WRAPPED IN WOOL AND COPPER: ENCOUNTERING MUSQUEAM ART AT VANCOUVER'S GRANVILLE AT 70TH DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

by

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Abstract

Musqueam artworks are not an unusual sight in Vancouver: wool weavings and carved sculptures welcome visitors to major public institutions throughout the city. The recent cəsnaʔəm: City Before the City exhibitions that opened in January 2015 drew attention to the ongoing work of Musqueam people in maintaining their territory, language, and cultural practices in the face of colonial settlement and urban expansion.

At Granville at 70th, an urban development project completed in 2014, Musqueam weavings and sculptures are set into an architectural environment that is wrapped in copper cladding, a material signified by the developers as one highly valued by Indigenous peoples. The project specifically references copper belongings in an ancient ancestor burial, from the nearby cəsnaʔəm village. However, copper is not a material considered especially valuable by Musqueam people, although it is central in ceremonial, social and political practices of some First Nations whose territories lie further north on the Pacific Coast. What then, is activated in this intersection of art, cultural practices, urban development and daily life in Vancouver?

This thesis aims to provide a critical analysis of the art installation and urban redevelopment project, where the purposefully associated ideas about materials, place and “Indianness” make instances of misrecognition visible. The concept of recognition presented in Glen Coulthard’s Red Skin, White Masks contextualizes the analysis of the complex structures of colonialism enacted in this location. Alfred Gell’s “nexus of intentionalities,” is set into dialogue with Coulthard to address how the social agency indexed by the copper and the Musqueam artworks are subject to misrecognition. Informed through these aforementioned ideas, a reading that risks a renewal of the hierarchization of Coast Salish art within the historic construct of Northwest Coast Native art is presented, simultaneous to one that risks the hegemonization of Indigeneity through “Indianness.” However, through the words of the Musqueam artists, the
agency of the artworks is legible as “everyday decolonization,” within a nexus that affirms the Musqueam people’s presence and continuity. This thesis will address how and by whom and through what means the project’s envisioned “sense of place” is informed and constructed.
Lay Summary

Frequently considered a luxury building material, the use of copper cladding at the Granville at 70th development project was, in this case, linked by the project’s developers to the ancient past, specifically an ancestral burial from the nearby čəsnaʔəm village site in the Marpole neighbourhood of Vancouver. Although this was a respectful gesture, upon deeper examination it appears problematic: copper is not a material of high value to the Musqueam people. This thesis aims to provide a critical and art historical analysis of this art installation. It brings the history of Northwest Coast Native art, the history of colonization, and the history of the Musqueam peoples together to understand what the artworks and the copper are doing as social agents at this site. Most importantly, this study addresses how and by whom these social agents are activated, and what that might mean for the potential of “everyday decolonization” in Vancouver.
Preface

As I sit at my desk writing, I hear the sounds of the city float in my window: vehicle engines and radios, construction sounds, airplane traffic, voices of pedestrians, drumming and singing. I am in Vancouver, a city built on the unceded territory of Coast Salish peoples who have inhabited this land since time immemorial.¹ I live across the street from the Native Education College where the drumming originates, a regular activity for this place.² Unlike the concrete condos that surround it, the College is modelled on a longhouse; it includes a great room, a fire pit, a beamed roof, and a carved pole on the exterior east face.³ The space is open and welcoming to the public including me, a settler-colonial descendant. Many people gather there to learn.

In writing this thesis, I aim to produce work that questions and troubles the urban space I inhabit, shared by virtue of colonial imposition. This work fits Elaine Scarry’s definition - a mixture of pain and imagination that is sometimes balanced and more often not.⁴ It is hard work because I recognize the “forms of structured dispossession” imposed by the legacy of colonization, and I am confounded by the illusion of a Canada without colonialism that still lives and breathes in the imaginary of the nation.⁵

³ Musqueam, A Living Culture, 23.
But the College is not my focus: it is a development project across the city in the Marpole neighbourhood, where a combination of public art by exclusively Musqueam artists and purposefully signified copper cladding make visual a misrecognition through the conflation of ideas about materials, place and “Indianness.” Understanding how this conflation occurs at this place and what might be learned from it is the purpose of this thesis.

