

“As the cracks get wider”:
Centre d’art daphne and Decolonizing Practices in Indigenous Artist-Run Centres

Michelle Sones

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by

By: Michelle Sones

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and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Art History)

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Signed by the final Examining Committee:

_____ Examiner
Dr. Michelle McGeough

_____ Thesis Supervisor
Dr. Heather Igloliorte

Approved by: _____
Dr. Nicola Pezolet, Graduate Program Director

Dr. Annie Gérin, Faculty of Fine Arts

Abstract

“As the cracks get wider”:
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This thesis takes Centre d’art daphne as its central case study to examine Indigenous involvement in artist-run centres (ARCs) in Canada. Co-founders Hannah Claus, Caroline Monnet, Nadia Myre, and Skawennati were drawn to the community-oriented nature of ARCs, and wanted to create a space by and for Indigenous artists in Tiohtià:ke/ Mooniyang/ Montréal. As the first Indigenous-led artist-run centre in the city, and the only one in Québec, daphne faces the challenge of adhering to hierarchical organizational structures required of ARCs that conflict with Indigenous governance principles. The co-founders therefore devised a method of governance based in Indigenous values that both subverts and adheres to existing systems, always with the aim to carve out space from a place of both artistic and Indigenous self-determination.

This thesis draws on Indigenous scholarship on decolonization and Indigenization. In it, I consider the origins and philosophies of ARCs, review the early days of Indigenous artist-run initiatives in Canada, and discuss the long-held desire for an Indigenous-led artist-run centre in Tiohtià:ke. I then analyze how daphne follows an Indigenous governance model centred on values of consensus, self-determination, and collaboration. I discuss the double marginalization of Indigenous artists in Québec and examine the disparity between support for Indigenous arts in comparison to the rest of Canada. Finally, I put daphne in conversation with BUSH Gallery, a BC-based Indigenous arts collective, to explore an alternative to the ARC model in response to the problem of bureaucracy within the network. By looking at the ways that Indigenous artists have been able to seep into the cracks of the ARC system, I argue that daphne ruptures internal boundaries and overcomes colonial impositions and limitations to create space for Indigenous autonomy and self-determination.

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Introduction

When Hannah Claus, Skawennati, Nadia Myre, and Caroline Monnet talked about starting an Indigenous artist-run centre (ARC) in Tiohtià:ke/ Mooniyang/ Montréal,¹ they envisioned a place to gather, to build relationships, and to create community in a good way, with a good mind.² As Tiohtià:ke-based artists whose careers have spanned local, provincial, national, and international scales, they know the existing arts infrastructure well: both the opportunities provided and the gaps in the systems that have failed to support contemporary Indigenous artists, especially the specificities in Tiohtià:ke and Québec. Artist-run centres in Canada were born out of a context of growing public support for the arts amid a mid-20th century surge of nationalism that regarded the arts as vital to fostering national identity, coupled with the rejection of institutional powers by a new generation of artists who did not see themselves or their work represented in the nationalist imagery sanctioned by major institutions. Dissatisfied with the state of institutional support for experimental contemporary practice, Canadian artists in the late-1960s and early-1970s started creating their own institutions run by and for artists. Indigenous artists have been active in these spaces since early in the movement, contributing to both predominantly settler organizations and, since the mid-1980s, forming their own Indigenous ARCs.³ In the late 2010s, Claus, Skawennati, Myre, and Monnet saw an opportunity to make a

¹ The island currently known as Montréal is known as Tiohtià:ke in Kanien'kéha and Mooniyang in Anishinaabemowin. As the Kanien'kehà:ka are recognized as the custodians of these lands and waters, I refer to the city as Tiohtià:ke throughout this thesis.

² This language of doing things *in a good way* or *with a good mind* comes up in several interviews with the team at daphne. This comes from Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe spiritual and philosophical traditions of starting from a place of good intentions, where passion and reason are balanced. See: David Newhouse, "Ganigonhi:oh: The Good Mind Meets the Academy," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 31, no. 1 (2008): 184-197.

³ It is difficult to determine just how many Indigenous ARCs have ever been active in Canada, but by my count there have been at least seven total, five of which are currently active. Furthermore, the distinction between an artist-run centre and an artists' collective is often unclear. This is a potentially incomplete list: Native Indian/Inuit Photographers' Association (1985-1992), Tribe Inc. (1995-2017), Sâkêwêwak (1996-), Urban Shaman

space of their own for contemporary Indigenous artists in Tiohtià:ke, by founding the city's first Indigenous artist-run centre.

Established in 2019 and opened its doors to the public in 2021, Centre d'art daphne is named for Daphne Odjig, the legendary Odawa artist who created the first Indigenous artist-run space for her community in Winnipeg in the 1970s. This thesis explores how Centre d'art daphne asserts autonomy for Indigenous artists within the artist-run centre system. As the first Indigenous-led artist-run centre in Tiohtià:ke, and the only one in Québec, daphne's methods at times subvert the existing systems, at other times they adhere to them, but always with the aim to carve out space from a place of both artistic and Indigenous self-determination. Additionally, being the only Indigenous ARC in the city, daphne holds space for Indigenous knowledges from different communities to come together, incorporating Kanien'kehá:ka and Anishinaabe knowledges into their governance structure, as these are the communities of the co-founders: Claus (Kanien'kehá:ka/English), Monet (Anishinaabe/French), Myre (Algonquin/Québécois), and Skawennati (Kanien'kehá:ka).

While daphne's mandate is to serve the needs of contemporary Indigenous artists at all stages of their careers through exhibitions and related programming all while promoting a culture of peace, daphne's *purpose* is not to dismantle, destroy, or critique the system. Their methods of governance, approach to collaborations, and role within the arts infrastructure do push up against the boundaries of the systems, and subvert them at times, but daphne's reason for being as an institution is not to merely be subversive or disruptive. Existing artist-run centres do not serve the needs of the Indigenous art community in the ways that an Indigenous-led organization can. Knowing this, the co-founders have taken on the project of creating an artist-run centre to serve

Contemporary Aboriginal Art Gallery (1996-), Indigenous Peoples' Artist Collective of Prince Albert Inc. (2005-), Ociciwan Contemporary Art Collective (2015-), and Centre d'art daphne (2019-).

the needs of their community, and these needs require subverting and challenging the system to carve out space for themselves using the existing tools, framework, and resources within the artist-run network.

In “Imperfect Compliance: A Trajectory of Transformation,” an essay reflecting on the 2012 Institutions by Artists conference held at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, BC, artists Dana Claxton (Hunkpapa Lakota) and Tania Willard (Secwépemc) ask, “how can artist-run culture maintain autonomy from [art power] systems while working from within it without becoming too similar? And, if one is working inside it, should one take on an infiltrator role?”⁵ Claxton and Willard go on to ask if Indigenous artists “are ... now just fitting ourselves in between the cracks (as the cracks get wider) instead of creating our own circles?”⁶ “Imperfect Compliance” sparked the initial inspiration for this research, and images of widening cracks and self-contained circles have woven their way through the process. Recently, I was introduced to Eve Tuck and C. Ree’s discussion of leaks within their writings on haunting. While haunting is beyond the scope of this thesis, the imagery of leaking and seeping coupled with cracks and ruptures has helped me to trace these threads of thought throughout my research. For Tuck and Ree, leaks are a sign of unintended rupture and the potential for ruin.⁷ Slow drips that seep into concealed spaces, soaking into building materials, compromising the structural integrity, and causing collapse. Claiming space from within the cracks enables Indigenous artists to occupy spaces and benefit from systems that were not designed for them.

⁵ Dana Claxton and Tania Willard, “Imperfect Compliance: A Trajectory of Transformation,” in *Institutions by Artists: Volume Two*, eds. Jeff Khonsary and Antonia Pinter (Vancouver: Fillip, 2021): 316.

⁶ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 323.

⁷ Eve Tuck and C. Ree, “A Glossary of Haunting,” in *Handbook of Autoethnography*, eds. Stacey Holman Jones, Tony E. Adams, and Carolyn Ellis (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2013): 639–658.

This thesis is divided into three sections. It begins with the methodological framework, introducing the ideas on decolonization and Indigenization that guide the rest of the research. The second section examines the origins and philosophies of artist-run centres and introduces relevant issues faced within the network's fifty-year history. The third section on Indigenous artist-run culture contains the bulk of the analysis. In it, I present an overview of the early days of artist-run initiatives among Indigenous artists in Canada, such as Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. (1973-c.1979) and the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (1985-1993). I examine how a long-held desire for an Indigenous-led artist-run centre in Tiohtià:ke led the co-founders of daphne to make this a reality. I then analyze how daphne's organizational structure centres the values of consensus, self-determination, and collaboration within an Indigenous governance model. In the section on infrastructure, I discuss the double marginalization of Indigenous artists in Québec and examine the disparity between support for Indigenous arts in Québec when compared to the rest of Canada. The final section addresses Indigenous responses to the problem of bureaucracy within the ARC network, in which I put daphne in conversation with BUSH Gallery, a BC-based Indigenous arts collective founded by Willard and Tahltan Nation artist Peter Morin in 2013, to consider an alternative to the artist-run centre model. Ultimately, by looking at the ways that Indigenous artists have been able to seep into the cracks of the ARC system, I argue that daphne ruptures internal boundaries and overcomes colonial impositions and limitations to create space for Indigenous autonomy and self-determination.

Section I: Methodologies for Considering the Decolonizing Work of Artist-Run Centres in Canada

“[W]hat knowledge we choose to produce has everything to do with *who* we are and *how* we choose to act in the world. . . . Decolonization does not simply suggest that we refrain from becoming spectators to the knowledge we produce; it demands it.”⁸

Decolonizing

This research employs a decolonizing framework that draws primarily on work by Indigenous scholars to understand the colonial legacy within artist-run centre culture. In her seminal book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999), Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes about decolonization as both a struggle and a process: a struggle in that the forces of colonialism are relentless and deeply entrenched in systems of power, and a process that is ongoing, changing, and without “goals or ends in themselves.”⁹ Education scholars at the University of Toronto Aman Sium, Chandni Desai, and Eric Ritskes argue that decolonization challenges and reimagines relations of power and knowledge beyond the colonial systems that “threaten Indigenous ways of being.”¹⁰ Decolonization is a generative process that centres Indigeneity in the work of “creating new solutions to new problems.”¹¹ For both Smith and Sium, Desai, and Ritskes, decolonization is not an outright rejection of all western theory, research, and knowledge, but rather, as Smith says, it places Indigenous concerns and world views at the centre of the research process thereby allowing Indigenous peoples to

⁸ Aman Sium, Chandni Desai, and Eric Ritskes, “Towards the ‘tangible unknown’: Decolonization and the Indigenous future,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): viii (emphasis in original).

⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 1999): 120.

¹⁰ Sium, Desai, and Ritskes, “Towards,” iii.

¹¹ Sium, Desai, and Ritskes, “Towards,” xi-xii.

“know and understand theory and research from [their] own perspectives and for [their] own purposes.”¹²

Sium, Desai, and Ritskes describe decolonization as “a messy, dynamic, and a contradictory process” that is hard to define because Indigenous knowledges are diverse and deeply embedded within communities and individuals.¹³ To Unanga scholar Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, in their essay “Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor,” decolonization is definitively land back, meaning returning lands, waters, airs, subterranean earth, and life to sovereign Indigenous peoples. For Smith, it means centering Indigenous knowledges in research. Sium, Desai, and Ritskes characterize decolonization as future-oriented and based in Indigenous knowledges. For Cree scholar Margaret Kovach, decolonization is about creating space for Indigenous perspectives to be held and respected within the academy and everyday life.¹⁴ Decolonization does mean all these things, but I want to be mindful of Tuck and Yang’s warning that “decolonization is not a metaphor for other things we want to do to improve our societies.”¹⁵ This research is not land back, but I want to be careful not to fall into the pitfalls that Tuck and Yang term “settler moves to innocence,” a casual use of language that removes the immediacy and urgency of the work involved in decolonization, relieving settlers of their guilt and sense of responsibility, in line with the longstanding tradition of minimizing the perceived impacts of settler colonialism.¹⁶

¹² Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 39.

¹³ Sium, Desai, and Ritskes, “Towards,” ii.

