance, archives, exchanges and residencies. Objections to the source of funding for multi-disciplinary centres came from those within CARFAC who saw the new Parallel Galleries program as a threat to gains by visual artists they had formed to represent. ANNPAC/RACA was accused of being controlled by "non-visual artists...[who] should under no circumstances be allowed to pilfer [visual arts funding]."23 In the climate of post-conceptual art politics, the visual arts section of the Canada Council was willing to provide interim funding for experimentation across disciplines and media that other arts sections within Council ignored. This complicated ANNPAC/RACA's representational purpose and function. Not only did ANNPAC/RACA advocate on behalf of artist-run centres within a vacuum that then existed, ANNPAC/RACA additionally took on some of the responsibilities of representing the advocacy of media and visual artists rights.24 Among its first actions was to prepare a sample contract for the use of video within its member centres. A similar document was written for

'documentary audio tape recording.' Both sample contracts were published in ANNPAC's first Parallélogramme

Retrospective 1976-7. ('Model agreements' for artists fees, reproduction fees and exhibition contracts appear in the second retrospective published in 1978.)

The question of who and what such an association represented became more complex in the 'first phase' of professionalization in the mid-1980s. ANNPAC's management incorporated arts administrative models from ACE (Association of Cultural Executives) and elsewhere, circulating both a management and policy manual, A Handbook For Cultural Trustees, published by the Waterloo University Press. While instruction on the responsibilities of nonprofit trusteeship and the training of 'cultural leadership' might appear innocuous, when applied to the politics of artist-run centres or their association the results could be and were contentious. 25 As some artist-run centres had employed a variety of other specialists (former public gallery curators, independent curators, art critics, etc.) to manage their organizations, there were tensions at the level of choice of common projects and objectives between 'artist-run' and 'artist-controlled' to the less assertively autonomous notion of 'artist-directed.' At times, ANNPAC/RACA simultaneously chose to develop

resources and speak on behalf of individual artists from emerging fields of artistic practice, artist-run centres themselves, and employees of artist-run centres. This overlapping of representations and with it both informal and formal attentions to 'rights' continues to have significance in the maintenance of distinctive organizational identities and thereafter for focused advocacy. Do artists who choose to work for artist-run centres see what they do as part of their integrated intellectual and social practice? Is it 'simply a job,' or has it long become a training facility for emerging artists, curators and critics? Some of these questions were posed in a detailed study, "Employment Survey on the Working Conditions in Artist-Run Centres in Canada," released in 1989 as a co-sponsored project of CARO [CAR Ontario] and ANNPAC/RACA. (A more recent, yet similar, two-volume study "Enquête sur la situation de l'emploi dans les centres d'artistes autogérés du Québec," was published by the 1999-2000.)

ANNPAC/RACA and in its immediate aftermath, ARN

(Artist-Run Network) both addressed the 'politics of speech' assumptions of how ideas and cultural identity and experience informs meetings, how decisions are best or fairly made. Through attempts at gender equality

ANNPAC/RACA moved to a feminist Consensus Trust model and ARN(Artist-Run Network) used an Aboriginal talking circle.

Similarities and Differences

Similarity 1: Both ANNPAC/RACA and the ARCCC/CCCA came into being at meetings funded by the Canada Council. In both cases the founding members are defined by something they have in common: they represent organizations whose members are recipients of Canada Council funding. The executives or governing councils-to-be are small and the organizations are incubated in meetings in various regional cities.²⁶

Similarity 2: Both ANNPAC/RACA and the ARCCC/CCCA choose management configurations based upon ready-made political geographies including, in ARCCC/CCCA's case, rationalizations of the Aboriginal caucus. There is a persistent need for representational mixes of political and cultural geographies (which the Aboriginal caucus also provides) and discussions of a woman's caucus and disciplinary causes point to a mistrust of or inadequacy of national or federal models of regional representation.

ANNPAC/RACA's problem with the administration of bureaucratic power was not, as has been suggested simply a

result of its head office being located in Toronto. It has more to do with how the Association and its projects (including Parallélogramme) were funded and grew with Ontario Ministry and Arts Council support for national service organizations located in their jurisdictions. The ARCCC/CCCA obviously needs to find a different mixed funding model, one that can overcome the non-symmetrical availability of regional funding sources being used for 'national' projects.

Difference 1: Clearly in the absence of a national association, the regional associations and caucuses have developed their own strengths and some have sizeable budgets and carry out ambitious advocacy projects within their own jurisdictions.

Difference 2: The difference perhaps between ANNPAC/RACA and ARCCC/CCCA is that the former needed to be both a national service organization and an advocacy body.

ARCCC/CCCA appears to have identified a more focused set of ambitions in choosing common matters of advocacy at the federal level. The desire for annual/bi-annual national conferences²⁷ and which topics for discussion are deemed 'fundable' could complicate this simplicity.

Conclusion

Using the In/Fest international conference of and about artist-run culture as an event of the present, the purpose of this chapter was to write a general account of the terrain of the artist-run centre movement in Canada over its first two and a half decades. Pointing to the limitations of examining the social organization of art only through a discourse of art-making I acknowledged that alternative artists' organizations came into being not only to service new art forms but to intervene in given discursive and non-discursive configurations of power via questions originally put to traditional institutions by the operations of artworks themselves. And that the naming of organizational categories, i.e. collectives, co-ops, parallel galleries and centres have importance for assessing who or what is being administrated.

Alongside the present generation and 'global' spread of artist-initiatives reported on at *In/Fest* there is the continuation of self-directed 'artists spaces' that emerged in the seventies and eighties. While I think that the intentions of international exchanges between artists organizations and between galleries or museums are different, they can and do harmonize around a generalized neo-avant-garde or postmodernist and postcolonial art discourse which then serves to fill out the space of a

missing 'master narrative' of contemporary production. Such an untroubled concept of 'international' within the art field overstates its disciplinary effectiveness and epistemological usefulness. While recognizing the useful furtherance of fluid boundaries and cultural hybridizations, I am purposely choosing to seek out and analyse artist interactions with policy apparatuses and institutions that can be held accountable, that are not 'over there' but are 'over here.' My focus now turns to the struggles between identities, resources and discourses that remain local and that produce and particularize specific local knowledges of agency and structure.

Notes for Chapter 1

This focus with different theory commitments is confirmed in Manuel Hensman: "Social movement organizations: A metaphor for strategic actors in institutional fields."

Organizational Studies, May-June 2003 (Berlin, de Gruyer).

² There are many texts that have examined this era and art differently: specifically within art history literature is Francis Frascina's Art, politics and dissent — Aspects of the art left in sixties America. (Manchester University Press, 1999) and Nina Felshin ed. But is it Art? The Spirit of art as activism (Bay Press, 1995)

There are numerous examples of precisely these sentiments now being voiced publicly. The most recent was during a symposium organized by the art magazine, *Canadian Art*, and the Art Departments of the University of Toronto and York University in Toronto.(February, 2004) A panel, "Does contemporary Canadian art have a history?" consisting of the directors of The National Gallery and the Art Gallery

of Ontario and the private Ydessa Hendeles Foundation answered the question, 'what role do our institutions play in supporting contemporary art?' by excluding and, then during the ensuing public discussion, refuting the contributions of artist-run centres.

- ⁴ Self-histories of artist-run centres often refer to these gallery/museum contemporary art curator hiring practices as legitimation of their expertise. While field experience will always be necessary this could be changing with university graduate critical and curatorial practice programs also now assisting galleries and museums in the training of future curatorial personnel.
- ⁵ Nancy Shaw, "Time Codes Recent takes in feminist video," in Jennifer Abbott ed. Making Video "In"—The contested ground of alternative video on the West Coast, Vancouver, Video In Studio, 2000: 111.
- ⁶ The etiquette of having funding representatives give opening addresses generally was not followed in conference/AGM's prior to the dissolution of ANNPAC/RACA. Such representatives were invited to appear on panels and when present as invited observers at AGM's during particular deliberations were required to leave the room. As such delineations of autonomy and collegiality were made.
- ⁷ Copy of opening address dated 23 February 2004 received from The Canada Council.
- This reference to the equitable numbers of museums and artist-run centres and exhibitions produced anticipates a grievance about levels of funding and funding ceilings made available to arts museums, public galleries and artist-run centres that was not publicly raised during the conference. One of ANNPAC/RACA's first funding advocacy projects was to collect data on the annual amount of programming artist-run centres produced with public funding in comparison with the lower productivity and higher costs of art museums and public galleries. (Lewis, 1977; Robertson, 1980)
- 9 see Clive Robertson, "Custody Battles: Changing the rules at the Canada Council," Fuse Vol. 22, No. 3, Sept 1999

¹⁰ Karen Henry, "Taking Our Bearings: The Strategies for Survival Conference", *Parallelogramme*, Vol. 12 No.1 Fall 1986 p. 10.

In Public: Shifting Curatorial Practice was a two-day international conference held in Montréal, 2001. Convergence: Strategies & Influence was a two-day national conference for artist-run centres, artists and curators in Ottawa, 2001. The book, Naming a Practice: Curatorial Strategies for the Future (Banff Centre Press, 1996) resulted from a seminar held at The Banff Centre for the Naming a Practice noted significant developments in curatorial practice, citing the examples of interdisciplinary approaches, intercultural collaborations, use of alternate spaces, independent projects, artistinitiated projects, new publishing activities and information networks. It was also recognized that " even as curators have played an active role in these initiatives, curatorial practices continue to be defined largely by public institutions and their mandates." (White, 1996: 1)

Project worth reading by Jens Hoffman titled, "The Next Documenta Should be Curated by an Artist". It includes invited contributions from twenty-three artists, including: Martha Rosler, Dara Birnbaum, John Baldessari, Ricardo Basbaum, AA Bronson, and Ken Lum. Some site project invitees offered curatorial proposals; many critiqued the proposition itself. There is also a chat section for further discussion. Ricardo Basbaum's contribution speaks to the artist-curator role as a questioning of the artist-artist role, presupposing that a curator-curator, an artist-curator and a curator-artist all work differently. His term for this questioning is the prefix "etc." as in an "etc-curator" or an "etc-artist."

¹³ Reading a draft of this chapter, Richard Hill, a recent Assistant curator of historical Canadian art at the Art Gallery of Ontario, advised "it would be worth reminding people that there are artist-run practices that have seriously taken up the problem of audience and community without falling prey to the museum market model of getting "customers" through the turnstile."

¹⁴ The first twenty-two members of CANPAC (later ANNPAC/RACA) all received project or operation monies from

the Canada Council. In geographic order they were Halifax (Eye Level Gallery); Montréal (Galerie Média, Véhicule Art Inc, Galerie Optica, Powerhouse Art Gallery); Ottawa (SAW — Sussex Annex Works); Peterborough (Artspace); Toronto (A Space, Kensington Arts Association); Hamilton (Hamilton Artists Co-op), St Catherines (Niagara Artists Co-op); London (Forest City Arts Association); Winnipeg (Plug-In Gallery); Calgary (Dandelion Gallery, Clouds & Water Gallery, Parachute Center for Cultural Affairs); Vancouver (Western Front, Pender Street Gallery), Victoria (Secession Gallery of Photography, Open Space) Fifteen of this grouping of twenty-two are still in existence. The first three to receive funding in the "parallel galleries" program were The Western Front, Véhicule Art Inc., and A Space.

¹⁵ "Actors operating, whether knowingly or unknowingly, on behalf of particular agencies" (Grossberg, 1992: 122).

The lawyers perceptive and prophetic feedback on this issue was that they "deliberately refrained from [following the "artist-directed" request] because [we] feel less than certain that some of the centres which are engaged in the planning stages [of the national association] now could qualify under that description." (Vic d'Or "CANPAC's June meeting at CEAC," Only Paper Today, Vol 3 No. 5 May/June 1976.no pagination)

Paul Woodrow and I co-founded the group W.O.R.K.S. (We.Ourselves.Roughly.Know.Something.) in Calgary in 1972.

¹⁸ In the early seventies, W.O.R.K.S. and Bill Vazan of Montréal were the two Canadian sites listed as "centres" by Groh.

¹⁹ As a reader of this thesis, Line Grenier helpfully pointed to and questioned my frequent use of referring to certain actions/recognitions as "choices" as it can appear to contradict discursive determinations. Where used this idea of "choosing" is not intended to invoke public choice theory or to downplay the unchosen effects of a struggle but more to point to deliberate acts.

²⁰ After the formation of ANNPAC/RACA other spaces appeared incorporating the word 'centre' e.g. Centre for Art Tapes

(Halifax) Centre of Experimental Art and Communication (Toronto) etc..

- A good account of the Fluxus artist-run centre prototype and Filliou's influence on the beginnings of the Canadian artist-run centre movement can be found in Sharla Sava, Robert Filliou: From Political to Poetical Economy, Vancouver: Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, 1995
- Avant-garde theorist, Renato Poggioli (1968) quoted in Hannah Higgins, *Fluxus Experience*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002: 82.
- ²³ Ray Woodworth, CANPAC Report, Toronto: *Only Paper Today*, Vol. 3 No. 5, 1976.
- These initiatives producing organizational contracts to protect media artists where none had been written by CARFAC and assisting in the policing of CARFAC's artists exhibition fee guidelines can be explained by the simple fact that artists who were members of CARFAC or other artist rights organizations were also members of the artist-run centres.
- The everyday legal and financial responsibilities of non-profit arts organization trustees are tested when making general decisions that rank the importance of function over survival in cases of publicly controversial programming and potential losses of public funding. The stakes for organizational administrators and board members are raised where allegiance to function may require trustees to break the law as in the case of refusing prior-censorship of film and video by provincial government Censor Boards. (see Chapter 3)
- In 1976 following the first meeting in Ottawa, a rash of meetings and projects funded by The Canada Council and The Saydie Bronfman Foundation quickly took place that same year attended by representatives of ten or less artist-run centres (out of a then possible twenty-two). An equal number of observers and guests from the Vancouver Art Gallery, the Western Canadian Art Association, the Québec Ministry of Culture, the Montréal Council for the Arts, the National Museums of Canada, CARFAC and CARO, the Federal Department of Excise, the Nova Scotia Department of Recreation, NSCAD and an assortment of Visual Arts, Video,

Writing and Publication, Interdisciplinary, and Theatre Section Heads and Officers from The Canada Council all of whom showed up in Montréal. In 1976 the CANPAC(ANNPAC/RACA)meetings took place at The Western Front, Vancouver (April), C.E.A.C., Toronto (June), Galerie Média, Montréal, (September), Eye Level Gallery, and Halifax (December). (Gary Conway, A Beginning, ANNPAC/RACA 1976-77, ANNPAC/RACA Prospectus, 1986, MG 28, I 494 - National Archives of Canada)

Assumptions that web site communication has replaced the need for artist-run centre network print publications like *Parallélogramme* need to include considerations of how website conferences have similar cost-effective accessibility advantages over national face-to-face conferences. While the latter allows for the exhilarations of networking, there are no four or five day meeting structures that permit 300 people to publicly debate even a mere handful of topics.

Chapter Two

Collective Consciousness as Network, Social Movement as Agent

Having already suggested that artist-run culture is a production of network affinities, and that the phenomenon is not an 'art movement,' what might be worth knowing is the relationships of such networks to social movements and social movement organizations, and what it is we need to know about agency and agents. Sociological questions of dynamics and properties put to movements, such as, "Why do collective episodes occur where they do, when they do, and in the ways they do" (Smelser 1962 cited in Crossley 2002: 9) assist in re-thinking what might constitute 'key moments' within histories of artist-run culture.

In this chapter, I intend to read three 'moments' of collective consciousness and movement politics from an archive of statements. The first 'regularity' is the construction of Québec by Québec artists and critics within Parallélogramme's regional representation discourse; the second is a challenge to a public notion of a static 'postfeminism' by a Toronto feminist collective's critique of Judy Chicago's work and museum display "The Dinner Party;" and the third is the Minquon Panchayat's (Rainbow Council) mobilization of anti-racist challenges to the governance

culture of ANNPAC/RACA. In different ways all of these three 'relations of knowing and acting' confirm a movement's capacity to "at least partially focus upon the complicity of their own participants in unacceptable states of affairs (Crossley, 2002: 5).

The histories narrated in these moments (continued as legal mobilizations and contestations in Chapter 5) indicate how this artist-run centre movement chooses and/or internally was made to address issues and representations of regionalism-nationalism, gender-feminism, sexuality, racism-cultural equity, and a variety of forms of state censorship.² In the lifespan of the artist-run centre movement these and other forces function as agencies which map out, in some cases, long-term directions and investments.

While the phrase 'artist-run centre movement' slips easily from a few tongues including my own, its usage within artist-run culture has been sparse and tends to be adopted by those actors who have stronger commitments to other social movements and identity politics. Despite an understanding within sociology that 'new social movements' are a post-Marxist notion that takes hold as a school of movement analysis beginning in the 1970s, I suspect it is in the ideological connotations of the term 'movement' (as

protest) that has guaranteed the survival and continuity of the common appellation 'network.' As evidenced at InFest, 'networking' promises some productive and often blurring link between the professional and the social. Within a Canadian history of artist-run culture, we could say that for some, 'network' continues to connote 'artist-initiatives' as the 'organic,' and against this is posed the 'bureaucratic' — imposed, parodied or pragmatically self-made or remade by artist collectives within the art system itself. I will now be more specific about my reasons for choosing to orient research in this chapter through claims, definitions and insights from social movement theory, cultural studies and a sociology of art and culture.

Using social movement theories

In posing the questions how and in what ways artistrun culture in Canada has acted as a movement and as an
appparatus has required assessing what might usefully be
borrowed from social movement theory. These borrowings for
the most part are at the level of general observations
arising from empirical studies. They can I hope serve an
auxillary purpose of re-orientating disciplinary

understandings (e.g. within art history) of the terrain of artist-run culture, its networks and mobilizations.

Relationships between a network and a movement.

Movements do not simply 'grow out of' networks nor do networks simply foster movements. Instead, the relationship between movements, networks and organizations is one where

[m]ovements are networks and, in the first instance, they are the very networks that they grow out of. Movement formation is less a matter of agents coming together and more a matter of agents who are already together transforming their network into something different. Furthermore, the organizational structures of those networks will tend, in the first instance, to serve as organizational centres of the movements. (Crossley, 2002)⁴

If it follows that artist—run centres are such 'organizational centres' of a movement, what goal might be served if we were to nominate either or both artist—run centres and their regional or national associations as social movement organizations? While one aim might appear to be that we can better distill what the movement in this study is, it may equally be valuable to assess if social movement organization studies, for example, help to distinguish differences between the advocacy and regulatory functions of 'arts service organizations' (like ANNPAC/RACA) from those of state funding agencies like The Canada Council.

Relationships between a movement and social movement organizations.

Here social movement theory usefully challenges the temptations to assess the social movement of artist-run culture through the successes or failures of its organizations. Canadian political theorist, Warren Magnusson suggests that "social movements are new ways of being, thinking, and acting and social movement organizations are reifications of these ways" (1993: 123). Magnusson insists that social movements are not their organizations and therefore that the health of such movements cannot be measured by the periodic (and expected) collapse of their organizations.

Resource mobilizations

Studies of social movements have suggested that movement mobilizations are motivated, coordinated and facilitated by a shift in resources (Oberschall 1973 cited in Crossley 2002: 73). The 'shift in resources' for a generation of artists in Canada has and can be linked (and oversimplified) to an accessibility to sustained public forms of patronage such as arts funding. But as Oberschall explains, these material resources (jobs, incomes and the

right to materials goods and services) and non-material resources such as "authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills, habits of industry," (ibid.) have to be mobilized in turn, that is used and put into effect. The theoretical formulation of 'resource mobilization' includes the suggestion that movements of "relatively powerless" groups are often facilitated and triggered by "an injection of resources and support from external élites" (ibid.: 80). This and other models of movement activity addressing social movement organizations are taken up in Chapter 3.

Democracy as a movement within movements

Magnusson (1993) also provides a useful analysis of different 'fields of action' engaged in by both movements and the state. One of these fields of action within artistrun culture in Canada - arrived at from different directions of art institutional critique and organizational self-application - is the attempted reform project of 'cultural democracy' applied to 'new institutional' forms, i.e. artists spaces or centres within the art field itself. Magnusson articulates processes of empowerment, affinity networks and institutions for public service:

Progressive social movements all express demands for democratization, More than that they enact democratization, in so far as they empower oppressed or marginalized people and give effect to practices that facilitate both the criticism of existing institutions and relations and the exploration of new possibilities. Democracy is a movement within the movements, which finds expression in self-education and consciousness-raising, communication and direct action, affinity networks, information exchanges, cooperatives, institutions for public service and self-help, and so on. (1993: 127)

Cultural Studies: Agents and Agency

Social movement theory frameworks with their "weaker accounts of links between agency and structure" (Crossley 2002: 168) can be compensated by a cultural studies model of agency via Lawrence Grossberg's positioning of a social movement as an agent where agents "are, in fact, the real actors of history — the site of the practices and struggles to control the direction and destiny of a society" (1992: 124). The significance of the structuring forces this chapter will instance recognizes Grossberg's account of agency

not [as] a matter of individuals and groups but of what Gramsci called 'tendential forces'...In determining the configurations of people and practices, they also create the spaces within which people can experience and act. (ibid.: 123)

These forces, Grossberg explains, "can only act through the intercession of 'agents'," and such an agent as a 'nominal group' has its identity "...defined primarily by its members' common effort to act in particular historical ways" (ibid.: 124).

The implicating of people (artists) within history (or art history) as a process by which different individualities and relations are produced allows 'artistrum' subjectivities to exist, where such subjectivities function as "sites of experience, [and] attributions of responsibility" (ibid.: 122). Artist-run culture therefore interpolates an active sense of agency: it struggles to determine — where it can, and what at any one time this might mean — the direction and shape of history

A sociology of art and culture

While acknowledging the usefulness of a sociology of art in terms of its key questions and theories of production and reception, I am examining a different sense of how the artist/author "has a place in a sociology of art" (Wolff, [1981] 1993: 153). From this point forward, my focus on 'artist-run culture' leaves aside the recovery of the artist in the art-making process; this is what Janet Wolff usefully refers to as a re-conceptualization of the "producer as originator of the text" in recognition of the "non-evaporation" of the producing subject (ibid.: 153). Instead, my interest in collective production (one of many factors seen to displace the author from the text) resides more happily in how artists have invested their energies in

a proliferation of cultural formations. Raymond Williams provides a description of this work within a sociology of culture. Williams chose to consider artistic movements as formations in which "artists come together in the common pursuit of some artistic aim" (Williams, 1981: 63). His framework for a social analysis of 'artistic formations' was his way of improving upon "mere empirical listings of successive 'movements' or 'isms' which then moves away to an unlocated discussion of 'styles.'" (ibid.: 68) Variously refering to these formations as "artistic" or "cultural" Williams acknowledges that such a sociology of groups becomes "obviously difficult, in any orthodox terms" (ibid.: 66) In this conjuncture where the 'cultural' has further absorbed aspects of the 'social,' artist-run culture constitutes a type of movement where cultural and social formations appear to coalesce.

Moment 1 - Localizing representations: Constructing Québec

Denis Lessard (1982) "Bon baisers du Québec."

Alayn Ouellet (1984) "L'art actuel en region et
l'imaginaire collectif."

Michel Roy(1984) "Des pratiques minoritaires au Québec:
Les années 70."

Denys Tremblay (1987) "Du regional au régionalisme."

Stephen Schofield (1987) "Allegory on the Master Cat."

Guy Sioui Durand (1988) "Du <<Québec libre>> au <<Stop the
Madness>> Les nouveaux enjeux de l'art engage."

Gilles Arteau (1990) "Regrouper."

(All essays translated by Jeanluc Svoboda)

From the moment of its official incorporation,
ANNPAC/RACA's executive included six elected regional
representatives from Toronto, Québec, Ontario, the Atlantic
provinces, the Prairies/Central and the Pacific. Its
publication Parallélogramme begins publishing essays in
1981 alongside its member centres' descriptions of their
programs and other information listings; from 1981 until
1988 every volume of Parallélogramme (published six times a
year) included articles recommended by a rotation of the
six regional representatives or editor(s). For the core
readership of Parallélogramme (the member centres of
artists of ANNPAC/RACA) a corpus of such articles read in
tandem with the centres' programming and projects would
then assist in the discursive construction of each region.

On the articulation of national identity in Canada within the discursive space of the museum, Anne Whitelaw writes:

Regionalism offers a different articulation of space than geography and, because of its inherent complexity, it has within it the possibility to negotiate the imperative towards securing a unified 'Canadian' character...As a political and cultural force, regionalism has greater currency and believability in Canada than nationalism ever could because of its invocation of a local coherence that cannot be effected on a broader scale. (Whitelaw, 1995: 261)

The following essays from Québec, eread collectively as a moment 'invoking local coherence,' signal commonalities and differences in how challenges and opportunities are identified across policy geographies. As I am implying a cumulative narrative made available for the readers of such essays, I have maintained the chronological sequence of their publication. Such writings — and their attentions to strategies, practices and organizational histories — contribute to a shifting sense of what an artist-run culture, within certain circumstances and sites, has addressed (its history); and, as perceptions of changing conditions and aesthetic or political demands, could or should be addressing as goals (its present and immediate future).

The first two essays (Lessard and Ouellet) address a discourse of art and its dissemination within and outside of Québec; the third (Roy) inserts an overlapping history of Montréal-based Marxist art and culture collectives preceding artist-run centres in Québec; the fourth and fifth essays (Tremblay and Schofield) return to questions of center and periphery; the sixth (Durand) essays a relationship between activist art and politics; and finally the seventh (Arteau) reports on the mobilization of artists organizations in Québec.

Through an examination of exhibitions made within Québec, exchange exhibitions and inclusions of Québec artists within 'pan-Canadian' exhibitions, Denis Lessard asks the questions: How can one describe Québec's contribution to contemporary Canadian art, and how is it linked to Québec's "alternative gallery system?" Lessard's analysis begins with the acceptance of "a major reference point" in post-1960s Québec contemporary art discourse: a series of exhibitions known as Québec 75 coming out of discussions of Montréal's artist-run centres: Véhicule, Média and Graff.

Québec 75 was a combination happening-manifesto, an attempt to increase the profile of a special segment of Québecois art outside official channels. The documentation of this event, the forcefulness of its various statements, and its "pan-Canadian" tour 9 have all had a profound effect. (Lessard, 1982: 11)

Lessard makes clear the tensions between 'experimental galleries' and traditional institutions, not only in terms of who organizes what but in the interpretations of what sense of place contemporary art practices are addressing.

The idea leading to Québec 75

grew out of a historical and regional need to point out the existence of artistic activities distinctively Québecois in nature, and to overcome the disorganization prevailing in the museums, galleries, and in art criticism at the time (Pontbriand, Morin, Thériault quoted in Lessard, 1982: 11)

This Lessard contrasts with a large survey exhibition, 9 out of 10, A Survey of Canadian Contemporary Art, organized by "public institutions, commercial galleries and a number of private collectors...ignoring the alternative centres altogether" (ibid.: 11). A curatorial statement accompanying 9 out of 10 proposed that there was a uniformity in contemporary art

[thereby] that Québec had somehow become integrated into the 'global village' ... Québec 75 was radically opposed to this way of thinking. Its main objective was to put an end to Québec's isolation by touring the latest Québecois productions across Canada...Québec 75 gave concrete form to an entirely different distribution theory. This show indicated a move toward a greater pluralism in Québec; criteria like the ethnic orgins of the artists involved, and establishing a balance between anglophones and francophones were not evident, at least not in Québec 75's Visual Arts entries. This pluralism resulted in the more or less necessary syndrome so prevalent at the time of using bilingual passwords like Véhicule, [the exhibition] Péripheries, [and the magazines] Parallélogramme, Parachute, and Virus. 11 (ibid.: 12)

Lessard makes two points about exhibitions and the network of artist-run centres: (1) The most important factors shaping the Québecois profile on the early 1980s art scene in Canada were already operative prior to the formalization with ANNPAC/RACA in 1976 and (2) the exhibition touring habits observed in this network of artist-run centres "lends a certain uniformity to the activities in these

centres and encourages the massive distribution of a rather limited assortment of images" (ibid.: 13).

Alayn Ouellet's focus is upon the "regional avantgarde activities in Québec" (Ouellet, 1984: 18). He writes:

[The] tendency to consider Montréal as synonomous with Québec was countered a few years ago by the "intervention communautaire" program set up by the Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec. This program accorded official recognition and assistance to contemporary art activities outside the metropolitan region. [It] provided a number of existing centres with the means to pursue and broaden their goals [as well as] facilitating the emergence of a number of new artist-run centres. This regional network shares a specific collective identity...their activities cannot be considered in isolation as they constitute an integral element of Québec culture and are vital to our understanding of it. (ibid.)

Ouellet draws attention to a different art practice where "regional artist-run centres encourage the production of works both experimental and community-oriented in nature" (ibid.). Such regional art activities ignored by 'official criticism' disseminated by national newspapers, art reviews and the electronic media find new audiences that are "younger and more diverse in character, better educated and more community-oriented" (ibid.) Interaction between social groups is "easier and much more immediate than in large urban centres...In rural communities these groups are necessarily smaller and more closely linked, resulting in a higher and more rewarding level of interaction" (ibid.).

Michel Roy's essay was commissioned for Parallélogramme by the organizers of a touring exhibition, "The Anti-Nuke Show" working at Powerhouse Gallery. In, "Des pratiques minoritaires au Québec: Les années 70," Michael Roy traces a history of artist collectives and activism from 1953 when artists Robert Rousill and Armand Vaillancourt founded an open studio and a workers' university. It identifies a cultural formation of socialist artists within the sectarian Marxist left ending with an "attempted re-unification" of progressive cultural movements in Québec at the founding of the ATTC (L'Alliance des Travailleurs et Travailleuses de la Culture) or CWA (Cultural Workers Alliance) in Peterborough (Ontario) in 1980. 12 Groups that engaged variously critiqued formalist art (ler Mai) or saw formalism as revolutionary practice (Actes) or focused upon the "production of works reflecting a political line serving the proletarian revolution (Atelier Amherst)" (Roy 1980: 22-23). These groups briefly came together from 1976-78 to operate out of Média, the progressive Montréal gallery. The unremarked connection between this cultural formation and the formalization of a network of artist-run centres is that Média is a founding member of ANNPAC/RACA, the association has its first legal

office at Média and its Director, Denis Racine, co-writes the national association's constitution.

The next essay appears in a catalog, "Du regional au régionalisme," for the exhibition *Québec en regions* (1987).

Denys Tremblay is more theoretical about the significance of an 'operational localism':

Its importance...is not due to the fact that it is local or that the precise location of its origins permit it to take on a meaning. The importance of this "localism" is due rather to the fact that is "localistic" — that the very production of the space is responsible for it taking on a meaning. (1987: 22)

In the same Québec en regions exhibition catalog

(distributed as a Parallélogramme insert) Paul Schofield

reconstructs an allegory of the artist's career through the

fairy tale of Le chat botté/Puss in Boots. This allegory

was introduced by three artists who were asked to present

themselves and their work to address the experience of the

Canadian artist in New York in the series "L'Art qui

parle." Schofield writes:

On the superficial level the periphery is Montréal and the centre is New York; they could have been two other cities and in fact in the context of this catalogue, there is a reversal of positions (a major theme of the fairy tale). Consequently, Montréal becomes the centre and "Québec en Régions" becomes the periphery. This is possible because on a profounder level the movement is not geographic but spiritual, the centre is the inner life and the periphery is the eternal circumstances of the artists life. (20)

Schofield asserts a modeling of behaviour through myths and fairy tales and suggests how even contrary information to the myth of (in this case) New York (as a city of success, of wealth and fame) reaffirms the reputation that "pulls in those who know that the city can absorb any exaggeration" (ibid.). In this sense, Schofield writes, myths cannot be confronted but a fairy tale "might just shift the field."