The context of the site is crucial to understanding what the artworks do, and what they represent. Within the confines of this thesis, the richness of this site’s context will be outlined, and several lines of inquiry will be followed, assessed, and threaded together to ensure that a critical analysis of the site as an art installation is made possible. This requires the employment of several theoretical lenses, engaged dialogically to reveal limitations and strengths.

The Granville Project is a physically bounded space of a city block, but conceptually, historically and in its “intentionality”, it is expansive and forms a network of possibilities for a broad exploration. Within the limits of a graduate thesis, this inquiry will hold itself within the areas of art history, anthropology, and Indigenous studies. Many footnotes have been employed to attend to threads that cannot be adequately addressed in this instance of writing.

My research plan was to include expert interviews with the six Musqueam artists represented at this site, as well as with members of the development team (Westbank Corporation and Henriquez Partners Architects), and the art consultancy (Emily Goes Commercial Art Consultants Inc.). Ethics approval was obtained from the University of British Columbia (UBC) Behavioural Research Ethics Board, under Certificate Number H16-01258. A Research Permit was also obtained from the Musqueam First Nation Band (Musqueam), under Permit Number MIB-17-106-MB-Research. The artists, the developer, the architect and the art consultant were

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contacted several times between September 2016 and May 2017 to request interviews and provide more information about the project. Two of the six Musqueam artists agreed to interviews, which were conducted in April and June 2017. These two artists have also reviewed pertinent text of the thesis, where they have been quoted or referenced from the interviews. Ian Gillespie at Westbank Corporation (Westbank) was not available for an interview, nor was Gregory Henriquez at Henriquez Partners Architects. Rita Beiks at Emily Goes Commercial Art Consultants was also not able to participate, but earlier communication regarding the art installation in April 2016 is referenced. Where available, additional resources including websites, blog posts, exhibition catalogs, newspaper articles and scholarly essays and text about the artists and their works have been consulted. Similar resources have been accessed for the development company and the architectural firm.

This thesis is original research conducted by Alison Ariss.

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I am also grateful to the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for the Canada Graduate Scholarship (Masters Program) that I was awarded in 2015, and to the University of British Columbia, Faculty of Arts Graduate Award for funding support in 2016.

An finally, I owe particular thanks to my family: specifically to my sister Dr. Rachel Ariss for her knowledge, experience and listening ear, my parents Paul and Annie, for their encouragement, and my partner Douglas Henault for his continual enthusiasm and support.
Dedication

To all the mentors who have provided me with sound guidance: Your words stay with me.
Chapter 1: Introduction

I’m not going to stop weaving until I’ve wrapped the city of Vancouver in our work... because when you arrive here and come into the city you should know that it is Salish territory and Musqueam.

-Debra Sparrow, 2017

My first encounter with the five Musqueam wool weavings installed at the Granville at 70th Project was awkward: the unremarkable, eye-level, rectangular glass vitrines on the new development’s Granville Street frontage are an unusual installation site for textiles sensitive to sunlight, exhaust particulate, and daily temperature and humidity fluctuations. Pedestrians like myself, in passing the Granville Street frontage, encounter the commissioned weavings as we would goods in other nearby shop windows (Figure 1).

Westbank Corporation and Henriquez Partners Architects proposed the Granville at 70th Project (Granville Project) in November 2010 for the redevelopment of the site of a mid-century modern Safeway supermarket building at 8495 Granville Street, in what is called the Marpole neighbourhood of Vancouver. The “Call to Musqueam Artists” was presented in the summer of 2012, and by April 2014 the Heritage-designated 1960s supermarket location had been transformed into a large-scale commercial and residential complex. Westbank states that “including First Nations artists of this region is not only respectful, it is the foundation for providing a sense of place.”