¹⁴ Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009): 85.

¹⁵ Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1.

¹⁶ Tuck and Yang, “Decolonization is not a metaphor,” 9-10.

Indigenizing

If decolonization is about de-centering colonial logics and knowledge, then Indigenization is a necessary, but distinct, partner in this work. In *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (2009), Kovach situates decolonizing methodologies outside of an Indigenous research framework because decolonization has its roots in Western critical theory, whereas Indigenous methodologies centre tribal/ nation/ community knowledges.¹⁷ Indigenous research frameworks share some characteristics with Western qualitative methodologies—relationality, reflexivity, stories, truth, and subjectivity are all qualities found in feminist thought, auto-ethnography, postmodernism, and critical theory—and these points of connection are useful for Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers to better understand one another. However, non-Indigenous/settler scholars must be careful not to subsume Indigenous research methodologies within the larger umbrella of qualitative methodologies. Their epistemological differences must be respected.

From Kovach's perspective, non-Indigenous critical theorists can be allies and advocates for Indigenous methodologies, because although they “cannot fully embrace Indigenous methodologies, they would argue that doing so can be a legitimate option.”¹⁸ While epistemology is a Western term, Kovach notes its function as a “broker word” when discussing knowledge among Indigenous and Western peoples in that it “most closely approximates the ‘self-in-relation’ (Graveline, 2000: 361) aspect inherent to Indigenous knowledges.”¹⁹ Just as the parts of research are understood relationally, the researcher and participants are also recognized for their role in shaping the research. Locating self is not unique to Indigenous methodologies,

¹⁷ Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 47-48.

¹⁸ Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 86.

¹⁹ Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 21.

but it is necessary to find clarity of purpose for carrying out research, in terms of both personal and academic motivations.²⁰ It is understood that each person brings their perspective, knowledge, and lived experience to their research and this shapes the research at every step.

I am a white settler who has lived my whole life in Tiohtià:ke. My personal motivations stem from an interest in critical decoloniality in my personal, academic, and political life. As an Anglo-Montrealer, I am also interested in the political dimension of identity and the arts in Québec. In recent years, my research interests have shifted from studying major, national arts institutions towards more community-focused, grassroots organizations who are engaging with decolonization and Indigenization on a practical level. daphne's presence in Tiohtià:ke is a major development for both Indigenous artists and the wider arts community here, a community that I am both a part of and personally invested in. As such, I hope that this thesis will contribute to the scholarly documentation of and critical engagement with daphne's work, while also contextualizing its place within the larger history of artist-run centres in Canada.

Research Methods

When I began looking into the history of Indigenous artist-run centres, I was surprised and disappointed by the lack of scholarly research on the topic. While ARCs themselves are well-studied, and although Indigenous artists have long been involved in these spaces—in a variety of capacities ranging from exhibiting artists and board members to executive directors—as well as the establishment of several Indigenous ARCs since the mid-1980s, little attention has been paid within the existing scholarship on artist-run centres to the history of Indigenous ARCs and Indigenous involvement in artist-run culture overall. Therefore, to undertake this thesis

²⁰ Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies*, 15-16.

requiring both archival research and oral histories, I conducted semi-structured interviews with daphne's Executive Director Lori Beavis (Michi Sagiig (Mississauga) Anishinaabe and Irish-Welsh descent) and co-founder Hannah Claus, whose insights into daphne's values, philosophies, and organizational structure have been invaluable to this research.

Section II. The Origins and Philosophies of Artist-Run Centres in Canada

“[W]e all felt that this sort of community involvement and self-determination on the part of the artist was the only way that anything would ever happen for us here.”²¹

Historical and Cultural Context

To unpack the colonial baggage of the artist-run centre movement, we must first understand the context in which this system came to be and briefly review the settler colonial origins of cultural policy in Canada. Settler colonialism is distinct from other forms of colonialism in two important ways. The first distinction centres around the *settlement* of settler colonialism: colonizers arrive on Indigenous lands with the intention of staying. Settler colonialism exploits and disrupts the relationship between Indigenous peoples and lands, reframing them as sources of labour and resources for the settler colonial state. Australian historian Patrick Wolfe argues that severing ties between Indigenous peoples and lands is a profoundly violent act that serves the logic of elimination and replacement: the destruction of Indigenous societies and the creation of colonial societies on native lands.²²

²¹ AA Bronson, “The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-Run Centres as Museums by Artists,” in *Museums by Artists*, eds. AA Bronson and Peggy Gale (Toronto: Art Metropole, 1983): 31.

²² Patrick Wolfe, “Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 388.

The second distinction has to do with the relationship between the colony and the mother country. The “ambivalent and paradoxical relationship [Canada has] with its colonial past”²³ is evident in its modern cultural policy decisions that seek to define itself apart from the old country. The settler colony is forever reminded of its colonial origins by the continued presence of the Indigenous population. As the settler colony seeks to emancipate itself, a new form of settler nationalism develops that is “primarily rooted in the settler’s cultural imaginary.”²⁴ According to Wolfe, in this process the native is both eliminated from the territory while simultaneously symbolically incorporated into the narrative that distinguishes the colony from the mother country.²⁵ Cultural policy in Canada operates within subtle (and not so subtle) forms of colonization under the guise of “recognition and repair” towards the state’s relationship with Indigenous peoples as it attempts to distance itself from British imperialism.²⁶

Canada faced a “crisis of identity” in the mid-20th century as it struggled to define itself as a nation rather than a British colony, while its population still looked to Britain and the United States as cultural authorities.²⁷ Canadian identity had to contend with “the Aboriginal fact,”²⁸ meaning it had to account for Indigenous peoples within the story and identity that Canada was trying to create of itself. In this period, Canadian artists telling their own stories began to gain more recognition as their art contributed to “a new and robust cultural nationalism.”²⁹ At the

²³ Jonathan, Paquette, Devin Beauregard, and Christopher Gunter, “Settler colonialism and cultural policy: the colonial foundations and refoundations of Canadian cultural policy,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23, no. 3 (2017): 270.

²⁴ Paquette, Beauregard, and Gunter, “Settler colonialism and cultural policy,” 270.

²⁵ Wolfe, “Settler colonialism,” 389.

²⁶ Paquette, Beauregard, and Gunter, “Settler colonialism and cultural policy,” 272.

²⁷ Adrian Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations and the Restoration of Indigenous Cultural Sovereignty in Toronto, 1970 to 2010,” in *Well-Being in the Urban Aboriginal Community: Fostering Biimaadiziwin, a National Research Conference on Urban Aboriginal Peoples*, eds. National Research Conference on Urban Aboriginal Peoples (2011: Toronto, Ont.), and David Newhouse. (Toronto: Thompson Educational Pub, 2012): 23.

²⁸ Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 24.

²⁹ Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 23.

same time, contemporary Indigenous artists began to gain more recognition in the fine art world and the public imagination, with the work of the Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. breaking into the national scene in the 1970s.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, initiated by Prime Minister Louis Saint-Laurent in 1949, had arguably the most significant impact on cultural policy in the second half of the 20th century. The Massey Commission, as it is commonly known, marked the federal government's first assessment of the state of Canadian cultural institutions. The final report, published in 1951, expressed the importance of knowing Canada's history, traditions, and achievements and advocated for supporting institutions that foster national pride and unity.³⁰ It also tied the arts, culture, and scholarship to the defence of the nation and democratic values.³¹ While cultural policies from earlier in the century also intended to promote Canadian nationalism, there was a disconnect between the theoretical objectives and the reality of fulfilling these goals.³² Post-Massey, the aims of cultural policy shifted towards creating a unified national system of cultural production, including museums and heritage institutions, that promoted a "pan-Canadian Identity" distinct from Britain, marking a "transition from colonial cultural policy to a policy infused with settler nationalism."³³

There is an underlying anxiety at the core of settler nationalism in Canada that cultural policy seeks to unite "the two Canadian cultures"³⁴: English Canada and French Canada, or the Rest of Canada and Québec. Though cultural policy was seen as key to forming national unity

³⁰ Monica Gattinger, *The Roots of Culture, the Power of Art: The First Sixty Years of the Canada Council for the Arts* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017): 26-27.

³¹ Gattinger, *Roots of Culture*, 29.

³² Paquette, Beauregard, and Gunter, "Settler colonialism and cultural policy," 273.

³³ Paquette, Beauregard, and Gunter, "Settler colonialism and cultural policy," 274.

³⁴ Canada and Vincent Massey, *Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts Letters and Sciences 1949-1951* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951): 271, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/massey/h5-400-e.html>.

and identity, the Two Solitudes discourse that is used throughout the Massey Report—and was ubiquitous in the national conversation at the time and for decades since—sidelines Indigenous people from these conversations. The chapter on “Indian Arts and Crafts” operates from the premise that “the death of true Indian arts is inevitable,” positioning the arts as essential to integrating Indigenous peoples into the Canadian population³⁵ and further arguing that “Indians with creative talent should ... develop it as other Canadians do.”³⁶ The Report perpetuates the trope of the vanishing Indian, static, historicized, and inauthentic in the modern era, while also arguing that there is a sense of indifference and apathy among Indigenous peoples who are uninterested in continuing the craftsmanship of their traditional practices.³⁷

A key recommendation from the Massey Report was to fund the arts, culture, and scholarship through the establishment of a national body that would operate at arm’s length from the federal government.³⁸ This led to the creation of a number of national institutions in the following decade, including the Canada Council for the Arts in 1957, whose mandate is to “foster and promote the study and enjoyment of, and the production of works in, the arts.”³⁹ Canada Council funds have been widely acknowledged by many artists, cultural writers, and art historians as essential to creating the arts landscape in Canada today.⁴⁰ Public support for the arts, including Council programs that provided instrumental support to artist-run centres early in the movement, allows organizations and individuals to experiment, innovate, and take creative risks without bearing inordinate financial risk.⁴¹ While public funding undoubtedly is important

³⁵ Canada and Massey, *Royal Commission*, 243.

³⁶ Canada and Massey, *Royal Commission*, 240.

³⁷ Canada and Massey, *Royal Commission*, 240.

³⁸ Gattinger, *Roots of Culture*, 29.

³⁹ “About,” *Canada Council for the Arts*, <https://canadacouncil.ca/about>.

⁴⁰ Bronson, “Humiliation of the Bureaucrat,” 33.

⁴¹ Gattinger, *Roots of Culture*, 7.

to supporting the arts, as I will discuss later in this thesis, specific support for Indigenous art was left out of Council programs until the late 1980s.⁴²

ARCs as a Rejection of Institutional Powers

It is within this context of growing settler nationalism coupled with a shift in cultural policy that focused on national unity and identity that the artist-run movement was born. Artist AA Bronson's essay "The Humiliation of the Bureaucrat: Artist-Run Centres as Museums by Artists" (1983) captures and communicates the rootlessness of a generation of young artists who did not see themselves or their art represented in the Canadian media or museums and galleries at the time. He identifies a "constellation of unlikely catalysts" that gave rise to the uniquely Canadian network of artist-run spaces in the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as a lack of a coherent national identity, as well as the American factor: the ubiquity of American media and popular culture in Canada, the clustering of the majority of the country's population along the US-Canadian border, and the use of contemporary American art in US foreign policy.⁴³ Per Bronson, Canadian artists felt a greater affinity to the New York cultural scene at the time than they did towards Canadian institutions and media.

The Canadian art scene was on the edge of a momentous shift at the end of the 1960s, when several small initiatives together formed the right conditions for artist-run centres to come into existence, as artists pushed against the boundaries of the existing infrastructure to create space for themselves. Contemporary artists working in conceptual and dematerialized practices found themselves shut out of mainstream art institutions at this time. Artists, in turn, began to explore new ways of organizing themselves as they sought greater control over the systems of

⁴² Gattinger, *Roots of Culture*, 93.