Myths are stories of super or supra human endeavours...fairy tales on the other hand, are stories of ordinary people and their problems, when extraordinary events happen, they are treated as if they were ordinary, even banal...In Puss 'n Boots, the cat succeeds in doing good by lying, cheating, faking and disguising his strategy...[Similarly]the artist from the periphery must wear an imperfect disguise similar enough to be familiar and comforting to the superficial glance, yet exposing his different nature. (ibid.)

Following on from Michel Roy's account of earlier collectives, Guy Sioui Durand's "Du «Québec libre» au «Stop the madness» Les nouveaux enjeux de l'art engage," re-structures a history of activist art in Québec before and during the 1980s. Durand, a prolific art critic and sociologist¹³ produces a schema for linking "dominant ideologies with art movements" and reads Québec activist art through three historical "phases." "Phase One (1968-1978) Political militancy, the Québec Underground movement and the State in search of Culture; Phase Two (1978-1984) an alternative to centralism; and Phase Three (1984-1988)

"Institutionalisation of the alternative and the return of individualism?" (1980: 18-25) The final essay, in this series written by Gilles Arteau presents a fifteen-year history of the work of RCAAQ (Regroupment des centres d'artistes autogérés du Québec). Written less than twelve months before the RCAAQ "removes" its membership from ANNPAC/RACA, Arteau (as RCAAQ President) usefully documents the building of the RCCAQ and AADRAV (Association des Artistes du Domaine réputé des Arts visuals) the latter to make use of Québec's Status of the Artists legislation (Bill 78 (Qc), 1987).

Moment 2 - Gender: After The Dinner Party

In February 1980, Galerie Powerhouse sponsored a lecture by Judy Chicago, two years prior to her exhibition of *The Dinner Party* at Montréal's Musée d'art Contemporain. In March 1982, a six-week period of programming began at the Powerhouse, entitled "Celebration," to mark the exhibition of *The Dinner Party* with performances, installations, video screenings, workshops, and panel discussions. 14

On June 22 of the same year, the Toronto-based collective Women's Cultural Building (WCB), 15 which formed in the fall of 1981, organized a public forum and panel discussion entitled "After the Party's Over" to correspond

with the move of Chicago's "phenomenally successful" traveling exhibition from the Musée d'art Contemporain, Montréal to the AGO (Art Gallery of Ontario). The panel, consisting of Kay Armatage, Varda Burstyn, Carol Condé, Joyce Mason, Carlyn Moulton, and Lisa Steele, emerged out of a felt necessity to place Chicago's installation in a critical context.

The immense popularity, the media coverage, and the monumental style and scope of the work itself, raised many crucial questions amongst the women's art community [yet] there was a gut feeling that neither The Dinner Party, nor Judy Chicago, were capable of telling the whole story of what feminism and feminist art might imply or be" (Donegan, 1982: 10).

Kay Armitage acknowledged that as an encyclopedic, or "didactic piece its greatest achievement is bringing' women worthy' to the attention of a mass audience" (ibid.:14), but she was critical of *The Dinner Party* for not questioning established traditions, specifically "the maledominated structures with its emphasis on monumentalism, the primacy of the artist as a heroic figure, as well as associations with wealth and opulence" (ibid.: 17). In reference to Chicago's much-quoted 1975 journal entry — "My dream is that I will make a piece so far beyond judgement that it will enter the cultural pool and never be erased from history, as women's work has been erased before" (ibid.: 30) — Carlyn Moulton suggested that Chicago's

artistic ambitions outweighed the described feminist intentions of the piece. Lisa Steele furthermore pointed out that:

in seeking to enter the 'cultural pool' as she calls it, by creating a monument to the feminine principle, which is capable of being housed and exhibited only within a museum, Chicago avoids a direct confrontation with the whole process of history-making — and art history making (ibid.: 30).

As a remedy to the exclusion of women in history, in the opinion of Steele, The Dinner Party failed because:

it reinforces rather than replaces the prevailing, patriarchal reading of history and culture. It suggests the Great Man theory can become the Great Woman and Man theory; that monuments are not such a bad thing and all that's missing are Women's monuments. The problem with this analysis is that it is the antithesis of self-determination, the antithesis of cultural democracy and thus, the antithesis of feminism (ibid.: 30).

Moreover, by allowing her artistic ambitions to overtake her motives as a feminist, Chicago:

is basically an integrationist — assuming that the goals of feminism can be accomplished simply by including women into the already existing power structure (whether that structure is the art world or the Church or the state) and that women's presence will somehow 'feminize' these structures and thus reform them (ibid.: 29).¹⁷

That Chicago's work was shown, could only be shown, in museums like the AGO and Musée d'art Contemporain, concerned Carol Condé in that *The Dinner Party* "encouraged the already 'popular' notion that feminism is an

established position — a firmly entrenched ideology that only seeks to legitimate itself" (ibid.: 41). In the specific context of the recent establishment of WCB, Condé stated that "it reinforces this notion at the very time when we, in this community, are redefining a feminist politics" (ibid.: 41).

Women's artist-run spaces attempted to remedy the exclusion of women from art historical discourse, and provide an alternative to the "grafting onto a patriarchal framework" (Baert, 1983: 41), as performed by Chicago, by building "a physical infrastructure, a community, a physical context" (ibid.: 38) that could combine both the personal and the political, both theory and practice, into an effective challenge to traditional cultural production. This role was assumed by the women's artist-run centres and other media and distribution outlets that grew in numbers in the early 1980s.

The "Dinner Party" debate circulating through the feminist quarterly Fireweed contributed to three accomplishments: (1) It articulated a socialist-feminist aesthetics at a time when the immediate artist community was thinking (or not thinking clearly) of a post-feminism; (2) the Women's Cultural Building itself brought together existing networks of women artists, critics, intellectuals

and activists; and (3) the debate drew attention to what might constitute a feminist populism. In the year following, Toronto witnessed two back-to-back feminist art festivals. The first "Women's Building Culture" was organized by the WCB; the second festival "Women's Perspective '83" was organized by the Partisan Women's Collective. The two festivals combined involved the work of two hundred women cultural producers giving birth to the popular annual "Five Minute Feminist Cabaret" and incorporating the supportive emergence of 'womensbands.' While not causal, the organization of these festivals occurred just prior to the 1983 ANNPAC/RACA AGM which adopted a change in membership criteria with "a commitment to the principle of sexual [gender] equality in ANNPAC centres." 19

Moment 3 — Anti-Racism: Minquon Panchayat (Rainbow Council)
The conference "About Face, About Frame" (June 1992),
spearheaded by Independent Film and Video Alliance (IFVA)
president Premika Ratman, brought together some forty filmand video-makers, producers and administrators of Colour
and of First Nations descent. What the conference
demonstrated was "the growing sense of militancy among
First Nations people and People of Colour demanding to have

their voices seen and heard" (Dawes, 1992: 14). Central to the ensuing dialogues are the issues of representation and cultural appropriation — "views that firmly rooted themselves in understanding the dynamics of power and exploitation" (ibid.) — followed by the implications of these issues on policy measures. Participants discussed "a need to strengthen the coalition of artists of colour and First Nations descent through critical and pro-active examination of the funding policies and trends within both the larger government-funded agencies, as well as the smaller artist-run centres and regional and local arts councils" (ibid.). Ultimately, there was a desire to establish "a support network of artists which will bolster the work and influence of all independent film and videomakers" (ibid.).

The resoluteness emerging from IFVA's conference

"About Face, About Frame" was replicated in ANNPAC/RACA's

annual general meeting in September of the same year. At

the conference "Contemporary Arts in Canada at the End of

the 20th Century" preceding the 1992 AGM, the pre-Minquon

Panchayat Council "composed of conference speakers and

invited participants" (Shaw, 1992: 12) was formed. Led by

key-speaker Lillian Allen, the Caucus presented ANNPAC/RACA

with "an anti-racist implementation strategy" (ibid.),

which was adopted by the AGM plenary by consensus, "propel[ing] ANNPAC/RACA light years ahead in its objective to be effective and relevant to cultural producers in Canada" (ibid.). The adopted strategy included commitments from ANNPAC/RACA for "financial and organizational resources to address systemic racism" (ibid.); "a reorganization of [its] decision-making process" in the form of significant representation of the Management Committee; and active networking, lobbying, and liaising with "artists, relevant organizations and appropriate governing bodies to achieve this anti-racism agenda" (ibid.). The implementation strategy proposed by the pre-Minquon Panchayat Council, entitled "Principles and Responsibility of the Advisory Committee for Anti-Racism," was published in Parallélogramme (Volume 18, Number 3) in December 1992. Monika Gagnon contextualizes the anti-racism "Principles" as a document that:

first identifies the existence of systemic racism and its exclusionary effects on First Nations artists and artists of colour, and proceeds to outline a restructuring and expansion of ANNPAC's Management Committee with the significant addition of the Minquon Panchayat Council (Gagnon, 1992: 14).

On December 1, 1992, Marilyn Jung, board member of Gallery 101 and A Space Programming Committee (as well as the City of Ottawa's Advisory Committee on Visible

Minorities) was hired as Animation Coordinator for the preMinquon Panchayat Caucus, and on December 12 and 13, she
participated in ARCO's regional meeting in Ottawa. At the
Tri-Provincial Prairies meeting held in Winnipeg, Jung
detailed that the pre-Minquon Panchayat is "working toward
fulfilling the addition of eight regional representatives
from the communities of artists of colour and First Nations
artists to ANNPAC/RACA's Management Committee" (1993: 18).
In June 1993 in Calgary, Métis interdisciplinary artist,
programming director for Truck, and co-president of the New
Gallery, Cheryl L'Hirondelle, was hired as anti-racism
animator for the pre-Minquon Panchayat, to replace Marilyn
Jung after the completion of her role as interim antiracism animator.

At a meeting of the pre-Minquon Panchayat caucus (including Lillian Allen, Shirley Bear, Cheryl L'Hirondelle, Monika Gagnon, Marie Mumford, Paul Wong, David Woods, Marilyn Jung (as interim anti-racism animator) and caucus observers Sandra Laronde, Teresa Marshall and Dana Claxton) in Toronto on April 17-19, 1993, a "comprehensive and charged proposal" (L'Hirondelle, 1993: 20) was prepared for submission to the organizing steering committee of PARCA for ANNPAC/RACA's 1993 national conference to be held in Calgary. The proposal, titled

"It's a Cultural Thing: Individual Expression - Collective Inspiration," focused on "sharing the experiences of our diverse cultures and practices with artist-run centres across the country" (ibid.). The pre-Minquon Panchayat caucus desires to work with PARCA to "bring together First Nations artists and artists of Colour from communities largely not witnessed in the existing artist-run network" (ibid.). Of note, the caucus "insists that centres and their delegates come to the September event prepared to 'book' artists for future programming" (ibid.).

Reflecting the devaluation by the Canada Council of the piqued solidarity amongst First Nations artists and artists of Colour, Koko Amarteifo resigns in June 1993 as Cultural Equity Coordinator. In particular, she expressed frustration "over the Council's lack of commitment" (Singh, 1993: 12) and a disgruntledness over the "low status assigned to [his] position and the program" (ibid.) on the whole.

In June 1993, at a meeting entitled "Facing the Future with Imagination - A Forum on Cultural Equity," the Toronto Arts Council invited the Minquon Panchayat caucus "to meet with notable artists and cultural workers and to spread the word about ANNPAC/RACA's anti-racism initiatives" (L'Hirondelle, 1993: 18). As well as

discussing developments in the planning for "It's a Cultural Thing, " information was exchanged about "plans and developments being shared nationwide" (ibid.). Reports included news from Calgary (a chapter of Minguon Panchayat formed and was meeting on a regular basis; group members secured one year of programming at The New Gallery for 1994-5 exhibition season; members protested regionally organized writers' conference that had failed to invite writers of Colour as speakers or guests); Saskatchewan Ironbow First Nations Arts Corporation signed on as full member of ANNPAC); Vancouver (a gathering of nearly 100 artists of Colour organized by Vancouver caucus members): Toronto ("A Gathering of Seven Circles" conference sponsored by Association of Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts (ANDPVA) and The Cultureworks Secretariat of the Toronto Arts Council); and Halifax (an evening of performance hosted by Minquon Panchayat and The Black Artists' Network of Nova Scotia).

The efforts of the Minquon Panchayat coalesced at the September 18-19, 1993 conference sponsored by ANNPAC/RAC, "It's a Cultural Thing: Individual Expression, Collective Inspiration." A lead-up advertisement published in Parallelograme (Volume 19, Number 2) billed the conference as: "A major national gathering focusing on vital issues

in the Canadian cultural community: positive strategies to address the effects of systemic racism and exclusion." Dramatically, during the September 20, 1993, AGM for ANNPAC/RACA following the "It's A Cultural Thing" conference, an impasse was reached between ANNPAC/RACA members and Minquon Panchayat representatives. As a result, the association unravelled. In October 1993, the Pacific Association of Artist-Run Centres (PAARC) supported a resolution "strongly advising all ANNPAC members within PAARC to resign from the national association" (Higgins, 1993: 14) and asked ANNPAC "to refund two years' membership fees to PAARC members, in acknowledgement of its bad faith...[as well as] demanding a share of ANNPAC's national revenues in proportion to the number of ex-member centres in B.C. (about 18 percent of the national total)" (ibid.). In November, the Prairie Artist Run Centre Association (PARCA) unanimously decided to withdraw from ANNPAC for "it failure to fulfill its commitment to the antiracism initiatives as set out by the Minquon Panchayat" (ibid.). Similarly, in December 1993, Calgary's EM/Media withdrew its membership in ANNPAC because the association "failed to unanimously support the initiatives of the Minquon Panchayat, having agreed to do so at the AGM of 1992" (EM/Media, 1993: 14); the Management Committee "undermined

the credibility of the anti-racist initiative" (ibid.) by failing to "make themselves aware of the content and substance of the Minquon Panchayat proposal prior to the AGM" (ibid.); the Management Committee demonstrated that "it was neither willing to accept change nor share power nor contribute financial support to a previously agreed upon initiative" (ibid.); and, the "bureaucratic structure of ANNPAC has become so cumbersome that it is no longer functional" (ibid.). EM/Media demanded the return of membership fees paid to ANNPAC for the years 1992-93 and 1993-94.

In the December 1993 issue of Parallélogramme (Volume 19, Number 3), echoing the dissatisfaction of artist-run organizations, Cheryl L'Hirondelle (as Minquon Panchayat animator), Lynne Fernie (as Editor of Parallelogramme) and Nancy Shaw (as Vice-President of ANNPAC/RACA) announced their resignations in response to ANNPAC's "failure to honour its two-year commitment to Minquon Panchayat's antiracism initiatives" (Shaw, 1993: 16).

To address the impasse the association faced at the September AGM, ANNPAC/RACA held a Management Committee meeting in Toronto (Mar. 13-14, 1994). A motion was passed endorsing "the creation of a task force to consult with artist and artist-run centres and work toward change by

suggesting new configurations for a renewed national network of artist-run centres and groups" (ANNPAC, 1994[19]: 12). In addition, regular activities of the Board and committees were put on hold for six months "to devote resources" to ANNPAC/RACA's "renewal" (ibid.). Support for "The New Initiative for Artist Collectives" (a published statement circulating three months prior to the meeting) encouraged "representatives from regions which had severed relations with ANNPAC/RACA" (ibid.) to attend the meeting.

In March 1994, the Animating Team, the task force set up to address ANNPAC/RACA's renewal, 20 held its first teleconference meeting; and, in June 1994, The Animating Team met to discuss "distilling the needs and concerns of communities into draft policies and principles for a new network" (ANNPAC: 1994 [20, 2], pg. 10). Notably, there was a stated commitment to "zero tolerance for racism in the arts at all levels — in our art institutions, funding agencies and artist—run communities" (ibid.). This commitment was to be carried out through: the vigilance of The Animating Team personnel; community involvement and animation; and, a 'Major Art Event' as an invitation to "all artist—run centres, artist groups and collectives to organize events to initiate cross—cultural dialogue and communication" (ibid.: 12). Parallélogramme published a

list of some 30 collectives and centres that were "eager" to join the "new inclusive network of artist-run activity across Canada" (ANNPAC: 1994 [20, 3]: 24).

One year later, a new association called the Artist-Run Network (ARN) was formed to replace ANNPAC. ARN set forth with "a new mandate and structure" (ARN, 1995: 12) that was dedicated to "artists' right to create and present evolving aesthetics free from interference or censorship" (ibid.). The association promised to dedicate energy to building "awareness of these expanding art forms in the media and society" and to be "provocative in the implementation of racial and cultural equity within existing structures and work to facilitate communication within and between diverse communities" (ibid.). A number of Focus Groups within ARN, including the broad range of "Anti-Censorship, Cross-Cultural Collaboration, Racial Equity, Interdisciplinary, First Peoples, Atlantic Region, and Saskatchewan Artists' Centres, were established as ARN's "vehicle for representation and communication" (ibid.). Parallélogramme, too, promised to "develop to better reflect the diversity of practice and perspective of artist-run community involved in the organization" (p. 14).

These three different moments of agency — determining configurations of people and practices and creating spaces

within which people can experience and act — engage lived realities of centers and peripheries or centers and margins. Such moments help develop assumptions about what 'self-governance' entails, how it proceeds to make and unmake 'communities as coalitions,' how it has and will continue to 'wake up' false expectations of the limited negotiations deemed necessary within and across everyday 'professional practices' within the field.

In "Some keywords and arguments in cultural politics,"

Desh Pardesh²¹ participants, Sean Lokaisingh-Meighoo and

Arif Noorani write about the lack of "concerted and coordinated" effort to "re-examine the concepts, rules and
assumptions that have developed to guide the work of
cultural politics" (1999: 28). Their critique of community
as 'safe space,' and a "naïve notion of inclusivity through
which community is supposed to work" interrogates how
"communities are formed through qualifications for
inclusion as much as by criteria for exclusion" (ibid.:
30). This discussion continues in the following chapter
where the focus is on how the organizations of artist-run
culture in Canada operate as apparatuses.

Notes for Chapter 2

- There is an early and shrewd reference to the problem of defining a movement of artist-run centres in J.Sauchuk's "No-Name Art: Beneath the Underground Movement," that appeared in Parallelogramme Retrospective 3 (Rosenberg, 1979) Sauchuk writes: "The procedure of incorporation, and the reasons for the establishment of the artist-run centres have given these centres institutional status. In tracing the development of [such] art institutions there would be no reason to assume that one would find the elements of an art movement, per se. The individual groups were initially constituted in response to utilitarian concerns rather than for specific aesthetic reasons, yet there is evidence of a movement in the traditional sense which surfaces through the activities of the artists involved." (Sauchuk, 1979: 16)
- Aside from the category 'censorship' there is moreover a chronological sequence to this list where different selfdeterminations and their politics make themselves felt within the artist-run centre movement and its rhetoric of 'alternativeness' more intensely than in the general arts sector. (The exceptions, see Chapter 5, I argue occur when opportunities for legal mobilization are followed.) Through these debates of presences and absences, the agency of 'artist-run' is further problematized. In the time-frame 1976-1994 both within Parallélogramme and ANNPAC/RACA differences are first addressed as singular 'categories' rather than as intersection of differences. Therefore, 'difference issues' of region precedes gender which in turn precedes sexuality which in turn precedes race. The formalizing and maintenance of a national network continues to be troubled by differentiations of culture and policy that are named and experienced spatially as 'regions.' So for example in 1989, W.A.R.C. (Women's Art Resource Centre, Toronto) holds a conference titled: "Locations: Feminism, Art, Racism, Region - Writings and Artworks."
- ³ While I provide preliminary indications of possible relevances here these considerations are continued in Chapters 3 and 5.
- ⁴ For definitions and claims I have mainly relied upon Nick Crossley's *Making Sense of Social Movements*(2002) a work that seeks to develop a synthetic framework for movement analysis. My search for an applicable analysis of the

artist-run culture as movement involved working "backwards" from reading dissimilar accounts of emergences of social movements from citizenship rights (Barbalet, 1988) and from an exercise of "bio-power" by the state (Miller, 1992)

- ⁵ Crossley chooses Bourdieu's theory of practice to overcome the agency and structure "fault lines" of social movement theories. "The advantages of Bourdieu's position are at the level of general theory. He has relatively little to say about movements and protests, and what he does say is sometimes problematic." (Crossly 2002: 168)
- ⁶ As examples of 'tendential forces' Grossberg names "capitalism, industrialism, technology, democracy, nationalism, religion" (Grossberg123)
- This approach of a bi-lingual national publication determined and defined for the most part by regional content made *Parallélogramme* a unique visual and media arts publication in Canada. From 1988-1995 this focus shifts to theme issues and/or a mix of regionally-sourced writings. The managing editor(s) added other special topic essays to these region-focused issues and there were periodic "insert supplements" from conferences or special exhibition catalogs. Over its lifetime *Parallélogramme's* international readership matched or exceeded any other Canadian art periodical.
- 8 I am not starting at the beginning. The very first essay published in the Parallélogramme retrospective books series by Ouébec francophone artist-writers was Francine Coutoure and Esther Trépannier's "Art et Question Nationale" (1979). They speak of Canadian political and art history and that "a profound ambiguity still persists in the sense that it is always the federal institutions that support the Québecois artist recouping their output for the benefit of of a Canadian national art" (Coutoure and Trépannier, 1979: 254). The series I am referring to of regional editing begins with Jean Tourangeau's "Entre la fête et le drame" (1982), alluding to the Corridart Affair (the destruction of public art works in Montréal by the Drapeau administration) and the Molinari and Largillierre Affairs (protests by artists about the Musée des Beaux-Arts art purchase policies). (Tourangeau writes a much fuller piece on the Corridart Québec Superior case for Fuse, Vol 5 Nos 6&7, 1981) In the same issue of Parallélogramme, Chantal Boulanger contributes, "Produire: Faire, Dire." Boulanger

writes, "Québec occupies a unique position on the international art scene...It seems obvious that the term 'regionalist' hardly applies to Québec." (Boulanger, 1982: 9) All of the subsequent Québec 'correspondents' (as you may notice) are men chosen or approved as representative writers by the feminist editor(s) of Parallélogramme.

- "The 'Visual Arts' section was curated by the Institut d'art contemporain in Montréal and shown outside Québec in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Charlottetown, Toronto, Regina and Calgary between February and December 1976. Québec 75 also included Video and Film Sections." (Lessard, 1983: 13)
- 10 109 Canadian artists were invited to participate in 9 out 10 (1973-4) at the Art Gallery of Hamilton, the Kitchener/Waterloo Art Gallery and the Stratford Gallery. The catalog essay was written by Glenn E. Cumming.
- In his Parallélogramme editorial, Lessard includes a number of touring exhibitions by Véhicule, Montréal's successful artist-run centre with its unique mix of anglophone and francophone artists, independent curators and critics. Parachute and Virus magazines were both developed from the Véhicule milieu as was the archival centre, Artexte. Lessard points to the institutional counter-hegemony of Véhicule and Parachute and Québec 75 giving attentions to certain Montréal artists but at the expense of Québec artists outside of Montréal. This is 'remedied' in the 1980s by Québec City's Le Lieu and its publication Inter (as they saw it as a counter-hegemony to the considerable influence of Parachute) and the authorship and policy power of the RCAAQ emerging from Québec City.
- ¹² The CWA is discussed in Chapter 5 as its Toronto members are among those who form the IAU (Independent Artists Union) and organize for a living wage for artists.
- Durand has been teaching sociology at Université de Québec à Chicoutimi since 1978 and has published a major study on Québec alternative art formations and related arts policy. (Durand 1997)
- ¹⁴ Panel discussions and presentations included (March 5) Lisa Steele and Nancy Nicol from Toronto and Hélène Doyle from Montréal; from March 10 to 17, the YWCA and the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) sponsored a series of talks on Judy Chicago's work

entitled "Who Was Invited to the Dinner Party?": Christine Allen on "Women Philosophers," Maureen Slattery Durley and Frances Davis on "Two Women Writers," Johanna Stuckey on "Female Spirituality," ending with Deborah Gorham on "Women and Political Activism."

¹⁵WCB was yet without a physical building, referring instead to "building" as "much as a verb and a current activity as a future address" (Steele, 1982: 4).

¹⁶ I resurrected this "Dinner Party" moment in a panel discussion (2003) organized by the AGO for critical reflections on the museum and the self-presentation of Yoko Ono.

¹⁷ Quoting Lucy Lippard, Steele writes that it is a danger for women artists to be:

satisfied with the new found luxury of greater representation in museums and galleries, rather than continuing to explore alternatives. These alternatives will, hopefully, change more than the superficial aspect of the way art is seen, bought, sold, and used in our culture (Steele, 1982(b): 4).

¹⁸ See Banuta Rubess ("Building Culture with a Women's Perspective," Fuse, Vol 3. No. 3: 91-98. This essay contains a public statement by the Women's Perspective Collective critiquing the Partisan Gallery (for questioning the organizing of the Women's Perspective Show '83 by its members) and, by implication all (Toronto) artist-run centres. The Collective was demanding "the right to organize as women around the issues we define."

There is much evidence of this 'moment' elsewhere. A preceding article, "A History of Feminism at N.S.C.A.D." written "collectively by members of the College community" (Parallélogramme, 1982, Vol. 8, No.2, pp. 10-11) ends with "Feminism is included in educational structures only in a co-opted and neutralized form. It must not threaten existing conventions while contributing to a façade of artworld progressiveness and contemporaniety. Also see Carol Williams," A Working Chronology of Feminist Cultural Activities in Vancouver,[1970-1991]" in Stan Douglas' Vancouver Anthology (1991).

²⁰Consisting of Susan Crean, Ashok Mathur, Richard Fung, Lillian Allen, Tanya Mars, Sylvie Fortin, Roger Lee, Su Schnee, and John Schneider

Desh Pardesh is a South Asian arts and political organization that coordinates an annual festival/conference and other ongoing projects in Toronto.

Chapter 3

Contestations and Legal Mobilizations

This chapter extends the possibilities for movement analysis by recognizing a conceptual approach that better fits a different set of policy interactions. The focus shifts to cases where artist-run culture engages with law as a resource in practical social struggle across a broader public space. The three cases described in this chapter are: first, old law is unexpectedly enforced in a pre-administrative state fashion; second, legal mobilization takes place that highlights absent legislation; and third, a federal agency adjusts itself to new laws and it is the process of invited community participation and the public monitoring of its policy reform that is of larger interest.

A 'legal mobilization' framework studies law and politics. McCann and Silverstein explain the premise and its assumptions:

The key premise of this approach is simple: law is mobilized when an aspiration is translated into a legal demand or assertion of legal rights. Several important and relatively unorthodox assumptions underlie this basic premise. For one thing laws themselves are understood less as abstract, impersonal rules established by the state than as cultural conventions that shape and facilitate social interaction. As such legal norms and practices provide some of the most important strategies of action that citizens routinely mobilize to negotiate relations, whether cooperative or conflictual, with each other and with the state (1993: 133).

This approach is traced to where progressive social movements have sought a restructuring in the organization of liberal state institutions.

The animating hope behind these demands has been to maximize the responsiveness, responsibility and representativeness of government policy-making processes. Such ideals are conventionally liberal and pluralistic to be sure. Yet left reform advocates have to transform these well-known clichés into powerful challenges to the entrenched elite consensus and bureaucratic state paternalism that impede social change. (ibid.: 132)

The many sites at which state censorship can take place in Canada from the changing obscenity definitions in the Criminal Code to the seizures of imported material by Canada Customs is well-known and well-documented. The court challenges and the 'direct action' tactics leading to the organizing of "Six Days of Resistance" against the priorcensorship of video and film by the Ontario Censor Board constituted one of the largest artist-lead mobilizations that has taken place. How it immediately affected community-based policy orientations of independent film and video production is a study that has yet to be undertaken. In the case of the Independent Artists Union and its attempts to begin contract negotiations with the Ontario Arts Council, its efforts were to "judicialize the administrative state" to render it more representative and responsive by attempting to impose "a more formal, quasi-judicial relational structure on administrative routines themselves"(ibid.: 138). This 'judicialization' happened somewhat differently in the racial equality

deliberations that took place between artists of color and First Nations artists at The Canada Council. My own assessment of the processes of policy consultation and outcomes in this instance is its significant production of a not-so-easily replicable precedent of procedural change. The challenges to artist-run centres by the Minquon Panchayat (discussed in the previous chapter) are met at the level of arts councils and ultimately at the level of state cultural policy with its interests in 'cultural diversity.' That said, a resolution of racial equality demands was brought into being through an already-existing legal framework of rights that required recognition and mobilization.

Case 1 - Censorship: Six Days of Resistance (1985)

To begin at a point of legal recognition, in June 2004, one battle over prior-censorship in Ontario ended with the "historic announcement" (Adams, 2004: 5) by Ontario Attorney-General Michael Bryant that "his government would not appeal the landmark April 30 judgement by former Superior Court Justice Russell Juriansz declaring unconstitutional the requirement that all films and videos have to receive review-board approval before being shown in the province" (ibid.).

Ontario's Theatres and Cinematographers Act of 1911, later revised to the Theatres Act in 1953, made the submission of films to the Censor Board mandatory *prior* to screening and subject to "treatment" (censorship) as the Board deemed fit. A series of amendments to the Theatres Act

widened the jurisdiction given to the Censor Board allowing, in 1953, a censor's "right of entry" into any cinema, and in 1975, the jurisdiction over art galleries and theatres using videotapes and Super-8 film. The Theatres Act first affected the artist-run centres in Ontario in 1980 when Toronto's Funnel Film Theatre began its battle with the Ontario Censor Board over the order to licence its projection equipment and submit all films to the Censor Board before being screened. In 1981, while charges were being laid against the organizers of the Canadian Images Film Festival held at Artspace in Peterborough for violation of section 58 of the Theatres Act, 1 and Fuse Magazine was going ahead with a 12-hour survey of recent video work ("Less Medium, More Message") regardless of the Censor Board's refusal to grant them "exemptions from normal procedures" (Cossman: 1995, p. 107) and despite warnings "they would be violating provincial law" (ibid., p. 107), The Funnel was wrangling with Censor Board Director Mary Brown over her dissatisfaction with its announcement in the Toronto Star of open screenings of "uncensored films" (Gronau, 1984: 22). Where Funnel representatives explained their "objections to censorship and [their] mandate to show films publicly, Mrs. Brown explained her jurisdiction over public screenings" (ibid.).2 At the trial of four defendants from Artspace/Canadian Images Film Festival, the Defence established that "the Ontario Censor Board had not exercised its power over film gauges below 35mm in its history, nor

indeed to its jurisdiction over video screening in public" (Coleman, 1982: 14).

This impasse was confronted by two independent, yet mutually supportive, coalitions, - the Film and Video Against Censorship (FAVAC) and Ontario Film and Video Appreciation Society (OFAVAS) - by challenging the Censor Board's power of prior-censorship according to the Theatres Act. In April 1981, FAVAC developed a set of proposed amendments to Ontario Theatres Act that addressed "the issue of freedom of expression and the problems encountered by non-commercial and cultural users of film and video" (Amis, 1982: 13). Proposed amendments included the exemption from jurisdiction of the Theatres Act for "screenings of cultural, non-commercial film and video" (ibid.), following which, once the exemption was established, "films and videotapes will not have to be submitted to the Board of Censors, nor will documentation or 'forms' have to be sent to the Board for approval" (ibid.: 13-14). Wide-reaching endorsement in the cultural communities of FAVAC's proposed amendments "was instrumental in preventing the legislation of the Ontario government's proposed amendments to the Ontario Theatres Act, which took the form of Bill 165" (ibid.: 14).