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8 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
11 Emily Goes Commercial, “Detailed Plan,” 15; and Emily Goes Commercial “Call to Artists,” 2.
Robyn Sparrow, Krista Point, and Debra Sparrow, all of whom participated in the revival of Salish weaving at Musqueam in the 1980s, created the weavings on display. Each weaving contains abstract designs of dyed weft threads against a ground of undyed warp threads. Robyn Sparrow’s artist statement advises the viewer that “the hands of their ancestors” provide guidance as they weave (Appendix A, Text 7).

A second artwork is equally accessible to the passerby: Susan Point’s sculpture *Fusion: Connecting History and Community*, stands in the median of the intersection at 70th Avenue and Cornish Street on the opposite side of the complex, mediating between pre-existing homes, the new townhomes, and the retail shops (Figure 2). The sculpture’s flowing motifs of salmon and humans are formed within rising blades of river grass and reeds that echo the four directions of the intersection. The sculpture represents relationships between humans and nonhumans, and the artist’s statement underscores that it “reflects not only the history of the area, but also the present: the rapidly growing, ever changing community that is Marpole” (Appendix A, Text 1).

A third artwork is visible upon entering the apex of the complex’s parkade (Figure 3). Two semi-circular light boxes created by Thomas Cannell and Kelly Cannell mirror each other on the facing sides of two residential towers (Figures 4 and 5). Their designs are abstract depictions of the sea, the land and its creatures. The quarter-moon inspired forms stand out from the towers when night falls, and playful texts accompanying the light boxes encourage each viewer, “to look closely” (Appendix A, Texts 2 and 3). Each artist statement onsite refers to Musqueam in some way, but without declaring the unceded status of the territory.

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12 Elizabeth Johnson and Kathryn Bernick, *Hands of our Ancestors: The Revival of Salish Weaving at Musqueam* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986); and Musqueam Indian Band, “Musqueam: A Living Culture,” accessed July 30, 2017, [http://www.musqueam.bc.ca](http://www.musqueam.bc.ca). Musqueam is the Indigenous community of the “Musqueam Indian Reserve, located south of Marine Drive near the mouth of the Fraser River.” This location represents a small portion of Musqueam’s territory, within which the City of Vancouver was established.
Lastly, the use of red copper cladding on many of the building surfaces wraps together the art installation and the complex, creating the appearance of a formally and thematically unified space (Figure 6). The development project’s “Call to Musqueam Artists” and “Detailed Public Art Plan” share a statement of the reason for this material choice.

Copper was highly prized among many different Indigenous groups, including those in British Columbia, and its possession was associated with high status. Although it is not native to this area, nuggets of copper native to BC, either raw or fashioned into artifacts, circulated through a trade network distributing prestige goods throughout the Pacific Northwest region. The inclusion of copper in the building design, and as an art opportunity, makes reference to the copper crown and encasing found on the skeleton in the Marpole Midden.13

At least two things may be noted about the “Call to Artists,” and the “Detailed Plan”: first, they cite the excavation of an ancestor burial disinterred from the cəsnaʔəm village (historically referred to as the Marpole Midden) by Mr. Herman Leisk in 193014; second, in doing so, they mark the site with a vague idea of “Indianness.”15 The call for work references the land and its archaeological history – a narrative that at once concedes the ancient presence of Indigenous inhabitants and allows for the connotation of a particular “sense of place.”16 Focusing on the marking of this site with “Indianness,” the thesis will examine how this quality emerges in the development project and what is at stake in this procedure.