⁴³ Bronson, "Humiliation of the Bureaucrat," 33.

presenting, circulating, selling, and discussing contemporary art.⁴⁴ Artist-run centres provided a space for more experimental practices and discourses to grow outside of public and commercial art spaces, where the creation, exhibition, and discussion of art would be entirely under the artists' control.⁴⁵ Throughout the 1970s, artists involved in alternative spaces continued to move further away from the existing commercial and institutional models—in other words, they stopped trying to fix the system and instead started creating new ones.⁴⁶

ARCs are non-profit and non-commercial spaces run by artists with the dual purposes of supporting contemporary and emerging art practices and supporting the careers of artists and cultural workers.⁴⁷ The rejection of institutional power and drive for artistic self-determination spurred the artist-run movement from the beginning, and continues to be central to the role that ARCs play in the visual arts ecology to support creativity, artistic freedom, and emergent art practices today.⁴⁸ Intermedia (1968-1973), an independent artists' association in Vancouver, is often cited as the precursor to the artist-run centre movement in Canada. Though short-lived, Intermedia's independence from the mainstream art establishment, while also successfully collaborating with the Vancouver Art Gallery on several projects, set the groundwork for "community involvement and self-determination" among artist-run initiatives going forward.⁴⁹ As other artists saw what was possible with Intermedia, artist-run centres were quickly established in cities across the country in the years that followed, including Toronto (A Space,

⁴⁴ Vincent Bonin, "Here, Bad News Always Arrives Too Late: Institutional Critique in Canada (1967-2012)," in *Institutions by Artists: Volume One*, eds. Jeff Khonsary and Kristina Lee Podesva (Vancouver: Phillip Editions and Pacific Association of Artist Run Centres, 2012): 49-79.

⁴⁵ Canada Council for the Arts, *The Distinct Role of Artist-Run Centres in the Canadian Visual Arts Ecology*, report prepared by Marilyn Burgess and Maria De Rosa (Ottawa: Canada Council for the Arts, 2011): 14, <https://canadacouncil.ca/research/research-library/2012/05/artist-run-centres-in-the-visual-arts-ecology>.

⁴⁶ Clive Robertson, *Policy Matters: Administrations of Art and Culture* (Toronto: YYZ Books, 2006): 2.

⁴⁷ Canada Council, *Distinct Role*, 12.

⁴⁸ Canada Council, *Distinct Role*, 22-23.

⁴⁹ Bronson, "Humiliation of the Bureaucrat," 31.

1971), Montréal (Véhicule Art, 1972; Véhicule Press 1973), Halifax (Eye Level Gallery, 1972), Victoria (Open Space, 1972), and Vancouver (Western Front, 1973). Today, there are over 100 artist-run centres operating in every province and the Northwest Territories.⁵⁰

ARCs are governed by artists to provide greater artistic freedom and flexibility for their peers through supporting exhibitions, artistic production (residencies and production facilities), professional development training (workshops, mentorship, arts administration, and governance), and critical programming activities (publications, conferences, and artist talks).⁵¹ A 2011 report produced by the Canada Council for the Arts identified six main shared characteristics that differentiate ARCs from other players in the visual arts ecology: 1) self-determination and support for artistic experimentation; 2) a high degree of collaboration among the artist-run network; 3) ties to larger social movements of the time; 4) recently, a shift in focus towards professional development; 5) the provision of services, including support for exhibitions, artistic production, and critical publications, and; 6) that these services are disseminated through a membership structure.⁵² ARCs take a “democratic and participatory approach” to programming decisions involving committees that consist of both centre members and board members.⁵³ Their programming choices allow for “emergent art practices with greater immediacy and risk-taking.”⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Based on data from the Online Directory of Artist-Run Centres and Collectives: <http://directory.arca.art>.

⁵¹ Canada Council, *The Distinct Role*, 22-25.

⁵² Canada Council, *The Distinct Role*, 5-6.

⁵³ Giorgio Tavano Blessi, Pier Luigi Sacco, and Thomas Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres: An Empirical Analysis of the Montreal Non-Profit Visual Arts Field,” *Cultural Trends* 20, no. 2 (2011): 154, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2011.563907>.

⁵⁴ Canada Council, *The Distinct Role*, 23.

Section III. Indigenous Artist-Run Culture

“Indigenous art not only confronts and reveals structures of power and the failures of settler colonialism (which is evidenced by the continuing presence of Indigenous peoples), it fights to realize Indigenous alternatives.”⁵⁵

The Early Days

Experimental and dematerialized practices were not the only reasons artists found themselves shut out of mainstream arts institutions in this era. Artists from marginalized communities faced additional obstacles unrelated to their artistic skills—discrimination based on sex, gender, race, and religion, for example. Artist-run spaces have long been at the forefront of cultural diversity initiatives, largely due to the diversity of the artists involved in these spaces. As the movement progressed, artist-run culture emerged within the Indigenous arts community in the 1980s as Indigenous artists continued to find themselves shut out of fine arts institutions in Canada.⁵⁶ Indigenous cultural production, at the time, was generally considered either as craft or ethnographic objects, but not fine art. Even Inuit printmaking and sculpture, which had proved especially popular in the southern and international art markets, continued to be seen as ‘ethnographic’—capable of inspiring western modernist art, but not constituting contemporary fine art in itself. Modernism was the guiding methodological approach to contemporary art in the 1960s and 1970s. Modernism’s focus on formal analysis insisted that a work of art must be an act of individual creation that is able to draw its lineage from European artistic traditions. Contemporary Indigenous art was, therefore, definitionally excluded from the modernist criteria because it is rooted in Indigenous/North American, not European, artistic practices.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Jarrett Martineau and Eric Ritskes, “Fugitive indigeneity: Reclaiming the terrain of decolonial struggle through Indigenous art,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 1 (2014): iv.

⁵⁶ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 321.

⁵⁷ Bob Boyer and Carol Podedworny, *Odjig: The Art of Daphne Odjig, 1960-2000* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2001): 13-14.

In the 1970s, a group of seven First Nations artists joined forces to form an artists' collective that thrust contemporary Indigenous art into the mainstream Canadian arts conversation. Based in Winnipeg, Manitoba, the artists of Professional Native Indian Artists Inc. (PNIAI)—Daphne Odjig, Alex Janvier, Jackson Beardy, Eddy Cobiness, Norval Morrisseau, Carl Ray, and Joseph Sanchez, who were later referred to in the press as the 'Indian Group of Seven'—banded together to confront discriminatory practices within the art world that relegated Indigenous art to either ethnographic objects or confined to government-endorsed marketing strategies.⁵⁸ Officially incorporated in 1974/75, and operating in tandem with the growing Indian Rights Movement, PNIAI adopted some of the language and strategies of the mainstream art and corporate worlds to push the boundaries of what could be considered contemporary Native art, forging a path for future generations to participate in the art world as professional artists. Sanchez would later write that "PNIAI was a western-named corporation with an Indigenous heart."⁵⁹

Though all seven members of PNIAI contributed to the group's collective strength and success, Odjig was an undeniable organizing force behind the collective. Both Janvier and Sanchez recognize her instrumental role in the group's formation, which Janvier describes as a "vision that started under the tutelage of [Daphne Odjig]."⁶⁰ Odjig was born in 1919 in Wikwemikong of the Three Fires Confederacy (Manitoulin Island, Ontario), to an Odawa and Potawatomi father and English mother. A self-taught artist, Odjig began exhibiting

⁵⁸ Lee-Ann Martin, "Early Adventures in the Mainstream: Alex Janvier, Norval Morrisseau, and Daphne Odjig 1962-1975," in *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc*, ed. Michelle Lavallee (Regina, SK: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 2014): 216.

⁵⁹ Joseph Sanchez, "The Native Group of Seven a.k.a. Professional Native Indian Artists Inc." in *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc*, ed. Michelle Lavallee (Regina, SK: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 2014): 189.

⁶⁰ Alex Janvier, "Closing Remarks: Carrying the Vision." in *Selected Proceedings of Witness: A Symposium in the Woodland School of Painters*, ed. Bonnie Devine (Toronto: Aboriginal Curatorial Collective and Witness, 2009): 166, quoted in Michelle Lavallee, "7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc.," in *7: Professional Native Indian Artists Inc*, ed. Michelle Lavallee (Regina, SK: MacKenzie Art Gallery, 2014): 50.

professionally in the late 1960s, though most often outside of the gallery system as she was subject to the double standard that faced all Indigenous artists at the time: either her work was “too ‘Indian’ or not ‘Indian enough.’”⁶¹

After living in Ontario and British Columbia, Odjig and her husband Chester Beavon relocated to Winnipeg where, in 1971, they opened a print shop/craft store called Odjig Indian Prints of Canada Ltd. Simply known as Odjig’s, the shop was a staple in the city’s Indigenous arts community, serving as a gathering space for socializing, creating, connecting, and organizing. In 1974, the print shop grew to include the New Warehouse Gallery located in the back room, becoming the first Indigenous-owned art gallery in Canada. PNIAI was conceived through informal conversations that began between Odjig and Beardy at the shop in the early 1970s. These unofficial meetings at Odjig’s grew into a collective action to form an official, professional working group.⁶²

Odjig’s personal commitment to supporting younger generations of Indigenous artists was evident in the community that formed around her and her shop in Winnipeg. Sanchez, the youngest member of PNIAI, recalls that “[t]he idea that a group of established Native artists could support emerging artists and open doors that were closed to Native arts was novel and bold behaviour.”⁶³ daphne follows in the tradition of their namesake, who Claus called “our Anishinaabe grandmother,”⁶⁴ to create space for community, support, and creative growth among contemporary Indigenous artists. Beavis states: “Like Odjig, we intend for Centre d’art daphne to be a space for artists to find strength in community, generated through relationships with curators

⁶¹ Lavallee, “7,” 46-47.

⁶² Lavallee, “7,” 50.

⁶³ Sanchez, “The Native Group of Seven,” 188.

⁶⁴ Alexandra Nordstrom, “A New Indigenous Artist-Run Centre for Tiotia:ke / Mooniyang / Montréal,” *Canadian Art*, February 11, 2021, <https://canadianart.ca/interviews/a-new-indigenous-artist-run-centre-for-tiotiake-mooniyang-montreal/>.

and audiences, and, equally significant, to participate in the art conversations that are taking place in and across borders.”⁶⁵

In many ways, PNIAI’s work to claim space for Indigenous artists within the Canadian contemporary art field laid the groundwork for future organizations, like the Society of Canadian Artists of Native Ancestry (SCANA), to come into being. Odjig and Janvier attended the first National Conference on Aboriginal Art held on Manitoulin Island in 1978. The following two conferences in 1979 and 1983 led to the formation of SCANA in 1985.⁶⁶ SCANA pushed for recognition for contemporary Indigenous artists within art institutions and acted as a “liaison” between artists, funding agencies, and art institutions in the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁷ Artist-run culture among Indigenous artists developed in parallel with the activities of these Indigenous artist-activists and arts advocacy organizations. While Indigenous artists formalized their associations as ARCs beginning in the 1980s, the spirit of collective art-making practices are longstanding within Indigenous communities and predates the ARC movement itself.

The Native Indian/Inuit Photographers’ Association (NIIPA) founded in Hamilton, Ontario in 1985 is recognized as the first Indigenous artist-run centre in Canada. By the mid-1990s, three more Indigenous ARCs were founded in the prairie provinces: Sâkêwêwak First Nations Artists' Collective in Regina, Saskatchewan (1993), Tribe Inc. in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan (1995), and Urban Shaman Contemporary Gallery in Winnipeg, Manitoba (1996). More recently, the Ociciwan Contemporary Art Collective, established in Edmonton, Alberta in

⁶⁵ Beavis quoted in Julie Graff, ““A Space for Artists to Find Strength in Community””: Interview with Lori Beavis, Director of Centre d’art daphne,” *Vie des arts*, no. 260 (2020), published September 29, 2020, <https://viedesarts.com/en/news-en/a-space-for-artists-to-find-strength-in-community-interview-with-lori-beavis-director-of-centre-dart-daphne/>.

⁶⁶ Lavalley, “7,” 65.

⁶⁷ Lee-Ann Martin, “Anger and Reconciliation: A Very Brief History of Exhibiting Contemporary Indigenous Art in Canada,” *Afterall* 43 (Spring/Summer 2017): 112-113.