On another front, in April 1982, OFAVAS undertook a series of challenges on the constitutionality of film censorship under new Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, (1982) section 2(b), on grounds that it was a violation of freedom of expression. Indicatively, video artists involved

in Toronto's 1982 "Festival of Festivals" rejected the option of a "by invitation only" screening after refusing to comply with the Censor Board's "examination by documentation" regulations for work to be shown to a general public.3 In March 1983, the Ontario Supreme Court would rule that the Censor Board had been "vague, undefined and totally discretionary in using its powers under the Theatres Act" (Cossman, 1995: 110). In February 1984, Ontario's Court of Appeals ruled that the Theatres Act allowed for complete denial of freedom of expression in the area of films and infringed on Ottawa's jurisdiction; that is, the charge of obscenity was a federal crime. The Court of Appeals upheld the lower court ruling that the Ontario Board of Censors violated the Charter of Rights and Freedoms because its standards were vague and discretionary; yet, the Censor Board received permission from the Appeals Court "to operate until the Supreme Court of Canada ruled on the Board's legitimacy" (ibid.).

In May 1984, representatives from the Ontario Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations Theatres Branch seized video tapes and equipment from Toronto artist-run centre, A Space because, for its screening of "British/Canadian Video Exchange '84," it had refused to submit tapes to the Censor Board for prior censorship. The action seemed arbitrary as no charges were laid and no explanation given other than "the exhibition was contrary to section 38 of the Theatres Act" (ibid.: 116). It was later stated that there would not have

been a problem if A Space had received a licence for its projection equipment and if they had signed an affidavit saying that videos conformed to 'community standards.' (This 'examination by documentation' in effect meant that curators had to decide whether or not films or videotapes violated the federal Criminal Code.)4 This marked the first time since the 1970s that a video screening in an Ontario art gallery brought on government interference. A Space's equipment was seized despite Regulation No. 2 of the Theatres Act stating "all projection equipment of charitable organizations are exempt from the Act" (ibid: 116). Eventually, the equipment was returned but the videos were declared forfeit to the Crown. Mary Brown stated that the British artists could have their tapes back if they promised not to show them in Ontario without approval. A Space filed an appeal with the County Court judge in Toronto for the return of tapes under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, section 8, protecting everyone from unreasonable search and seizure. County Court Judge Douglas Bernstein declared that the seizure of the videos was unconstitutional and that it "contravened provisions of Charter of Rights and Freedoms, [in that] the section of the Theatres Act permitting seizures was inconsistent with the Charter for authorizing warrantless seizure, removal or holding of film, and therefore it was of no force and effect" (ibid.: 117).

Acts of defiance were not curtailed by the raid of A Space, if anything, they were heightened. Toronto's

Artculture Resource Centre screened Paul Wong's Confused:

Sexual Views without submission to the Censor Board and A

Space organized video and film screenings and a panel

discussion from May 21 to June 15 entitled "Issues of

Censorship." Both events were held without incident.

An intensification, however, was mounting on both sides of the fight. In May 1984, Bill 82 was proposed to amend the Theatres Act, which would give the newly named Ontario Film Review Board "powers to accept or reject all film and video works to be shown in province, licence all film and video screening venues, licence all projectionists, confiscate goods and film and video equipment (even if no charges were laid); also power to view any work, order cuts or declare outright bans" (ibid.: 116). The Bill, furthermore, would increase the Censor Board's powers by allowing censorship of videos sold or distributed for home or private screenings. In December 1984, Bill 82 was passed and, in February 1985, the Bill came into effect.

The enactment of Bill 82 (Act to amend the Theatres Act)

"provided the impetus for the points of resistance to

converge into a unified wave of protest" (Kwinter, 1985: 27).

"Ontario Open Screenings: Six Days of Resistance Against the

Censor Board" in April 1985 was such a convergence, which

developed rapidly from the idea stage of "a group of

Torontonians" (ibid.) to a province-wide action. Wider action

was prompted by the collectively-written "Statement of Unity"

(Fig. 1) which was mailed out to possible supporters.

STATEMENT OF UNITY

We have joined together to protest and resist the Ontario Censor Board (now called the Ontario Film Review Board). Under the board's newly expanded mandate, film and video are the only forms of art and communication that require government approval before they are exhibited or circulated. We know from experience that:

- 1. While the censor board claims to protect women by "controlling violent pornography," it has a history of cutting and banning feminist and anti-sexist film;
- 2. While the censor board claims to protect citizens from depictions of exploitative violence, it has cut and banned anti-war films and tapes;
- 3. While the censor board claims to base its decisions on (unspecified) "community standards," it refuses to consider the context, and audience, of any tape or film, thereby ignoring both the intentions of producers and the interests of particular audiences.

Therefore, we agree with the Ontario Supreme Court (1983) and the Court of Appeals (1984), which ruled the Ontario Censor Board, is unconstitutional, violating the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

We are artists, feminists, community organizers, people who watch and use film and video of contexts to explore and affirm human dignity in all its diversity. During the SIX DAYS OF RESISTANCE, we are exhibiting films and tapes that have not in any way been submitted to the censor board for prior-censorship, because we believe that our various communities can best decide what they want to see for themselves.

We call for the replacement of the Ontario Censor Board with a system of classification, which allows no cutting or banning. This system, commonly used in other provinces and countries, would apply to commercial film in commercial theatres only. While there are many films and tapes that are racist, sexist, violent and misogynist in their intent, we know that the censor board uses its power to silence the legitimate voices of minorities. The censor board is an arbitrary, undemocratic, and regressive agency that deprives us all of our constitutional rights and freedoms – our right to speak to each other.

Censorship is a complicated issue for us all. Within this coalition, we have many different perspectives and concerns, based on our particular work and backgrounds. At each of our screenings, we invite you to come and discuss these issues from your own perspective. Join us in our SIX DAYS OF RESISTANCE.

Source: Kwinter, 1985

By the end of the screenings, the result was the "largest group civil disobedience in Ontario history" (Cossman, 1985: 122), as the action expanded from six to fifteen days, with the Coalition numbering "more than 70 organisations" (ibid.) and having "over 500 endorsements...from groups and individuals" (Kwinter, 1985: 28). As Kerri Kwinter summarizes in Fuse:

Six Days was designed to accomplish two primary goals: to educate viewers and unite resistance. Different groups in different locations in the province [had] developed critiques and mounted legal challenges to the censor board in the past years. It was time to organize so that the benefits of the critiques and the force of the legal challenges could be maximized. (ibid.)

The Coalition's intentions, therefore, were to challenge the censor board's practice of prior-censorship; to show that the notion of "a standard community" is chimerical; and, to claim agency in the setting of standards for specific communities and to do so in the public realm. Where prior-censorship is a strategy to "suppress important subjects...without having to go through the courts" (Kwinter, 1985: 31), post facto litigation is the last bastion against governmental maneuvers that instill fear and effect the self-censorship of expression.

In August 1988, Minister of Consumer and Commercial Relations, William Wrye, announced amendments to Ontario's Theatres Act. The Ontario Film and Video Review Board lost its power to censor movies screened at film festivals, art galleries, public libraries or schools, as long as the intended audience was over 18. Movies previously banned would remain banned, and films and videos screened for those under 18 still needed written documentation concerning film. The Ontario Law Reform Commission (OLRC) concluded after a major study that the Ontario Film Review Board should "no longer have the power to require eliminations or to disapprove or prohibit completely the exhibition of films and videos in

Ontario" (OLRC, 1995: 126). In its view, the Board should only retain its power to classify films and videos.

Case 2 - Status of the Artist and the Living Wage

In November 1987 following a two-year organizing drive, the establishment of union locals in six Ontario cities and a media campaign, the Independent Artists Union (IAU) had its first negotiation meeting with the Executive Director of the Ontario Arts Council (OAC). The IAU presented its 'first contract' proposal for artists to receive a living wage naming the Government of Ontario as its employer. The OAC took the proposal seriously and agreed that artists' income was their top priority. The Council agreed to meet again in mid-February to give their response. Items on this historic meeting were carried on CBC and CIUT radio in Toronto. There was a phone-in show in St. Catherine's on the idea of artists receiving an income. A day later the OAC Director told CBC radio that

the IAU's contract proposal challenged the very basis of the Council's existence — the rewarding of excellence in the arts...In late January the OAC informed the IAU that it would not meet to continue negotiations as artists did not fall under the Labour Relations Act and that [therefore] the Council was not legally bound to negotiate with the union. (Beveridge, 1998: 5)

From the beginning to the end of the 1980s there were at least 12 federal undertakings' that studied, debated, and made recommendations on the economic and social status of the artist. Each of the reports reached

virtually the same conclusions⁸ (Cliche, 1996: n.p.). In 1980, the Canadian government signed the UNESCO recommendation on the status of the artist (the Belgrade Convention) which addressed policies delineating "the professional and social status of artists including training and development, labour relations, and taxation" (ibid.). Canada responded to the Belgrade initiative by establishing the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (also known as the Applebaum-Hébert Committee) "to examine not only the status of the artist, but the entire cultural sector" (ibid.).

In 1982, the Applebaum-Hébert Committee produced the first federal cultural policy review since the Massey-Lévesque Report. Despite pressure on the government by the arts community since the forming of the Federation of Canadian Artists (FCA) in the 1940s, the report concluded that irrespective of "[artists'] overwhelming contribution to Canadian life, [their] living conditions were virtually unchanged; the income of many if not most of these artists classifies them as highly specialized working poor" (Applebaum, 1982: 4).

Compare this, however, to the Report's dismissal of the idea of a "living wage" for artists: "Government cannot simply provide each recognized artist with a salary or an enormous tax deduction. Such steps would be inequitable unless they were extended to all other disadvantaged groups in society" (ibid.). Rosemary Donnegan aptly observed that

"this perception of the artist as 'disadvantaged' undermines and contradicts the notion (vaunted elsewhere in the Report) of artists' value in society" (Donnegan, 1983: 341).9

In May 1980, the Cultural Workers Alliance (CWA) formed in Peterborough on the premise that "unless the modifications¹0 of cultural production are accounted for, the artist has little chance of collective survival...[W]e are working towards...the organization and forms of production of all aspects of culture" (Beveridge, 1980: 260). Commenting on the Applebaum-Hébert Report, Karl Beveridge isolated Canada's arm's length policies on arts funding as that which "stops artists from taking any kind of self-organizing interests" (Donnegan, 1983: 340). Beveridge blamed the Canada Council's funding support for CAR and the parallel galleries for "effectively stopp[ing] (the political potential of) those organizations" (ibid.: 341), stating that:

rather than an arm's length system, you should have direct political representation...The whole granting thing should exist solely for material production costs and be done by a system of dual representation from the producers and the general public (represented by elected politicians). The living subsidy grants would be totally done away with and a minimum wage would be distributed, by membership in an organization of producers. (ibid.)

The IAU was formed in 1986 on the basis of addressing this issue of the artist's income through 'direct political representation.' Although the question of an income for artists had been raised by previous conferences, committees, and task forces on the 'status of the artist', as Beveridge similarly commented, it was

"rarely taken up seriously by artists' organizations" (IAU, 1986(b): 39). The IAU justified its position on the establishment of a "guaranteed annual income" for artists according to four points:

- (1) If cultural production and access to that production is a social right for all people, then government, as a democratic institution, should ensure that culture is adequately funded to fulfill that right;
- (2) That government is already the major source of cultural funding and already has in place the means and mechanisms to administer a guaranteed annual income for artists;
- (3) With the exception of artists, all people within the arts industry receive regular income, primarily from government (either directly or indirectly). Many are represented by unions;
 (4) The IAU supports a universal guaranteed income at an adequate living wage level for all Canadians.
 (ibid.: 40)

The significance of (2) for the IAU is that already:

most artists earn the majority of their art-related income from the government through a combination of the granting system, fees, purchases and other subsidies offered by publicly-funded arts institutions — all of which contradicts the concept of a viable free marketplace in the cultural domain. (ibid.: 42) [emphasis mine]

However, that art-related income is inadequate, "most artists must seek secondary employment to supplement their artistic income, and through this subsidize their art work" (ibid.: 45). Furthermore, "the limited support already provided by the government is a tacit acknowledgement that artists offer an important service to the population — a service which the private sector cannot provide" (ibid.: 42). The IAU cited the fact that countries such as Ireland and the Netherlands had already instituted guaranteed incomes successfully for artists. The IAU proceeded to point out that

"it is primarily Canadian artists who 'subsidize' Canadian culture" (ibid.). 12 From the perspective of the IAU:

Culture should not be subsidized by either artists or government, but rather artists should be adequately recognized and adequately paid for the work that they perform. Subsidization is nothing more than a benign form of economic exploitation (ibid.).

The demands of the IAU for a guaranteed annual income for artists dovetailed into debates over the professional 'status of the artist' through two main points: in justifying "the concept of art production as work" (ibid.: 40) and in arguments over standards of 'quality.' The IAU asserted that art production is undoubtedly work, since the opposite standpoint "implies that the production of art requires no training, skill, nor any specialized knowledge. It implies that there are no standards and that there is no real labour involved" (ibid.). The IAU compared the established 'peer assessment' for the allocation of grants to the 'self-management' found in "other occupational sectors (university teachers, doctors and others whose work cannot be linked to the needs of the 'marketplace')" (ibid.).

The debate over quality, according to the IAU, was based on a flawed concept narrowly defined by "chauvinisms imbedded in the current concept," where instead, "[financial] support should be based on a concept of 'competence'" (ibid.). The notion of quality was found to be "a relative term — relative, that is, to the community to which it is being applied...Differently constituted communities within the same

country will construct different concepts of 'quality'"

(ibid.: 40). Evaluating art production by standards that are

culturally sensitive would "clear a space for other community

identities, such as Native art, Black art, gay and lesbian

art, etc." (ibid.).

Acknowledging the production of art as work, regulated by standards of competence, were the necessary steps, the IAU asserted, in establishing the professional status of the artist. The recognition of the professional status of the artist at the level of *legislation* then would give certified associations the right to collective bargaining on behalf of self-employed artists working in areas of federal jurisdiction. Specifically, the IAU would negotiate for the "dual status" of the artist whereby "for the purposes of taxation, artists are considered self-employed and are allowed to deduct expenses; for the purposes of receiving social benefits, including UIC [Employment Insurance], artists are considered employees" (IAU, 1986(a): 13).

To legitimize a guaranteed annual income (G.A.I.) for qualified artists, the IAU proposed to create a Qualifications Board "to approve eligibility of Artist Union members for the living wage and social benefits," as well as "adjudicate grievances and appeals" (IAU, 1986(b): 47). The IAU proposed the adoption of "the UNESCO definition of an artist¹⁶, and the set of criteria made by the Sub-Committee on Taxation of Visual and Performing Artists and Writers, 1984" (ibid.) as a starting point for negotiations on the

recognition of "Professional Visual Artist...as an operative job classification under Manpower and Immigration" (IAU, 1986(a): 13). 17 Finally, the IAU would negotiate the dollar level of the G.A.I., the number of artists who would receive the G.A.I., the length of period before a review of qualifications would be undertaken, the determination of a sliding scale which would balance the G.A.I. against income from other sources, and contract details such as social services (IAU, 1986(b): 46).

Case 3 — The First Peoples and Racial Equality in Arts Committees and The Canada Council

The Canada Council became involved in issues of cultural equity as both a response to "grassroots lobbying¹⁸ from artists of colour across the country" (Bailey, 1992: 23) and due to discussion within the Council of a need for its policies, programs and practices to comply with the federal government's Employment Equity Act (1986)¹⁹ and a need to be "sensitive and responsive to the multicultural reality of Canada," as stated in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988).²⁰

In 1990-91, the Council retained the services of artist and former artist-run centre administrator Chris Creighton-Kelly on a contractual basis "to assist the Council in developing policies and strategies relating to cultural diversity and Aboriginal art" (Canada Council, 1992: i). At the request of Creighton-Kelly, the Canada Council

established the First Peoples Advisory Committee²¹ and the Advisory Committee of Racial Equality²² to assist him in this process.

In Creighton-Kelly's 1991 report to the Canada Council, he isolated the ideological rhetoric around multiculturalism as the central contentious issue. Citing the Multiculturalism Act as an attempt by the government to broaden the existing bilingual/bicultural initiatives, he writes:

Multiculturalism is a government driven ideologically based framework...[that] uses the languages of equals to describe rich and varied artistic practices...It is entirely appropriate theoretically; but is of little use in a practical sense, in the sense of describing the actual lived experiences of artists of colour. Multiculturalism acknowledges difference but it makes equivalences from these differences...Because multiculturalism uses the rhetoric of inclusion it cannot properly address the politics of exclusion — systemic racism — where individuals are excluded from participation because of their skin colour. (Creighton-Kelly, 1991: 4-5)

Creighton-Kelly proceeded then to couch this insight in terms of 'power'; he claimed that under the rubric of multiculturalism "the fundamental issues of power (who has it and who doesn't) and power sharing (what will have to change if this is going to happen) go unacknowledged" (ibid.: 5).

The Racial Equality committee "began by rejecting the Council's original multiculturalist framework" (Bailey, 1992: 23), finding it "impossible to work within the constraining definition and blurred vision that the connotation of 'multiculturalism' lends to most discussions" (Canada Council, 1992: 1). The committee "identified barriers which result from language differences, racial and cultural

stereotyping of artists and their traditions, styles of communication and inaccessibility of the Council's documents" and proposed that the Council take a "pro-active leadership role" (ibid.) in resolving these concerns at the policy level. Worthy of note, Marlene Nourbese Philip, an original committee member, quit at the outset over the Council's "refusal to accept an explicitly anti-racist framework" (Bailey, 1992: 23).²³ In the naming of the committee, the polarity separating Philip's stance (for example)24 of antiracism and the Council's promotion of multiculturalism, resulted in both parties eventually settling on the compromise 'racial equality' (Canada Council, 1992: 23). The advisory committee would embed the stronger standpoint, however, in the Preamble of the report by asserting they were "working with an anti-racist mandate to address the difficulties [First Nations artists and artists of colour] have accessing the programs of the Canada Council (ibid.: 1).

The separate report submitted by The First Peoples
Advisory Committee identified the distinct position of First
Nations artists. While the committee acknowledged common
concerns with non-Aboriginal communities, they stated that
"the rationale for special initiatives to support Aboriginal
arts in Canada has important elements which differ from those
originating within other communities of colour in Canada"
(Canada Council, 1991: 4).

As I wrote in 1999, to overcome the Council's temptation to make minimal reforms to its structure, committees insisted

that their recommendations be responded to by the Council's board of directors. 25 Allowing for transparent negotiations both recommendations and responses were then made public. This in turn allowed cultural critics, such as Cameron Bailey, to evaluate and publicly report on the quality of initiatives being proposed and adopted across various arts councils (Robertson, 1999: 44).

Creatively, in the 1996 report by the Second Advisory
Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts, a "Report Card"
was included, as an alternative watchdog tool, which assessed
the Council's performance in implementing the recommendations
of the Council's First Advisory Committee. Alongside the
evaluations of the committee, space was provided for grading
by the reader. The report's Introduction further encouraged
the reader "to cut it from the booklet and send it to the
Equity Office of the Canada Council" in the hope that the
Council "will use this feedback to further develop its
cultural and racial equity policies and plans" (Canada
Council, 1996: 9).

Recommendations put forth by the Racial Equality

committee cut across 12 categories — Communications, Human

Resources, Juries and Advisory Committees, Board

Appointments, Organized Review, Designated Funding in

Sections, Definition of Professionalism, Voluntary I.D. and

Database, Continuing Commitment, Accountability, National

Conference, and Press Release — while 5 categories of

recommendations were proposed by the First Peoples Advisory

committee: Access (Professionalism), Development, Human Resources, Communications, and Equity Coordinator. A significant number of recommendations spanned across both committees, as the First Peoples committee had submitted their proposals after reviewing the Racial Equality committee's report published a year and half prior.²⁶

The Council adopted only a handful of the Racial Equality committee's recommendations from its 1992 report, deferring or rejecting others. The Council created the position of Equity Coordinator in August 1991 "to facilitate the access of Canadian artists of all racial and cultural backgrounds to Council programs" (Canada Council, 1992: 9). It implemented an internship program to assist in the training at the Council of arts administrators from culturally diverse backgrounds. 27 It improved communications strategies such as information sessions targeted to reach culturally diverse communities across Canada. 28 Furthermore, with a broad impact on the Council's categorization of the artist, it adopted the revised definition of "professionalism" to denote: (1) specialized training in the field (not necessarily in academic institutions); (2) recognition by one's peers (artists who work in the same artistic tradition); (3) a history of public presentation (not necessarily in Council-sanctioned venues); and, (4) a commitment to devote more time to one's artistic activity if this could be financially feasible (ibid.: 8).

Following on from Philip's pre-committee public interventions, Cameron Bailey writes "Fright the Power: Arts Councils & the Spectre of Racial Equity" in 1992 in response to the recommendations of the Advisory Committee for Racial Equality. He states that the committee deserves high praise for its work and the Council must be recognized for responding to a number of the recommendations. Aside from the details, Bailey importantly points to the nature and structure of the official responses. He finds that:

simply on a rhetorical level, the responses act as a control strategy. They ensure that no recommendation is left to act alone on the reader. They redirect the focus of reading the document to a question-and-answer, catechismic style, with the answer as the point of repose. And, since most of the responses show some sort of action, the Council can come off as the hero of the piece, reinforcing the institution's self-image as a seat of fairness, good judgment and considered action. The very structure of the document returns the Council to the position of 'reason,' recentralizing its authority, and in a way its subjectivity (Bailey, 1992: 25).

As a telling example, Bailey writes that for the first words of the Council's first Response to be "The Council is fully aware...," it indicates "either massive stupidity or massive belligerence ... because the committee's report and all the work that led up to it are predicated on the belief that the Council is anything but fully aware" (ibid.).

Bailey's criticisms fleshed out where the Council failed, as evaluated in the Second Advisory Committee's 1996 'Report Card', primarily in its deferral and dismissal of several committee recommendations. The Council "waffled on the committee's recommendation to include at least two

persons of colour with a concern for regional/linguistic representation in this regard as well" (ibid.: 4). The Council responded that "Given all the elements that must be taken into consideration by officers in organizing juries, a quota system as proposed would not be acceptable" (ibid.: 5). As a consolation, the Council asserted "it is committed to cultural diversity...and will endeavour to ensure representation of artists of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds on juries" (ibid.: 5). Bailey found that "in between the recommendation and the response falls a shift from 'persons of colour' to 'artists of diverse cultural and racial backgrounds,' which is a not so clever way of saying nobody" (Bailey, 1992: 25).

On the issue of cultural appropriation, the committee recommended that the Council "develop guidelines which are sensitive to the complex issues surrounding cultural appropriation" (Canada Council, 1992: 7). In response, the Council writes, "[We] do not believe that formal guidelines are the answer, but that there should be a recognition that cultural appropriation is a serious issue and requires ongoing debate" (ibid.). To this Bailey criticizes the Council's response as it "opts for empty, evasive posturing, terming the debate a 'serious issue' and moving on" (Bailey, 1992: 25)

Most strongly, the committee concluded "whereas systemic racism is a result of the everyday functioning of all Canadian institutions, we recommend an organizational review

of the Canada Council be conducted to locate all other areas of bias" (Canada Council, 1992: 7). The Council rejected outright the premise of the recommendation, and rejoined, "The Council, while sensitive to the issue raised by the committee, cannot endorse this general statement regarding Canadian institutions" (ibid.). For Bailey, this dismissal was most revealing, for "in refusing to admit the existence of systemic racism, the Council refutes the reason for the committee, its recommendations, the whole enterprise" (Bailey, 1992: 25).²⁹

Discussing examples of where the artist-run centre movement itself is either implicated or became a site at which to judicialize the administrative state has another function. Given the described options for social movement politics we can see how the Minquon Panchayat initiative within ANNPAC/RACA and the work of the Racial Equality Committees at The Canada Council engage with different possibilities for seeking structural change. The Independent Artists Union's 'hunt for a living wage' is ongoing and still requires a substantial re-thinking of economic redistribution. The censorship issue always is waiting in the wings for some renewed episode of what elsewhere are called "cultural wars."

Schematically, as Chapters 2 and 3 are meant to serve as articulated studies of a movement, in Chapter 4 and 5 I will separately focus upon ANNPAC/RACA and The Canada

Council's different technologies of governance as operations of a cultural apparatus.

Notes for Chapter 3

It is questionable whether censorship has more than a very limited practical value. Some research indicates that we would be better off if the graphic aspects of film violence were left in, rather than excised by the censor. In more general terms, to mobilize energies and resources for the production of alternatives" (LaMarsh: 1977, p. 218).

¹ This is the first time the 1911 Theatres Act was used for prosecution.

² Basing the justification of censorship on the category of "community standards," Mary Brown stated that film censorship is a policy of the Government of Ontario "because it's recognized as a popular policy. Seventy percent of the people in Ontario want film censorship, so I would say that a responsible government should give it to them" (Dean: 1981, p. 218). However, in Censored! Only in Canada, Malcolm Dean exposes the Censor Board's "use of the findings of opinion polls as highly selective at best" (ibid., p. 222). The government's arbitrary motives are best exemplified by recalling its decision to ignore the recommendations of its own multi-million dollar study, the LaMarsh Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry, which stated:

³ Colin Campbell, Kate Craig, Clive Robertson, Lisa Steele, Kim Tomczak and Rodney Werden withdrew work in protest.

[&]quot;The Criminal Code contains a vague obscenity test and a hornet's nest of anti-obscenity sections and subsections." Judith Doyle, "Freedom of Expression and Prior Restraint," Parallélogramme, Vol 7 No.6, 1982: 11.

⁵ Participants included Dionne Brand, Varda Burstyn, Stan Deninston, Lynne Fernie, Vera Frenkl, John Greyson, Peter Greyson, Gary Kibbins, Gary Kinsman, Cyndra MacDowall, Lisa Steele/Kim Tomczak, and Robert Wieks.

⁶ Coalition members included: The International Gay Association Planning Committee, Toronto Women's Bookstore, Gay Asians of Toronto, The Body Politic, Rites Magazine, Glad Day Bookshop, Zami, Gay History Conference Planning Committee, Lesbian and Gay Pride Day Committee, Gays and

Lesbians at the U. of T., International Women's Day Committee, Toronto Rape Crisis Centre, Feminists Against Censorship, The Right to Privacy Committee, Coalition for Gay Rights Ontario, Lesbian Mothers Defense Fund at Medical Sciences Auditorium, U. of T .- Art Metropole, Ed Video, A Space, Hamilton Artists Inc., Zone Centre for Experimental Films, V/Tape, Issaacs Gallery, Trinity Square Video, White Water Gallery, Music Gallery, National Film Theatre, The Funnel Experimental Film Theatre, Embassy Cultural House, Forest City Gallery, Farm Labour Action Group (FLAG), London Filmmakers Co-op, CAR London, Toronto Community Videotex, Development Education Centre, Gallery 940, Women's Art Resource Centre, Women's Media Alliance, Women's Cultural Building, Sparkes Gallery, Emma Productions, Southern Edge Underground, S.A.W. Gallery, Mercer Union, K.A.A.I., Artists in Resistance Ottawa, Focus Magazine, Gallery 101, Lakehead University Film Society, Womanspirit Gallery, YYZ, Gallery 76, Shaw Festival, Artculture Resource Centre, Pages Bookstore, Canadian Filmmakers Distribution Centre, Artspace.

These include: the UNESCO Belgrade Convention (UNESCO, 1980); the Applebaum-Hébert Report of the Federal Cultural Policy Review (1982); the Report of the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture, The Taxation of Visual and Performing Artists and Writers (1984); A Charter of Rights for Creators (Department of Communications, 1985); the Siren-Gélinas Task Force on the Status of the Artist (1986); the Bovey Task Force Report, Funding of the Arts in Canada to the Year 2000 (Task Force on Funding of the Arts in Canada, 1986); the Canadian Advisory Committee on the Status of the Artist (set up in 1987 by Department of Communication Minister Flora MacDonald); Review of Taxation of Artists and the Arts (Department of Communications, 1988); a research report, Rethinking the Status of the Artist: Toward a Balance of Equity and Excellence (Ekos Research Associates, 1988); Canadian Artist Code (Department of Communications, Canadian Advisory Committee on the Status of the Artist, 1988); Report of the Standing Committee on Communications and Culture Respecting the Status of the Artist (Standing Committee on Communications and Culture, 1989); and the government response to the Standing Committee's Report (Department of Communications, 1990).

taxation;

the Canada Pension Plan;

⁸ "Over the years, extensive evidence has been gathered and hundreds of recommendations have been repeatedly made. The following issues were referred to most often:

Granting a professional status to artists in order to differentiate them from arts hobbyists for the purposes of

^{2.} Access to universal programs such as unemployment insurance and

3. Improved taxation measures including income averaging, dual

status, and the ability to receive a charitable receipt for donated

works of art;

4. Training and development;

5. Copyright and neighbouring rights;

- 6. Extending the safety net of social benefits to artists;
- 7. Legal recognition of artists' associations as collective

bargaining agents for both employed and self-employed artists;

- 8. A secured or preferred classification for artists in the event
 - of middlemen bankruptcies;
 - 9. Access to occupational health and safety compensation;
- 10. Establishment of an artists' account setting aside part of

their income on which tax liability would be deferred; and

11. Artistic freedom" (Cliche, 1996).

Several years later, another task force was established specifically to investigate the living and working conditions of Canadian artists and to make recommendations that could lead to improvements in these conditions. In 1986, the Task Force on the Status of the Artist released the results of its investigations (the Siren-Gélinas Report). Among its recommendations, the Report proposed changes to income tax legislation to offer more financial security to artists (including tax exemptions and income averaging); changes to copyright rules; and legislation that would recognize organizations representing self-employed professional artists as collective bargaining agents. Because the contract negotiations and agreements reached by associations of selfemployed artists did not come under the ambit of the Canada Labour Code, artists' associations could become subject to investigation and prosecution under the Competition Act for conspiring to fix prices. (Ministry of Canadian Heritage, 2003)

"These modifications include the increased socialization of production under a centralized management (funding agencies, state institutions, media monopolies), the gradual elimination of the distinctions between the mass and fine arts, and the technological developments of media and communications" (Beveridge, 1980: 260).

¹¹ The problematics around the necessity for artists to seek secondary employment art manifold: (1) No career stability as such can be established in the secondary employment area to provide either security or ongoing benefits; (2) because

the artist must constantly seek and hold secondary employment the artist is unable to sustain and develop their primary occupation, nor their necessary secondary occupation; (3) artists, by being forced to take secondary employment, take jobs from others in the labour market; (4) given the wage levels of secondary employment, as well as the impossible demands made on an individual's energy and time, artists cannot produce artwork while so employed; (5) secondary employment is the means by which artists subsidize Canadian cultural production and distribution (IAU, 1986: 45).