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16 Emily Goes Commercial, “Detailed Plan,” 15; and Emily Goes Commercial “Call to Artists,” 2.
The Musqueam First Nation Band’s 2007 publication *Musqueam: A Living Culture*, does not discuss copper as a material of importance in contemporary Musqueam visual culture or identity. In the three cəsnaʔəm: City before the City exhibitions hosted at the Musqueam Cultural Centre (2015 and ongoing), the Museum of Vancouver (2015 and ongoing), and the Museum of Anthropology (January 2015 - January 2016), copper did not play a thematic role; it was neither used in the exhibition narratives, nor in the displays of belongings.\(^\text{17}\) Exhibitions of contemporary Coast Salish art in the region over the past few decades have shown little use of copper.\(^\text{18}\) Furthermore, neither Debra Sparrow nor Robyn Sparrow recalls seeing its use in much Coast Salish artwork.\(^\text{19}\)

Indeed, the Project’s focus on copper cladding begs the following questions: If it is not a material of central importance to Musqueam identity, why did the Granville Project select copper as representative of the values associated with the place that Musqueam peoples have inhabited for millennia? And what value is the copper understood to represent?

Westbank Corporation (Westbank), Henriquez Architects (the architects) ostensibly reached into the ancient past to link an ancestral burial to a contemporary development project in order to

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\(^{19}\) Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017. And Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
lend meaning to the site.\textsuperscript{20} The choice is one of many options: as a LEED certified building material, copper could have linked the site to the concept of environmentally friendly living. Further, British Columbia’s resource-based economy has long included copper mining, and could have linked to a history of colonial resource extraction.\textsuperscript{21} Alternatively, the aesthetic qualities and values attributed to copper in its application to sites of civic and governmental power, such as the Canadian Parliament buildings in Ottawa, would have brought a sense of authority to the site.\textsuperscript{22} But if copper is not of importance to Musqueam, from whom do the values it is said to represent originate?

This public art project is considered a respectful gesture to Musqueam, and Ian Gillespie has received praise for his inclusiveness.\textsuperscript{23} But copper and specific belongings made from sheets of copper are of particular social, political, legal and ceremonial value only for some groups on the Northwest Coast.\textsuperscript{24} Based on the rationale provided and its co-location with Musqueam artworks, the use of copper cladding risks forming a collision more than a sense of enmeshment.

This thesis will argue that a broad, popular concept of Northwest Coast Native “art” has been wrapped over Musqueam identity and history.\textsuperscript{25} The passerby has unfettered access to view the weavings, but wrapped in copper, their agency risks being obscured, to create what Joan Saab calls

\textsuperscript{20} Rita Beiks (art consultant), in discussion with the author, April 2016. Rita advised that Musqueam was not involved in the building design, and that the copper cladding was part of the design prior to her involvement in the project. Independent Musqueam cultural advisor Johnna Sparrow was consulted during the development of the “Call to Artists” document and process.


\textsuperscript{22} And, Kate Damon, “Copper Ontology: Being, Beings, and Belongings,” Art History, Visual Art and Theory Roundtable Presentation, University of British Columbia, March 3, 2017. Kate presented an image of the Ottawa parliament building’s copper roof, behind an upheld Copper.

\textsuperscript{23} Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.


an “historical amnesia.” Are the Musqueam artworks still able to mark Musqueam history and territory in a way that allows for the fullness of that history to be on display?

Attempting to create a shared understanding and identity through an assumed homogenous valuation of the material qualities of copper may have unintended consequences. What “sense of place” do the copper, the Musqueam art, the glue-laminate beams, the commercial shops and the residential units produce? How these components interact is a vexing part of the conflation of a burial with a material that represents value and enmeshes “Indianness” with Musqueam art, on unceded territory, in an urban redevelopment complex. In light of the value attached to the copper cladding, and the consideration of who directs its use and procurement in this instance, how does this play into whose status its use reflects? Does this association render the building readable as an “instance of material activity in the play of Native/non-Native relations in western Canada today”?