2015, has also opened an artist-run centre in 2020. While NIIPA was the first group of Indigenous artists to file the paperwork to officially register as a not-for-profit artist-run organization in Canada, they were by no means the only community of Indigenous artists who worked together to support one another's practices and careers. This designation as 'the first Indigenous artist-run centre' is not to suggest that official incorporation as a not-for-profit organization is where collective effort begins, but rather it is a marker of officially recognizing those practices within the colonial desire to categorize and classify according to a set of criteria.

daphne's Origins

Tiohtià:ke's first Indigenous artist-run centre has been a long time coming. When Skawennati was an undergraduate student at Concordia University in the early 1990s, she was among several Indigenous art students who talked about starting an Indigenous arts organization in the city at the time. There was a "feeling of an absence of a place for Indigenous art in Montréal," Skawennati said. "It was there for a very long time."⁶⁸ A similar sense of absence was present in the time just before the artist-run movement was born, as Bronson recalled, "we felt the lack of feeling ourselves as part of an art scene."⁶⁹ While several Indigenous artists and art students were interested and keen to have a space of their own in Tiohtià:ke, it remained an idea, a topic of conversation that did not come into being. Instead of an Indigenous arts organization, Skawennati, Ryan Rice, and Eric Robertson co-founded Nation to Nation (N2N) in 1994, a First Nations artists collective based in Tiohtià:ke. N2N operated within the same spirit of artist-run culture—a DIY, somewhat spontaneous ethos closely tied to community and

⁶⁸ Skawennati, keynote presentation at the Art History Graduate Student Association Symposium: *Thrivance*, Concordia University, Montréal, QC / online, April 24, 2022.

⁶⁹ Bronson, "Humiliation of the Bureaucrat," 30.

collaboration with peers—without ever going through the process of formalizing their association as a not-for-profit organization. N2N also considered the potential of an Indigenous artist-run centre in the city, but “For all kinds of reasons, it never happened.”⁷⁰

N2N was part of an emerging generation of Indigenous artists, curators, and cultural workers who were dissatisfied with the way that Indigenous art in the 1990s was becoming evermore entangled in bureaucracy and dominated by major organizations like SCANA.⁷¹ N2N’s co-founders and their peers encountered gatekeeping in both settler institutional spaces and the contemporary Indigenous arts community. When Rice and Skawennati traveled to Halifax in 1993 to attend SCANA’s annual conference, they were met with disparaging remarks about their community-based practice as nothing more than “student art.”⁷² This dismissive attitude exemplified a generational divide between Indigenous artists and the approaches to institutional art powers and systems. The emerging generation of Indigenous cultural workers and creators saw colonial values replicated in the bureaucracy and institutionalization of established Indigenous arts organizations like SCANA. N2N decided to make their own way forward without institutional support from either settler art bodies or Indigenous arts organizations at a time when contemporary Indigenous art was only beginning to be recognized within the contemporary gallery system.⁷³ Thinking back on this time, Skawennati remembers Rice saying, “Let’s not worry about grants. Let’s just make things happen. Let’s just do things.”⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Skawennati quoted in Maïa Djambazian, “daphne, Montreal’s newest art center: Interview with the team,” *Bain public culturel*, January 21, 2021, https://bainpublicculturel.com/arts-visuels/daphne-montreals-newest-art-center-interview-with-the-team/?fbclid=IwAR1Ih5_UiNpTCCZhnjzBPbNb4DzKnIXY5RO9rHtUJBh1IT10-CDoR_qp0jA.

⁷¹ Jas M. Morgan, “Towards an Indigenous Relational Aesthetics: Making Native Love, Still,” in *In Good Relation: History, Gender, and Kinship in Indigenous Feminisms*, eds. Sarah Nickel and Amanda Fehr (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020): 200.

⁷² Morgan, “Towards an Indigenous Relational Aesthetics,” 200.

⁷³ Morgan, “Towards an Indigenous Relational Aesthetics,” 200.

⁷⁴ Skawennati, keynote.

N2N was operating during a critical decade for contemporary Indigenous artists. In the summer of 1990, a land dispute between the Kanien'kehá:ka community of Kanehsatà:ke and the town of Oka, Québec led to a 78-day standoff between Indigenous land defenders, provincial police, and the Canadian military. The violent conflict between the Canadian government and Indigenous peoples dominated the news that summer, and the images from the standoff have continued to circulate in the national consciousness in the ensuing 30 years. N2N's landmark traveling exhibition, *Native Love* (1995-1997), was in part conceived to counter the imagined violent Native figure with explorations of all kinds of love between Indigenous peoples. This perception of Mohawks as violent, as Warriors, is something that Skawennati says they are still having to face today.⁷⁵

The decade also marked the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' first voyage to the Americas in 1492. The "celebrations" of this moment sparked a nation-wide movement among Indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States in protest of the planned celebrations. Several group exhibitions in 1992 marked this anniversary by including or focusing on Indigenous art. *INDIGENA Contemporary Native Perspectives* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization (now Canadian Museum of History) in Hull, Québec and *Land, Spirit, Power* at the National Gallery of Canada across the bridge in Ottawa, Ontario, were the two largest of such exhibitions. In Tiohtià:ke, *Nouveaux territoires 350-500 ans après*, a group exhibition marking the dual anniversaries of Columbus' arrival and the founding of Ville Marie de Montréal in 1642, was held in the Maison de la culture network across the city. The exhibition brought together the works of 43 Indigenous artists from across Canada, and 33 Indigenous artists from Québec and Mexico. In the wake of Oka, the curators of *Nouveaux territoires*, Pierre-Léon Tetrault

⁷⁵ Skawennati, keynote.

(Québécois) and Dana Alan Williams (Potawatami), regarded these exhibitions of contemporary Indigenous art as “reconciliation therapy.”⁷⁶ Several other exhibitions and events in the early 1990s sought to restore a dialogue between Indigenous peoples and Québec society, but as Jean-Philippe Uzel, an art historian at the Université du Québec à Montréal, points out, while the early 1990s seemed to be fertile ground for exhibiting contemporary Indigenous art in Québec, the momentum faded as the decade progressed and the number of exhibitions dropped off significantly.⁷⁷

Although the idea for an Indigenous artist-run centre in Tiohtià:ke has been around since the 1990s, it was not until recently that the conditions were right for it to come into being: a combination of funding opportunities, community interest, and a group of artists ready to take on the task of organizing and running an artist-run centre. In the 2010s, Skawennati, Claus, and Myre, who were all working artists and long-time friends, began to get together in the evenings occasionally to discuss topical issues relating to Indigenous art while making, sometimes beadwork, other times moccasins. They called these evenings Ladies Who Art. They wanted to have conversations that went beyond the surface level “Indigenous 101” that they found elsewhere.⁷⁸ Although these were casual gatherings among friends and colleagues, they cultivated a committed collective effort to building an artistic community in Tiohtià:ke. It was in these informal gatherings that Skawennati, Claus, and Myre began to have real, serious

⁷⁶ Pierre-Léon Tetrault, “New Territories – 350/500 Years After,” in *New Territories – 350/500 Years After*, eds. Dana Alan Williams and Pierre-Léon Tetrault (Montréal: Ateliers Vision Planétaire, 1992): 18.

⁷⁷ Jean-Philippe Uzel, “L’art contemporain autochtone, point aveugle de la modernité,” in *Monde et réseaux de l’art: Diffusion, migration et cosmopolitisme en art contemporain*, ed. Guy Bellavance (Montréal: Liber, 2000): 190-191. See for example: *Savoir-vivre, savoir-faire, savoir être*, Centre international d’art contemporain de Montréal, fall of 1990; *Solidarity: Art After Oka*, SAW, Ottawa, May 1991; *Art Mohawk 92*, Strathearn Centre curated by Louise Fournel et Yves Robillard, Montréal, January 1992.

⁷⁸ Hannah Claus, keynote presentation at the Art History Graduate Student Association Symposium: *Thrivance*, Concordia University, Montréal, QC / online, April 24, 2022.

conversations about starting an artist-run centre. They say the moment felt right. There were a number of initiatives happening, funding opportunities being made available for Indigenous arts organizations, and a team of four artists who were interested in and dedicated to making the dream a reality. Monnet joined Skawennati, Claus, and Myre as they took on the task of forming Tiohtià:ke's first Indigenous artist-run centre.

The immediate impetus preceding daphne was the Tiohtià:ke Project, a 2018 initiative from the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective (ACC) (now the Indigenous Curatorial Collective or ICCA) that brought curators from other provinces to Québec to meet and work with Québec-based Indigenous artists.⁷⁹ Both Claus and Myre were on the board of the ACC at the time working hard to increase recognition for French-speaking Indigenous artists within the national Indigenous arts community. The divisions created by the two colonial languages makes dialogue between Indigenous peoples challenging, and it is much harder for French-speaking Indigenous peoples to access the same resources as are available to English-speaking Indigenous peoples. “Indigenous artists that are speaking French ... are often not in the same conversations as those of us who are speaking English,” Skawennati said. “Those papers that Ladies Who Art was reading, they weren't translated into French, for example.”⁸⁰ The Tiohtià:ke Project sought to bridge the divides created by the imposition of colonial languages. By extension, part of daphne's mission is to integrate Québec-based Indigenous artists into the national and international conversations around contemporary art; “to build relationships and break down provincial frontiers,” as Beavis says.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Graff, “A Space for Artists.”

⁸⁰ Skawennati, keynote.

⁸¹ Beavis quoted in Djambazian, “daphne, Montreal's newest art center.”

The first four exhibitions that the co-founders proposed in their initial grant applications to the Canada Council for the Arts (CCA), the Centre des arts et lettres du Québec (CALQ), and the Conseil des arts de Montréal (CAM), grew out of relationships forged through the Tiohtià:ke Project: Teharihulen Michel Savard - *Parure - Ontatia'tahchondia'tha* (curated by Hannah Claus) (fig. 1), Sonia Robertson - *Manitushiu-puamuna - Between the two worlds* (curated by Logan MacDonald), Kaia'tanó:ron Dumoulin Bush - *Iakoterihwatié:ni / Moulin à paroles / Chatterbox* (curated by Sherry Farrell-Racette) (fig. 2), and Catherine Boivin - *Nikotwaso* (curated by Jessie Ray Short) (fig. 3, fig. 4, and fig. 5). The first three exhibitions were realized in 2021, but *Nikotwaso* was rescheduled for the following year after Boivin became pregnant. Michelle Sound - *okāwīsimāk nawac kwayask itōtamwak|Aunties do it better* (curated by Jas M. Morgan) (fig. 6), replaced Boivin's exhibition on the schedule. The first year of programming focused on solo exhibitions for artists at different stages of their careers. Teharihulen, for example, is a well-established artist with a 20-year career, but *Parure - Ontatia'tahchondia'tha* was his first solo exhibition. On the other hand, Dumoulin Bush is at the beginning of her career, having graduated from OCAD University in 2018. A solo exhibition is an important marker in an artist's career, in that it shows that an artist has a body of work capable of standing on its own. The exhibitions at daphne tend to run for 10-12 weeks, with a three week break in between shows. Along with the exhibitions, daphne also commissions curatorial essays that are presented in both colonial languages, as well as the Indigenous language of the exhibiting artist when possible.⁸²

Artist-run centres in Tiohtià:ke tend to be clustered in urban neighbourhoods outside of the downtown core, predominantly in the centre-east of the city. A 2014 analysis of urban art

⁸² Lori Beavis, interview with the author, February 23, 2022.

spaces in the city by Emily Phillips of Mount Allison University found that the distribution of artist-run centres and collectives throughout the Mile End and Plateau Mont Royal neighbourhoods is due to artists seeking lower rents on both commercial and residential spaces, and the appeal of the creative character within these spaces where mainstream norms are eschewed in favour of experimentation and innovation.⁸³ Though historically these neighbourhoods have been more affordable, gentrification in Tiohtià:ke has been underway for well over a decade, making affordability more challenging.