- ¹² As quoted originally in Robin Endres' "Art and Accumulation: The Canadian State and the Business of Art". *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Powers*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 417-445. The first published reference to Endres' article appeared in the *Toronto Theatre Review*, Vol. 2, Dec. 1977, p.9.
- "In the context of a general decline in the status of the artist in Western society, a demand for a living wage seems truly radical" (Creighton-Kelly, 1986: 53).
- 14 Part I of The Status of the Artist Act, which was proclaimed in 1993, recognizes the professional status of the artist, but avoids the "dual status" issue entirely. As a result, the Act fails to address taxation, copyright, access to employment insurance and to the Canada Pension Plan, and access to training programs, and remains limited only to rights to collective bargaining.
- ¹⁵ Under the right of law, the IAU could "negotiate collective agreements and binding contracts on behalf of their members with all agencies, institutions, and individuals who...contract artist products or services" (IAU, 1986: 46).
- ¹⁶ "The term 'artist' refers to any person who creates or who is involved in the creation of the production of works of art, who considers that creating art is an integral part of his/her life, who contributes to the development of art and culture, who is recognized or seeks recognition as an artist, whether affiliated or not with an association or engaged in employment."
- Qualifications for membership in the IAU would be based on meeting one of a number of criteria: holding a diploma or equivalent in Fine Arts or related field (covering the initial eligibility of students), holding exhibitions or other means of promoting their art, the reception of national or international prizes for their art, the reception of grants from recognized sources, earning a living in whole or part from their art or obtaining contracts to produce or publish work, teaching art at a recognized institution, membership in a recognized professional organization, ability

to demonstrate time spent and sustained output, or recognition by their peers (ibid.: 47).

- 18 Consider the questionnaire from M. Nourbese Philip, reprinted in Fuse, April/May 1989, sent to various funding agencies including the Canada Council: (1) Does your organization have a clearly articulated policy on anti-racism and/or affirmative action? (2) Does your organization have a clearly articulated policy on anti-racism and/or affirmative action applicable to funding practices? (3) If your organization does not have such a policy, do you see a need for such a policy and have you made any attempts to implement such a policy?
- ¹⁹ In 1989, the respondent for the Canada Council to Philip's questionnaire stated the following: "The Council is included in the federal government's Employment Equity Act and reports annually on their staffing record. I didn't ask about percentages, so no percentages were provided" (Philip, 1989: 23).
- ²⁰ In April 1989, Joyce Zemans, Director of Canada Council, "called all heads and officers to a meeting using the rubric of a 'multiculturalism' sounding" (Creighton-Kelly, 1991: 2).
- The First Peoples Advisory Committee was made up of Carol Geddes (Whitehorse), Tom Hill (Brantford), Alootook Ipellie (Ottawa), Margo Kane (Ottawa), Blendina Makkik (Ottawa), Alanis Obomsawin (Montréal)
- ²² The Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts was made up of Henry Bishop (Dartmouth), Richard Fung (Toronto), Leopoldo Gutierrez (Montréal), Jane Hewes (Edmonton), Margo Kane (Vancouver), Pamela Rebello (Winnipeg), Itah Sadu (Toronto), Lamberto Tassinari (Montréal)
- ²³ In Fuse, April/May 1989, Philip wrote: "While multiculturalism is somewhat descriptive of the ethnic composition of Canadian society, it is a bureaucratic construct and fails to address the power differential that exists among the many cultures...Those who are interested in fighting for a more just society, for essentially that is what the fight against racism is all about a struggle 'against injustice, inequality, against freedom for some and un-freedom for others' [New Statesmen, May 27, 1988] must therefore resort to that catch-all phrase, anti-racism" (Philip, 1989: 19).
- ²⁴ Leslie Komori left the committee soon after for the same reason.
- "However, with a Board of Directors weighted toward Conservative patronage appointments, and Council Director

Joyce Zemans making motions of change but unwilling to go the full distance, the [Racial Equity] committee found itself operating in hostile territory" (Bailey, 1992: 23).

²⁶ As a point of difference, the First Peoples Advisory Committee recommended the establishment of a separate First Peoples Committee on the Arts to provide guidance to the Council and ensure that programs and policies were accessible, and the creation of an Aboriginal Secretariat to complement the Racial Equity Officer and to work with the First Peoples Committee.

The internship program received financial assistance from Employment and Immigration Canada. As described in the Response from the Council, the program's objectives were to "improve training opportunities at the national level for Canadian arts administrators of Aboriginal, African and Asian background and minority cultures; to assist in developing qualified candidates for future positions in arts institutions; and to provide Council with expertise and contacts, and to facilitate outreach to artists from these communities" (Canada Council, 1992: 4). According to the Council, the last objective also addressed the committee's recommendation of hiring outreach information officers to "disseminate information on the Canada Council, give workshops and liaise with Section Heads and all traveling officers" (ibid.: 2).

28 On the recommendation of the Second Advisory Committee, "application forms and program information material which use clear, simple language, with consideration for the difficulties faced by culturally and racially diverse artists whose first language may be other than French or English" (Canada Council, 1996: 14). By the report of the Third Advisory Committee, progress in communication was realized through a Web site "that enhances accessibility to Council programs", the Council's mailing list and databases which "have been developed and maintained progressively over the last nine years"; "names of racially diverse individual artists are continually researched and added to peers database within disciplines/sections"; and "a 'how to apply' document has been developed in Spanish, Inuktituk, Mandarin, and Punjabi that answers the most frequently asked questions by new clients" (Canada Council, 1999: 21)

²⁹ As a follow-up, the Second Advisory Committee recommended "that all new officers be provided a standardized orientation and introduction to the Canada Council which includes antiracism training and an introductory seminar addressing cultural and racial equity issues" (Canada Council, 1999: 13), which was implemented by the Council.

The Summary of Findings and Recommendations provided in the Report of the Third Advisory Committee for Racial

Equality in the Arts demonstrated that much work still has to be done. Interviewees expressed that necessary steps still include better targeting of financial resources for cultural diversity programming, greater efforts to serve communities that are not within major urban centres, better assistance to immigrants and refugees to increase professional competence and engage effectively with the Council, and more intensified efforts at partnership building with other levels of government and potential funding organizations (Canada Council, 1999: 31-33).

Chapter 4

Technologies of power and the re-structuring discourse of ANNPAC/RACA

Just as it is difficult to set the boundaries of a movement of artist-run culture — that is, contributions to its project beyond the immediate work of artist collectives, artist-run centres and their regional and national associations — so it is difficult to ascertain not only just what types of discursive and non-discursive work that specific apparatuses do but how different apparatuses interact with each other in a shared policy field.

An apparatus (as a machine of power) "describes a particular sort of structured context, one which actively produces and organizes the larger context in which it is deployed" (Grossberg, 1992: 101). What makes a study of apparatuses interesting in this terrain of non-profit artist-run organizations is not so much searching for their particular effects but looking at the politics of their 'inefficiencies,' their failures to produce productive power. In the case of ANNPAC/RACA, I suggest it is the production of unproductive power that produced disappointments, which are seen as being 'bureaucratic.' As these organizations — artist-run centres and their associations are still needed, are still in use — to assess

empowerments or disempowerments (at the levels of administrative logic, the structuring of commitments or social resistance) we need to make some connections between 'outcomes of power' and the 'structures of its machineries.'

This thinking about apparatuses in turn requires engaging Michel Foucault's work on the connections between government and culture and "...the way in which people are invited or incited to recognize their moral obligations."

(Foucault cited in Miller, 1992: xiii) 'Technologies of governance," Toby Miller explains,

are a means of managing the public by having it manage itself. This is achieved through the material inscription of discourse into policies and programs of the cultural-capitalist state. A technology is defined here, after Foucault, as a 'matrix of popular reason.' It may be defined into four categories: [1] 'Technologies of production' make the for the physical transformation of material objects; [2] 'Technologies of sign systems' are about the use of systems of meaning...[3] 'Technologies of power,' which form subjects as a means of dominating individuals and bringing them to define themselves in particular ways; and [4] 'Technologies of the self,' which are applied by individuals as a means of transforming their conditions into those of a more autonomous sense of happiness. (1992: xiii-xiv)

To frame an understanding of how self-governance is formally organized within and between artist-run centres this chapter poses the question, 'What makes the task of community participants sharing common beliefs about the

procedural rules by which they regulate their interactions so difficult?' Together with tensions between a movement and its apparatus, "technologies of the self" co-exist with "technologies of power" in this particular formation and apparatus — an encounter that Foucault calls "governmentality" (Rabinow, 1994: 225).

This chapter proceeds by answering this question of the interaction of two 'technologies of power.' The first are the common documents of legal incorporation that shape non-profit societies such as artist-run centres (with individuals as members) or their associations (with organizations as members). Such incorporation is necessary to receive public funding. Legal non-profit incorporation produces objects (fundamental principles) and by-laws (rules) that begin with membership criteria. Such incorporation allows for structures of 'random/open' membership or 'closed/invited' membership. In the latter case, the membership and the board of trustees are one and the same. ANNPAC/RACA had an open form of membership and when the organization was incorporated its objects were similar to those of its founding members:

ANNPAC/RACA Objects (1976)

- 1. to assist Canadian artists and promote their work;
- to encourage co-operation and collaboration among artists and artists centres in Canada;
- to promote artistic awareness in Canada through education, presentations, exhibits and other means;

- 4. to assist its members in the accomplishment of their objectives;
- 5. to acquire by ownership, lease, license or any other means suitable accommodation and facilities for the furtherance of the objects of the association;
- 6. to solicit or raise money, to receive, acquire and hold gifts, donation, bequests and grants to be used for the purposes of the association;
- 7. to do all things as may be necessary or conducive to the attainment of the aforesaid objects.

The objects (here written to comply with the requirements of charitable status) are fixed, yet are supplemented by, "Objectives" that, like the by-laws, can be changed. It is this second set of objectives that come into play when assessed by a funding body who asks, "How well does this organization meet its stated objectives?"

The second technology of power that introduces or gives additional weight to a different set of administrative assumptions is the Handbook for Cultural Trustees: A Guide to the Role, Responsibilities and Functions of Boards of Trustees of Cultural Organizations in Canada. This handbook, introduced to artist-run centres and circulated by ANNPAC/RACA in 1988 is a 'citizenship' manual that was used by artist-run centre and ANNPAC/RACA personnel and trustees to define or re-define what is organizationally meant by 'values,' 'beliefs,' 'policy,' 'procedure,' 'identity,' and 'responsibility' (both 'moral' and 'legal'). What is then produced as organizational

identity across the many organizations using such manuals (or their administrative-training equivalents) is an array of principles, rules, and statements of not-so-common belief or intent that in themselves prove difficult to reconcile or enforce in ways that are sufficiently satisfactory — especially in expected and unexpected moments of necessary change.

In the final and longest section of this chapter, I will review the regularities of ANNPAC/RACA's restructuring discourse. Included in this chapter as figures are four schematics that diagram ANNPAC/RACA restructurings that appeared in 1979, 1984, 1990 and 1992. Each announce different collective policy directions via different graphical metaphors.

Production of cultural subjects as citizens

In Toby Miller's analysis of the citizen, culture and the postmodern subject, the state musters a variety of cultural forces to send deliberately mixed messages about the nature of citizenship and the self. These messages in turn produce "cultural subjects" who have to balance the state's political and economic needs for "selfless citizens and selfish consumers," which instills a sense of "ethical incompleteness" (1994: 95-6). In my construction of the

exacerbation of tensions within or across artist-run organizations, artist-run culture produces (enough) subjects who have to resolve the conflicting needs for professional administration and cultural or social activism. In comparison to Miller's array of cultural forces this 'ethical dilemma' seems easier to remedy. 5 But pressures to develop and then move from rhetoric to action in matters of either improved administrative efficiency or social and cultural activism then necessitate the project of 're-structuring.' The idea of self-governance within a concept of 'artist-run,' while prone to exaggeration nonetheless implies the self-making of art or cultural policy that intersects with policies emanating from other discourses and institutions. One definition of non-profit organizations is that "they play an important role in promoting social cohesion defined as 'shared values and a commitment to community'" (McMullen and Schellenberg, 2002: 6). In a general sense the 'citizenship' work of artist-run culture, as it is located in non-profit organizations, is as an already-existing form of state cultural policy. Such policy "seeks to make and govern manageable subjects" (Miller, 1993: xxiii) who as "cultural citizens" are "taught how to scrutinize and improve [their] conduct through the work of cultural policy" (ibid.: xxi).

A Manual for Cultural Trustees, 1988

Here I will engage in a critical analysis of this manual as a technology of power particularly where it ignores or sows confusion about a different technology - the variable and living governing processes sourced from legal non-profit incorporation. My objection is not with a governance training manual as such but that this particular manual and its 'regime of jurisdiction' - its prescription of what can be done, its procedures and strategies - was endorsed by artist-run organizations which did not see the need or have the resources to produce such a manual tailored to better fit their own practices. "A Manual for Cultural Trustees" was written as a template for a range of non-profit arts organizations in Canada including performing arts groups, galleries and museums; its main goal is "leadership training." In the opening chapter, "The Leadership Challenge" the authors create sample profiles of five typical trustees and the stories of governance problems at their respective non-profit cultural organizations. There is a "young banker," a "retired librarian," a "middle-aged marketing executive," a "high school geometry teacher," and a person unidentified. None are artists. Though artistrun organizations have enjoyed the presence of many nonartist professionals and non-professionals as board members, a majority of their board members have to be artists as decided by their own constitutions and/or through periodic reminders by arts councils. A second example of 'disconnect' with the governance of artist-run centres can be located in the manual's concept of 'public trust':

Public trust is the obligation placed on trustees to maintain, preserve, further develop and expand cultural resources and to ensure that cultural activity remains in the public domain to the benefit of this and future generations. (Paquet, 1987: 4)

While this appears reasonable and may technically be correct in one of the many legal rules in play, it disrupts artist-run centres concept of service and accountability to "the public" and service and accountability to its definable communities. This concept has been recognized by funding agencies to the extent that funding agencies such as the Ontario Arts Council incorporated this purpose into the objectives of their funding program for artist-run centres. "Objective B" of that program states, "[Funding support is] to enable artist-run centres, through their programming, to interact with each centre's self-defined community." [emphasis added] (Ontario Arts Council, Funding Guidelines, 1990) More than this, there are instances when the abstraction of 'public trust' and those trustees who

want to uphold it go against the objects of the organization. To cite an example described in Chapter 3, when artists and their organizations knowingly want to break a law, as happened in the struggles against priorcensorship, trustees are required to choose between different sets of competing pedagogies. The manual also provides a depiction of how artists' organizations were initiated and took the forms they did. The manual identifies two "basic patterns" of cultural organization development "recognized as a major influence on how power and authority are shared," which they name as a "Following Board," and a "Controlling Board." (Paquet, 1987: 21)

A following Board - An artist or group of artist seeks incorporation as a not-for-profit entity. While perhaps not enamoured with the notion of having trustees, incorporation is necessary in order to be eligible to receive public funding. A few friends or relatives are invited to form the first Board... They would be content to simply follow the directions and wishes of the founder. In due course the founder[s] retire, dies or simply decides to move on. Suddenly, the Board is faced with the realization that it is the corporate entity entrusted with legal responsibility to provide continuity of management and administration ... They must replace the leader. There may be considerable confusion over the mission or purpose of the organization...Planning and policy processes may not be in place. They relied upon the vision of one individual [or founding group]. When that individual [or group] leaves, an organizational crisis ensues. (ibid.)

Many artist-run organizations began as described above and some have remained since their emergence under the control

of their founders (e.g. Oboro, Montréal; v/tape and Art Metropole, Toronto (1975); Grunt, Vancouver); some began and continue to function as described with a 'following board.' (e.g. Western Front, Vancouver (1973; Fuse magazine, Toronto (1976). What the Trustee's Handbook does not tell its readers is that in their "Following Board" model the incorporation process was used legally to set up restricted voting membership, such that, as mentioned, the voting members were the original board and the number of board members set the number of voting members. While this may appear to produce an entity that contradicts the intentions of providing a democratic accountable alternative to existing institutions, where it adapts to change, it can still produce a 'continuity of relevance.' The Trustee's Handbook - with its bias for institutionachieving sustainability - does not allow for the possibility that such an organization should have a finite existence. No matter how useful - even unique - a resource such organizations may have become, the opportunity for other producers to learn how to build artist-run organizations to fit the needs and conditions of other moments is prematurely removed. Additionally the personification of such organization through one or more persons - attractive for funding purposes in recognition of

leadership, fitting nicely into a doxa of author-centred cultural building — is not avoided by the Trustee Handbooks's second model of cultural organization development:

A Controlling Board — A citizen (or a group of citizens) decide to form a cultural organization to meet a perceived community need. They incorporate as a not-for-profit organization. In its early years, a small number of trustees do double duty: they are Board volunteers and program volunteers. The organization is relatively simple and its systems uncomplicated. Its progress is entirely dependent upon a small group of dedicated trustees. They control the organization and its work...Conflict with staff over management and administrative roles, responsibilities and functions may then arise. An organizational crisis ensues. (ibid.)

In both patterns of organizational development 'organizational crisis' is written as the project to be solved by incoming or newer trustees. The implication is that while organizational 'history' is to be celebrated, the labour that produced this history is a problem to be solved. 'Growing pains,' rather than being perceived as the result of political struggles to determine the direction and democratic control of an organization are seen only for their injurious impact on the 'progress' of the organization. "Successful organizations," the authors decide, "have 'upward' growth, rather than a pattern of 'zig-zagging' from left to right or going 'off-centre'" (ibid.: 18). For the manual's authors, the multiple points

of power and antagonism euphemistically become 'growing pains' only serving to "highlight an imbalance in the Board/staff partnership." They ask, "How much momentum is lost when organizations go through crises? How much time is lost? How many valuable people are 'turned off' or hurt in the process?" (ibid.) While not wanting to minimize some of the noted habitual stresses (some of which can be alleviated with generous personnel policies, despite its claims) the manual is incapable of providing a relevant governance framework for the organizations under discussion.

If the Manual of Trustees and the Objects of Non-Profit
Incorporation are examples of 'structured contexts' that
were activated as 'arts administration' at the level of
individual artist-run centres, what governance frameworks
does ANNPAC/RACA decide to use, what is their purpose, what
might they tell us about how a national service
organization re-structures itself to meet the demands of a
representational politics and its concept of what internal
policy can or cannot do as a series of promises or
enforceable actions. From the archive I've selected four
models of the same apparatus as diagram depictions,
organizational 'self-portraits' appearing either in the

public Parallélogramme or included in ANNPAC/RACA's 'Prospectuses' (the name given to a bound book that was used in operational funding applications.) These are reproduced here as four figures: Fig 2 Apparatus 1: "The Living Museum" (1979); Fig 3 Apparatus 2: "Satellite" (1984); Fig 4 Apparatus 3: "Circuit Diagram" (1990); and Apparatus 4: "Organigram" (1992). There is much to look for in the diagrams themselves, I would direct the reader's attention to how a sense of network/movement is organizationally transformed into an apparatus of citizenship.

Living Museums Project, 1979

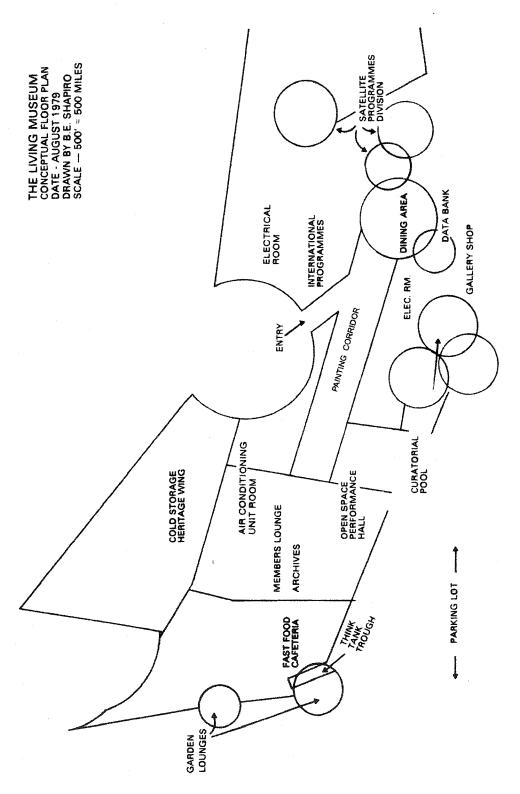
Responding to the Living Museums Project proposal in 1983, Diana Nemiroff voiced her concerns in Parallélogramme about ANNPAC/RACA's ambitions to become the hub of a parallel high-tech communications network instead of a producer of artist-originated curatorial projects that could supplement work being done by galleries and museums.

The impractically grandiose conception of a computer-based data network represents the recurrent desire to appropriate the outward symbols of power of the profit-making communications empire, analogous to earlier expectations that video artists would eventually invade network television. (Nemiroff, 1983: 19)

Missing its proper and early attentions to the networkpossibilities of new technologies, Nemiroff probably understates how the Living Museums Project was a shift of desire towards a 'committed entrepreunership' with the proposed setting up of a charitable foundation to partially fund artist-run centres, a centralized performing arts 'touring agency' model and a not-so-unreasonable belief at the time that certain 'alternative art forms' were going to find a niche market within popular culture. Nemiroff accurately portrays a desired shift from a movement to an apparatus:

That the older, utopian, anti-institutional ideals of the artist-run centre as a globalizing alternative did not disappear as witnessed by the rhetorical inhabitation of the museum in Glenn Lewis' Living Museum Network proposal put before ANNPAC/RACA in 1977. It is a gloriously perverse attempt to institutionalize the anarchistic, decentralized "eternal network" by installing a head office. In general, however, the discourse at this time took on a distinctly pragmatic character, motivated, as indeed Lewis was on behalf of ANNPAC/RACA, by a bid to appropriate power [emphasis added] (ibid.: 16) 10

Apparatus 1: The Living Museum (1979)



Restructuring: Reversing the hub-and-spoke model of a national museum within a revised political geography. Imagining a federation without a centre.

Disguise: Maintains an idea of an artistic network where art administration and artist-run centres are also absent.

Source: Barbara Shapiro, Parallélogramme Retrospective 3.

The appearance of the concept of "The Living Museum" appears in a paper "ANNPAC Report on Parallel Galleries, Their Problems, Their Value and Possible Future Directions" presented in 1977 at an ANNPAC/RACA conference on 'Interdisciplinary Art'" Regarding the proposals emerging from the conference, as described by Glenn Lewis:

The Parallel Galleries and other centres, in their programs and touring networks through ANNPAC, actually constitute a decentralized, living-artist, cultural heritage Institute or Museum - or more simply - "the Living Museum Network of Canada". If ANNPAC or through a board of trustees set up by ANNPAC could elicit funds, perhaps through National Museums and/or other funding sources, a core secretariat could be hired to administer, raise funds and co-ordinate the Living Museum Network...It would exist as an association of autonomous artist-run centres as they are already constituted... The LMN would also be able to generate new funds for the centres and the artists associated with them by renting space for shows from the centres, by hiring artistadministrators and others as project managers, and by hiring other artists and groups for taking part in projects that required their input or work. (Lewis, 1977: 16-17)

The Living Museum Colloquium took place at a Canada Council-sponsored retreat in Grand Valley, Ontario as a "3 1/2 day intensive conference on the future of the parallel gallery network" (Rosenberg, 1979: 108), included participants who "were chosen both by regional and

disciplinary representation, and by their proven willingness to help in the preparation of a working document of the discussion" (ibid.: 108). 12 A report on "The Living Museum Colloquium" was presented by Victor Coleman first at the AGM in September 1979, then published the same year in Parallélogramme Retrospective 3.

In response to the Canadian parallel galleries' "rate of growth, proliferation and lack of patronage" (ibid.: 110), since the founding of the first centres approximately ten years prior to the Living Museums Colloquium, the working document addressed the need and the means of further advancing the parallel gallery network despite the government's freeze on cultural funds. The plan for the Living Museum aimed to answer the central question: "How could we [the parallel gallery network] endear ourselves to the [p]ublic [s]ector and the community at large?" (ibid.: 114)13

At the heart of the Living Museum is a "Data Network" that would rely on "computer communications technology" to "serve the needs of ANNPAC and its member galleries for the purposes of information storage and retrieval, and for exchange and dissemination of new regional developments" (ibid.: 118). The Data Network would provide numerous services¹⁴ and alleviate geographic distance separating the

various artist centres. 15 The Data Network would also link ANNPAC's existing promotional materials, such as Parallélogramme's periodical and annual publications, its "central archive of printed matter from individual centres," and (in augmentation to Parallélogramme) the proposed publication of "promotional materials and aids for member centres and contemporary Canadian artists in general" (ibid.: 148). 16

In addition, an Agency would be formed "to represent touring artists who wish to exhibit or perform within a broader network of institutions than is currently available" (ibid.: 132). Through promotional activities ("to attain and maintain increased credibility with the media, the larger arts organizations, and the media") and educational initiatives, the Agency would "attempt to broaden the base of contemporary arts support to include the larger community" (ibid.). As stated, "the Agency's main functions will be to assist the artist in his/her search for a wider audience, broader coverage by the media, and a fair remuneration for their labours" (ibid.).

The Agency would come under the governance of a "management committee", consisting of "five individuals with a balance of ANNPAC and non-ANNPAC members" representing various artistic disciplines and "would be

appointed by ANNPAC executive" (ibid.). The management committee would be responsible for helping to secure funding from "the broadened funding base"; establishing the Agency; hiring Agency staff; selecting the "floating stable" (a "'catalogue' of 25 artists, changing yearly,...whose work is of such a caliber as to deserve wider public recognition") in concert with "Agency staff, ANNPAC Executive, and other representatives in the Network" (ibid.: 134); overseeing Agency operations; and reporting to the ANNPAC General Meeting. From the floating stable, "the Agency would receive a commission on all earned revenue of 15 per cent, plus a 2 per cent staff incentive," taking into account a "sliding scale" based on the "size of institutions and scope of projects" (ibid.: 136).

The Living Museum would develop a distribution arm which, physically, would be "more of an order department than a warehouse of goods...[and] would actively promote and sell a broad range of products supplied to the consumer or retailer by the artist" (ibid.: 138). The Living Museums Distribution would "dovetail neatly with the Agency...[by] selling the products produced initially by the artists the Agency represented" (ibid.). Lastly, a physical institution or institutions would be established "in urban centres large enough, and with art communities responsive enough,

to support the activities of contemporary artists who have matured within the system of Parallel Galleries" (ibid.: 140). 18

Representational politics as a discourse for restructuring ANNPAC/RACA

The final section of this chapter emphasizes the importance of a representational politics that organizes a discourse of restructuring. Such representational politics — a putting into discourse and a speaking for — are charted here across categories of geography, economic conditions, and cultural identity. These as terms of reference used within the organizations of artist—run culture can be seen as driving impetuses for the project of alternative forms of governance that are being sought. At the end of his study on the postmodern subject, Toby Miller is cautious about a possible temptation to see technologies of the self as "liberating."

The task of founding technologies of the self that are ethical, but do not subjugate, and allow for movement between the categories, is complex and currently unsatisfying. For this to be otherwise, a new mode of producing knowledge — including economic knowledge and hence the economic system — would need to come into being. (Miller, 1993: 228)

In selecting the following statements that appeared mostly in *Parallélogramme* within editorials, essays and advocacy reports I am trying to give the reader a sense of the density of discursive positions.

A. GEOGRAPHY

1976

A great deal of attention was given to the idea of a communications network...It was seen as a means of establishing collective agreements, creating living archives, and organizing exchanges of art across the country (Conway, 1985: 96).

[Early ANNPAC] The locations of meetings was very important. Each meeting took place in a different region, giving members the chance to meet and see how there counterparts operated (ibid.: 94)

1977

[The Living Museum Network] would exist as an association of autonomous artist-run centres as they are already constituted (Lewis, 1977: 16-17)

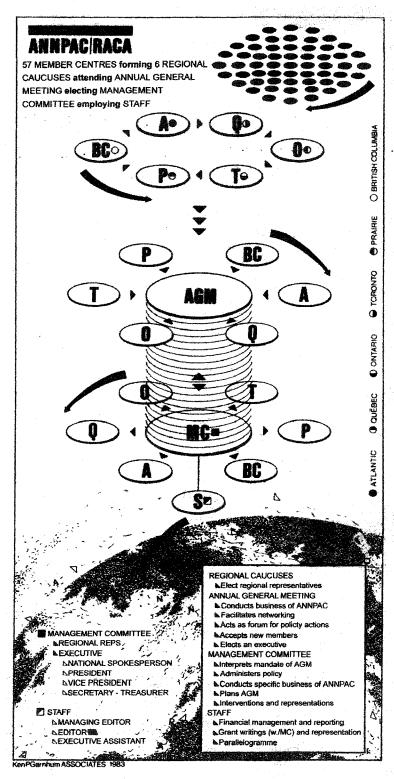
METRONOME PRINCIPLE — Because of the high expense of the past meetings, it was agreed that ANNPAC would have one general meeting per year and the Eastern and Western regions be defined and regional meetings would be carries out quarterly. ANNPAC National policy will be a function of the Metronome principle. The proposals from each regional meeting are sent to the opposite region for verification and addition and then become national policy. One representative from the region submitting the report travels with the report to the opposite regional meeting. The Western regional meeting is currently being scheduled and the agenda will include this report and regional topics (ANNPAC, 1977: 19).

1979

With the growth of the ANNPAC membership, it has become evident that large meetings are often unwieldy, therefore it was suggested the representation Annual meetings be limited to one person per center... Each of the 6 regions has a representative and an assistant representative... The role of regional representatives as informed distribution agents — both within the gallery network and external publicity systems — was emphasized and new reps were chosen by consensus (Todd, 1979: 4).

1981

The problem of poor communications was identified (minutes from MCM November, 1981, p.7 cited in Labossière, 1992: 5).



Restructuring: This diagram charts a necessary politics of regional representation. Six regions are represented three times around different meeting procedure. **Disguise**: A 'communication satellite' metaphor

Source: Parallélogramme, 1984, Vol. Vol. 9, No. 2., p. 4.

1982

Specific changes to the structure of ANNPAC/RACA were recommended in the 1982 when the regional reps. asked for part of the budget to be allocated to cover the costs of regional meetings and regional communications (minutes from MCM June 1982, p.3 cited in ibid.:5). (see Fig.4)

1985

The process of peer evaluation should be utilized in making decisions concerning a group's status as a non-profit artist-run centre, that the process of peer evaluation should commence at the regional level and that each region should establish by what means it may wish to investigate an applying group's status. Nominations made be the regional caucuses should be ratified by the Management

Committee and confirmed by the National Assembly (ANNPAC/RACA, 1985: 132).

In 1985 centres in Québec expressed dissatisfaction regarding the ANNPAC/RACA criteria and the failure to recommend some new centres for membership. (minutes from MCM, June 1985, p.2 cited in Labossière, 1992: 5).

1986

In 1986, the Québec centres established an association to represent centres collectively in Québec (RCAAQ) with the goal of inclusion rather than exclusion — to become a strong association by including both "the old, established groups/spaces and the young contemporary groups." (minutes from AGM 1986, p.6 cited in ibid.: 5)

1988

The organization is structured on a regional basis, so that centralism is minimized and optimal representation is achieved in spite of the geographical distance between member centres. A Management Committee of twelve is composed of the six regional representatives; four Executives: the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary-Treasurer and the National Spokesperson; and the staff in the Toronto head office (non-voting). The Committee meets regularly and subsequently reports back to

the centres in their region. Two meetings are held by each region during the year. These meetings allow for a local and regional voice to be brought forward to the national level (Amis, 1988: n.p.).

Artist Run Centres and Collectives of Ontario (ARCCO) is established.

1989

In 1989, as a one-time cost-saving measure, the Association modified the structure of the annual assembly. The membership agreed to select representatives from each of their regions to attend the meeting and report back to the centres, rather than incur the cost of sending a representative from each centre (ibid., 1990: 1).

The Transcontinental was born this year from a need for closer communication between ANNPAC/RACA and artists across Canada. The executive, the managing director and the editor of Parallélogramme will travel to each of the six regions to attend two-day regional meetings and hear the concerns and issues facing each region. This process will assist ANNPAC/RACA to act on these concerns, as well as assist the member centres to become more knowledgeable about the role and history of their national association (ibid.: 4).