The rationale provided for the use of copper cladding is framed by a particular narrative of Canadian history, and specifically West Coast history, which belies the complex history of this site, the region, and the particular experiences of the Musqueam people within a settler-colonial state. It is the conflation of artworks, building materials and values in the art installation that produces what could be called a visible “misrecognition.” Generalizing the value of copper, I will argue, risks homogenizing a vast range of Indigenous peoples’ cultural values into a one-dimensional perception of Indigenous values, and negates the efforts of Musqueam and Coast Salish artists to represent

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themselves on their own terms. Positioning this generalization as a misrecognition of difference among First Nations peoples on the Northwest Coast, I will show how this action has the potential to deny the affective potential of the artworks. The thesis considers the misrecognition of social relations between First Nations, something less commonly considered in the often polarized and binary simplification of colonialism. It is the singular connection of the idea of Indigenous values with copper at the Granville Project that risks disrupting the work of Musqueam to differentiate themselves from their northern neighbours, and to make their mark distinctive within their own territory, a space that has become home to local and global populations of Indigenous peoples who bring their own cultural practices, social and political relations, and diverse forms of representation to this place.

Wrapped in copper, the development can be seen as a visual and conceptual reduction of one component of the site – its ancient past – which risks erasure of other historic and contemporary conflicts. Colonial settlement practices, such as the pre-emption of land from Musqueam, and the repeated destruction of the csanə?əm village and burials by collectors, archaeological investigations and other moments of urban development are invisible. Paradoxically, the brief reference to a notion of a “sense of place” risks ignoring the embodied experience of this particular site by

31 Westbank Corporation’s Granville at 70th webpages do not mention the complex relationships between Musqueam and settlers, museum collectors, or urban developers. See also Emily Goes Commercial, “Detailed Plan,” 6. This plan, developed with Musqueam, does refer to the “devastating impact” of colonization. See also, Susan Roy These Mysterious People, 114-15. Roy addresses a long-standing dispute in this book.
33 Jessiman, “Challenges,” 80-83; and Keith Carlson, The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 170-71.
Musqueam and other Coast Salish peoples. Further, it risks delegitimizing Indigenous ways of understanding history, material culture, and social agency.

This thesis will therefore explore how and by whom copper is being used as a material that connotes “Indianness,” and what “sense of place” it provides to the shared urban space of Vancouver. This thesis develops a critique specific to this site - one that positions Musqueam and Indigenous art as “public art” within a privately owned commercial and residential space. It will also aim to examine the persistent structures of colonialism that haunt this site.

I will consider how the construct of “Northwest Coast Native Art” and the idea of Vancouver intersect. The history of colonial intrusions into Salish territories will contextualize the analysis of the Musqueam artworks and the value assigned to copper in the Granville Project. These contexts have shaped the circuit of meaning making in which the developer, the architect, the art consultant, the Musqueam artists, and the passersby engage. The concept of recognition defined by Glen Coulthard is critical for the analysis of the art installation in the context of colonialism. Discussing this within the politics of recognition, he examines how “recognition-based models of liberal pluralism that seek to “reconcile” Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty

37 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 2-4; and Francis, “Playing Indian,” 127.
via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state.”  

39 But as Coulthard points out, the same systems that require recognition also produce the ground for misrecognition by the state and hegemonic cultures. Woven together with an anthropological theory of art, it is possible to see how misrecognition occurs in the Granville Project when it is considered through what Alfred Gell would call a “nexus of intentionalities” – one in which identities, territories and histories collide.  

40 1.1 Approach  

Like the Granville project site and its history, this thesis forms a nexus. By integrating and counter-posing different disciplinary approaches to Indigenous cultural productions, public art, and social relations, I will attempt to understand the complexities negotiated in the art installation. The fields of art history, anthropology, history, archaeology, urban development and architecture are drawn upon, as are Indigenous studies, political science and critical theory.  

Framed by the writing of Indigenous scholars Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck and Angie Morrill, the terms of my engagement in this project attend to my own position as settler, within “the persistent social and political formation” of colonialism.  