Centre d'art daphne is located in a former storefront space on rue St. Hubert in the neighbourhood of La Petite-Patrie, which borders the north end of Le Plateau. The floor-to-ceiling windows that line the front of the gallery are open to the street, making it easy for the artworks inside to catch the eyes of passersby (fig. 7). When I visited daphne for the first time in February 2022 to interview Beavis, I was beckoned into the gallery by the pastel-coloured rabbit fur drums of Sound's *Trapline - Chapan Snares Rabbits* (fig. 6). Ease of access was an important factor for the co-founders as they searched for a space for daphne to call home. Skawennati often talks about how artist-run centres in Tiohtià:ke are located within large buildings and are hard to find unless you know where to go.⁸⁴ The co-founders wanted daphne to be easily accessible to the public, and the storefront on St. Hubert is just that. daphne can be easily reached by public transit, just a short walk from the Rosemont metro station and in proximity to several bus routes. The space inside is warm and inviting with white walls, light wood floors, large windows, and two exhibition spaces. daphne's purple and red logo is painted in full scale on the wall immediately to the right upon entering.

⁸³ Emily Phillips, "Urban Art Spaces of Montréal: Distribution and Characteristics of Art Museums, Art Galleries, and Artist-Run Centres/Collectives," *The Northeastern Geographer: Journal of The New England-St. Lawrence Valley Geographical Society* 6 (2014): 40-41.

⁸⁴ Nordstrom, "A New Indigenous Artist-Run Centre."

When I returned in late August to see Boivin's rescheduled exhibition, the atmosphere of the gallery had changed. The blinds were drawn, which I came to understand was necessary for the screen-based work on display, but unfortunately did make me worry that the gallery might be closed. As I entered, however, the space was calm and quiet, the walls in the main gallery painted a deep forest green, darkening the space and making it feel quieter, cozier, a bit like a den. *Nikotwaso* (fig. 3, fig. 4 and fig. 5), the Atikamekw word for six, is a 12-channel looped video installation where Boivin and three other women move through the monitors in circles. The six pairs of screens, facing inward around a central motif on the floor, are motion activated when the viewer steps into the circle, beginning with the sound of Boivin's voice speaking Atikamekw before a video of an autumn forest lights up the screens. Images of the forest pan slowly across the screens, encircling the viewer in 360° before fading to black once more as a woman appears within each of the six frames. The women are dressed in a typical Atikamekw kokum style, each representing a grandmother, and coinciding with the six seasons of the Atikamekw year.⁸⁵ Boivin's voice continues to speak in Atikamekw throughout the seven-minute run-time accompanied by music and drumming. The women move throughout the screens, fading in and out of darkness, walking from one frame to the next in a circle until they return to their original positions. They interact with each other, reaching out and extending their arms beyond the frame of the screen, connecting in the interstitial space where the viewer cannot see.

Nikotwaso explores Boivin's relationships with the women in her family in the past and in the future: her grandmothers, her mother, and her daughter. The motif on the floor at the centre of the work comes from a pattern designed by her grandmother that was given to Boivin

⁸⁵ Catherine Boivin, "Entrevue avec Catherine Boivin: L'exposition *Nikotwaso*," interview by Mélissa Mollen Dupuis, *Kuei! Kwe!*, Radio-canada, August 20, 2022, audio, 10:32, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/ohdio/premiere/emissions/kuei-kwe/episodes/648869/ratrapage-du-samedi-20-aout-2022>.

when she passed away.⁸⁶ In the wall text and curatorial essay accompanying the exhibition, curator Jesse Ray Short describes *Nikotwaso* as “a work of circles and cycles”: life cycles, seasonal cycles, preserving and passing on cultural knowledge and language between generations.⁸⁸ The wall text, presented in Atikamekw, French, and English, goes on to say “*Nikotwaso* asks the viewer to suspend your belief, or what you think you know of Indigenous women, and enter into the possibilities of being from the mind of Catherine Boivin.”⁸⁹ Beavis told me that the final form of the work had changed from what was originally proposed for the exhibition the previous year. Boivin’s new role as a mother informed the direction, deepening her sense of responsibility “to keep her language and culture alive for her daughter. To keep her daughter alive for her culture and language.”⁹⁰ *Nikotwaso* exemplifies daphne’s vision as an artist-run centre: a place where Indigenous knowledges, languages, relations, and worldviews are placed at the very centre of the work they do to support Indigenous artists at all stages of their careers.

Skye Maule-O’Brien, an art educator who explores the intersections of race, sexuality, and gender, contends that arts organizations that are interested in serving the needs of communities (both artists and non-artists) through education and outreach need to embrace flexibility in their programming. A flexible approach allows for changes and the development of new projects in response to community needs and interests.⁹¹ Although daphne’s first year of

⁸⁶ Boivin, “Entrevue,” *Kuei! Kwe!*

⁸⁸ Jesse Ray Short, “*In the round* – Catherine Boivin,” Montréal: Centre d’art daphne, 2022, published in conjunction with the exhibition *Nikotwaso*, organized and presented at Centre d’art daphne, Montréal, QC, July 9-August 27, 2022, https://daphne.art/Catherine-Boivin#_ftnref1.

⁸⁹ Wall text, Catherine Boivin: *Nikotwaso*, Centre d’art daphne, Montréal, QC.

⁹⁰ Short, “*In the round*.”

⁹¹ Skye Maule-O’Brien, “Exploring Community Outreach Initiatives for Artist-Run Centres: A Case Study Using Anti-Racist Feminist Pedagogies to Create Inclusive Spaces for Knowledge Exchange,” *Muséologies* 7, no. 1 (2014): 152, <https://doi.org/10.7202/1026651ar>.

programming was selected when applying for the initial funding, they were still able to adapt to changing circumstances during the first year in operation, especially the unexpected challenges caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Changing public health restrictions meant that the inaugural exhibition had to be rescheduled several times, from September 2020, to December, to finally March 2021. Boivin's exhibition was also rescheduled, pushed by a year when she became pregnant. Although Dumoulin Bush's exhibition (fig. 2) was slated to open early in October 2021, they made a change of plans when the team at daphne learned that the curator, Sherry Farrell Racette, would be in Montréal at the end of the month for other work. daphne offered Dumoulin Bush the gallery to be used as a studio space for the month of October, during the time when the exhibition would have been on. This impromptu residency (fig. 8) "was a nice example of us thinking on our feet and making accommodations," Beavis told me. "I think it speaks, as much as anything, to the fact that we're still quite tiny," she continued, "and I don't think we're going to get very big."⁹²

Indigenous Approaches to Governance: Consensus, Self-Determination, and Collaboration

Indigenous organizations operating within Western systems face the constant challenge of trying to reconcile their values and ways of being with the demands of the Western model without being assimilated into these systems. daphne has had to navigate this path of following Indigenous governance principles while working within a Western funding model. In order to be eligible to receive public funds, an artist-run centre must be registered as a not-for-profit organization, and as such must have a board of directors. Early in the preparatory phase, the co-founders were faced with the task of creating daphne's governance model. "When filling out the

⁹² Beavis, interview.

forms to register the Centre with the province,” Claus said in our interview, “we had to check the boxes for our administrative roles. That reflex [was] to elect president, vice president, treasurer, secretary. And I said, ‘No, I don’t want to do that. That’s not how I see this.’”⁹³ Though democratic, a board of directors is nonetheless a hierarchical model that conflicts with Indigenous governance principles of consensus and collectivity that are important to the co-founders. All four co-founders have been involved in artist-run centres throughout their careers, both as exhibiting artists and, for Claus, Myre, and Skawennati, as members of the board. Their experiences at other centres prior to founding daphne meant they were familiar with how the board of directors structure is meant to work, and therefore informed their decision to structure daphne differently. Instead of electing members, they wrote each of their names on scraps of paper and filled the four core board positions by picking names out of a hat. The arbitrary assignment of titles to the founders allows daphne to simultaneously comply with the board of directors model on paper while in practice subverting the hierarchical structure by working in consensus. This act further demonstrates the co-founders’ commitment to finding a way to push the inherent resistance built into the system further by making it compatible with their Indigenous governance protocols.

Decisions at daphne are made collectively through conversation—“lots of talking,” as Beavis put it.⁹⁴ daphne’s bylaws reflect the co-founders’ intentions to operate within an Indigenous governance structure. The bylaws, for example, are a living document, in a way, “always there to be rewritten and revised and added to” as the centre grows and encounters new challenges over time.⁹⁵ The co-founders looked to other artist-run centres in Tiohtià:ke, like

⁹³ Hannah Claus, interview with the author, April 28, 2022.

⁹⁴ Beavis, interview.

⁹⁵ Claus, interview.

articule, and Indigenous ARCs in the Prairies, like Urban Shaman and Sâkêwêwak, to guide the drafting of daphne's bylaws, while also considering the specific protocols that are important to them as Kanien'kehà:ka and Anishinaabe peoples. Claus recalls, "there are a lot of good spaces [in Tiohtià:ke]. They were certainly inspirational, and we brought parts of them into what we wanted to create, but at the heart of it, the fact that there is an Indigenous-specific space was really important to us."⁹⁶ daphne brings together Anishinaabe and Kanien'kehà:ka knowledges, as these are not only significant to the co-founders and director, but also because Tiohtià:ke is a place of historic significance to both peoples. Communal and consensus decision making, for example, is a Kanien'kehà:ka governance protocol that comes from the story of the Peacemaker, who united the five original Haudenosaunee nations that had been at war with one another for generations. Skawennati says, "the Peacemaker brought the tools of consensus to the people and so ... internally, in terms of governance, we try to come to consensus on ... everything that we're doing."⁹⁸

It was especially important to Skawennati and Claus to open all events at daphne, be they meetings, workshops, exhibitions, or daphne beads nights, with the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen, the Haudenosaunee Thanksgiving Address or the Opening Address.⁹⁹ It is a Haudenosaunee protocol of giving thanks for everything that is, beginning with the people and Mother Earth, moving from the lands and waters up to the sky and beyond to Shonkwaia'tison, the Creator. The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen, which means "the words that come before all else," is central to Haudenosaunee culture and is spoken at the beginning of all gatherings and events.¹⁰⁰ Beavis

⁹⁶ Claus, keynote.

⁹⁸ Skawennati, keynote.

⁹⁹ Claus, interview.

¹⁰⁰ Tom Porter, *And Grandma Said ... Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down Through the Oral Tradition*, (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2008), 8.

shared her memories of the first time the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén was spoken at daphne's inaugural exhibition opening. On Saturday May 8, 2021, people gathered outside the gallery eager to see Teharihulen's *Parure - Ontatia'tahchondia'tha*. The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén is usually a call and response, with each passage ending with the phrase "and now our minds are one." Claus, who curated the exhibition, had printed out the words and the pages were spontaneously passed around, with different people reading the 18 sections of the address.¹⁰¹ "They didn't know what it was, but people helped each other to follow on and to read it," Beavis told me. "It went to Kanien'kéha to English to French, so it was just wonderful. It really did feel that that set us on a path, and it was a really good thing."¹⁰² The Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén is about bringing people together in a state of harmony, to be of one mind. It sets the intention of starting from a good place and ties into daphne's mandate to "create a culture of peace."¹⁰³

Beavis mentioned during our interview that she thinks about the Anishinaabe Grandparent Teachings in the work she does at daphne. The Seven Grandfather Teachings, also referred to as the Seven Sacred Laws, are a set of principles to living a good life in harmony with all of creation. Elder Nii Gaani Aki Inini (Dr. Dave Courchene, Anishinaabe Nation, Eagle Clan) describes the Teachings as "the foundation of our (Anishinaabe) way of life and connection to the Spirit and the land."¹⁰⁴ Each of the Seven Teachings are represented by an animal: a buffalo for respect, eagle for love, bear for courage, sabe/bigfoot or a raven for honesty, beaver for

¹⁰¹ Lori Beavis and Daina Warren, "Indigenous Protocols Resources," webinar presented by the Artist-Run Centres and Collectives Conference, online, February 22, 2022.

¹⁰² Beavis, interview.

¹⁰³ Centre d'art daphne, "Mandate," accessed March 13, 2022, <https://daphne.art>.