The current system of regional representation through a designated individual has limitations. Most regions have more than ten members and some regions have the added burden of large geographical distances separating the constituents. For these reasons most regional representatives have some difficulty communicating the concerns, problems and on the positive side, achievements/activities of their constituency to the Management Committee and administration. The reverse flow of information back to the constituency from the Association is also difficult (ANNPAC, 1989: 61-62).

An attempt should be made to de-centralize the Management Committee process. The Meetings of this committee should happen in other places than Toronto whenever possible (ibid.: 62).

[December - Toronto meeting of Transcontinental] As the largest association of visual artists in the country, ANNPAC could use new mechanisms to wield more strength (ANNPAC, 1989: 12).

[December — Ontario meeting of Transcontinental] There have been a lot of staff changes in Ontario centres, and many of the new people are uninformed on major issues. Thus, they cannot take an informed stance on national political issues, nor do they have the energy to establish regional policies. The question was raised as to what ANNPAC/RACA represents to member centres. The importance of adopting a regional stance on national issues was stressed. Centres indicated that they feel a little lost, and they don't know when they should take the initiative, what they are expected to respond to or how, or the extend (sic) to which they are expected to get involved (ibid.: 12).

Pacific Association of Artist Run Centres (PAARC) is established.

1990

ANNPAC/RACA is sponsoring an ARTISTS' DAY to commemorate the work of artists across Canada, to take place on January 17, 1990. This day was chosen by Robert Filliou in 1963 to commemorate the 1,000,000th birthday of art. We are following in the tradition of Filliou by celebrating art's 1,000,027th birthday. Our member centres across Canada are creating a range of local art activities/celebrations for this day...We plan to promote this day as an annual event — one which will establish a higher public profile of local artistic activities through artist—run centres (ANNPAC, 1989: 21).

ANNPAC/RACA began an exciting process of (re)evaluation of its intent and activities. We remain committed to artists and the organizations that are administered by them; however, we realize that changing conditions require revitalized strategies for communication between centres (Amis, 1990: 1).

Regional meetings are an important aspect of ANNPAC/RACA's approach to networking. This year the Association assisted each region by financing two regional meetings and regional operating expenses during the year. It also covered the travel expenses of Regional Representatives to the management Committee meetings. The importance and success of these meetings are indicated by the achievements of the regions in obtaining provincial and civic cultural policy changes and funding (ibid.: 3).

At the 1990 AGM, the Québec region recommended that the organization be restructured to include its own and other regional associations formally within ANNPAC/RACA (Labossière, 1992: 5-6).

At the AGM, Quebec representatives put forward the following motions in response to the opening speech by ANNPAC/RACA President Gilles Hebert¹⁹:

MOTION 11.2: That ANNPAC/RACA become a confederation composed of umbrella associations and individual member centers;

MOTION 11.3: That during a transition period of two years, one of ANNPAC/RACA's primary mandates be to collaborate and set into place the umbrella associations at the request of and to the specific needs of the member centres;
MOTION 11.4: In keeping with ANNPAC/RACA's primary mandate regarding restructuring, it is proposed that part of the confederation's human, financial and administrative resources be made available to the umbrella associations during the process of constitution (Hébert, 1991: 10-11).

Prairies Artist Run Centres Association (PARCA) is established.

1991

The RCAAQ wrote warning ANNPAC/RACA that unless concrete by-law revisions were received one month before the 1991 AGM scheduled for June 1991, the RCAAQ would not participate (letter from RCAAQ dated Feb. 20, 1991 as cited in Labossière, 1992: 6)

Revised by-laws were sent out more than one month before the [1991] AGM and the RCAAQ and its members attended (ibid.: 6)

The membership of ANNPAC/RACA, through their regional organizations, must maintain the momentum for change by working to guide the process of change as well as its implementation (Hébert, 1991: 11).

[while at the AGM] A motion was brought by Clive Robertson that ANNPAC/RACA:

- 1. Identify the problems all members face and develop demands to make on the federal level;
- 2. Put resources and staff at the disposal of "regroupements" and regional associations;
- 3. Within six months, a confederation of associations be formed to replace ANNPAC/RACA.

[minutes 1991 AGM, Item 13, passed by consensus with each Québec member abstaining individually]...There followed a discussion of whether this would mean that the AGM would only include the associations rather than individual artist-run centres (Labossière, 1992: 6).

Soon into the restructuring discussions, the RCAAQ announced that it would recommend that all the Québec members formally withdraw from membership and remit their fees to the RCAAQ to be used for federal-level lobbying [marginalia from Robertson: "and to create an alternate structure to ANNPAC/RACA"] (minutes 1991 AGM cited in ibid.: 6).

B. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1976

[At the Western Front meeting] Contracts [between artists and artist-run centres], fee structures, copyright provisions and a precise definition of the terms had yet to be formulated (Conway, 1985: 96).

1977

If ANNPAC or through a board of trustees set up by ANNPAC could elicit funds, perhaps through National Museums and/or

other funding sources, a core secretariat could be hired to administer, raise funds and co-ordinate the Living Museum Network (Lewis, 1977: 16-17).

1978

The 2nd PARELLOGRAMME RETROSPECTIVE for 1977 and 1978 contains copies of artists' contracts and fee schedules recommended by CAR/FAC and a video fee recommended by CANPAC [ANNPAC/RACA]...The tension between CAR/FAC and ANNPAC stem[ed] from an internal conflict within ANNPAC. ANNPAC has in general supported the concept of artists' fees; however, the organization has not been able to reconcile this concept when applied to member centres who operate on minimal funding. As well, the adoption of the CAR/FAC schedule of artists' fees threatened to result in reductions in programming (Conway, Gary. (1985)

1985

The Constitution of the Association defines the membership of the Association as those non-profit corporations and associations and societies, whether incorporated or not, which are artist-initiated and controlled and whose application for membership has been accepted by extraordinary resolution of the Association...To these criteria have been added...that all members endeavor to pay fees to artists (ANNPAC/RACA, 1985: 131).

It has been strongly put forward that the word 'endeavor' be replaced by the word 'must' in the wording of the criteria (ibid.: 133).

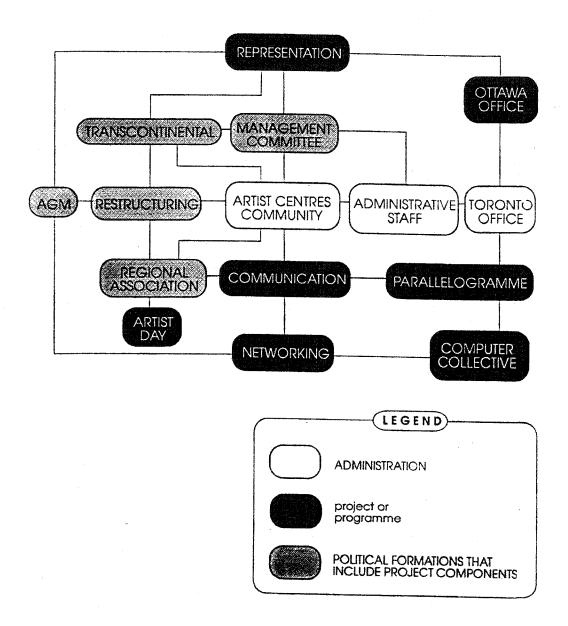
1986

The [Statement of Professional Ethics adopted by ANNPAC/RACA members at the June 1986 AGM] reflects the commitment by ANNPAC/RACA centres to the principle that the artists they represent, and whose works they exhibit, deserve respect, consideration and understanding (Guillaumant, 1987: 9-10).

1987

Since the adoption of the "Statement of Professional Ethics," all ANNPAC/RACA members must adhere to the principle of negotiating contracts (ibid.: 9).

ANNPAC STRUCTURE



Restructuring: A functional map of the relationships between administration, programs and political formations surrounding a nucleus of artist centres. **Disguise**: Budget spending.

Source: ANNPAC/RACA, 1990: 25.

The premise of this checklist [of Artist Rights and Artists-Run Centres' Responsibilities] is that, as members of ANNPAC/RACA, the host gallery/centre has certain responsibilities to exhibiting/performing artists which are inalienable. Our purpose is to insure that the artist(s) are treated humanely and with sensitivity. The following should be regarded as guidelines [on fees, contracts, administrative responsibilities, publicity, management, documentation, sales and commissions, and censorship] (ANNPAC/RACA, 1987: 12-13).

In 1987 the first ever documentation of working conditions in the artist-run centres was sponsored by ANNPAC/RACA (Guillaumant, 1987: 9).

1990

We passed a motion supporting CAR/FAC's new copyright collective which committed us, with other artists organizations, to arrive at mutually acceptable principles and mechanisms for the distribution of artists' fees and royalties (Amis, 1990: 3).

Local meetings of artists with a representative from the copyright collectives²⁰ will be facilitated by the ANNPAC artist-run centre network. ANNPAC will also be meeting with the copyright collectives to consult about the information packages they are preparing to explain the ramifications of the Act (ibid.: 1).

1991

ANNPAC/RACA, Regroupement des centres d'artistes canadiens (RCAAQ), (AADRAV), Canadian Artists' Representation/Le Front des artistes canadiens (CAR/FAC) begin to "harmonize" their efforts to secure increases in artists fees, including reprography (Labossière, 1992: 6).

1992

[Re: organizational identity confusion] Increasing administrative complexity and staff turnover in the centres threaten to put even more distance between the concepts of artist and collective, collective and artist-run centre and between centre and program (ibid.: 1).

C. CULTURAL IDENTITY

1976

At its founding, ANNPAC/RACA adopted the consensus model of decision-making (Craig, 1985: 7-8).

[motion adopted at Western Front meeting (Apr. 9-11, 1976) "That the name CANPAC stands for Canadian Association of Non-Profit Artists Centres, to emphasize and correctly identify the artist/production nature of the CANPAC members" (Conway, 1985: 96).

[Motion adopted at same meeting] "Artists Centres would more accurately describe the intention of this association than Art Centres" (Minutes from the ANNPAC meetings of 1976/77 as cited in ibid.: 96).

1982

The demand that ANNPAC/RACA become more outwardly directed is evident from at least 1982 when committees were formed to review the contents of a book that ANNPAC/RACA sponsored after concern was expressed about its failure to represent the feminist perspective (Labossière, 1992: 3).

1984

The breakdown of the consensus that occurred at [the 1984 AGM] raised the question as to whether ANNPAC/RACA has grown too large to employ the consensus model. Upon investigation the Management Committee felt that consensus was a strong founding principle of the association and one that should be eliminated. The Management Committee discovered that there are many ways to use the consensus model successfully; but its facilitation often requires learning new skills (ibid.: 7).²¹

For discussion purposes the Management Committee would like to propose the model of consensus decision-making known as The Consensus Trust Convention Model.²² This model attempts to adapt the values and techniques of consensus decision-making to the specialized setting of a large group with only a limited amount of time and a large agenda. This

model is a contribution of the feminist movement which is developing alternatives to the Parliamentary procedure of conducting large meetings²³ (ibid.: 7).

1985

Diagram of The "Consensus-Trust" Convention Model reprinted in *Parallélogramme*, Vol.10, No.4.

It would seem apparent that the information given in each group's masthead in Parallélogramme which gives the names of the Board, staff and also the programming listing is one way of indicating a group's commitment to this principle [of equal representation of the sexes]. But again, to repeat, ANNPAC/RACA cannot become a policing agency without radically altering its own structure and without destroying the good faith and trust which unites us as a group. We must use our own ability to exert peer evaluation and peer pressure on this subject. Meanwhile the Management Committee assumes that the Association acting as a national body will consistently stand for the principle of sexual equality within the arts professions, and will lobby on this principle knowing it has the full support of all its members on this subject (ANNPAC/RACA, 1985: 134).

The Constitution of the Association defines the membership of the Association as those non-profit corporations and associations and societies, whether incorporated or not, which are artist-initiated and controlled and whose application for membership has been accepted by extraordinary resolution of the Association...To these criteria have been added...that all members support sexual equality²⁴ in their centre (ibid.: 131).

Most of the regional caucuses were receptive to the UNESCO definition of artist [1980] when it was suggested that that definition be employed to establish the criteria. But the B.C. region hesitated and reminded us of the concept strongly held at the founding of ANNPAC/RACA that art was a process and not a product and definitions are not always definitive. What we have then is a return to the already established principle of peer evaluation. Those already most involved in the process are best suited to make such judgements. Our ability to make such judgements must be rejuvenated. Also rather than beginning at the M.C.

recommendations for membership should come form regional caucuses (ibid.: 132).

1987

The issue of systemic racism was raised in the 1987 AGM (Labossière, 1992: 3).

1988

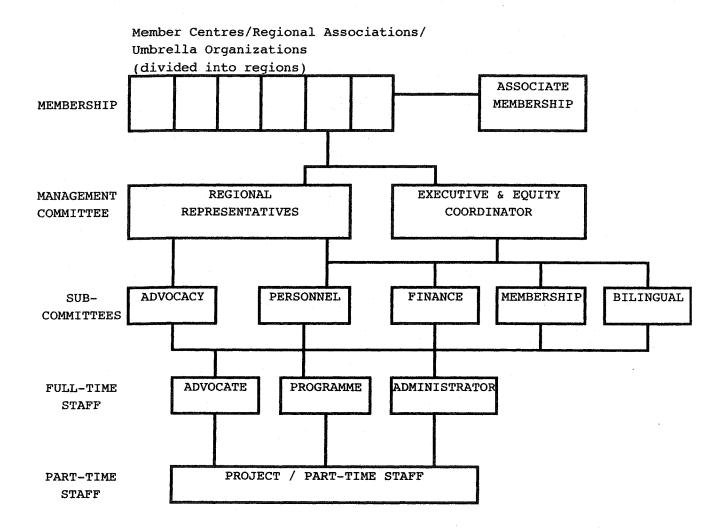
Specific anti-discrimination actions have been recommended many times, including this particularly strong statement in 1988...[MOTION] We move that from this time forward member centres make a commitment to support and implement proactive employment and programming strategies. The intent of this motion is to extend accessibility and to introduce an anti-discriminatory policy that can build community support through the implementation of practice (sic) employment policies (training and hiring), the expansion of access and content of programming and/or activity at member centres across Canada according to their mandates. [passed by consensus] (minutes from 1988 AGM, summary of motions, p.5 as cited in ibid.: 4).

At the June 1988 AGM specific support of the community of native artists were recommended: (1) We support the existence of Native film and video production, distribution, and exhibition artist-run facilities and lobby federal, and where applicable, provincial funding agencies to fund such facilities; (2) that the organization include native participation and consultation prior to any lobby with respect to federal funds so that any lobby will also reflect a native perspective; (3) that we respect and support the autonomy of Native cultural representation (minutes from 1988 AGM, summary of motions, p.5 as cited in ibid.: 4).

1990

In recognition of barriers which affect accessibility to artist-run centres, [the AGM] addressed the exploitation of Aboriginal artists and cultural producers in all parts of Canada. The Association agreed to develop a pro-active strategy and will approach Native cultural organizations with information about ANNAC/RACA and an invitation to apply for membership (Amis, 1990: 1).

Apparatus 4: Organigram (1992)



Restructuring: Membership participation within distinct lines of (self) governance. **Disguise:** An efficient flow chart.

Source: MacLennan, 1992: 11.

We amended our Aims and Objectives to extend the awareness of systemic discrimination and to encourage a more proactive policy by each centre: formerly, "the believe that male and female artists have an equal professional right to work and exhibition opportunities and the right to work in a non-discriminatory environment," was amended to read, "(the belief that) every artist has the professional right to work and exhibit without discrimination based on linguistic preference, race, cultural/ethnic origins/identity, sexual preferences, sex, or autochtonism²⁵ (sic)" (ibid.: 2-3).

1991

ANNPAC/RACA embraced a number of advocacy priorities [on issues of racial equity] to be actively undertaken through the Management Committee and staff (Hebert, 1991: 11).

The broad goals of [ANNPAC's anti-racism] strategy include: that First Nations delegates and People of Colour comprise 40 per cent of delegate attendance at the 1993 ANNPAC AGM; that significant numbers of artists' groups and centres of colour and of First Nations be brought into ANNPAC's membership; that existing member centres and their memberships take up the challenge of anti-racist education and structural transformation; and that networks be established with and among First Nations individuals and People of Colour working within currant ANNPAC centres (ibid.: 14).

The [pre-Minquon Panchayat] Caucus document draws (if implicitly) on the initiative for an Equity Coordinator position in ANNPAC's 1991 "Restructuring Proposal" which was brought forward to the membership for adoption this year (ibid.: 14).

1992

Special Resolutions:

- 1. Be it resolved that the 1991 AGM motion (item 13) regarding restructuring (i.e. ANNPAC/RACA as a body of regional representatives) be rescinded.
- 2. Be it resolved that ANNPAC/RACA become an association composed of individual artist-run centres, regional associations²⁶, and umbrella associations²⁷ which are artist-

self-determined, artist-run and non-profit. The status of Associate Membership remains unchanged.

- 3. Be it resolved that ANNPAC/RACA accept and adopt the recommendations of this proposal.
- 4. Be it resolved that the position of National Spokesperson be eliminated.
- 5. Be it resolved that the position of Equity Coordinator be established (MacLennan, 1992: 4).

[By-law revision 3.12.a] The Equity Coordinator shall be responsible for ensuring equitable and relevant representation of differences (ibid.: 10).

The terms 'racism' and 'anti-racism' were not mentioned throughout the definition of the Equity Coordinator, although they were fundamental to its raison d'être" (Gagnon, 1992: 16).

[By-law revision 2.01] The Members of the Association are and shall be those non-profit corporations and associations and societies, whether incorporated or not, which are artist-initiated and controlled, which pay artist-fees, who support equity and diversity regarding gender, race, aboriginal culture, language, abilities, sexual orientation, and geographical location (MacLennan, 1992: 9).

[The Management Committee] has suggested new membership categories, redefined the job descriptions, activated the advocacy committee²⁸, replaced the National Spokesperson²⁹ with an Equity Coordinator (ibid.: 2). (see Fig.5)

The pre-Minquon Panchayat Caucus formed at the AGM in Moncton, Sept. 26 (Gagnon, 1992: 14).

On December 1, 1992, the Animation Coordinator for the Pre-Minquon Panchayat Caucus is hired (ANNPAC, 1993: 18).

Parallélogramme, Vol.18, No.3, 1992 advertises the positions of Administrator and Advocate and publishes

"Principles and Responsibilities of the Advisory Committee for Anti-Racism" (Fernie, 1992: 14).

1993

Following upon the resolve of ANNPAC/RACA's 1992 AGM and conference to more effectively represent the difference and diversity of the artist-run movement, the pre-Minquon Panchayat Caucus is taking its first steps toward implementing strategies of transformation, cultural building, community building, networking, and growth as outlined in the "Principles and Responsibility of the Advisory Committee for Anti-Racism" (ANNPAC/RACA, 1993: 18).

There is a sense of commitment in the above statements to the continued working through of policies of 'democratization and decentralization' as well as doubts about the functional viability of ANNPAC/RACA as a 'social movement organization.' At the same time there is confidence that the 'movement' itself is expanding. However from 1986 to 1992 the funding structures which have supported this self-governance within arts organizations are themselves under threat as the federal government reviews its spending allocations and its desires to 'pay down the deficit.'

The final chapter of this thesis examines aspects of this drama as it takes places at The Canada Council. An earlier version of this chapter titled "Changing the Rules at The Canada Council" indicates how this particular

apparatus of state funding undergoes what I consider to be a major transformation that in turn effects its policy negotiations with artists. In that there is a loop in place in this text, Chapter 5 can also be read as a reintroduction to Chapter 1.

Notes for Chapter 4

This suggestion comes from Lawrence Grossberg's discussion of power from a cultural studies perspective in Chapter 3 of We gotta get out of this place: Popular conservatism and postmodern culture (1992: 103)

² Such legal incorporation is necessary to receive public funding for projects or operations. By the beginning of the 1980s to receive arts funding such non-profit societies also had to produce annual audited financial statements, a requirement that exceeded legal requirements.

³ For example as an expansion of its objects, in 1989 ANNPAC/RACA's "objectives" make explicit the political substance of its goals. Note the "declaration of rights" trope these objectives employ:

[•] to promote and protect the artists' right to freedom of expression, and to pursue their work without regard to, or discrimination based on language, ethnic origin, religion, sexual preference, or gender;

[•] to promote the production and presentation of contemporary art by living Canadian artists within an environment unconcerned by issues of profit or of commercialism;

[•] to assist its member centres in providing and proetecting oppoertunities for artists to be self-dterming in the production and presentation of their work and advance the social and economic status of artists;

[•] to assist its member centres in protecting and promoting the artists' right to be paid for their work, for its exhibition, presentation, and/or distribution.

[·] etc..

⁴ Every incoming Board member of ANNPAC/RACA was given a copy of this handbook, a handbook which intentionally has nothing to say about membership, how members can direct and change such organizations. From the Preface: "In 1985, the

Association of Cultural Executives, in consultation with the University of Waterloo, organized a national conference to draw attention to the need to advance cultural leadership in Canada. The Cultural Imperative Conference examined a wide range of issues facing the Board/staff partnership in different sizes and types of Canadian cultural organizations. It identified a need to clarify the role, responsibilities and functions of governing Boards and to assist Boards and staff in developing improved governance and management processes."

- 'resolved.' In Miller's schema 'ethics' means, "the personal capacity to draw upon moral codes as a mean's of managing one's conduct. This becomes an exercise without end, a seminar of the conscience between desires, practices, collective and individual needs, and so on." (Miller, 1993: xii)
- One of the two 'regimes of practices' present in an apparatus identified by Foucault. Working together, the other regime in the pair is 'regime of veridication' which provides reasons and principles justifying ways of doing things by producing "true discourses" which can produce "truth effects." (Grossberg, 1992: 101)
- ⁷ I did produce an 'antidote' to this form of generic arts administration thinking that permeated artist-run centre policy discussions and arguments in a document, "57 Basic Questions that curators, board members and staff of artist-run centres and co-ops should be able to answer." (1992) (see Appendix 2) It was written to address similar governance confusions being discussed here at a specific artist-run centre I was then working in. "57 Questions" was made available to ANNPAC/RACA.
- ⁸ ANNPAC/RACA By-law No. 1 A 2.01 "The Members of the Association are and shall be those non-profit corporation and associations and societies, whether incorporated or not, which are artist-initiated and controlled..." (1982, revised 1988)
- ⁹ This 'entrepreunarial' model of an artist-run apparatus fits an 'era' when Laurie Anderson and other artists were getting signed to independent and major music labels; a time of growth of alternative arts programming support by a

North American network of community and campus radio stations; of opportunities for some from the video art community to work on music video or documentary productions; a time when artists were being consulted in the preparations for PAY-TV licenses and success of various non-profit information and editorial writing and publishing from arts and cultural communities that feeds the possibility for new profit-making alternative weeklies like NOW (Toronto) or VOIR (in Montréal), etc.

Diana Nemiroff who had been president of the artist-run centre Optica, Montréal before becoming Curator of Contemporary Art at The National Gallery of Canada wrote "Par-al-lel" as part of her research for an M.A. Art History thesis, "A History of Artist-Run Spaces in Canada, With Particular Reference to Véhicule, A Space, and The Western Front." Concordia University, 1985.

- Participants included Miriam Adams, Bill Bartlett, Victor Coleman, Linda Covit, Michael Fernandes, Michael Goldberg, Trevor Goring, Time Guest, Bill Kirby, Glenn Lewis, Allan Mattes, Chris Richmond, Tanya Rosenberg, Barbara Shapiro, Dennis Tourbin, and Paul Wong.
- "Art and Artists actually have the capacity to give some meaning to the confusion of disparate activities. The Living Museum can, by putting it all together, give greater meaning to it, can actually help the public understand the environment they're living in" (Glenn Lewis cited in Rosenberg, 1979: 114).
- ¹⁴ Including conferencing, correspondence, a bulletin board, co-authoring, dissemination of artists' publications, touring and exhibition preparation, information storage and retrieval access, and R&D for marketing and sales (ibid.: 122-124)
- ¹⁵ Cf. the "Electronic Mail" project initiated between Bill Bartlett and Norman White in October 1978 as part of the research of the Digital Media Association (as impetus and inspiration for the Living Museum Data Network).
- The root of the Living Museum as a network connecting artist-run centres carried through at least as late as 1985, as in the statement: "In developing such networking

¹¹ Held at Artspace, Peterborough, December 8-9, 1977.

tools as *Parallélogramme* and its annual conference, ANNPAC/RACA continues as a Living Museum" (Craig, 1985: 10(5), 7).

"Complete biography/resumé information, a photo of the artist or reproduction of the work, quoted press clippings and commentary, and other material relevant to higher profile media coverage" (Rosenberg, 1979: 134). 18 Compare this to Victor Coleman's criticism of the Federal Cultural Review Committee's 1983 recommendation that "The Government of Canada should establish a Contemporary Arts Centre, with the same status as its four national museums, dedicated exclusively to the collection, exhibition, touring, promotion and development of contemporary visual art in Canada" (Coleman, 1983: 15). He writes: "Underneath the [federal government's] resistance to the idea of developing an artist-run Contemporary Art Museum is a miasma of trepidations which hint at the implicit notion that artists as an intentional minority are incapable of conducting big business on their own... A dialogue on this issue of initiating an artist-run Contemporary Art Centre would be welcome. This could be a vital moment for artists in Ontario to act, to consolidate the gains of the last 12 years, and to lead the way to new methods of controlling the way their art, in its diverse forms, is exhibited and perceived" (ibid.: 15).

"The current system, in which an individual is designated to represent the objectives/circumstances of the member centres within a region, is proving difficult to maintain effectively. This is in part due to a lack of regional organization. And this disorganization comes out of a shortage of resources and co-operation at the regional level. There is a generalized need for all regions, save Quebec, to develop politically into strong and vital organizations. ANNPAC would improve a great deal from this development and the regions would have a stronger basis from which to affect the organization. Ultimately, this would generate a new structure for the association. Strong regional (provincial?) organizations could provide improved locally-controlled organizations for our membership."

²⁰ CAR/FAC, CARO, and SODAV.

^{21 &}quot;The Annual General Meeting held this past June in Halifax proved more difficult than expected. The meetings broke

down when consensus failed to be reached during the process of accepting new members" (Labossière, 1991: 7).

- The Consensus Trust Model was first tested successfully at the founding convention of the National Women's Studies Association in 1977, which over 700 people attended.
- The consensus model is an alternative to Roberts' Rules of Order.
- ²⁴ "Sexual quality" here is spoken of only in terms of gendre equality.
- ²⁵ Autochthanism: "Aboriginal occupation of the soil" (Oxford English Dictionary).
- ²⁶ "Regional Associations will remain the primary body of representation for year-round consultation" (MacLennan, 1992: 5).
- ²⁷ Umbrella groups include service organizations and special interest groups which must be self-determined, artist-run and non-profit.
- "A functional standing subcommittee of the Managing Committee, composed of all Management Committee Regional Representatives, chaired by the President, with the Advocate as staff liaison. The committee will determine advocacy priorities and initiatives, taking into account the initiatives of the AGM plenary, and of the Management Committee, and other groups (eg. CAR/FAC, IFVA/AVCI)" (MacLennan, 1992: 7).
- ²⁹ Instead of the National Spokesperson, "ANNPAC/RACA will work with a system of hired Advocate and Advocacy Committee, chaired by the President" (ibid.: 7).

Chapter 5

Changing the rules at The Canada Council: Negotiating 'arm's-length status' and 'peer assessment'

The final chapter of this thesis echoes Chapter 1 in including the present as history. This chapter examines some connecting particularities of The Canada Council as a cultural apparatus. It is worth emphasizing that any political fluctuations of public cultural funding is likely to produces administrative consequences for artist-run culture. The analysis to follow articulates an assortment of positions, issues, histories and research approaches taken and made for thinking policy participation in state cultural policy apparatuses and troubling particular instances of practices of government 'at a distance' from the state, For my purposes, Marty Allor's suggestion - that to pose questions of the state and governance requires an "analysis of agencies inside and outside of the state...[centering] on the relations between institutional and discursive levels of determination" (Allor, 1994: 28) - necessitates an examination of how 'arms-length' and 'peer evaluation' discourses governing the relationships between cultural agencies and the state, between agencies and client organizations are more than just instrumental relations.

In this chapter I will articulate discourses of state cultural policy history of 'arm-length' status for cultural agencies; arts council principles and policy regarding "peer

assessment" and the manner in which the expectations of policy reform arising become productive. There is a third key term that arises from an internal ideal function of arts council administration as a 'collective noun.' The purpose of shifting the reader's attention to The Canada Council with whom almost all artists and arts organizations interact is to untangle the politics of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down,' advantaged/disadvantaged interactions. To do more than describe social problems requires some attempt to demonstrate the "ethical issues of subjects rights" (O'Regan, 1993:193).

At the outset it should be noted that speaking about The Canada Council necessitates speaking as if it were an homogeneous entity known or knowable to all in the same way. In reality a contemporary arts council funds a wide spectrum of primary cultural producers and arts organizations (both profit-making and non-profit) across a range of contemporary disciplinary histories and employment practices. An arts council therefore exists as a policy accretion and functions as a shelter for a barely compatible mix of arts and cultural industry-related and foreign affairs programs that have been seized or offloaded or that, in the views of arts councils and clients, cannot be entrusted to the short-term policy objectives of other government bodies. The history of my own subjectivity - as at times a grant recipient, jurist, peer advisor and policy advocate within the visual and media arts - informs particular observations about the Canada Council's policy histories and levels of determinations.

Besides offering explanations for the activations of general and specific policy inclusions and the ebb and flow of their limits I will address opportunities and definitions of inclusion that encourage or discourage, legitimize or delegitimize processes of negotiation. As part of my analysis of institutional policy changes that occurred at The Canada Council during the 1980s and 1990s I have constructed partial chronology (1957-1998) of the 'stick and carrot' effects of federal cultural policy upon The Canada Council's arms-length status (Appendix A) and a survey, "Polling Producer Policy Preferences" (1999) (Appendix III), that claims no more than being a limited indication of assumptions of policy proxies.

To better understand how a cultural apparatus cares for itself by caring for its subjects in this case would be to fully map a dispositif of 'caring' particularly within 'top-down' arts policy, administration and advocacy, a project that troubles but exceeds the scope of this dissertation.

Domestic arts policy statements continue to emerge from The Canada Council (For The Arts) recirculating concepts of caring within administrative narratives. Such carings are for an ideal of the social/public function of art and for the material works or aesthetic experiences themselves. There is a caring for artists or at least a caring for their expected contributions and 'sacrifices.' which sums to underwrite a representational and territorial focus and logic of excessive intervention. I use this phrase to describe a horizon of an arts council's administrative reach and in this study of the

artist-run culture and representational discourse I want to keep open considerations of the intensity of interventions in the opposite direction. As we have seen these discursive and non-discursive practices are locatable in the debates around governmentality where "the governed are engaged by the government, governmental rationality becoming an affair of the governed" (Sterne, 2003:14). What is it about both the rhetoric and logics of 'arms-length status' and 'peer evaluation' that stimulates participations, that exceeds policy subjects capture of resources or legitimation?