41 Further, I follow their citation of Patrick Wolfe, who in 1999, defined settler colonialism as “a structure not an event.”  

42 Glen Coulthard described this structure in the Canadian context as,  

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A particular form of domination; that is, it is a relationship where power – in this case, interrelated discursive and nondiscursive facets of economic, gendered, racial, and state power – has been structured into a relatively secure or sedimented set of hierarchical social relations that continue to facilitate the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands and self-determining authority.  

My engagement as an ally is also critical: adopting Andrea Fraser’s 2005 re-examination of institutional critique as an approach to this site, my research is mindful of what informs my life experience as well as the shortcomings of the disciplines of art history and anthropology in addressing the production of Native “art.” In taking up this topic, I want to share a critical reflection on this particular use of public art. My task is to articulate the complex interanimations at the Granville Project, and to document a space in which the negotiations of the Musqueam artists are made visible. Artist interviews, the artist statements that accompanied the artworks, and the development process and marketing documents all provide context for the site, as does the formal analysis of the art installation. Where interviews were not possible, other sources that allow for inclusion of the project participants words have been included. Perhaps the thesis will act as a form of critical witnessing for a project that is vulnerable to misinterpretations, including any of my own.

1.2 The Art Installation

Opening in Spring 2014, the Granville Project complex boasted three distinct artworks created by six established and emerging Musqueam artists. Westbank publicly stated they had “created a very substantial public art program with the Musqueam Nation for this project, which

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43 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 6-7.
44 Andrea Fraser, “From the critique of institutions to an institution of critique. (institutional critique as artistic phenomena),” Artforum International 44, no. 1 (2005): 1-6.
once again involves the concept of enmeshing the art into the architecture.”

The phrase “once again” pointed to Westbank’s frequent inclusion of public art in their development projects, such as the massive light box *Abbott & Cordova, 7 August 1971*, created by artist Stan Douglas for the controversial Woodward’s building redevelopment in Vancouver’s downtown eastside.

More significantly if less obvious, was the inclusion of copper cladding in the design of the Granville Project’s building exteriors. The “Detailed Public Art Plan” and the “Call to Musqueam Artists” presented copper as a material selected by the developer for its durability, quality, and its symbolic representation of Indigeneity and ancient history. The “Call to Musqueam Artists” also presented copper as a material to be used as an art opportunity for the site.

### 1.2.1 Musqueam Artworks

Susan Point’s sculptural installation *Fusion: Connecting History and Community* is situated in the median of the northern arm of the intersection of Cornish Street and West 70th Avenue (Figure 2). The freestanding sculpture marks the transition from the existing single-family dwellings to the new mixed-use development, and echoes the intersection’s orientation. Made of cast aluminum, the sculpture is powder coated with a reddish-brown paint reminiscent of ochre at its base and center, transitioning to silver-grey paint at its margins. It fuses the idea of the river, the plants and the animal/human into one entity, and as interdependent. The upright blades of river grass and reeds

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48 Westbank, “Stan Douglas: Abbott & Cordova,” accessed June 2017, [http://westbankcorp.com/stan-douglas](http://westbankcorp.com/stan-douglas). Completed in 2010, the artwork depicts the Gastown Riots, where protest over neighbourhood real estate development became violent. Rita Beiks (art consultant), in discussion with the author, April 2016. The light box format at Woodwards inspired Ian Gillespie’s transformation of Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell’s designs into the *Land & Sea* light boxes, which had originally been proposed for a different art opportunity at the Granville Project.