¹⁰⁴ "The Seven Sacred Laws - As Shared by Elder Nii Gaani Aki Inini (Dr. Dave Courchene)," The Turtle Lodge, November 10, 2021, video, 7:16, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xj6_tQILJ18.

wisdom, wolf for humility, and a turtle for truth. For Beavis, the teachings are about “treating people well.”¹⁰⁵

In the chapter of *Decolonizing Methodologies* “Twenty-Five Indigenous Projects,” Smith writes about “democratizing and indigenist governance”¹⁰⁶ as one of the projects that works towards decolonization and Indigenous self-determination. While democratic principles are present in the traditional decision-making practices of many Indigenous communities, the systems of governance currently in place are the result of state involvement and thus conflict with traditional ways and values. Although Smith discusses democracy in terms of tribal governance systems, her ideas are relevant to non-governmental organizations, including within the arts. Smith argues there is a need to “develop twenty-first-century governance approaches that are embedded in an Indigenous value system and geared to meet contemporary social challenges.”¹⁰⁷ When the co-founders began working on the bylaws and designing daphne’s governance structure, Claus said to her fellow co-founders, “I want us to think about this differently.”¹⁰⁸ Since the board of directors model required of all artist-run centres as not-for-profit organizations is a Western system that is at times in conflict with the values of collectivity and consensus, the co-founders’ determination to approach decision-making at daphne as a consensus is based on the values in the Peacemaker story, the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwén and the Seven Grandfather Teachings.

Self-determination has been a core principle of the artist-run philosophy since the earliest days. Both artistic and organizational autonomy are essential to creating spaces that are organized and run by and for artists. Artists are free to experiment, innovate, and explore new

¹⁰⁵ Beavis, interview.

¹⁰⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 157.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 157.

¹⁰⁸ Claus, interview.

approaches without the commercial and corporate pressures of the market. In the artist-run system, “artists participat[e] directly in the institutional culture supporting the art they themselves [are] making, rather than existing peripherally to it.”¹⁰⁹ While the turn to self-determination among artists in Canada was revolutionary, Montréal-based writer and curator Vincent Bonin argues that artistic self-determination within the movement was not achieved through artists’ efforts alone, but that government policies, programs, and funding measures—particularly under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (1968-1979 and 1980-1984)—worked to satiate artists’ desire for “emancipation and decentralization” thereby mitigating the “risk of popular uprising.”¹¹⁰ Bonin further insists that these programs allowed artists to create and manage their own institutions without needing to reexamine existing ones.¹¹¹ While I think Bonin’s claim that there has been no re-examination of existing institutional structures too easily dismisses the decades of labour put into creating more inclusive, flexible, artist-oriented organizations, it does echo the concerns of artists and cultural workers who have long been critical of the sheer amount of bureaucracy involved in the movement. As discussed before, board management, while democratic, is still hierarchical and restrictive in some ways. I will return to the issue of bureaucracy later in this thesis.

In their examination of artist-run centres in Tiohtià:ke, Italian researchers Giorgio Tavano Blessi, Pier Luigi Sacco, and Thomas Pilati present an interesting dichotomy between the attitudes of independent arts organizations towards cultural programming on the one hand, and administration and management on the other. Artist-run spaces are bastions of creative freedom and experimentation when it comes to the production of culture, but their managerial and

¹⁰⁹ Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 30.

¹¹⁰ Bonin, “Here, Bad News,” 65-66.

¹¹¹ Bonin, “Here, Bad News,” 66. Bonin writes that there are “some notable exceptions” to this observation but does not indicate precisely what the exceptions are.

organizational styles tend to be more conservative and traditional than might be expected.¹¹² Independent art spaces tend to consider administration only in the ways that it supports their main focus on artistic production and programming, meaning there has been little effort to examine or reimagine other systems of management. Additionally, to some within the alternative arts scene, issues of managerial and organizational style are seen as the concerns of the for-profit sector and therefore should not be a concern of the independent arts scene.¹¹³ Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati warn that insufficient investments to develop human resources, administrative skills, programming strategies, and long-term financial planning pose a risk to these centres' abilities to adapt to changing economic and cultural circumstances. There is great potential for independent art centres to reimagine their managerial strategies with the same attitude that they approach cultural programming, without which there is a risk of losing their place within the arts ecosystem as other players evolve and adapt to changing contexts.¹¹⁴

With these criticisms in mind, let us consider how daphne is actually an example of subverting the system while working within it and staying true to their central values, as exemplified in the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen and Grandfather Teachings. Navigating this path is neither simple nor straight forward, but Claus says they “try as much as possible to be non-hierarchical”¹¹⁵ in all the ways that they operate. As France Trépanier (Kanien'kéha:ka and French ancestry) and Mylène Guay write in the chapter “N'tagam8bna maalhawks — Nous (exclusif) fraillons le frêne noir. Enjeux dans les milieux culturels autochtones francophones au Québec”: “Indigenous governance principles based on the values of community, sharing resources and consensus decision-making power are constantly confronted with the predominant

¹¹² Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres,” 160.

¹¹³ Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres,” 160.

¹¹⁴ Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres,” 160.

¹¹⁵ Claus, keynote.

type of hierarchical governance that values individualism, capitalism, and relationships of subordination.”¹¹⁶

The co-founders intentionally chose the artist-run centre model because the focus on community and collectivity, organizational flexibility, and resistance to institutional strictures that are inherent in the system “best reflected how [they] wanted to support the community.”¹²⁰ The co-founders were drawn to the collaborative, peer-based nature of the artist-run model that could afford a unique means of supporting the Indigenous art community with an Indigenously-determined space. Adrian Foster, author of the paper “Artist-Run Organizations and the Restoration of Indigenous Cultural Sovereignty in Toronto, 1970 to 2010,” argues that artist-run organizations are particularly well-suited for collaborations with Indigenous artists because they share many of the same underlying principles and values, such as autonomy, self-governance, and collaboration.¹²¹ While Foster’s analysis mainly focuses on collaborations between Indigenous artists and non-Indigenous organizations in Toronto, his identification of common values also explains why daphne chose to become an ARC. Within an Indigenous artist-run centre, the values of autonomy, self-determination, and self-governance take on an additional layer of importance. In addition to the artistic freedom and latitude the ARC system can offer to any artist, as a centre that is governed by Indigenous artists following Indigenous value systems, daphne becomes a unique place within the Tiohtià:ke arts milieu.

Collaboration and cooperation are key aspects of the artist-run philosophy.

Collaborations can take place among individual artists and between organizations, sharing

¹¹⁶ France Trépanier and Mylène Guay, “N’tagam8bna maalhawks — Nous (exclusif) frappons le frêne noir. Enjeux dans les milieux culturels autochtones francophones au Québec,” in *D’horizons et d’estuaires : entre mémoires et créations autochtones*, eds. Camille Larivée and Léuli Eshraghi (Montréal: Éditions Somme toute, 2020): 74.

¹²⁰ Hannah Claus, interview.

¹²¹ Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 27-29.

resources, audiences, and funding that also challenges the notion of scarcity among arts organizations.¹²² daphne works from this place of plenty: “We don’t have to have a poverty mentality,” Skawennati says. “We can have a mentality of abundance, of thriving.”¹²³ Skawennati learned this from working at Oboro, another Montréal ARC, in the 1990s with founders Daniel Dion and Su Schnee. Working from a place of plenty opens up possibilities of collaborations, to share resources and undertake initiatives on a larger scale than could be accomplished alone. At the time of our interviews, daphne had not yet undertaken any joint ventures with other ARCs or organizations,¹²⁴ but this was certainly not for a lack of interest. They have been inundated with invitations to collaborate with other organizations in an overwhelming outpouring of support from the Tiohtià:ke arts community and beyond. Faced with this surge of support, the co-founders and director made the decision to keep their first year of programming as planned (with the exception of Boivin’s exhibition being postponed to the following year) to “get [their] feet under [themselves]” before taking on external projects.¹²⁵

In response to this outpouring of interest, the team at daphne put together a set of criteria when considering any collaborations. First, daphne must be included in any collaborative projects from the very beginning. Starting out as equal partners ensures that daphne is “respected for what knowledge [they] have and [that they] are building a good relationship.” Second, a project must “be respectful of [the] knowledge” that daphne provides balanced against the

¹²² Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 31.

¹²³ Skawennati, keynote.

¹²⁴ In their second year of programming, daphne has taken on some collaborative projects. For example, daphne was a satellite exhibition space for the Biennale d’art contemporain autochtone (BACA), hosting Suzanne Morrisette: *translations* from May 7 – June 18, 2022. daphne is currently a programming partner on *Moving the Landscape to Find Ground* (September 2022 – May 2021), a series of artist talks and residencies organized by the Post Image Cluster of the Milieux Institute for Arts, Culture and Technology at Concordia University, co-directed by Hannah Claus and Deanna Bowen.

¹²⁵ Beavis, interview.

project's own objectives. Third, the "authenticity and integrity [of] the objectives of the project" must align with daphne's own philosophy. Fourth, daphne must "be able to hold [their] own space in [their] own way" and collaborators must respect that "some information ... will not be shared." Fifth, daphne will not be involved in performing indigeneity for the public.¹²⁶ Overall, at the heart of any collaboration, the question always comes down to "what will this do for daphne?"

These criteria illustrate daphne's attentiveness, taking the time needed to consider the impact and implications of any potential collaborations on the overall health of the organization. Capacity is a factor in these decisions, as Beavis is daphne's only permanent staff member, and the co-founders are mindful of not overloading her. Many of the collaborations proposed to daphne in the first year were last minute, essentially putting daphne's name on an existing project without involving them in a meaningful and prolonged way. Speaking about collaborations, Claus says, "we want to be really solid in what ... daphne [is]."¹²⁷ They want to protect daphne and manage outside expectations.

Arts Infrastructure and Institutional Supports for Indigenous Arts in Québec

When Claus moved to Montréal in 2001 to begin a master's degree at Concordia University, she was "stunned at how Indigenous art [representation in institutions] was so much behind the rest of Canada ... in terms of being recognized as a viable contemporary expression. It just didn't exist."¹²⁸ The infrastructure to support Indigenous artists in Québec was sorely lacking, and though progress has been made in the 20 years since, Québec still lags behind other

¹²⁶ Beavis, "Indigenous Protocols Resources."

¹²⁷ Claus, keynote.

¹²⁸ Claus, keynote.

provinces and the federal government. Claus explained in our conversation that there were “no exhibitions [of Indigenous art] in the major galleries” in Montréal for several years after she moved to the city.¹²⁹ Based on a review of the exhibition archives available online, the first exhibitions of contemporary Indigenous art at the city’s two major museums were Brian Jungen at the Musée d’art contemporain in 2006, and *Kent Monkman Dance to the Berdashe* at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts in 2009.¹³⁰ Neither Jungen nor Monkman are Québec-based artists. As Uzel, an art historian at UQAM, notes, after several group exhibitions showcasing Indigenous art in 1992, things went back to the status quo for the rest of the decade. Although some well-known contemporary Indigenous artists were exhibited in museums and galleries in Québec, group shows featuring the works of contemporary Indigenous artists in the province were rarely, if ever, exhibited.¹³¹ Uzel further points out that these rare instances of group exhibitions of Indigenous art in Québec did not take place in the major arts institutions, but rather in alternative spaces, like the Maisons de la culture, cultural centres, and university galleries.¹³²

In our interview, Claus recalled that Nadia Myre was the only Indigenous artist recognized in Québec for about 10 years. Curators in Québec told Claus they “didn’t really know about that art” and were therefore reluctant to curate exhibitions of Indigenous artists.¹³³ Artist-run centres worked with Indigenous artists from other provinces and territories from time to

¹²⁹ Claus, interview.

¹³⁰ This assessment is based on the exhibition records available online for each museum. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (MMFA) records date back to 1999. The Musée d’art contemporain records date back to 2005. As Uzel notes in “L’art contemporain autochtone” (193), aside from solo exhibitions, contemporary Indigenous artists were sometimes included in group exhibitions in Québec arts institutions in the 1990s, such as Domingo Cisneros in *L’art prend l’air* (1993) at the MMFA.

¹³¹ Uzel, “L’art contemporain autochtone,” 193.

¹³² Uzel, “L’art contemporain autochtone,” 193.