1. Cultural Policy Studies and Negotiation

Writing retrospectively about cultural studies investments in the relationships between policy, programs, intended subjects and 'community-authorized' speech, Australian scholar, Tom O' Regan maps a theoretical terrain of orientations to policy studies that envelops the problematic of this chapter. O'Regan's essay identifies a historical path for interpretations of the literature associated with cultural studies as policy analysis. The central concerns of cultural studies are identified as being

the exploration of and criticism of various strategies and programs of action and obligation, organized both discursively and institutionally...In this context policy tends to be understood in terms of its consequences and outcomes and in terms of the actions of those affected by it as they attempt to exert some influence upon the process." (O Regan, 1992)

Concerned with those affected by institutions and structures that formulate and design administrative programs,

O' Regan suggests that it was not policy programs per se that were of interest but the processes of negotiation by their intended subjects (emphasis mine). The significance of cultural studies affinities to a 'bottom-up' program of negotiation is common both to its analysis of the consumption of media and artistic programming and in its engagements with policy developments of the state. The 'point of view' in addressing the latter is for and with those "disadvantaged recipients...who are excluded from such policies altogether" (O'Regan 1994). While it is of course a cultural politics can suggest who has advantaged status as arts policy recipients, my objective here is to question what does it mean to be 'included,' what are the rhetorics and practices of 'inclusion?'

Typically researchers seek out policy statements and deliberations as a path for understanding why social formations and institutions do what they do, in effect asking what are the present promises contained within policy statements and the future goals found within statements of principles? After Foucault it is presumed that we can better find a mismatch between the rhetorics which seemingly govern the aims of social technologies such as an arts council or discourses of federal cultural policy and the political rationalities "embodied in their actual modes of their functioning."

My sense of the relationships between arts and cultural policy— and the discursive flow from one to the other —

within bodies known as arts councils emerges from how over time their mandated functions vis à vis their constituencies or 'stakeholders' become re-defined. This becomes further complicated when questions of accountability — to whom, for what? — are intensified. Given that The Canada Council Act (1957) inscribes what can become conflicting obligations to serve and service the needs of arts and cultural producers, audiences, national and international purpose, etc. it should not surprise us that elements of social and cultural policy become articulated in the nominal 'arts policy' process.

This chapter examines what governs the opportunities and restrictions for arts producers to negotiate policy by referencing some of the stakes that are defined within arts policy discussions of autonomy, accountability and participation. 'Arm's-length status' and 'peer assessment' become key terms for interrogating the status of two pervasive policy claims made by and for The Canada Council (for the Arts)²:

1. The Canada Council Act and its amendments is protection from government interference thereby providing an arts policy alternatives to federal cultural policy ambitions; 2. Decisions effecting grants are made by peer evaluation.

Created in 1957 as a federal cultural agency answerable to Parliament and not the Government of the day, The Canada Council is significant in arts policy terms because of its historical influence on the structuring of other provincial and municipal funding bodies that have developed similar funding programs and authentication logics as arts councils.

Individual artists and arts organizations who receive public funding and assist in or accept the processes of adjudication are policy subjects who must bring into their own practices and organizational bodies considerations of where changing funding policy demands arrive and depart from their own goals and obligations.

One focus of my research conducted over several decades has been to document public funding arts policy narratives and the presences and absences of policy subject responses. Such narratives circulated and resulting from contact with The Canada Council (and other similar public funding agencies) reproduce political rationalities that appear attached to very specific explanations. A rationality that produces key terms deployed in Canada Council policy discourse (from the mid-Seventies to the mid-Nineties) is reassembled later in this chapter in my analysis of the purposes and viability of the 'collective noun model' of arts council administration.

We might begin considering current modes and 'targets' of policy communication — that is who are the intended audiences for what types of publicly-circulated policy statements? The Canada Council produces a quarterly newsletter, For the Arts (begun in 1999) that highlights projects supported by The Canada Council (for The Arts) written for general arts audiences and media consumption. The Annual Reports of The Canada Council provides a detailed listing of jurors, awards and grants together with financial

statements and an Auditor's report written by the office of the Auditor General of Canada. These annual reports, presented to Parliament contain important prefaces both from The Chair of the Board of Trustees and The Canada Council's Director and it is here that management priorities and official accounts of policy changes, arts advocacy and revised histories of the organization itself can be read. The Canada Council's official web site also contains archive pages of press releases, speeches, etc.. and a potentialclient interface regarding grant programs, purposes, eligibilities and deadlines. Under a heading "Advocacy Resources" there is now a document, "Peer Assessment at The Canada Council for The Arts: How the Council Makes its Grant Decisions" (2002). Unlike the other statements mentioned above I read the newest Peer Assessment document both as a move towards administrative transparency but spoken from a need to re-establish an arts council's reputation with its core art production clients after a period of intensive management re-structuring and morale depletion. The function, though not the mechanism of criticism or appeal appears in this admission:

Of all the decisions the Council is empowered to make , its decision about which artists, arts organizations and artistic projects will receive grants are the most sensitive, the most visible and the most likely to provoke criticism . Every year the Council receives in excess of 16,000 grant applications. Some 6,000 grants are awarded , many for less that the amount requested.

The council welcomes spirited discussion and disagreement as a natural outcome of its intensely competitive work. At its best, the thrust and parry of democratic debate about arts grants confirms the power of the arts — their unique ability to generate strong

passions and equally strong discord. The Council must therefore ensure that its grants to artists and arts organizations are dispensed with integrity , transparency and fairness and that its policies are clear and consistent. (Canada Council, 2002)

The regular production of these aforementioned communications make up the public policy face of The Canada Council which variously, in particular defining political moments, speaks to:

- the tensions between autonomy from, accountability to and collaboration with government; the cultural challenges of mass culture, de-industrialization, global markets, national identity, and cultural diversity
- · the generic needs of arts producers, audiences, the economy and/or the state.
- · a politics of representation and questions of representational advocacy

Such a technology as peer-assessment attests to a focus (and a policy-centric view of itself) that is common to many if not all forms of cultural institution. With perhaps the exception of these newer Peer Assessment Guidelines produced by The Canada Council for the Arts, there is little evidence in such public statements that the agency has ever had argumentative negotiations with its clients or with various governments over its mandate and authority. Accounts as residues of policy exchange remain available elsewhere in more of-the-moment critical writings, in general histories, or scholarly works. Without overstating the scope of this erasure of critical discourse, such accounts are useful as motivations for research to apprehend competing narratives produced within and outside of the apparatus.

For example, arts council narratives of a different kind than those broadly arguing for the public funding of the arts and social and economic benefits of contemporary art practices — serve to explain to its clients why at any one moment:

- · certain contemporary art practices and projects are given or denied funding preference;
- · why statistically there is regional, generational, etc. fairness of the dispersion of monies available when other empirical observations and results comparisons suggest otherwise;
- the 'intrinsic value' of awards and grants, i.e. the public and worthiness recognition such funding affords as match-able investments.
- the intelligence of the conceptualization of arts policy administration

While the need to name and demonstrate 'intelligence' is undoubtedly a pre-requisite within funding apparatuses for a range of professional practices, the cyclical naming of this 'intelligence' at work in arts councils, when it happens, is an address to perceived client expectations. Within a shared arts field that includes various forms of hands-on public patronage and administration there is a challenge to demonstrate an expertise above and beyond the recognition of authority invested in those who have been hired to execute certain key policy inauguration or reform responsibilities.

So, for example, an 'intelligence' premised as the efforts of a mix of internal and external arts professionals, administrators and support staff at The Canada Council is

'intelligence' in two senses. The first, a surveillance function, refers to a national or regional clearing house and archive of funding applications and documentation that discipline-by-discipline is a particular kind of data storage about attitudes, needs, practices, and trends. The second sense of 'intelligence' is in the interpretative function of such information for program development, in internal and external justifications for policy decisions made, or in conscious relevancy assessments used to argue past, present or future constituency support. An example of one form of interpretative intelligence would be attentions to marginal and emerging practices through "strategic interventions" of funding through the tailoring of micro-programs meant to ensure the sustainability and growth of particular social and aesthetic innovations. Narratives that challenge state, arm's-length cultural agencies or community organization policies helps both define and 'make visible' policy as a site of practices and struggles to effect social direction and destiny.

The historical moment of Canada Council policy reorientations I have chosen to (re)construct and analyze is
useful for its complexity of agency and "agent-hood"
(Grossberg, 1992:122). It is a moment when the federal
government in an effort to cut program costs sought
efficiencies by attempting to merge the agency responsible
for academic scholarship funding, SSHRC (Social Sciences and

Humanities Research Council) with the agency responsible for arts funding, The Canada Council.

The publicized objectives of a seven-year rule of arts management at The Canada Council was to rescue The Canada Council from its former self by making the Council more palatable to a generic 'public' and a government fixated on 'efficiencies and economies' and cutting/offloading the costs of program delivery. Despite the surface logic of what became a new management imposed 'design for the future,' the less discussed casualty was the unfinished and socially complex negotiations around improving community-based definitions and expectations of Council program delivery and policy-making.

This 're-positioning' of the Canada Council — "audiences everywhere discovered that the Canada Council for the Arts was on their team" (Scott, 1997: 5) — raises a myriad of questions; about the Canada Council's past and present levels of accountability to 'primary producers' (here meaning artists) within the arts community. Producers who more appropriately can teach rather than be taught what it takes to sacrifice livelihood for a common good, how to stretch an administrative dollar, how to build community as 'home' rather than as a marketing strategy, how to mediate the elitism and class and cultural privileging embedded in received art(s) institutions including the Canada Council.

Following a brief replay of what management changes were executed and their immediate effects, I begin by historically mapping the frequently downplayed tentativeness of the arm's

length relationship between the Council and the federal government's ambitions to have more direct control over cultural agencies for the purpose of enacting cultural policy. Whenever these ambitions — and they are not likely to subside — became mixed with cutting or reallocating government spending, the Council is always in danger of having its functions curtailed, re-assigned or collapsed into other agencies. (For a chronological history of government challenges to The Canada Council's 'arm's-length status' (1957-1997) see Appendix II: "Arm's and The Man".)

2. Spending Reviews and a Defeated Merger.

In mid-December 2003, the new Paul Martin Liberal government is engaged in federal spending reviews. At the same time the news media is conveying stories about the imminent breakup up of Heritage Canada, the superministry created in 1993 by the former Crétien Liberal government that amalgamated culture and communications with citizenship and multiculturalism. If and how this Ministry's regulatory and funding of cultural agencies functions are to be reconfigured is again being speculated (Taylor, 2003). Though these questions per se are not being specifically directed at The Canada Council (For the Arts), as a cultural agency relying upon annual government allocations it will at the least be required to supply and meet the general program-review criteria. As reported these currently are: "What is the evidence that the initiative is achieving the stated

policy objective? Is there a legitimate and necessary role for government in this program area or activity? What activities or programs should or should or could be transferred in whole or part to the private/voluntary sector? Does this program exploit all options for achieving lower delivery costs through intelligent use of technology, public-private partnership, third-party delivery mechanisms and non-spending instruments?" (Ibbitson, 2003)

In 1986 there was a similar federal spending review exercise, The Neilsen Report which ultimately lead the Mulroney Tory government to prepare legislation to eliminate or merge 46 federal cultural agencies. In 1992, Brian Mulroney appointed then-Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)President, Paule Leduc to become the Director of a merged SSHRC-Canada Council to be henceforth known as CCARSHHRC (The Canada Council for the Arts and for Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities). While the Canada Council was presumed to be the senior partner in the merger the transitional organigram showed The Canada Council becoming the "Arts Division" of one of five divisions answering to the Leduc. The omnibus Bill C-93 that included the SSHRC-Canada Council merger was passed in the House of Commons.

As the merger progressed, the CCA (Canadian Conference for the Arts) was notably sanguine suggesting in a press release that the re-writing of the Canada Council Act could "serve to our (the arts community) needs more effectively"

(Gagnon, 1992: 10). CARFAC's national office took a different tack and along with academics (who also opposed the merger) CARFAC helped encourage the defeat of the legislation by Tory senators and because of a tie vote, finally the Speaker in the Senate.

The failed merger did not deter Paule Leduc who proceeded with a 'technocratic vision' of the Council that included (according to then-members of senior management,: all juries meetings once a year, officers-as-clerks, top-heavy program evaluation by bureaucrats, less officer travel and barring officers from attending Council board meetings, less money spent on advisory committees, and grants programs identical from discipline-to-discipline. As a result of Leduc's impositions the Head of Visual Arts Section, the Head of the Media Arts Section, the Treasurer and the Head of the Arts Division resigned. The principled senior resignations in effect fully opened the door for the more drastic changes that followed.⁴

Donna Scott (Director) and Roch Carrier (Chair) took over the Council from Leduc. To head off 2% of a promised 10% cut in the Council's annual appropriation, they choose to meet Treasury Board demands for departmental and agency 'economies and efficiences' by promising in their 1995 Strategic Plan to cut administration costs from \$12 million in 1993-4 to \$12 million in 1998-99. This resulted in the firings, layoff and early retirements of 53% of its specialized and loyal staff (from 285 to 150) The costs of

'retirements and layoffs' for Council's 'reducing the salary envelope' exercise came to \$2.6 million. It was promptly paid back by a supplementary parliamentary appropriation of \$2 million. In his portion of the 1995-6 Annual Report Director Roch Carrier cavalierly wrote: "I would like to make note of the exceptionally generous participation of our staff...In this exercise, a number of staff discovered the pleasures and challenges of increased responsibility for the future of their organization."

Leduc, Roch and Carrier accomplished a top-down corporatization of public administration in a very familiar series of moves. The attempted merger was followed by a cosmetic set of consultative meetings followed by a downsizing resulting in firings and layoffs. Having made the necessary 'improvements to their service' the Council was rewarded by an injection of new capital (an extra \$25 million for each of five years) from the Government of Canada.

3. The Canada Council Act is written in pencil

"Some of these ridiculous grants are enough to make me bring up. Whether or not the arm's length policy is considered sacrosanct or not, we're going to tamper with it."

Otto Jelinek, Revenue Minister, Globe and Mail, 2 December 1989

"I would very much like to shorten the arm's length relationship of government arts subsidy."

Why, in 1999, after seven years of The Canada Council's 're-positioning' as a management efficient and publicly accountable body would the Heritage Minister seek more control over The Canada Council? Minister Copps' comments were made in a moment of ambush by an attention-seeking Reform Party on the federal funding contributions to a woman-positive "porn" film Bubbles Galore .5 but, given the substantial increased funding allocations argued for The Canada Council by the Minister, why would the Ms. Coops support the perception that this funding agency was an over-insulated instrument of federal cultural policy?

Though the government of the day appoints The Chair, The Director and the Board members throughout The Canada Council's history governing politicians have been stymied by the 'custodial arrogance' of the Council's employed arts professionals who saw the Council as existing first and foremost to service the needs of living Canadian artists and/or arts communities.

Cultural historians writing on the history of the patron state, arts policy and The Canada Council have all pointed to the conditional nature of the Canada Council's arm-length status and its ability to maintain its special jurisdictional claims (again see Appendix II). Most frequently noticed has been the federal government's desire to compete with The Canada Council through arts spending in

the departments of the Secretary of State,

Communications/Heritage, or Foreign Affairs. Whereas from the mid-seventies to the mid-eighties the Council budget was increased by 176% the Department of Communications arts spending increases were 551%. (Meisel, 1987: 291) Throughout, the Council's annual appropriation has amounted to only 5% of total government cultural spending. Given the endless search for multiple sources of funding coupled with a desire to bypass the financial limitations of the Council, arts organizations have easily been wooed to access direct political monies from departments of federal and provincial governments.

Over the life of the Council various federal governments have deposited new programs within the Council and earmarked increases to the Council's annual appropriation. When the Council resisted the less compatible or more invasive forms of intervention — special one-time allocations of monies or responsibilities that could be used as policy precedents by governments or funding applicants — the government of the day has frequently retaliated by attempting to erase the protections of The Canada Council Act by changing the agency status of The Canada Council. This occurred in 1979, 1984 and 1992. In 1984 it was on the insistence of Trudeau ministers Jean Chrétien, Lloyd Axworthy and then Treasury Board president, Herb Gray that the Canada Council (and many other Crown corporations) be brought under closer governmental and parliamentary supervision. The nature of this 'supervision'

essentially has meant attempts to control the executive aspects of the Council's management.

a. The Patron State: Tensions between Principles and Policies

Law: 1.— a rule enacted or custumary in a community and recognized as enjoining ir prohibiting certain actions and enforced by the imposition of penalties

10.— a rule of action or procedure.

Policy 1: A course or principle of action adopted or proposed by a government, party, business or individual.

Policy 2: A contract of insurance.

Principle:

- 1. Fundamental truth or law as the basis of reasoning or action.
- 2. A personal code of conduct. Principles: rules of such conduct. (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1990)

While the above definitions semantically separate laws from policy and principles, the interrelationships shows law engaging principles with policy and law (through different applications) being accepted as contractual and material, and principles being located in beliefs and values. In Foucault's account of the result of the process of governmentality, the (Western) state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becoming 'governmentalized'" (Foucault, 1992: 102-103).

The purpose of Harry Hillman-Chartrand and Claire

McCaughey's strategic essay: "The arm's length principle and
the arts: an international perspective — past, present and
future" (1989) was to re-stabilize the Canada Council's
unstable relationship with the federal government. HillmanChartrand (at the time responsible for the Statistics and

Evaluation Section of the Canada Council) wrote in the shadow of the Liberal government's 1984 Bill C-24, drafted to tighten the spending and reporting habits of some 300 crown corporations, and the 1986 Tory government's "Nielsen Report — a Ministerial Task Force on Program Review" whose mandate was to gain "greater government efficiency and improved service for the public" by eliminating fiscal wastes and program duplication through funding cut-backs and a threatened devolution of responsibilities for culture to provincial governments.

Bill C-24, a pre-election initiative meant to counter crown corporation spending scandals (Atomic Energy Canada and Canadair being two examples), attempted to modify and and/or override the specific legislative Acts governing the separate cultural agencies by re-classifying them with crown corporations like Via Rail and Canada Post. The Canada Council foresaw three specific threats of extended government control: a Power of Directives allowing the government to target specific constituencies or regions for arts funding; the submission of an annual corporate plan allowing fiscal interference in, for example, the Council's Endowment Fund investments; and the government's right to change the The Canada Council's By-Laws (Robertson, 1984). Senior ministers in the final Trudeau (Liberal) cabinet 6 insisted that The Canada Council, The Canadian Film Development Corporation (now Telefilm Canada), the CBC and the National Arts Centre be subjected to the provisions of Bill C-24. The National

Arts Centre and The Canada Council refused to submit to the changes. When it was publicly revealed that the Deputy Minister for Culture and Communications had phoned the Directors of the two agencies warning them against public criticism of the bill "the intervention (by the Deputy Minister) proved in advance that the misgivings that its critics had harbored about Bill C-24 were justified; that once it was passed and the cultural agencies were made vulnerable, the bureaucrats and the politicians would not fail to make use of their newly acquired powers" (Woodcock, 1985:120-122). The Canada Council's allies including a supportive arts community, national news media journalists and a number of MP's forced a government about to commit itself to a general election to finally agree to exemptions from Bill C-24 for the four cultural agencies. The NFB was not exempted

The Tory (Mulroney) government's, 1986 Nielsen Report (of a similar but differently encompassing scope) found that past government program evaluations written by "self-serving" deputy-Ministers were "useless and inadequate" announcing a desire to "improve the relationship between the federal government and those cultural agencies which are the principal delivery mechanisms for government policies" (Nielsen, 1986: 39). In the federal cultural field this resulted in an expansion of the Department of Communications.

George Woodcock suggests that the struggle for the Canada Council's political autonomy — the history of its

resistances to becoming primarily a principal policy — delivering mechanism for governments of the day — begins in earnest with the reconstruction of the Secretary of State (1963-8) from a federal-provincial affairs bureau to a virtual Ministry of Culture responsible for a series of cultural agencies that included the Canada Council, the CBC, the NFB, the CRTC, the National Gallery, the National Museum, the National Library and Public Archives. Woodcock claims that by 1977 "the (Canada) Council's energies became sapped, as they have been ever since, by the need to defend its autonomy against political encroachments" (Woodcock, 1985: 65).7

In 1992, the public reassurances (generally accepted by the arts community) were that Council was only cutting administrative costs to protect program spending. Part of the administrative cuts included losing the Arts Award Section, the Art Bank(now restored), the Explorations program (the only ongoing community arts-like program the Council has ever entertained) and the loss of funding to arts service organizations. Throughout the seven-year turmoil remaining staff morale plummeted, internal-external communications diminished with a net in a net decrease in service for artist and related arts organizations.

In 1998-9 there was a further change of management with a new Director, a new Chair, a new Head of the Research Section, a new Head of the Visual Arts Section and a new Head of the Media Arts Section promising a normalizing of Council-

to-arts community relationships. While there is no going backwards — 'this is not your mother's arts council' — it is now time to re-evaluate within the structure of The Canada Council what new safeguards and improved accountabilities are required.

The rules allowing the Canada Council to remain at arm's-length from government and from the arts community have been seriously and in a sense usefully discredited. As Alison Beale has written, "Of the remaining opportunities for democratic action in Canada, the fact that there are so many points at which cultural relations and cultural production are affected by government and by the actions of the public and quasi-public institutions, in our relatively decentralized nation, represents both a problem and an opportunity" (Beale, 1998: 244).

The 'problem' for the arts community is to find the ways and means to debate and decide what are the most important functions that a fully accessible and culturally flexible federal arts council can undertake that no other governmental or corporate entity can deliver. How much of the Canada Council's energies and resources should be spent on what parts of its mandate? How much can it satisfy its objects to "foster and promote the study and enjoyment" of the arts and how much can it direct itself to the "production of works" in the arts? Have the recent changes at the Canada Council set these different goals on a collision course? What emphasis will placed upon what aspects of the 'production of works?'

Who can best decide how decisions are being made to allocate monies for creation-production (grants to individuals) and grants for production-dissemination-distribution (grants to arts organizations)?

b. Arms-length Principles

Within a context where there already had been constitutional talk about devolving responsibility for culture to provincial governments and where selected visible Canadian successes, particularly in film, literature and popular music were being used to question the future necessity of arts and cultural policy protections and subsidies, The Hillman-Chartrand-McCaughey essay, "The Arm's Length Principle and the Arts: An International Perspective — Past, Present and Future"(1989) appears to further a similar purpose of state arts policy analysis (Ostry, 1978; Woodcock, 1985; Schafer and Fortier, 1989 ⁸) Their essay, careful where and how it argues for The Canada Council as an exemplary model of the arm's length principle, is transparently written to counter the concerns of arm's-length governance skeptics and opponents both inside and outside of government.

I will begin by giving an overview of the sequence and categories of its arguments. The essay starts by referring to problems of public arts funding common to a variety of national jurisdictions. Such problems include: "popular press debates" about "the levels of funding to national 'flagship' institutions;" "the increasing role of 'ministries of

culture' in direct support to fine arts organizations;" and
"the proposed disbandment of arm's length councils." The
growing importance of the arts and their audiences are argued
as being reflected in a number of "basic demographic and
economic trends" (i.e. growth of a highly educated
population; increasing role of women in political and
economic life, evolution of a "narrowcast" marketplace;
"deindustrialization" of First World economies; importance of
"design and qualitative factors in the export performance" of
national economies, etc.) which are then summed to "the
importance of the arts in political and economic life."

The significance of the arts is further centralized through a definition of an "arts industry" as an aggregate of components we might expect to find in the larger cultural sector when named the "cultural industry," Here the championing perspective is inverted with the individual creative artist as the "source of all artistic products" functioning across "operating rationales" that are named as: amateur arts, fine arts and commercial arts. (Within the latter, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey include recorded music, books and films — but not television. ⁹)

With the individual artist thereby located as "the source of all artistic products," links are made between an artist and an art work through creation; an audience and an artwork through communication; and an audience and an artist through commercialization. This then allows for a selective relationship of "economic roles" whereby the "amateur arts"

is audience development for the fine and commercial arts;

"the fine arts" are research and development for the

commercial arts and the "commercial arts" are distribution

for the fine and amateur arts.

Following an introduction on the political and economic importance of the arts sector is a key primer on the arm's length principle both in constitutional and public affairs serving to suggest a set of common professional interests within a public policy principle across many sectors. With an appeal to Western statecraft and the law, the intent here is to politically normalize arm's-length relationships and their suggested autonomies as limits of or to state regulation.

(A conceptual framework of participatory governance including the "separation of powers" argument is used later (both in time and in this chapter) in the positing of an ideal 'collective noun' model of arts administration whereby the relationship between government and an arts council is expanded to include artist and arts organization clients.)

In condensed point form, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey make their case for the retention of arm's-length public funding for the arts in the following observations and assertions.

The Arm's Length Principle in Constitutional Affairs

- 1. The arm's-length principle is applied in law, politics and economics in most Western societies.
- 2. The principle is implicit in the constitutional separation of powers between the judiciary, executive and legislative branches of government.
- 3. The principle is represented by divisions of powers among agencies of government in federal states. While education in Canada is the responsibility of the provinces rather than the federal government, national education interests are achieved

through an arm's length National Commission for UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) administered through The Canada Council.

4. Application of arm's-length principle is applied in the relationship between government and the press in most Western countries through constitutional restraints — in the U.S. by the First Amendment, in Canada by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and in the unwritten constitution of the U.K. through the arm's-length status of the BBC.

The Arm's Length Principle in Public Affairs

- 5. Conflict of interest guidelines in many countries govern the conduct of elected officials and represent an application of the arm's length principle wherein Cabinet ministers and senior officials are required to place their financial assets in a "blind trust."
- 6. Treasurers, auditors and evaluators in major corporations and government departments are also at arm's length from the activities they scrutinize.
- 7. Ombudspersons appointed to ensure access to information, privacy or human rights must work at arm's length from the government that appointed them.
- 8. The arm's length principle is embodied in tax legislation and regulations. In this regard in Canada, a transaction is defined as being of arm's-length if it is "conducted between parties that have no corporate or other direct connections with each other, and thus act each in its own interest."

 9. The arm's length principle is also applied to public funding of the arts in some countries.

As the description of some of these applications of arm's length relationships suggests, accountability issues facing arm's-length policy relationships continue to played out in larger ideological arenas, e.g. public debates on the political activism of the judiciary, particularly the Supreme Court ,and, less publicly visible, the granting of regulatory powers to private agencies following government decisions to 'down-size' by out-sourcing necessary responsibilities that cannot simply be abandoned. ¹⁰

Having cited where we can find arm's length principles at work in public policy, Hillman-Chartrand and MacCaughey

Fig. 6

Model for Supporting the Arts

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Source: Hillman-Chartrand, 1989

then proceed to compare and contrast modes of public support for the arts that use and don't use the arm's-length principle. The diagram, "Models for Supporting the Arts" (Fig 6) accompanies a detailed account of four roles for the state that, they write, can have two different objectives: "to support the process of creativity or to support production of specific types of art" (p.481). The roles, "exclusive in theory, in practice most nations combine some or all of them" are named as Facilitator, Patron, Architect and Engineer. Written before the end of the Capitalism-Communism axes of the Cold War, the Patron State role and the emergences of the Arts Council of Britain (1945) and The Canada Council (1957) are linked together as means of supporting "excellence." The need for arts councils is located in a desire to "distanc[e] the arts from politics and bureaucracy, [wanting] to avoid the system of state support existing in Russia and Germany prior to 1945." (p.153) This favored rationality is also deployed against Ministries of Culture in the Architect role whose policy objective is "social welfare" and not "excellence," whose "artistic standards" are "community" and not "professional."

In their essay, The Canada Council itself is given a developmental parallel not normally mentioned in the various histories and re-interpretations of the Massey and Levesque Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1951). The instigation of a legislative and not

an executive agency — the fortuitous (American) model used here being the Smithsonian Institute founded in 1846 with its continued relationship to Congress. The authors seek and find a range of operational parallels between the two institutions naming them both as "'national' as opposed to 'federal' institutions." The authors here are pointedly defending The Canada Council's legal and policy status as being, by Act of Parliament, "explicitly 'not an agent of Her Majesty' and therefore beyond the control of Her Majesty's government of the day" (p.587).

the Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey essay — using their additional descriptions of the operations of arts councils and peer evaluation as it becomes developed within the "collective noun" model of administration — guides us to a place where we can better reflect on the question of policy and client subject negotiation. For example investments in arm's-length relationships between official cultural agencies and the state in practical terms in turn questions the availability of "double arm's-length" relationships where as the authors write, " an arts council having assessed the artistic merit of clients, would not direct or control their activities" (p.161).

Raising the issue of a double arm's-length relationship is a rare recognition of the obvious and considerable funding influences on client organizational practices and the kind or degree of client autonomies in matters of policy. Within a

context of outlining models for supporting the arts and the advantageous characteristics of an arts council, the implication that 'contracts of service' between artists or arts organizations and arts councils are less demanding and invasive than say similar contracts with ministries of culture or other such public and private agencies is not reflected in the histories of such relationships or in the literature that serves to document them.

c. The State and The Cultural Arena

The following short intervention on the state and the cultural arena by Raymond Williams discusses the need for an arts policy focus in a different direction. Whereas the Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey essay points to British and Canadian policy commission and legislative review reaffirmations that variously "viewed creative and interpretative activity to be the principle responsibility [of arts councils]" Williams writes from his interests in social formations as well as key cultural institutions.

In "Reflections on the State and the Cultural Arena" produced for a March 1984 conference, "Culture and The State" (organized by the ICA in London, UK) Raymond Williams differently identifies the state's historic role in arts and cultural policy and complicates the 'national' or 'federal' jurisdictional issues that remain tied to arts council self-rationalities of historical and contemporary mandates. "The nation-state is both too large and too small...to sustain

genuine national cultural policies" Williams writes"

(Williams 1984: 5). The real argument now is between a version of the State as patron and a version of the State as the promoter of an active cultural policy" (ibid.: 4).

Williams distinguishes five senses of the State in relationship to the cultural arena. The first two senses are where the state engages in its own reproduction using the arts and culture for its decoration and imagery and not really for the development of the arts themselves. The third and fourth senses involved the State as patron. The fifth sense is prescriptive move from an abstract state to actual communities.

- 1. Williams addresses a "stately sense of cultural policy: a lying-in-state of the national heritage in which the version of the culture to be offered to the public has been officially consecrated." Here the State has a double sense of not only being the central organ of power but of display often the public pomp of a particular social order. (This display culture is not usually recognized as either an arts or cultural policy.)
- 2. Embellishment of the public power of the nation or private corporations from areas of genuine artistic practice. Non-arts policy arguments arising <u>from</u> arts institutions for public arts funding include extensions of the arts being beneficial for tourism, as business entertainment, as representation of a national culture to other national cultures. Such arguments and practices as cultural policy make effective certain preferred features of a particular social order.
- 3. Version of the State as patron. The problem of such patronage has always been the identification of that special area which is to be the object of patronage. What an exclusive definition of the arts (Williams includes cinema and television) can become is an abstraction of certain traditional art from what is otherwise and contentedly seen as a cultural market. It is assumed that the contemporary arts, through their prime distributors the new media, will make their way in the cultural market but that the traditional arts must be in some sense preserved from it. In that sense only the State acts as patron and there are substantial theoretical and practical objections to this

requiring a cultural policy distinct from patronage and limited intervention.

- 4. Version of the State as the promoter of an active cultural policy where there is an improved access "to things which were already happening."
- 5. A move beyond state cultural policy building upon a *civic* tradition (containing a fight to preserve the necessary powers of cities) and the possibility a relating a cultural policy to an actual community rather than to a relatively abstract and centralized state.

The emphases Williams follows in reconfirming a civic sense of arts policy are twofold: a) That the management of art enterprises is best left to self-managing companies of artists where they are in any sense collective art, or to cooperative arrangements where there is the practice of individual artists; and b) A continued role for the kind of public power, whether at the civic or national level, which has the prime responsibility of keeping the means of production publicly available, not allowing them to be available for auction and yet not tempted to appropriate them to its own kind of organization and its own definition of interests.