¹³³ Claus, interview.

time, but it was far less common for them to work with artists from Québec. Claus also recalled journalists and art writers in the province could not conceive of Indigenous art as art, often asking questions along the lines of “Why is your work more than craft?” Of course, this type of discourse is not exclusive to Québec. The relegation of Indigenous cultural production to ethnographic or craft work has long been used as a strategy to devalue the work of Indigenous artists in the eyes of the Western/ European artistic tradition, but the attitudes that Indigenous artists face in Québec are the same that were held in other provinces decades ago. Indigenous art has been (relatively) accepted as art in the mainstream for decades, but in the early 2000s, Claus remembers still encountering these conservative beliefs held by curators, cultural workers, and government officials in Québec, much more so than elsewhere. She recalled one time when the Aboriginal Curatorial Collective was seeking funding for an upcoming conference for Québec Indigenous artists, officials in the Québec government told members of the ACC to speak to the people in craft and tourism, not arts and culture.¹³⁴

Caroline Monnet says, “there is a real gap between what is happening in Québec and what is happening in the West” in terms of support for and interest in contemporary Indigenous art.¹³⁵ Indigenous artists from Québec face a double marginalization, sometimes referred to as a “double solitude.” Regardless of which colonial language they speak, they are overlooked first as Indigenous artists, and second as either English speaking in Québec or French speaking in Canada.¹³⁶ This language barrier also complicates relationships between Indigenous communities not only in Québec and those elsewhere in the country, but between English-speaking and

¹³⁴ Claus, interview.

¹³⁵ Caroline Monnet quoted in Maud Cucchi, “Daphne, le tout premier centre d’artistes autogéré par des Autochtones, au Québec,” *Radio-canada*, January 7, 2021, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/espaces-autochtones/1761086/daphne-arts-visuels-autochtones-quebec-exposition>. Translated by the author.

¹³⁶ Emilie Monnet, Sonia Robertson, Eruoma Awashish, Rita Letendre and Martin Akwiranoron Loft, “Beyond Two Solitudes,” *Canadian Art*, July 16, 2018, <https://canadianart.ca/features/beyond-two-solitudes/>.

French-speaking Indigenous communities in the province. Beavis told me about a time before daphne, when she was in a Maison de la culture with French-speaking Wendat people and English-speaking people from Kahnawá:ke, who were unable to communicate with each other although they were in the same space.¹³⁷ The imposition of colonial languages has further divided Indigenous communities, making it challenging to form relationships and collaborations.

According to Monnet, Québec is about “50 years behind the Indigenous question, that’s why it’s necessary” to have an Indigenous artist-run centre in Montreal.¹³⁸ The irony of the situation lies in the fact that Québec has a robust system of public support for arts and culture that goes back to the days of the Quiet Revolution and the rise of Québec nationalism beginning in the 1950s. While the Québec nationalist movement did contribute to the federal identity crisis and growth of settler nationalism in the Rest of Canada, it was much more so an internal revolution that had to do with language, francophone cultural identity, the influence of the Catholic church on people’s lives, and economic opportunities for *les Québécois*. Québec was the first province to create a Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1961 under then Premier Jean Lesage, but support for arts and culture in the province was tightly tied to nationalism and creating a culture in Québec that was white, francophone, and *de souche*.¹³⁹ The provincial government saw contemporary art as a powerful vehicle to foster a distinct cultural identity, so they invested early and substantial financial support for artists and arts organizations to establish and promote Québec culture within the province and beyond.¹⁴⁰ While provincial support for arts

¹³⁷ Beavis, interview.

¹³⁸ Monnet quoted in Cucchi, “Daphne.” Translated by the author.

¹³⁹ Trépanier et Guay, ““N’tagam8bna maalhawks,”” 62.

¹⁴⁰ Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres,” 151.

and culture grew across the country throughout the 1970s, significantly more attention is paid to cultural policy and arts funding in Québec than in other provinces or at the national level.¹⁴¹

Indigenous arts were systematically excluded from these efforts and therefore from the Québec arts scene.¹⁴² The criteria and definitions in use within arts granting programs are formulated according to a Western understanding of the arts as a profession and have routinely been used to restrict funding access for Indigenous artists. For example, Monica Gattinger, professor of Political Studies at the University of Ottawa, writes that at the Canada Council for the Arts, “If “professional artist” is defined as dedicating yourself to your art full-time and exhibiting, disseminating, or performing in formal artistic settings (galleries, performance spaces, contracts with publishers, etc.), many Indigenous artists are “defined out” of program eligibility.”¹⁴³ What is more, accessing exhibition or performance spaces can be difficult if not impossible in remote communities and language barriers make the application process much more difficult for artists do not speak or write in English or French.

Beginning in the late 1980s and continuing throughout the 1990s, Indigenous artists began to make headway at the Council after lobbying efforts to revise Council programs to be more inclusive, support both traditional and contemporary Indigenous art, and change the definition of professional artist.¹⁴⁴ The Canada Council introduced its first program dedicated to supporting Indigenous artists in 1994, with the creation of the First Peoples Advisory Committee and the appointment of Kanien’kehá:ka curator and writer Lee-Ann Martin as the Council’s First Peoples Equity Coordinator. In Québec, Indigenous cultures were not specifically addressed in the province’s cultural policy until 2017 and initiatives similar to the First Peoples Advisory

¹⁴¹ Blessi, Sacco, and Pilati, “Independent Artist-Run Centres,” 151.

¹⁴² Trépanier et Guay, “‘N’tagam8bna maalhawks,” 63.

¹⁴³ Gattinger, *The Roots of Culture*, 91.

¹⁴⁴ Gattinger, *The Roots of Culture*, 93-94.

Committee have only recently begun to be adopted.¹⁴⁵ Specific funding programs for Indigenous artists, collectives, and organizations were only introduced by the Conseil des arts de Montréal and the Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec in 2018.¹⁴⁶ Back in 2015, the Canada Council completely reorganized its funding structure, streamlining the 147 existing programs into six thematic programs, one of which is dedicated to Indigenous artistic practices. A significant change to the criteria is that applicants to Creating, Knowing and Sharing: The Arts and Cultures of First Nations, Inuit, and Métis People are no longer required to meet the Council's definition of professional artist in order to receive financing under the New Funding Model.¹⁴⁷ It must be remembered that these changes are a direct result of decades of activism and advocacy on the part of Indigenous artists and cultural workers—both those working within the arts councils and those advocating for change from outside the institutions.

Bureaucratic Challenges and Institutional Innovations

Much has been made of the turn towards bureaucracy and institutionalization within artist-run centres over their fifty-year history. Reflecting on his involvement in the earliest years of the ARC movement, in 1983 Bronson reasoned that bureaucracy and the protestant work ethic are such deeply embedded Canadian tendencies that even artists who deliberately sought to remove themselves from these structures brought parts of them into the new systems being created.¹⁴⁸ Bronson described “the problem of bureaucracy” as a two-sided coin, with bureaucratic reality on one side and artistic visions on the other.¹⁴⁹ The challenge for artist-run

¹⁴⁵ Trépanier et Guay, “‘N’tagam8bna maalhawks,” 63.

¹⁴⁶ Trépanier et Guay, “‘N’tagam8bna maalhawks,” 70.

¹⁴⁷ Gattinger, *The Roots of Culture*, 96.

¹⁴⁸ Bronson, “The Humiliation,” 34.

¹⁴⁹ Bronson, “The Humiliation,” 36.

spaces, then, is to navigate this dichotomy as they try to find a balance between what Claxton and Willard describe as “a reciprocal relationship between the possibility of transformation and the organizing and administration of that transformative potential.”¹⁵⁰

Claxton and Willard expressed their concern with the state of the artist-run movement as they wrote in 2012, while not yet conceding that its radical nature has been completely quashed. The artist-run movement was born out of a rejection of institutional art power—in tandem with contemporaneous movements for social justice and equality in the 1960s and 1970s—which, in Canada, led to the creation of an extensive network of artist-run centres across the country. In the ensuing decades, these spaces of artistic self-determination have turned increasingly bureaucratic and institutional as they became incorporated not-for-profit organizations, morphing into a version of the systems they initially rebelled against. There is no longer a hard distinction between the mainstream art world and alternative art spaces (though I wonder if such a distinction ever really existed). Now more of an “institutional model” than a movement, the rules and regulations required of non-profit organizations have left artists involved in artist-run centres “occupied with systems that they originally tried to subvert.”¹⁵¹

When I raised the issue of bureaucracy and institutionalization in our interview, Beavis was quick to defend the continued relevance and value of artist-run centres. While she recognizes that some places have been run by the same people for years and years, in her experience ARCs have been producing some of the most vibrant and interesting work for decades. She spoke about her time at Artspace, one of the longest-running artist-run centres in Canada founded in Peterborough, Ontario in 1974, where Beavis was on the board for about seven years. In 2017, then director Jonathan Lockyer “made the choice to just show work by

¹⁵⁰ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 307.

¹⁵¹ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 310.

Indigenous women artists ... in reaction to the Canada 150” celebrations.¹⁵² This was part of a larger movement at the time to push back against the celebratory tone of the 150th anniversary of Confederation.

Beavis also spoke to the important historical contributions ARCs have made to supporting Indigenous artists when mainstream institutions were not interested in exhibiting contemporary Indigenous art: “They were showing the work of Indigenous artists long before anybody else was.”¹⁵³ The National Gallery of Canada, for example, purchased its first contemporary work by an Indigenous artist in 1986, Carl Beam’s *The North American Iceberg* (1985). It would be another 20 years before the National Gallery would run its first solo exhibition for an Indigenous artist, *Norval Morrisseau-Shaman Artist* in 2006. As discussed, exhibitions of contemporary Indigenous art were few and far between in Québec, even if Indigenous art was popular internationally and displayed prominently in Canadian governmental offices and embassies. These rare exhibitions were most often held in alternative arts spaces, not the major institutions.¹⁵⁴ Documentation dating from the 1980s shows that concerns about Indigenous artists’ rights were being raised and discussed within the ARC network at the time. At the 1988 Annual General Meeting of the Association of National Non-Profit Artists Centres /Regroupement d’artistes des centres alternatifs (ANNPAC/RACA), for example, recommendations for specific supports for the Indigenous artistic community were presented. These included: 1) the need for Indigenous-led operations, including artist-run facilities; 2) the need to include Indigenous participants in all lobbying efforts with federal agencies from the beginning, and; 3) the need to respect Indigenous autonomy over cultural representation and

¹⁵² Beavis, interview.

¹⁵³ Beavis, interview.

¹⁵⁴ Uzel, “L’art contemporain autochtone,” 193.

production.¹⁵⁵ These recommendations were never implemented and a number of other factors, including the larger issue of systemic racism within the organization, led to ANNPAC/RACA's dissolution in 1994.¹⁵⁶

Social issues have long been central to the politics in collective arts spaces as the artist-run movement emerged in the same period as other social justice movements regarding race, class, gender, sexuality, and labour. While these movements arose outside of the art sphere, they soon made their way into the gallery system.¹⁵⁸ Tuck and Yang's analysis of decolonization is useful when examining the relationship between social justice and decolonization within the artist-run centre movement as it relates to the Indigenous arts community. While the language of decolonization has been co-opted within the social sciences and humanities to stand in for other forms of social justice and disrupting settler ideologies, Tuck and Yang contend that the goals of decolonization are incommensurable with these other projects because they want fundamentally different things. Many human and civil rights movements are, at their base, invested in the settler-colonial project as they seek to share in the spoils of settler colonialism. The entanglement between settlers and colonized subjects makes forms of solidarity challenging, and at times irreconcilable. Tuck and Yang propose "an ethic of incommensurability" as a way to build solidarities between social justice efforts that acknowledge and embrace the differences between these projects and decolonization.¹⁵⁹

Attention to social justice issues within the artist-run movement is not the same as decolonization. As Smith writes, decolonization does not have an end goal, as the goals are

¹⁵⁵ Robertson, *Policy Matters*, 81.

¹⁵⁶ See chapter 2 of Robertson's *Policy Matters* for a further discussion of the fallout that followed ANNPAC/RACA's refusal to support the anti-racism initiatives of the Minquon Panchayat Council, a commitment they had made at the AGM the previous year.

¹⁵⁸ Claxton and Willard, "Imperfect Compliance," 310-311.

¹⁵⁹ Tuck and Yang, "Decolonization," 28.

continually shifting, and is rather considered an ongoing process, just as colonization was not one process or decision but many over time.¹⁶⁰ Sium, Desai, and Ritskes argue that decolonial processes seek alternatives to colonial logics and knowledge based on a “framework that centers and privileges Indigenous life, community, and epistemology.”¹⁶¹ daphne's goal, as an Indigenous-led artist-run centre, is not to reinvent the systems that govern artist-run centres, but rather, they seek to claim space within the existing system in ways that benefit their community.

It is important to remember, as Claus reminded me during our interview, that progress in terms of decolonization and representation within artist-run centres is directly tied to the labour of Indigenous artists advocating for themselves in these spaces. Foster's analysis of artist-run organizations and Indigenous cultural sovereignty in Toronto similarly stresses the importance of focusing on the relationships and underlying values among artists that have made collaborations possible, rather than focusing on the institution as an entity: “the organizations are a vital conduit, but are not an end in themselves.”¹⁶² The work has “been done by Indigenous artists who are working on the board or are exhibiting there,” Claus said. “So, [the centre] is open to it, but we did the work for them.”¹⁶³ Part of the initiative for daphne is to be a place where Indigenous artists are doing the work for themselves and each other, rather than the “non-recognized board work, committee work” that they all do elsewhere.¹⁶⁴ To not only have a space but to fill it up with something Indigenous.

¹⁶⁰ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 120.

¹⁶¹ Sium, Desai, and Ritskes, “Towards,” ii.

¹⁶² Foster, “Artist-Run Organizations,” 25.

¹⁶³ Claus, interview.

¹⁶⁴ Claus, interview.

This resonates with Claxton and Willard's assessment of Indigenous-led arts organizations that largely follow western traditions and organizational structures. Returning to Claxton and Willard's questions mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, they ask in full,

“Artists created the Professional Native Indian Artists Association (*sic*) and SCANA to have a voice and claim space, but are we now just fitting ourselves in between the cracks (as the cracks get wider) instead of creating our own circles? Is an Indian art gallery really just a copy of a Western-style art gallery? Is there potential for it to be something else? Should it be not exclusively Indigenous but rather guided by Indigenous principles in some way? We have been successful in intervening and claiming space inside external institutions but we have not yet truly created our own.”¹⁶⁵

According to Claxton and Willard, although Indigenous artists have long been involved in artist-run culture, even artist-run centres that are Indigenous-led continue to follow the model of settler ARCs in Canada, running in the same circles.

In 2013, Willard and Tahltan Nation artist Peter Morin took a stab at creating their own circles, rather than seeping between the cracks in existing institutions. Together, they co-founded BUSH Gallery, a shifting collective of Indigenous artists and thinkers who gather on Willard's land on Secwepemc Nation in the BC interior to make art on the land, with the land, away from the colonial art institutions of the city (fig. 9 and fig. 10). BUSH Gallery is a flexible and fluid entity that adapts its methods to the changing spaces where it takes place.¹⁶⁶ “The BUSH Manifesto,” published in a special issue of *C Magazine* that was guest edited by Willard, Morin, and BUSH Gallery in 2016, states in part:

“BUSH gallery imagines what art for ourselves — not for the institutions of galleries, museums, history or academies — looks like.
BUSH gallery wonders what art can do.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 323-324.

¹⁶⁶ Maude Johnson, “BUSH Gallery.” *Esse arts + opinions*, no. 104 (2022): 62.

¹⁶⁷ BUSH Gallery, “The BUSH Manifesto,” *C Magazine*, no. 136 (2018): 7.

Willard and Morin engage with many of the same questions that Claxton and Willard raise in “Imperfect Compliance” about the place of contemporary art on “Indian” or “reserve” lands.

BUSH Gallery is a response to the questions of “What do Indigenous artist-run centres look like on Indian land? Do they just look like artist-run centres in cities?”¹⁶⁸

The answer, in this case, is no: they do not look just like artist-run centres in cities. Or, more accurately, they do not *have to*. Willard and Morin write about their intent for BUSH Gallery to “de-centre the city as the place of contemporary art” and explore the implications of making contemporary art in rural or non-art spaces.¹⁶⁹ BUSH Gallery is a deliberate step away from the urban, colonial, institutionalized art world. There is value in stepping away from the system to create space beyond it. To remove oneself from the strictures of funding bodies, western notions of art, knowledge, ontologies, and epistemologies. This distance can birth opportunities to speak to and access different audiences, methodologies, practices, and protocols.

With that being said, there is also value in trying to find ways to work within the system, to take advantage of the resources and opportunities already there. Working within the system comes with access to funding, as well as human resources, networks, and infrastructure (equipment, partnerships, facilities, audiences, skills, and abilities). BUSH Gallery aligns with Martineau and Ritskes’ concept of fugitive indigeneity, which explores how Indigenous art can disrupt colonial systems of knowledge and power to give space for new ideas, subjectivities, and knowledges to breathe and grow. The fugitive aesthetic in Indigenous art is a reorientation away from recognition and inclusion as the model for decolonization, and instead turns towards refusal

¹⁶⁸ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 324. Peter Morin and Tania Willard ask the same questions in “Site/ation,” *C Magazine*, no. 136 (2018): 8: “What do Indigenous artist-run centres look like on Indian land? And when they do happen on reserve land, do they just feel like artist-run centres in cities?”

¹⁶⁹ Morin and Willard, “Site/ation,” 8.

and flight as a path to freedom.¹⁷⁰ BUSH Gallery enacts these modes of fugitive aesthetics as it operates “not simply *away from colonialism*, but *away from any standpoint where colonialism makes sense*.”¹⁷¹ Indigenous artist-run centres, like daphne, however, also have a role to play in creating spaces of fugitive indigeneity. Although daphne works within the artist-run centre framework, as Martineau and Ritskes write, “Indigenous art resists colonial confinement and containment; it is irrecoverable to colonial logics. Creativity flows, builds and spills over and through colonial enclosures, exceeding them.”¹⁷²

The beauty is that there is room for both, and these approaches do not exist in opposition to one another. Claxton and Willard describe the circulation of people, ideas, art, and discourses between public institutions, the academy, commercial art spaces, and artist-run centres as “reciprocal in strange and wonderful ways.”¹⁷³ We can appreciate the contributions that each of these approaches bring to the art world ecosystem as they serve different purposes. They fulfill different needs for different people in different spaces, and there is room for all of it when you operate from a mindset of abundance rather than scarcity, when you see that there is plenty to share.

Conclusion

As Indigenous artists are innovating new ways of organizing within the arts, the future looks bright. Just as artists in the 1960s and 1970s decided to start creating new systems rather than trying to fix existing ones that no longer served them, Indigenous artists continue to push institutional boundaries and innovate new ways of organizing to create new pathways in the

¹⁷⁰ Martineau and Ritskes, “Fugitive indigeneity,” iv.

¹⁷¹ Martineau and Ritskes, “Fugitive indigeneity,” iv. Emphasis in original.

¹⁷² Martineau and Ritskes, “Fugitive indigeneity,” iv.

¹⁷³ Claxton and Willard, “Imperfect Compliance,” 314.

present. Institutional changes have come as a result of decades of labour from Indigenous artists, cultural workers, and activists who worked within and outside of art institutions—funding bodies, museums and galleries, academia, and artist-run centres—to bring about structural changes that benefit Indigenous artists. The five Indigenous-led artist-run centres (out of over 100 ARCs nationwide) in operation today demonstrate that there is an opportunity for growth and increased variety of approaches to organizing. With initiatives like BUSH Gallery, Willard and Morin (and their many collaborators) flat out reject the concept of the white cube gallery, removing art from the constraints of colonial institutions and placing it back out onto the land. As their manifesto states, “BUSH gallery knows that disruption inspires growth.”¹⁷⁴ Indigenous artists and artist-run initiatives have also demonstrated their ability to navigate these systems while staying true to their core Indigenous values. For example, Ociciwan Contemporary Art Collective’s process has been driven by consultations with the local Edmonton Indigenous arts community from its very start, even when it came to finding a physical space for the centre. Initiatives like daphne and Ociciwan assert their autonomy from within, taking advantage of the benefits of the artist-run systems while resisting imposed colonial hierarchies.

daphne occupies a unique position in the arts ecosystem in Tiohtià:ke. As the first and only Indigenous artist-run centre in the city, daphne is a space for all Indigenous artists, as Skawennati describes, “to be something more than ... what’s expected at a non-Indigenous place.”¹⁷⁵ daphne holds space for Indigenous knowledges to be respected, valued, and understood. daphne further seeks to act as a bridge between Québec-based Indigenous artists and the national Indigenous arts community, which to this point have been operating in relative isolation from one another.

¹⁷⁴ BUSH Gallery, “The BUSH Manifesto,” 6.

¹⁷⁵ Skawennati, keynote.

The co-founders have big plans for daphne's future. Claus says, "there's just so much more that could wonderfully, beautifully happen. We can see this vision of what it is, but [we're] also trying to remember to not be too crazy, to keep our feet on the ground, and not burn out with what we want to do."¹⁷⁶ Now in their second year of programming, daphne will continue to build capacity in terms of staff and resources, and hope to one day have a larger physical space to accommodate community gatherings for feasts, daphne beads nights, workshops, exhibitions, and artists' studios. Skawennati is hopeful for the future of daphne: "I have a long-term vision. I think we all do. We're in this for the long haul."¹⁷⁷

Returning once more to Claxton and Willard's concern that Indigenous artists are "just fitting ourselves in between the cracks (as the cracks get wider) instead of creating our own circles,"¹⁷⁸ I argue that at daphne ruptures internal boundaries within the ARC system and overcomes colonial impositions and limitations to create space for Indigenous autonomy and self-determination. This long-term vision that Skawennati speaks of resonates with the Haudenosaunee philosophy of the Seventh Generation, a worldview that considers the impact of today's decisions seven generations into the future. Indigenous artists are using the resources and systems available to create space for themselves that not only is supportive today but grows a system of support that will continue long into the future.

¹⁷⁶ Claus, keynote.

¹⁷⁷ Skawennati, keynote.

¹⁷⁸ Claxton and Willard, "Imperfect Compliance," 323.

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Figures



Figure 1. Installation view of Teharihulen Michel Savard, *Parure - Ontatia'tahchondia'tha*, 2021, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Photo by Mike Patten, "Meet daphne," *AGO Insider*, June 30, 2021, <https://ago.ca/agoinsider/meet-daphne>.



Figure 2. Centre d'art daphne, Installation view of Kaia'tanó:ron Dumoulin Bush – *Iakoterihwatié:ni / Moulin à paroles / Chatterbox*, 2021, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Facebook, November 2, 2021. <https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=249780903845379&set=pcb.249781050512031>



Figure 3. Catherine Boivin, *Nikotwaso*, 2022, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Photo by Mike Patten, *Facebook*, August 18, 2022.
<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=403508438541176&set=pcb.403514908540529>.



Figure 4. Catherine Boivin, *Nikotwaso*, 2022, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Photo by Mike Patten, *Facebook*, August 18, 2022.
<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=403508581874495&set=pcb.403514908540529>.



Figure 5. Catherine Boivin, *Nikotwaso*, 2022, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Photo by Mike Patten, *Facebook*, August 18, 2022.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=403508918541128&set=pcb.403514908540529>



Figure 6. Installation view of Michelle Sound - *okāwīsimāk nawac kwayask itōtamwak / les tantes sont les meilleures / aunties do it better*, 2022, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. Photo by Maud Cucchi / Radio Canada, "Daphne, le tout premier centre d'artistes autogéré par des Autochtones, au Québec," *Radio Canada*, January 7, 2021. <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/espaces-autochtones/1761086/daphne-arts-visuels-autochtones-quebec-exposition>.



Figure 7. Centre d'art daphne, exterior, Montréal, QC, 2022. Photo by the author.



Figure 8. Centre d'art daphne, Artist residency for Kaiatanoron Dumoulin Bush, Centre d'art daphne, Montréal, QC. *Instagram*, October 18, 2021. <https://www.instagram.com/p/CVL6fEjITL9/>.



Figure 9. BUSH Gallery, *Indigenous Sun(s) Prints #BUSH*, 2014, dirt, rocks, garbage, land marking paint, wine, and coloured borax for bait. Photo by Tania Willard.
<https://www.taniawillard.ca/gallery/bush-gallery>.



Figure 10. BUSH Gallery, # *BUSH*, 2014, land marking spraypaint on land. Photo by Tania Willard. <https://www.taniawillard.ca/gallery/bush-gallery>.