Williams writes:

I believe there is a possibility of defining a principle of holding the artistic means of production in public trust, but then of leasing them by a variety of possibile arrangements to self-managing groups of artists of all kinds who will get to use those means of production in relation to a stated policy, under lease, and subject to review and renewal." (emphasis mine) (ibid.: 5)

This principle can be read as addressing a number of particular histories as long as we remember that Williams and his view of new media arts (including broadcasting) necessitates the distinction between various public policies

that can include patronage and limited intervention and "positive cultural policy" that includes the marketplace. So Williams (having served as a peer assessor for the Arts Council) is critical of "standards" and "excellence" as used by "central bodies" in arts and cultural industry rhetoric. For example, Williams questions familiar and continuing claims in the arts for superior significance made on behalf of productions by metropolitan institutions. "[Such] bodies make choices which are all too often disguised behind counters of argument which are very difficult to specify. I mean vague terms like "standards" and "excellence" which more often than not function as ways of deflecting the argument rather than having it, especially when you think of the hangover from distinctions between traditional and new kinds of art" (ibid.:4).

The applications of policy and its enforcement as it applies to arts councils — the far from innocuous phrase, "subject to review" in the Williams cite above — brings us to the matter of how peer evaluation is defined by Hillman—Chartrand and McCaughey and later enhanced by Edythe Goodriche (Head of the Visual Arts Section, The Canada Council) in her account of the "collective noun" model of art council administration with its "checks and balances."

In their essay, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey describe the operational applications of the arm's length principle within a "fine arts council." This includes the role of the trustees, "the use of peer evaluation to foster artistic excellence" and the nature of client relations. This entails the authors outlining a series of allegiances and where necessary the limits of those allegiances where it affects the power invested in the institution itself and its various self-reflections that perhaps it is not a but the place where policy should be made. I mention this here because it is an infectious determinism that perhaps characterizes the focus of apparatuses at a distance from the state.

The role of the Board of Trustees (appointed by government) are expected to act as: " 'legal trustees' independent of the political needs of government ... and in this intermediary role, the board is responsible for keeping politicians and bureaucrats at arm's-length from the day-today operations , and from political directives and pressures; from preventing ministry officials who may have no background in the arts from handing out money as a form of public patronage; for ensuring that judgements about the arts are made by professionals in the filed; for serving as a buffer between government and the arts; and for acting as an advocate for the arts to government and the general public" (Hillman-Chartrand and McCaufey, 1989: 59). This an interesting list of responsibilities and again it is an aspect of the essay which speaks generally for arts councils and The Canada Council in particular without differentiating between general scenarios and specific cases. While the Board of Trustees at The Canada Council has the power to overturn decisions made by the Council's arts professionals and peer

assessors, the larger real or imagined 'threat' to self-administration comes from the government of the day's appointment of Trustees who may share the government's view of alternative and/or competing models for public funding of the arts. To offset this possibility — until it becomes a reality — the Council (similar to many other non-profit arts organizations) seriously invests in its history and mythologies as an outcome of guiding principles that are followed.

In noting that the "peer evaluation system lies at the heart of the arm's length arts council" as the process to ensure that its granting decisions are based upon professional assessment, Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey decide to call up its 'roots' in the Magna Carta and English law. Thus, peer evaluation

...rests on the premise that justice imposed by the lords on commoners is unjust because the circumstances of lords and commoners are radically different. Therefore, an artist ought to be judged by his or her peers, and accordingly, other artists are involved in grant-making decisions. (ibid.)

The slippage from the "only people qualified or sufficiently knowledgeable enough" to make decisions — adequate for science, humanities and medical research councils — to a notion of justice is apparent. The answer to why artists in particular require justice is implied in the "different circumstances" which are and remain economic, circumstances of income-from-work levels in particular which arts councils recognize, even advertise, but cannot address.

The 'collective noun' model then re-configures the rationalities laid out by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey of an arts council into an ideal configuration of The Canada Council that is partially based upon actual practices. 12 Again it focuses upon useful participatory work such an agency can do in an exaggerated but somewhat compelling way.

d. The 'collective noun' model of arts funding administration

Goodriche's account speaks to a belief in a "'collective intelligence' to be harvested from within the Council's 'originating' structure." Here there is a claim that systematic procedures were not adopted or adapted from bureaucratic or corporate models but that " such procedures were designed strategically and specifically for re-enforcing the collective decision making." And the authority was invested in all three of delegated authorities:

"The founders/architects put into place three delegated authorities, three distinct forms of decision-making. These were in) what is now called the Board originally public members as trustees; ii) the professionals hired by the public members as senior advisors; iii) the peer assessors as arts officers and artist jury members.

The real conviction was that the Council was a collective noun: it was not a bureaucracy...its decision-making rested in three different places providing the "checks and balances", to ensure all considerations were properly weighed. If you weighted the scale too much on one side or the other it became obvious that the decision-making was out of wack. That visibility was the brilliance of the structure. From there evolved the direction, policies, procedures, etc.. The processes of decision-making was there from the beginning, the "flexibility" remained in the balance between the three delegated authorities as locations of decision-making; further, they were critical in maintaining what I call the integrity of the Council. Without these defined locations of decision-making the

Council would have simply been just another bureaucracy." 13

This model of the Council assumes that the governmentappointed Director, Chair, Trustees and other senior non-arts specialists would always submit to the priorities of an arts council in its official capacity to "conceptualize and to identify the arts and the artistic" (Hutchinson, 1982: 18). And therefore that the intellectual and administrative power within the Council would more or less remain in the hands of the arts professionals (the Section Heads). In Goodriche's interpretation of the arm's length principle: "The directors of Council were in fact the professionals. They ran the business of Council. They were accountable to the public members, they were accountable to the community and they were closer in structure not to the corporate or the academy but to what I call the 'judicial'. The closest analogy would be a judge. They made judgements. They had to call the positions for Council. They had to position Council all the time vis à vis the artistic practices" (ibid.).

As argued by Hillman-Chartrand and McCaughey this sense of the judicial within The Canada Council is a borrowing from the arm's length principle in public policy implied in the constitutional separation of powers between the judiciary, the executive and the legislative branches of government. This I believe explains the advisory nature of peer assessment and excuses the Council's recognition and support

but ultimate refusal to receive direction from formal artist representation bodies unless — and I will return to this in a later Chapter — required to do so by law.

Aspects of Goodriche's conception are supported by Harry Hillman-Chartrand's research on the arm's length principle, primarily conducted for the Council's jurisdictional and status disputes with government. My assessment is that Goodriche attempted to internally apply the same arm's length principle within the Council's administrative structure (as cited above) by arguing for a separation of powers with the trustees (as the legislature), the appointed managers (as the executive) and the arts professionals (as the judiciary).

The ultimate weakness of the 'collective noun' model (aside from the fact that the arts community experienced it but did not know of its existence) was that it resided more as a prescription of consciousness rather than a formal inscription within the Council's public structure. Once arts professionals like Goodriche were taken out of the equation, as happened in the Council management turnover of the early nineties the arts community was exposed to an autocratic interpretation of its autonomy.

Within Council throughout the seventies and eighties, without responsibility for larger art presentation institutions, the Visual Arts Section implicitly or explicitly taunted the conservative elements within other Council disciplinary sections. Until its comeuppance, the conceptual 'arrogance' of the visual and media arts within

the Council arguably resided in its historical responsiveness to a range of aesthetic and organizational inventions and interventions from within the visual-media artist community. This including Visual Arts funding commitments to multidisciplinarity (video, film, photography, performance, new dance, new musics, etc.) prior to and through the artist-run centre movement and its close alliance with what in 1985 became the Media Arts Section. Against the regulations of a fine arts discipline, the Visual Arts Section enjoyed being able to service a critical practice and the emergent practices of younger artists.

More exacting and now more contested as a model for the Council is that the 'first principle' of The Canada Council was that it funded artists. All organizations funded (at least in the contemporary visual arts field) had essentially to demonstrate their ability to act as support structures of that work. The funding to artists through Arts Awards was to buy time, they were not production grants Theoretically it gave artists the freedom to decide when, where and how their work was to be made public, practically it provided income relief from non-art production work.

The logic of funding visual arts organizations (artist collectives, artist-run centres, galleries, museums) on the merits of their support of artists work while clear-minded did not take into account the mediation of curatorial practice or others factors that are now causing that logic to unravel. Within Council the visual arts recognized the shift

from an art history to an art theory-based curatorial practice within contemporary art but failed to properly identify and theorize the contemporary institutional or independent curator as cultural producer that would have directed arts council funding to public galleries or art museums only as support for the curator's practice. It is is not too difficult to see how, missing these organizing concepts, creation-production grants can be seen as subsidies for artists and production, dissemination and distribution grants to arts organizations can be viewed as audience subsidies.

e. Changes in visual arts organizational funding priorities

"The Council is once again making policy in a hurry, citing the need to act promptly to restore credibility. They keep losing credibility by acting quickly without proper consultation, and the put the cart before the horse by formulating policy and then asking for feedback instead of consulting first."

Robin Metcalfe, independent curator, Halifax, 3 May 1999 on the list-serve ECHO

The Canada Council's relations with funding for galleries and museums was compromised in the seventies by the presence of the National Museums Corporation and thereafter the Museum Assistance Program (Department of Heritage) with Visual Arts as a disciplinary Section consequently receiving

substantially less funds than Theatre, Dance, Music and Writing and Publishing. By the 1984/5 the Council's 'strategic intervention' (its decisions to legitimate certain practices by apportioning limited funds) was to take away the regular funding for the 19 galleries/museums funded and open an Exhibition Assistance Program (1985) and Programming Assistance Program (1987) to all art galleries and museums engaged in activities critical to the contemporary arts. By 1990 the artist-run centres were put through a similar review process maintaining their operational funding (it was cheaper) primarily because their role in constructing artist communities acted as extensions of artists chosen work (as artist-curators, artist-critics, artist-administrators) different from the scholarship or public service function of art galleries or museums.

While the Canadian Art Museums Directors Organization (CAMDO) accepted the mid-80s change in the Council's intervention it worked in the 1990's to regain operational funding for public galleries and museums. This included meetings with Council when others visual arts constituents were precluded and a much confirmed lobbying directly with the Minister of Heritage. Though the Council denies that any of the \$25 million five year increase was earmarked, the Visual Arts budget was dramatically increased to allow for new funding for public galleries and art museums. The new program with a budget of \$6.3 million has annual funding ceilings of \$300,000 for galleries with collections and

\$200,000 for public and University galleries that can be no more than 25% of an organizations operating budget. The current artist-run centre ceiling is \$65,000 and the centres are angered that the new monies are all being spent on new programmes. Institutional and independent curators are also concerned that portions of the monies allocated for curatorial purposes will be 'taxed' by museum administrators for overhead costs.

Director Shirley Thompson (whose previous arts administration experience was in museums) responded to the artist-run centre complaints by saying that the new monies were

to create a new flagship (sic) program of grants for public galleries and museums [who]... strongly address many of the strategic directions of The Canada Council for the Arts, including [the] display of contemporary artworks to a broad and diverse public." (May 20,1998)

Gone is the conceptual relationship between linking the funding of visual arts organizations to the support of artists/curators. Now the excuse is that public galleries and museums are the only arts organizations that cannot access operational monies from Council. While public galleries were certainly penalized by the lack of visual arts operational funding in the mid-80's, my guess is that, acting in haste, the Canada Council does not have in hand sufficient if any studies to demonstrate in detail what larger survey art museums contribute financially to contemporary art practice. Such studies on artist-run centres and to some extent public galleries were made by the Council in the mid-eighties.¹⁴

The smarter members of CAMDO (including those who have worked at or interacted with Council over time) should have seen what was coming in this re-orientation of the Visua. Arts Section. Instead of a re-infantilization of artist-run centres as places for professional entry or — as was recently suggested by Council — as curatorial-training facilities, artist-run centre operational funding ceilings should have been set at \$150,000. Just as CAMDO is collaborating with independent curators to set a fair service fee structure so it is in the interest of the public gallery members of CAMDO to encourage the artist-run centres to further their sophistication in non-exhibition programmes: ie. in commissions, in residencies, in international exchanges, in publishing, symposia, artist-audience festivals, etc..

4. Fixing The Canada Council's inherent structural flaws?

Accompanying this section I conducted a short survey, "Polling Producer Policy Preferences," (See Appendix III) to be read in conjunction with the following observations.

a. Arts officers: to serve and protect?

Arts program officers are in the difficult position of both working for the Council and of being expected to most directly read, address — and in an absence of other mechanisms — represent production community needs. Cognizant of their split allegiances, production communities (who see many arts officers come and go) can easily sense how well officers know the terrain and the degree of support they

receive from Section Heads or upper management of the Council. When Paule Leduc disallowed arts officers from attending Council board meetings and administrative cuts disallowed them from travelling to meet with and sample the programs presented by their 'clients,' the Council eradicated one avenue for its own identified means of peer assessment.

Because of the significance given to 'peer status' by all parties captured within an arts council apparatus, the client base should be given the opportunity to engage in a performance review of arts officers every three years and section heads every five years. To minimize the possibility for upper management manipulation of employee reviews, this review process should be conducted from the arts community reporting directly to the Council's board. (Further up the chain, the arts community, as it has in the past, can in exceptional circumstances demand the resignation of the Director, the Chair or the Head of the Arts Division). The intention behind such proposed performance reviews is as much to strengthen the officer's (and when necessary the Section Head's) ability to perform their job within Council. This and other means of rebalancing power within the Canada Council recognizes the arts community's considerable investment in the collaborative nature of policy discourse and the need to make the judicial and regulatory functions of an independent arts council relevant and, within its limitations, amenable.

b. Peer juries and peer assessment committees

"The peer evaluation system lies at the heart of arm's-length arts councils. The system has its origins in English law. It rests on the premise that justice imposed by the lords on commoners is unjust because the circumstances of lords and commoners are radically different." (Hillmand-Chartrand, 1989)

Peer jury decisions on grants to individual artists are at the core of what makes an arts council different from a ministry of culture. With rare exceptions the decisions and monies approved are final. Unfortunately only 20-30% of the monies the Canada Council distributes (in this period of study) are strictly decided by peer jury. (In comparison 98% of SSHRC monies are decided by final peer assessment although other forms of assessment re on the increase.)

The Canada Council's Arts Award Section responsible for administrating grants to individuals was abolished in the recent cuts without community consultation. The responsibility for programs funding individuals was given over to the disciplinary sections. The Arts Award Section was purposively set up "so that artists from a particular discipline or field would not be subject to the strategies or dictates of the disciplinary sections." ¹⁵ The awards juries have been the most effective and consistent vehicle for cultural change to enter arts councils with jurists knowing what additional criteria besides 'artistic merit' are valued at any one moment by the production communities themselves Aside from representative jury composition (which was aided by cultural equity changes) the quality of the decisions are

based upon how much time juries are given to adjudicate and how many applications/competitions are compressed into one jury. On occasion jurists have walked away from a competition when the workload has over-compromised their abilities to make fair decisions.

The peer assessment committees used to adjudicate grants to arts organizations are engaged in an advisory capacity. They make recommendations as to who should receive funding in what order of priority but the amounts and adjustments are left to the arts officer. Within the visual and media arts the shift from officer-only assessment to peer assessment came about through a program review which has come to signal a weeding-out process. Assessment committees in effect shelter officers from taking political flak for their final decisions with the committee members themselves unanswerable to the production communities. The arts officers are advantaged by only allowing aspects of organizational files into the process. The assessors are disadvantaged in that an assessor residing in one part of the country does not know the inter-organizational regional or municipal politics of all applicants relevant in assessing the levels of accountability and satisfaction within their targeted communities. What the assessors bring to the process is an ability to ascertain the value of the contribution being made by each organization and - and this is less guaranteed - a sensitivity to the specific difficulties of operating in different locations in the country with uneven access to

other sources of funding. (It is always assumed that underfunded organizations can outperform their financial handicaps but over time this rarely occurs.)

This tiered level of assessment is at times a glitchfilled if not cynical process. The role of the arts officer or if present Section Head is to protect the organizations from an assembly of assessors who are being encouraged to make ever-severe abstract rankings. The arts officer provides "knowledgeable facilitation of the deliberations, alleviating bias, prejudice, etc." and can protect organizations deemed 'historically important' from potential de-funding. Other organizations with a similar lacklustre performance are in effect 'punished' to allow for the funding of new organizational clients. Policy is often improperly introduced within the peer assessment process. New policy affecting which organizations would henceforth be eligible for operational or project funding has been introduced into an assessment committee meeting in progress as a way of increasing funding levels or additional clients.

The Canada Council should decide whether it wants peer juries assessing arts organizations and if so build in the necessary safeguards of time and resources enabling assessors to produce community-accountable results. The Council's preferred choice of two-tiered levels of advisory and final assessment leads in effect to 'unauthored' collective decisions made in the last instance on claims of the Council's 'professional autonomy.' Peer review is, plain and

simple, an operating principle of the Canada Council.

Watering down the peer responsibility process produces no net gain for the Council or the arts community. CAMDO has properly insisted (and the artist-run centres should follow this demand) that peer assessment committees decisions for operational and project funding are, aside from necessary Board approval, final.

In other jurisdictions there have been alternative models of peer assessment suitable for larger urban centres with multiple arts organizations. Perhaps in the next recession such 'economies and efficiencies' and a need for a democratic sophistication that so far has escaped the Council's practice will be called upon. In London (UK) the GLC's arts body brought its video and film co-op clients into a room for several days. The arts body announced its media arts programme budget and made its 'clients' collectively decide what amounts of monies were to go to what organizations coupled with an on the spot consensus of what services each organization would promise to provide. (There have been occasions in the media co-op histories of Vancouver, Toronto, Montréal and Québec when such a process could have alleviated the unproductive and competitive tensions between essential resource facilities.)

c. Power-sharing? Disciplinary advisory committees and representative organizations

Disciplinary advisory committees have long been misused at the Council. In the corporate makeover (the Council claims this was just in the Visual Arts) these committees were simply suspended, with art practitioners advice on the many structural changes being made apparently of little importance. The Advisory Committee on Racial Equality did memo the Council's 'transition team" following the "controversial" (i.e. inept) Roch and Carrier Strategic Plan information tour. "We want to re-emphasize (as mentioned in our first memo to you) the importance of having artist/arts administrators involved in this process...'community testing' is critically important as well, but we are concerned that informed consultation with 'External Advisory(s)' should take place at a more critical point." 16

The regular disciplinary advisory committees themselves were already limited by servicing internal Council functions of assisting in questions of internal administration.

Advisory committees have been used to endorse policy paths already well-mapped and secondly they have been used politically to support inter-sectional disputes over budgetary allocations and responsibilities. Because of the 'focus-group' nature of their selection by the Council instead of the community it has (from repeated accounts) been difficult for committees to engage in issues and priorities deemed important for production community improvement.

The rare special advisory committees that have exerted substantial reforms illustrates exactly how a process of shared power necessarily proceeds. As already discussed in Chapter 3 , The Advisory Committee of Racial Equality and the First Peoples Advisory Committee were set up in September 1990 as a response to grassroots lobbying from artists of colour (Philip, 1989) and Council's need to comply with the federal government's Employment Equity Act and the Multiculturalism Act (1998). Then Director Joyce Zemans contracted artist-administrator Chris Chreigton-Kelly to coordinate the Council's 'cultural diversity' efforts. Chreigton-Kelly in turn compiled the committees based upon recommendations from various communities to be represented. His position continued without the same degree of independence through the appointment of Equity Co-Ordinator. From 1991-96 these committees were successfully responsible for introducing internships, changing the hiring and jury practices of the Council, introducing special programmes across most disciplines and broadening the Council's definition of professionalism . To overcome the Council's temptation to make minimal reforms to its structure the Committees insisted that their recommendations be responded to by the Council's Board of Directors. Allowing for transparent negotiations both recommendations and responses were then made public. This in turn allowed cultural critics17 to evaluate and publicly report on the quality of initiatives being proposed and adopted across various arts councils.

d. Artists representation organizations:

One of the most short-sighted and unfortunate program cuts in the Strategic Plan was the suspension of funding for artist representation organizations within the National Arts Service Organization disciplinary programs. Many of these organizations had come into being at the behest of the Canada Council as a way of establishing communications with artist communities. Such organizations had been funded to "provide informational services, engage in annual and other conferences, and provide advocacy and representation of communities of artists in public media (and to the government)" These organizations were also ways to test new programs that had to be accessed nationally for their justification.

The Strategic Plan meant reduced funding was available for national service organizations whose key activities had to relate to production, dissemination(marketing) or creation of works of art. Any notion of the production of community which is primarily what annual conference and other meetings achieve were no longer eligible. Organizations like the Writers Union and CARFAC were de-funded. There is no way of ascertaining whether or not this was an injunction from Treasury Board to The Canada Council from a government sensitive to media opposition to the public funding of so-called 'special interest' groups. The cutting of funding to artist representative organizations did impede the artists

communities ability to scrutinize, study and conference on issues of federal arts policy including the shift in policy taking place at The Canada Council.

What was advertised in the Strategic Plan was that "The Council will immediately develop a specific program of advocacy which involves the Board, staff members and the arts community on an ongoing basis." This attempt to centralize advocacy and arts-related civic speech is not only bad politics but assumes the Council's interest is synonymous with all of the interests of its diverse 'client' groupings. Typified by the presence of group management portraits juxtaposed alongside the words and faces of publicly recognizable artists, Council's public discourse rarely rises beyond self-promotion and — as the annual reports and media appearances painfully demonstrate — the most banal statements about what art practice is and where it can be expected to take place.

In 2004 at the *InFest* conference, The Canada Council supports the formation of a new national association to represent artist-run centres.

Notes for Chapter 5

This description is borrowed from Tony Bennett's account of the political rationality of the museum in his book, The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics (1995:90).

² At the recent Chalmers Conference organized by the Canadian Conference of the Arts (May, 2003), current Canada Council for the Arts Director, John Hobday named three "widely

recognized" accomplishments of the Canada Council. In the following order they were/are:

- · its generous and inclusive vision of the arts, encompassing both our Aboriginal heritage and the cultural diversity that generations of immigrants continue to bring to our shores;
- · its time-honored and much respected arm's-length relationship with government, and
- the dedication, intelligence and imagination of its staff responding to the changing needs of both artists and audiences. (Canada Council web site: Press Releases and Speeches.)
- Though in some sense I am disrupting the chronological bracketing of this thesis, the discourse of what an arts council is and does in terms of policy dialog and narrative formation is residual and ongoing. There is a consistency here. The current Canada Council web site has a "links" section with national and international entries that includes a Cultural Policy section. The only Canadian representative organization linked is the Canadian Conference for the Arts; the only academic institution linked is The University of Warwick.

In a 22 page international bibliography produced by The Canada Council for the "World Summit of Arts and Culture,"(2002) — an Ottawa meeting to convene an international association of arts councils — statistical reports aside, there are but two citations that represent a varied literature of domestic arts policy histories and critiques published in magazines, journals, books and conference proceedings during the last forty-years. Much of this research and writing in its production or in its distribution and circulation has been and is directly or indirectly funded by The Canada Council for the Arts. Despite the time and resources The Canada Council has spent in intellectual discussion of policy pasts, presents and futures with its clients and external supporters there is very little evidence in the public narrative of negotiation.

The position of Head of the Arts Division — essentially in control of all the disciplinary Sections — was given to Joanne Morrow (formerly Head of the Opera Section) who expedited Leduc's re-organization and its intensification under Roch and Carrier's Strategic Plan. A new Head of the Visual Arts Section was appointed and subsequently sidelined. Despite her lack of qualifications in the visual arts field and the availability of other qualified candidates within the Visual Arts Section, Joanne Morrow 'installed herself' as the interim Head of the Visual Arts Section while remaining Head of the Arts Division.

- The Fortier and Audley (1989) publication (see following endnote) is a more focused report than Woodcock in terms of compiling successive policy initiatives. Their account mentions that funds for a capital assistance program were transferred to the Secretary of State's Arts and Culture Branch in 1977." This was," they write, "in fact the first exception to the rule of using arm's length cultural agencies to administer artistic programs." (p.32)
- 8 As they both appeared in the same year, there may or may not be a strategic sympathetic interconnectedness between the Hillman-Chartrand McCaughey essay on arm's-length principles and the arts, and, the detailed chronological "Review of Federal Policies for the Arts in Canada, 1944-1988" (1989) written by a former Director of The Canada Council, André Fortier and arts and cultural policy statistics analyst, Paul Audley. Their policy review, "prepared for the Department of Communications" was published by the arts and cultural industry advocacy group, Canadian Conference for the Arts.
- Demonstrating how much this differs from Raymond Williams view of contemporary culture the essay itself ends with a quote from T. Thomas, "Television and Culture: The Quest for National Identity," Canada Council, 1985: "Works of art last and shape national identities; television shows popular today are forgotten tomorrow."
- Policy Studies Professor, Alasdair Roberts, has written that from 1988-1998 the federal government has encouraged the establishment of 27 "sectoral councils," essentially publicly-funded private corporations with no assurance under law that their reports will be made publicly accessible. (Industry-managed organizations are not covered by freedom-of-information laws). Governments are proud to say that these are private organizations, but they often rely heavily on public money and delegated regulatory powers. For example, high-priority immigrant job categories in the software industry have been set by a private council, the Software Human Resource Council and not the Department of Citizenship

⁵ Admittedly ambushed by an attention-seeking Reform Party on the federal funding contributions to the film *Bubbles Galore* .(CORRECT)

⁶ It is interesting to note that two of the three insistent ministers 1984, Jean Chrétien and Lloyd Axeworthy were members of another Liberal Cabinet that rewarded The Canada Council in 1997 with an increase after it had cut its own administration and re-organized itself in ways that complied with the Treasury Board.

and Immigration. Alasdair Roberts, "Making policy behind closed doors," Globe and Mail, July, 27,1998: A19

- These 're-affirmations' taken from recommendations towards not disturbing arts council rationales appear in a 1982 Report by the Education, Science and Arts Committee of the British House of Commons; a 1981 Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities (USA); the 1982 (Canadian) Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee; and a 1984 Ontario Report to Minister of Citizenship and Culture. (p.161)
- In effect my 'exit-interview with Edythe Goodriche shortly after she resigned from The Canada Council in 1994 is a reflection on the achievements of a critical approach to arts administration and an appeal to artists and intellectuals for an allegiance to something which is in the process of being lost either temporarily or permanently. Naming a 'collective noun' model focuses upon useful work such an agency can do in an exaggerated but somewhat compelling way. It maps available processes of internal and external negotiation even as it defines the limits of such negotiations.
- ¹³ Author interview about the 'collective noun' model of the Canada Council with Edythe Goodriche following her resignation from the Canada Council, 1994.
- aee "Review of The Canada Council's Programming Assistance to Public Art Galleries and Museums", CAMDO Canada Council, 1992; "Artists' Centres- A Twenty Year Perspective 1972-1992, Visual Arts Section, Canada Council, September, 1993.
- 15 Author interview with Edythe Goodriche, 1994.
- 16 Canada Council Memo (June 22,1995) to the Transition Team from The Second Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts. The Reort and Recommendations of the Second Advisory Committee for Racial Equality in the Arts at The Canada Council, The Canada Council 1986:1V-2
- see Cameron Bailey, "Fright the Power Arts Council & the Spectre of Racial Equality," Fuse, 15/6, 1992.

Epilogue

Artists, artist are very serious people they have something called work: which looks like fun, reads like fun, sounds like fun, but is anything but fun. When you're an artist people try their hardest to tell you that the world is not artistcentric, That your individualism is giving you a bad name, That your existence is five parts mythology, two parts nostalia That you are a figment of someone's else's patronly imagination.

Excerpt from song, "Rhetoric On the Run,"
Robertson, 1983

For an epilogue I will re-trace aspects of the research problematic of my thesis and how this developed into a structuring of what theoretical and historical literatures and debates appeared useful in furthering my analytical writing on the artist-run centre movement in Canada. I will reveal something about the choices made e.g. how and why chapters were formed; what articulations proved productive; what fresh insights were gained during and after the writing; and finally where I see this work contributing to past efforts and future projects within the fields of art history and cultural policy studies.

I think I should begin by referring to what became the title of this thesis, "movement plus apparatus" focusing to address a corpus of critical writing about the organization of art through artist-run culture and its interface with public arts funding. In some ways we could say that in this terrain of Canadian arts policy a naming and

effective occupation of a movement required a naming and occupation of a cultural apparatus. The various formulas that combine aspects of both is called artist-run culture. Upon reflection, it is now clearer that my ongoing interest in cultural apparatuses that take institutional forms is related to their movement histories that - in the case of museums, arts councils and artist-run centres - directly or indirectly have effects within the visual and media arts field. In this thesis, the assumption that cultural formations within a public service economy tend to move from utopian ideals to a practical politics of administration is challenged because the move is never complete. Similarly the needs or ambitions to gain administrative competences by artists organizations are, in and of themselves, not necessarily synonymous with a corporate business model of 'arts management.' The dominant 'state to market' discourse as it pertains to a shift of focus of state policies say from production to consumption must still take into consideration the presence of a cultural politics imbricated by particular aesthetic and social histories. The relative longevity and conscious usage of the term 'network' to initially describe transnational collaborative projects by artists and then used to refer to a network of organizations is given additional relevance when reading these practices through social movement theory as I did in Chapter Two. Here the network structure of movements is a valued object of study because of the multi-faceted internal and external relations and multiple types of network

affecting any particular movement. It is tempting to want to announce a 'shelf-life' for this particular movement, to suggest that the careers of particular cultural movements are necessarily overcome by a dominant cultural apparatus. Forty years ago the dominant cultural apparatus was referred to as "the establishment." In a 1959 essay, "The Cultural Apparatus," published in the BBC's periodical The Listener, C.Wright Mills wrote:

the term 'establishment' points to the overlap of culture and authority. This overlap may involve the ideological use of cultural products and of cultural workmen for the legitimation of power, and the justification of decisions and policies. It may involve the bureaucratic use of culture by the personnel of authoritative institutions. But the essential feature of an establishment is a traffic between culture and authority, a tacit co-operation of cultural workmen and authorities of ruling institutions. This means of exchange between them includes money, career, privilege; but above all, it includes prestige." (Mills, 1963: 409)

Artist-run culture as a movement has a rhetoric based upon a critique of administrative power hierarchies that has survived routine questions put to its status as an alternative or oppositional formation. It is clear that the domestic versioning of artist-run culture within an artist-run centre movement owes various debts to the debates and wider organization of feminist, queer and postcolonial movements. In developing my project at times I was wary about overstating a social movement explanation. However is at the level of networks and their function within movements that appears most useful particularly when the function of networks during periods of a movement's "latency" is

acknowledged. (Melucci, 1986) An understanding of networks, includes the ways in which they "hold together" during periods of latency when movement members are meeting and interacting, keeping networks going and available for mobilization at more active times. (Crossley,2002) This thesis has drawn attention to different moments in the workings of such mobilized networks. In Chapter Three these networks are revealed in "Constructing Québec," "After the Dinner Party," and the "Minquon Panchayat" in Chapter Two, and, the legal mobilization cases, "Six Days of Resistance," "Status of the Artist and the Living Wage" and the "Racial Equality Advisory Committees."

Observing that art history has had difficulties in its attempts to link artists to particular aesthetic and social movements it could be further suggested that an explanation of such movements at the level of networks and particular social interactions within artist communities might be more productive. Raymond Williams (1981) does not address networks in his discussion of "artistic formations" and movements. However his important separation of the possible selforganizing work of these formations and their distinction from social institutions combined with Robert Filliou's suggestion of a transnational artist community as an "eternal network" has helped propel my research into what I consider to be a better synthesis.

My opening to Chapter One makes reference to the continuous re-situating of current artist organization

practices within a functioning discourse of post-60's artmaking and art history. My argument is that when artists as
cultural producers recycle or reformulate these aesthetic
strategies they call up certain investments of contemporary
art as a critical project. Irrespective of how this
historical 'criticality' is currently read and reproduced
currently by such practitioners I suggest there remains a
resistance to policies which only support a "marketing of
wares," a "managerial rhetoric" or "market reasoning into the
state and state-related agencies of the public sector"
(McGuigan,1996) McGuigan writes of a series of "discursive
moments," ways in which state intervention and cultural
subsidy in Britain have been rationalized. These he labels
and periodizes as

social control (from mid-nineteenth century to midtwentieth century), national prestige (from 1940s to early 1960s), social access (mid-1960s to late 1970s), value for money, characterized by an increasingly pervasive market and mangagerialist rhetoric (late 1970s to the present and foreseeable future) (ibid.: 54)

Even ignoring the current British government's attentions to cultural policy as social inclusion — readable as a continuation or reactivation of policies of social access — the problem I see for policy studies is not only at the level of an empirical sociology of culture, or where I seek to argue a related but clearly different set of circumstances within a conjuncture and different localality, i.e. a Canadian policy jurdisdiction. In assessing what has changed, what discourses control procedures for what can legimately be

thought and enunciated within an arts field there is a need to interrogate an analysis of cultural policy trends that cultivates the 'enterprising self' without accounting for what can and cannot be serviced by the economy-making markets available to the contemporary arts field. Again, even if the differences between the administrative work of artists formations and the social institutions of museums appears to blur, there are limits to how far intellectual projects can conform particularly when 'marketing' is perceived as almost the only work which is being undertaken. If we can eagerly point to the emergences of new art practices or to the emergence of "citizen-first" cultural policies, we have to be similarly eager to note the limited models available that construct the patronal and market social relations in the visual and media arts and the tenacity of artisanal and postartisanal models that rarely achieve what Williams refered to as the market phases of the 'market professional' or the 'corporate professional' for all but a small fraction of the artist population (Williams, 1981)

The developments of Michel Foucault' work on the connections between government and culture and the means of managing the public by having it manage itself has been productive in this thesis at the level of naming and examining particular technologies of governance as well as issues raised by the debates around what types of work can or should be done within cultural policy studies. Where Chapters Two and Three of this thesis address movement questions, in

Chapters Four and Five I name and analyse four technologies of power. The first two are located within a cultural apparatus of artist-run culture, the remainder are read through the operations of the federal cultural agency, The Canada Council. All four are examples of procedural rules which regulate various interactions. This encounter with governmentality suggests the practical complexity for citizens to first recognize and then formulate strategies for deciding what among a matrix of clearly conflicting rules can lead to a recognition of their 'moral obligations.' The focus upon the ethical dilemmas of citizenship - well-articulated in the work of Toby Miller - does not necessarily speak to the practical organization of social formations or institutions within my study. This in turn throws up a very large question about the degree to which the 'administrative state' is itself knowledgeable about its various purposes to both advance and limit forms of self-governance, a question I am not sure that governmentality scholars have sufficiently addressed. My attentions to the procedural rules of nonprofit incorporation or a handbook for non-profit arts trustees or arm's length status and peer assessment are all examples of rules that resonate across many fields of state regulated and self-regulated cultural and social policy practice and therefore are applicable to a wider field of research than the immediate arts policy object of my study.

Following the example of earlier artist writings about their work as reforms of existing institutional practices, as

interventions within an art history discourse, my first efforts to problematize the artist-run culture network were published by art magazines in 1972 and 1974. By 1980 I published work that attempted to be more specific about the negotiations and procedures of arts funding policy that were then at hand. It was probably not until the mid-80s that I began to be aware of a larger corpus of earlier work in Canadian studies and state theory that usefully documented histories of arts policy and the Canadian state.

During the time it took to complete this dissertation I have had the opportunity to engage in other areas of historical and current arts policy research that are not contained in this document, a history of museums studies literature being one such area. Working from this thesis and its questions it is my hope that there will space and resources for collaborative critical projects that can continue to provide fuller explanations of the social organization of cultural work within the artistic field.

Appendix I Index to Parallélogramme 1976-1995

Clive Robertson PARALLÉLOGRAMME 1976-95 (incomplete)

Content guide to debates and policy initiatives represented within essays, reports and correspondence in the magazine Parallelogramme, in special supplements, and the four Parallelogramme retrospective books.

PRIMARY THEMES::

Annual conference; Audiences and public response; Artists Social and Economic Status; Cultural Policy; Cultural Citizenship; Communications, Censorship; Cultural Appropriation; Disciplinary reports; Epistemology; Environmentalism/ecological projects; Feminism; Joint/related conferences; Marxism, Networking; Race; Regional identity; Delegatory Representation; Semiotics/politics of theory; Sexuality; Technology

Naming and use of themes here is a provisional approximation. **Cultural Policy** is a general category often refering to what ANNPAC wants of government agencies; **Citizenship** refers to matters of ANNPAC's internal governance; **Status** is a complex category of artist recognition, (also based in UNESCO definition); **Audience** refers both to audience engagement and critical feedback, **Epistemology** refers to attempts at the movements self-history.

VERSIONS AND OMISSIONS:

- i) Essays and Reports are published in English and French. The index is for English versions in the magazine; at times the French version of an essay appears in a subsequent issue.
- ii) "Retrospectives" are reports on past programming of the artist-run network plus essays and early special ANNPAC project reports, e.g. Living Museums
- iii) This index omits all of the region-by-region individual artist-run centre programme listings which can occupy up to two thirds of the space in each magazine issue or retrospective.

ANNPAC/PARALLELOGRAMME REPRESENTATIVES

P—President; V.P. Vice President; NS—National Spokesperson / AD— Advocate; ED—Editor; MD—Managing Director / ADMIN—Administrator;

c. Clive Robertson 1997

· · · · · · ·	Vol. No. Yr		The state of the s	Letters, reports, essays, supplements, annual
Theme	(Region focus)	Editor	Authors	conference,
		<u> </u>		Joint/related conferences
Cit	Retrospective 1	Barbara	Michael Morris	Blueprint for video agreements
Cit	1976-1977	Shapiro	Allan Mattes	Music contracts
Cit	Montréal		ANNPAC/CAR	Artists Fees
Epist			Marien Lewis	Collaborative process, why doe we participate?
Disc		1	Clive Robertson	Canadian Performance Art—A surveillance
Disc			Victor Coleman	Readings and performances, publications Art publications archives
Disc		l	Marcella Bienvenue Francine Couture et	Art et Ouestion Nationale/Art and the National question
Cult			Esther Trépanier	Ait et Question ivationale Ait and the ivational question
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Disc	· ·	1	Lorn Falk	Photography in Canada
Disc Disc			Tom Gore	Photography in Western Canada
Disc			Martin Bartlett	Music (poetic essay)
Disc		· ·	Peter Anson	Notes for That's Not Entertainment [music]
Disc	Retrosepective 2	Barbara	Barbara Shapiro	Foreword: Situating artist-run centres
Con	1977-1978	Shapiro	D.M. Fraser	The Arts and Us: Reflections on the Uncommon Community
Cen Disc	Montréal	Snapho	Peter Anson	Freedom National Park
Disc	Monueai		Dennis Tourbin	A True Romance Story
Disc			Gerry Gilbert	Cross Sections of the Canamama Lectures
Disc			Miriam Adams	Beyond First Position
			Victor Coleman	Boyona Tinat Toolaon
Disc			Michael Goldberg	Video—A Review
Stat			ANNPAC/CAR	Model agreements for Artists Fees, Reproduction Fees,
Juli				Exhibition Contracts
Marx	Retrospective 3	Tanya	Karl Beveridge	Goodbye Canada Council, Hello Bay Street
Epist	1978-1979	Mars	Joanne Sawchuk	No-name artBeneath the underground movement
Reg	Toronto	117445	David Bierk	On the state of visual arts or reflections from the hamlet of
Reg	Totolilo			Peterborough
Sem		1	Philip Monk	Terminal Gallery/Peripheral Drift
Epist			Tom Sherman	Casualities of last decade
Disc	,		Sheila Moore	Dangerous Electronic Art
Tech			Judith Doyle	Facsimile Hardware
Disc		ł	Anna Gronau	Experimental filma problem of definition
Disc			Kate Craig, Kim	Discussing state of video
			Tomczak,Paul Wong	
Disc		İ	Elizabeth Chitty	Dance performance art
Tech	1	l	Bill Bartlett	Speed, mechanisation, convenience and accessibility
Stat			Clive Robertson	Keeping your urban rent down were it belongs
Disc		1	Eldon Garnet	From the desk ofmagazine publishing
	1		Living Museum	colloquium report, Gaspé, 1979
Epist		ĺ	Michael Goldberg	Some thoughts on 'Living Museum'
Cult		ŧ	Report	Living Museums Data Network
Cult			Report	Agency—Living Artists Promotional Facility
Cult			Report	The Living Museum — Foundation model, Media Policy,
<u> </u>				Funding
Cult	Vol 5 No. 1 1979	Tanya	Kim. Todd	Living Museum - Vancouver Island (AC)-
Cit	<u> </u>	Mars		Canada Council Citizenship Policy
	Vol 5. No.2 1979	T.Mars		no reports, no articles
Disc	Retrospective 4	Victor	Al Razutis	Manifesto: Cinema Art
Stat	1979-1980	Coleman	Joel Oppenheimer	Home Sweet Home:Living space for artists (NYC)
Sem	Toronto		Kenna Moses	Notes on the language of art writing
Cult	Vol 5 No 3 1980	Tanya		(FCPRC) Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee Members
		Mars		bios
Acc	Vol 5 No 4 1980			ANNPAC Video Survey
Cult	Vol 6 No 6 1981		Allan Mattes NS	ANNPAC Presentation to Applebaum-Hébert (FCRPC)
Cen			Michael Snow	Letter on Censorship
Reg	Vol 7 No. 1 1981		Ken Garnhum	Regional editorials: Atlantic Assoc of ARC's: What's Being Seen,
2008	Atlantic		David Craig	How We See It
Tech			Ric Amis and Bill Perry	Telidon: Today and Tomorrow
Joi			Conference	Marketing art, AGP & Artspace, Visual Arts Ontario
Tech	Vol 7 No.2 1981-82		Allan Mattes	Will an Apple Computer Run My Slides
Epist	Québec		Jean Tourangeau	Québec Editorial: Entre la fete et le drame (Between Celebration
-Past	-			and Drama)
Stat			Chantal Boulanger	Produire: Faire, Dire (Production-Communication)
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Stat	Vol 7 No. 3, 1982]	Tim Guest	Toronto regional editorial: For the restoration of a critical and
Juli	Toronto/Ontario			strategic programme for the Association of National Non-Profit
	10101101			Artists' Centres. All power to the new line.
Stat		Į	Dale Amundson, Ai	Copyright for the Visual Artist- Learn to Protect Your Right
Juli		ľ	Mattes and Lina Shiels	,, ,
Cen		1	Serge Allaire	Aspects de la censure au Québec — L'affaire corridart (Censorship
		1	"	in Québec — The Corridart Affair
Cen		1		Anti-censorship grou FAVAC proposals (p.68)
Reg	Vol 7 No 4 1982		Al Rushton	Prairies/Plains editorial: Centralization on the prairie isn't that
	Prairies	1	· ·	funny or How Winnipeg eats its young
Sex		1	J.Stewart	Art in a plain brown wrapper
				Annoucement for Women's Culture Building (p.18)
	Vol 7 No.5 1982		Xchanges Artists Gallery	West coast editorials: What Makes West Coast Artist-run centres
	British Columbia		and Studio	unique
Fem			Michelle Nickel	Some perspectives on women's alternative art centres
Tech			Chris Chreighton-Kelly	Television: Video: And the future
Aud			Michael Goldberg	Developing audiences for video
Net			Hank Bull	Global networking
Net	Vol 8 No.1 1982	Tanya	Robert McFadden	Letter repsonse to Global networking:
Stat	Atlantic	Mars ED	David Craig	Atlantic editorial: The appropriation of the avant-garde
Epist		Elizabeth	College Collective	A History of Feminism at NSCAD
Cen		Chitty MD	Ric Amis and Cyndra	Film and Video Agsainst Censorship
			Macdowell	
			Christina Ritchie, Organ	A Space public talk series
Marx			Tim Guest	Talking A Habit 1: Intolerance: The Trouble with Social
				Realism
Marx	Vol 8 No.2 1983		Nancy Nicol	Letter—response to Tim Guest
Stat	Québec		Denis Lessard	Québec editorial: Bons baisers du Québec ((From Québec with
	`			Love)
Aud			Elisabeth Chitty	Toronto the Good gone bad?
Sem			Kerri Kwinter	Talking a Habit 2: Barriers: Authority/authorship
Sem			Anna Gronau	Talking a Habit 3: Magic, Witchcraft and Film
Marx	Vol 8 No. 3 1983		Tim Guest	Letter—response to Nancy Nicol on 'political art'
Cit	Toronto/Ontario		Judith Doyle	Letter—A Space Board re: slates,takeovers
Aud	1		Robin Hardy	Toronto editorial: A Queen Street Editorial
Cult			Clive Robertson	Oh Kanada!(in Berlin)
Cen			Ian McLachlan	Censorship: The Frivolity of Power
Cult			Victor Coleman	Should ANNPAC Ontario encourage the establishment of a
				national exhibition centre focused on contemporary art
Disc			Bruce Ferguson	Television means video is
Comm			Ed Slopek	Talking a Habit 4: Television, techné, and ecological times
Cit			Francine Perinét (NS)	What's Happening: proposed AGM themes: 1. Art & Feminism,
				2. Art & Censorship. 3. Form v. Content. AGM Conference
				Ideology of Artist-run centres

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1	1	Monika		Council, proposal and acceptance of anti-racist implementation
		Gagnon	Monika Gagnon ED	strategy.
Į.			='	Perspectives— A resource to Dialogue: Some Notes From Inside
1	1			The Caucus; Principles and Responsibility of the Advisory
1			Lisa Steele	Committee for Anti-Racism
1			Video Inn project	Video Issue/Video Propos
1			Nell Tenhaaf	The Chill Factor: Artists Fight Against "Unofficial Censroship"
1			Richard Fung	Video Technology and the Feminine
	}		Ū	Colouring The Screen: Four Strategies In Anti-Racist Film and
1				Video
T	Vol 18 No 4 1993	Lynne	Lynne Fernie	Editorial — Staffers resist a split between 'creative' and 'critical'
		Fernie	•	production. Art that engages issues arising from local and
				specific conditions provides a seriouys cultural critique that
				restores agency to audiences and consumers.
			Robert Labossière MD	Slash and Burn: Cultural funding under attack. Reports federally
		j	TOOUT LADOSSION WILL	the 1993 Mzankpwski budget, provinicially and municipally.
1				Examples of resistance: MCCW Manitoba Coalition of Cultural
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				Ottawa
			Keith Higgins	Perspectives—Status of the Artists legislation in BC; Artists
		1	· ·	Rally in Vancouver; AADRAV fights to represent artists in
	1	1		Québec.
	1		Ross Turnbull	Perspectives— (Comparative analysis of) Canada Council ARC
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				centres.
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1			Lynn Wanyeki	Beyond Survival: The Waking Dreamer Ends The Silence
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1	Anti-Racism in	Fernie	Lynee Fernie	Editorial (Final): Function of artist-run centres and relationship
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		į	Linda Rae Dornan	Letter— complaint of bad editing
			Teresa Marshall	Letter— Pull out from Art Gallery of Nova Scotia Pe'l
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			Shirley Bear	Letter— Pull out from same exhibit
				Perspectives—Burning the bridges: Responses to
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			Nancy Shaw ex-V.P.	ANNPAC's mistaken resolve
			Sandra Vida ADMIN	"Kick-starting" change
			Keith Higgins	PARCA leaves ANNPAC
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			Ross Turnbull	Perspectices— What's underneath changes at the Canada Council
	1		Bastien Gilbert	Quebec Artists Fight New Taxes
]		Cheryll L'Hirondelle	"It's A Cutural Thing"
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			Elaine Carol	Child Porn Bill Chill
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			Marie-Hélène Cousineau	Inuit Women's Video
			Marie-Hélène Cousineau Sandra Vida	The Ingminirraqtuq (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative)
			Sandra Vida	The Ingminirraqtuq (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative) Project
		e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e		The Ingminirraqua (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative) Project A World Beyond Borders, International Arts Conference June 20-
			Sandra Vida Ad. Conference: CCA	The Ingminirraqua (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative) Project A World Beyond Borders, International Arts Conference June 20- 22nd, Victoria
			Sandra Vida	The Ingminirraqtuq (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative) Project A World Beyond Borders, International Arts Conference June 20- 22nd, Victoria Minded cultures: Contemporary Artists and 'Post'-Colonialism
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			Sandra Vida Ad. Conference: CCA Ad. Conference: Open	The Ingminirraqtuq (Life or Death by One's Own Initiative) Project A World Beyond Borders, International Arts Conference June 20- 22nd, Victoria Minded cultures: Contemporary Artists and 'Post'-Colonialism
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Appendix II ARMS AND THE MAN: Some effects

of federal cultural policy upon the Canada Council's arm's-length status

"The autonomous 'arm-length' status of this agency is essential to its role in making artistic decisions free from out side pressures."

Canada Council Strategic Plan, March 1995

- 1957-63 Canada Council Act (1957). CC exists on endowment fund income from industrialists Dunn and Killiam's estate taxes (\$53 million, 50% of which is capital monies for universities)
- **1963-4** Reorganization of Sec of State to include cultural agencies like CC.
- 1965 CC benefits by gaining annual govt appropriations (won more for academic than arts subsidies) but puts in doubt the practical validity of crucial CC Act clause, "the Council is not an Agent of Her Majesty."
- **1968** Secretary of State, Gérard Pelletier states that he is the federal Minister of Cultural Affairs.
- 1969 Official Languages Law
- 1970-1 Federal OFY(Opportunities for Youth) and LIP(Local Initiatives Program) programs aimed at youth unemployment and (non-profit) community youth-authored services. New arts organizations developed from these program projects (including artist-run centres) are picked up by CC.
- **1971** Under pressure from Secretary of State, CC initiated Canadian Horizons Program (later Explorations, 1973) as a modification of its emphasis on professionalism.
- 1971 Multiculturalism program established (Sec. of State Citizenship Branch)
- Official rejection of Laurendeau-Dunton thesis of biculturalism.
- 1972 Pelletier's infamous speech extending the principles of 'democratization and decentralisation' to culture.' Pelletier's cultural decentralisation came from Malraux via Paris, 1968. Also called for by Canadian artists at the Kingston Conference in 1941. (According to Woodcock, Trudeau's view was that the control of a nation's life, and especially of its arts, is essential for the consolidation of political power, and cultural policies should be directed towards supporting a government's principal aims, the most important of which was 'national unity'.)

- In the same speech Pelletier announces formation of National Museums of Canada corporation with a budget of \$9.1 million. This and formation of Art Bank begins competitive federal funding paths between art museums and CC.
- 1972 Cultural statistics established (Sec. of State Arts and Culture Branch)
- 1972 Capital assistance program (Sec. of State Arts and Culture Branch)
- 1972 Minister exerts influence on Treasury Board for spending priorities which the arm's-length agencies formerly had negotiated directly.
- CC requests a special allocation for Art Bank.
- CC requests a special allocation for Publishing Assistance Program
- 1973 CC and National Arts Centre propose Touring Office to Sec. of State (set up under Canada Council)
- **1973** CC requests new government monies for Performing Arts to increase budget from \$11.6million to \$41.8 million in five years.
- **1975** Fed. government gives extra \$5 million for performing arts.
- 1976 Incoming CC Director Charles Lussier warns performing arts groups that in exchange for continued funding they must make their programs accessible to "wider publics." (George Woodcock saw this as a moment of radical change in Council policy towards directing rather supporting artists.)
- 1977 Fed. government sets up SSHRC (without arm's length status) depriving CC of its former role in academic life.
- **1977** Standing Committee questioned grants to Québec artists who supported indepedence.
- 1977 Sec of State gives CC \$1.7 million in earmarked funds for National Unity
- **1978** Sec of State gives CC \$900,000 in earmarked funds for National Book Festival.
- 1978 Appropriation budget for Art Bank cut for a year. Council decides to spend some the national unity money on Art Bank; seen by Sec. of State Minister John Roberts as an act of 'gratuitous defiance.'
- 1979 C-27 Bill on Crown corporations.
- **1982** Applebaum-Hébert Committee Report recommends new legislation to clarify degree of political autonomy for CC, SSHRC,NFB,CBC,etc..
- 1980 Transfer of cultural affairs from Secretary of State to Ministry of Communications
- 1982 C-123 Bill on crown corporations.
- CC and National Museums Corporation meet to settle jurisdictions for funding contemporary and historic or hertiage exhibtions.

1983 DOC Strategic Overview: "examine the need for Cabinet to be given the power to issue broad policy direction to cultural agencies."

1984 C-24. Because cultural agencies had shown themselves reluctant to accept political directives, then senior government ministers Chrétien, Axworthy and Roberts wanted the CC,CBC,CFDMC and National Arts Centre reined in. Fed. govt wanted control of corporate plan and operating budget, power to impose directives, control of by-laws, and power of dismissal. Deputy Minister of Communications told Director of CC that public criticism of bill would not be tolerated. Govt. bureaucratic zeal made public leads to exemption of four agencies from C-24.

1986 Federal govt give CC an extra \$9 million but DOC wants representations made to Minister by certain arts organizations to be taken into account. CC refuses, joint consultations between arts community, CC and fed. govt proceed.

- PLRC (Public Lending Rights Commission) funded by DOC, administered by Canada Council, managed by writers(in the majority), publishers and librarians.
- By 1986 Cultural Affairs (DOC) and External Affairs are by-passing the CC spending about \$60 million on arts funding versus the CC allocation of \$72 million.

1987 Advisory Committee on the Status of the Artist

1988 Federal Multiculturalism Act. Leads CC to rethink its relationship to cultural diversity.

1990 Under CC Director Joyce Zemans, first meetings of Native (First Peoples) Advisory Committee and Advisory Committee on Racial Equality in the Arts. Council changes hiring practices, jury composition and revises its definition of professionalism 1992 C-93 Introduced in the budget. Bill to amalgamate or eliminate 46 agencies and/or commissions. CC to be merged with SSHRC and certain cultural functions from External Affairs to be known as The Canada Council for the Arts and for Research in the Social Sciences and Humanities.

1992 SSHRC Director, Paule Leduc appointed as CC Director

1993 C-93 was defeated in the Senate by the Speaker's tie-breaking vote. (The first time a government budget implementation bill was defeated in the Senate since 1939.)

1993 Transfer of cultural affairs from Ministry of Communications to Ministry of Heritage 1993 CC receives a government cut of \$8.5 million.

1992-4 Without public or community consultation Leduc proceeds to 'unify' the Council (and cause senior resignations and early retirements) through an imposed corporate model of public administration.

1994 Donna Scott appointed Chair and Roch Carrier appointed Director. Embark on inept and cosmetic national consultation tour.

1995 CC announces Strategic Plan. Includes 54% cuts to administration resulting in closing of Art Bank, moving the independent Arts Awards Section into disciplinary hands, jury and advisory committee cuts and termination of funding for artist representative organizations. Ignoring its own conflict of interests, the CC announces a re-inforced role for itself as an advocate for artists and arts organizations. 1996-7 CC cut \$2.5 million

1997-8 Following CC's substantial makeover, government allocation increases by \$25 million for five years.

Compiled from:

McConathy,1975; Ostry, 1978; Woodcock, 1985; Meisel and Van Loon, 1987; Shafer and Fortier,1989; Robertson, 1993; Graham, 1993; Aquin,1996; Canada Council, 1991-1998.

POLLING PRODUCER POLICY PREFERENCES

SURVEY: This survey questions artists, critics, curators and arts administrators (within artists organizations) about arts councils — their policy and program consultation and assessment processes and budget allocations for creation, production and diffusion. Included are additional questions on producer research and productions costs and recovery through fees.

Measuring user policy preferences through any survey has its dangers and limitations. The short menu of questions put and responses given here are meant i) as a reminder of the impact of past and recent policy directions and ii) as encouragement/support for the work of developing a variety of advocacy approaches

SAMPLING: The survey was nationally circulated (and translated into French) by ECHO, a list-serve magazine operated by Oboro, an artist-run centre in Montréal. ECHO is currently received weekly by 250 artist organizations and participating individuals. 70% of the respondents were self-selecting through the ECHO posting, a further 30% responded to direct solicitation. 30% of the responses came from Quebec, 30% from Ontario, 30% from Western Canada and 10% from the Eastern Canada. The fourteen questions — some of which were prefaced by a contextualizing statement — have been edited here for clarity. RESPONDENTS PROFILE: The respondents identified their (multiple) professional occupations as following: artist (90%); independent curator (50%); arts administrator (40%); art professor (30%); art critic/historian (20%); institutional curator (10%).

10% of the respondents have been practicing for 5 years, 50% for 15 years, 10% for 20 years, 20% for 25 years and 10% for 30 years.

INTERPRETATIONS OF ARTS COUNCIL MANDATES

1. Arts Councils are different from governmental ministeries of heritage/communications and culture or departments of culture and recreation. Which of the following characteristics defines this distinction a) they are at arms-length from government; b)they fund both individual artists and arts organizations; c) they make decisions as a result of a balance between public trustees, senior arts professionals and peer assessors (including arts officers and peer jurists); d) arts councils foster excellence; e) they encourage public appreciation of the arts; f) they act as mediators between business and the arts; g) they off set a lack of private investment in the arts; h) they function as the primary municipal, provincial or federal advocate of the arts?

Answer: 70% of the respondents recognised 'a' through 'e' but do not consider the special function of arts councils to be mediating between business and the arts or consider arts councils as the primary advocates of the arts. A further 30% of respondents limit distinctive arts council functions to being: at arms-length from government, funding artists and arts organizations, utilizing peer adjudication processes and offsetting the lack of private investment.

EFFECTING ARTS COUNCIL POLICY:

2. From your experience which of the following options are effective means of influencing program policy changes at arts councils: a)private meetings; b)public meetings; c) soundings; d)peer juries or assessment committees; e) advisory committee meetings; f) communication with board members; g) artist lobby/advocacy organizations; h) advocacy through critical writings; i) academic (policy) studies; j) private consultant sectoral studies; k) other? (Levels of respondent support is indicated as a percentage)

Supported options: advisory committee meeting (70%); peer juries (60%); artist lobby organizations (60%); advocacy through critical writing (60%); public meetings (50%);

private meetings (40%); academic policy studies (40%); communication with board members (30%).

3. What should be the required minimum period of warning time for art council changes to i) grants for individual artists? ii) grants for art organizations? (10% of resapondents did not answer this question)

Answer: i) I year (60%); 6 months (20%); 3 years (10%); ii) 1 year (50%); 2 years (20%); 3 years (20%).

4. As an alternative to arts council-directed advisory committees should production communities periodically undertake an independent review of arts council funding programmes and consultation procedures?

Answer: Yes (100%)

FUNDING RATIOS FOR ARTISTS AND ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

5. Given your experience as artists and as contractees or employees of arts organizations what do you consider the proper ratio of arts council funding that should be allocated for artists grants (creation) and arts organization grants (production and dissemination)? (30% of the respondents chose not to answer this question.)

i) The Canada Council for the Arts

20% of the respondents wanted the Canada Council to allocate 40 % of its budget for creation and 60% of its budget for production and dissemination; 50% of respondents said 50% should be allocated for creation and 50% for production and dissemination.

ii) Provincial arts councils:

10% wanted a 25% (creation) / 75% (production and dissemination) ratio, 20% wanted a 40/60 split, and 30% a 50/50 split and 10% a 75/25 split

ii) Municipal arts councils:

10% wanted a 0% (creation) / 100% (production and dissemination) ratio, 20% wanted a 40/60 split, 30% a 50/50 split and 10% a 75/25 split.

PEER ASSESSMENT IN ARTS COUNCIL FUNDING FOR ARTS ORGANIZATIONS

6. Who should — and by omission who should not — serve on juries and assessment committees for visual or media arts presentation organizations? Choices offered were museum directors, public gallery directors, arc (artist-run centre) co-ordinators, curators, art historians, art critics, art professors, archivists, artists, art dealers, collectors, arts accountants and organizational volunteers. Because this is a question that is already being politically manipulated (at the Ontario Arts Council and elsewhere) any category receiving less than 30% support is not included here. (Levels of respondent support is indicated as a percentage)

i) Peer jurists for artist collectives:

artists (100%); arc co-ordinators (80%); curators (70%); art critics (50%).

ii) Peer jurists for artist-run centres:

artists (100%); arc co-ordinators(90%); curators(90%); art critics(50%).

iii) Peer jurists for public galleries:

artists (100%); curators (90%); public gallery directors (80%); art historians (60%); art critics (60%).

iv) Peer jurists for art museums:

artists (100%); curators (90%); public gallery directors (80%); art historians (60%); art critics (60%).

PAYING FOR THE COSTS OF RESEARCH AND PRODUCTION

Within a mostly non-profit visual and media arts environment, the level of professional exhibition or writing fees paid to self-employed artists, independent curator and critics is

based upon a logic that research, living and most material costs have already been paid through arts grants (or academic awards) or through the producer's secondary income.

7. During the last three years how much of the research and production costs of your work have been supported by a) artist-run centres, b) public galleries, c) community organizations, d) academic organizations, e) sales of work, f) grants, g) by self (from secondary employment or other income sources)?

i) Research

60% of the respondents reported that more than 50% of research costs of work produced in the period were borne by themselves and 40% reported than more than 50% of research costs were underwritten with arts grants. (Highest level of self-sponsorship was 100% of research costs, grants sponsorship high was 80% of costs)

The following breakdown of research costs contributions is an average across the

sampling (total 100%):

57.0% (self); 29% (arts grants); 6% (academic organizations); 5.5% (artist-run centres); 1.5% (sales); 1% (community organizations)

ii) Production

50% of the respondents reported that more than 40% of production costs were underwritten by arts grants and 40% reported that more than 40% of these costs were borne by themselves. (Highest level of grants sponsorship of production costs was 88%, selfsponsorship high was 70%)

The following breakdown of production costs contributions is an average across the

sampling (total 100%):

39.5% (self); 38.3% (arts grants); 12.5% (artist-run centres); 3% (academic organizations); 2.7% (public galleries); 1% (community organizations); 1% (sales).

iii) Combined research and production:

Based upon this survey — a different ratio of artists, curators, critics could produce different results — the answer to the question who contributes what to the costs of the production (by artists or independent curators) is:

48.25% (self-funded); 33.65% (arts grants); 9% (artist-run centres); 4.5% (academic organizations); 1.35% (public galleries); 1.25% (sales); 1% (non-arts community organizations).

8. If public exhibition of your work had to pay for most of the costs of producing that work including a percentage of your living costs what scale of fee would you require per exhibit? (This question was marked 'not applicable' by 20% of the respondents.) Answer: 20% of respondents required a \$5,000 fee, 30% required a \$10,000 fee, 30%

required a minimum \$15,000 fee.

9. Which type of display institution (national and regional art museums, public galleries, artist-run centres) should pay this fee?

Answer: 70% of respondents identified national and regional art museums and 10% identified national and regional art museums, public galleries and artist-run centres.

10. Where institutions have charitable status, would a tax receipt for your services be of advantage to you?

Answer: Yes: 90%; No:10%. © Clive Robertson, 1999

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