50 Emily Goes Commercial, “Call to Artists,” 8.

51 Emily Goes Commercial, “Detailed Plan,” 19; and Emily Goes Commercial, “Call to Artists,” 5-6. *Fusion* is the most “stable” artwork, as the sculptural format and location planned by the architect and developer was the only one that did not change from proposal to completion.
contain designs of salmon, within whose bodies are represented the faces of their human counterparts, co-habitants of the Fraser River (Figure 7). The brown eyes of the salmon figures contrast with the turquoise green eyes of the human figures, a turquoise similar to that deployed in the Musqueam First Nation Band’s logo, described as mixture of oxidized copper and oil.52

Susan Point is a well-established Coast Salish contemporary artist, and has produced innovative Salish designs and representations in her artworks since the 1980s. Her sculptures, public art commissions, and infrastructure surface designs are located at multiple sites in the Pacific Northwest.53 Point’s artist statement is stamped into a polished and clear-coated copper panel on a nearby pedestal, containing her credentials as a contemporary artist, as well as her lineage as a Musqueam woman. Point writes that Fusion “reflects not only the history of the area, but also the present: the rapidly growing, ever changing community that is Marpole” (Appendix A, Text 1).

Thomas Cannell and Kelly Cannell are two emerging Musqueam artists, siblings who collaborated to create Land and Sea. The two vertical, crescent shaped light boxes mirror one another across the interior of two towers in this complex (Figures 4 and 5). Thomas and Kelly each have their own separate online presence and art practices, and have collaborated with their mother, Susan Point, to produce other public art commissions in and around Vancouver.54 The roughly four story tall light boxes are set into the copper cladding on the vertical face of two towers. The polished copper panels situated at the base of each tower are accessible by pedestrians on foot, and each one speaks to the continued connections of Musqueam peoples to the land and the sea (Appendix A, 52 Musqueam, A Living Culture, 37.


Texts 2 and 3).\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Land & Sea} is not readily visible from outside of the complex. When lit up at night, only some residents will see the light box opposite their windows, or from the rooftop areas.

The \textit{Land} light box faces north, and presents an abstract design in green, black and white depicting small creatures hidden within dense foliage. These creatures could be forest or shoreline dwellers, and the design follows an upward flow in the branches and leaves it represents. Trigons and U-shaped forms indicate its Coast Salish design. The artist texts speak of the design’s inspiration from the moon and the spindle whorl, providing a sentence about the whorl and its value in Musqueam culture (Appendix A, Texts 2 and 3).

The \textit{Sea} light box is also an abstract form and its blue, black and white design takes slightly wider curves in its form to represent sea creatures and water. Facing south or toward the river, the orientation of the ‘flow’ in this design is downward, moving opposite to the skyward direction of the flow in \textit{Land} (Figure 8). Both artworks overlook the children’s play area in the opening between the southern and northern buildings on the east side of the development, and can be seen by pedestrians and drivers who enter the complex to use the parking or delivery areas. Yet both require looking carefully to discern the discrete elements within the design.

The third installation of artworks is on Granville Street, where five Coast Salish wool weavings are hung in a horizontal and rectangular glass vitrine at street level on the building’s façade (Figure 1). The copper cladding on the building’s sidewalk level façade surrounds the vitrine holding the weavings and unifies the street front parkade, supermarket and retail shop entrances. The sweeping gullwing curve of the repurposed glue-laminate beams create an overhang to the sidewalk and Starbucks patio, strangely echoing the Coast Salish wave forms in the weavings. Each weaving is of a different design, colour palette, shape and size.

\textsuperscript{55} Jason Woolman (Musqueam archivist), in discussion with the author, April 2016. The light boxes face landward and seaward, echoing the “hən’q̓əmin̓əm̓” language for orientation.
The weavers included here are the widely respected practitioners Robyn Sparrow, Krista Point, and Debra Sparrow (from south to north in the vitrine). Unlike the other art works on site, the weavings are numerically titled, and are not part of the permanent structure of the building. The artists included a statement to accompany their weavings. Printed in black font on clear Plexiglas panels, these texts contain dedications and aspirations for what the weaving brings to this location (Appendix A, Texts 5 to 7). They detail the meanings that each work carries for the artist.

The first panel of text in the left hand corner of the vitrine quotes Wendy Grant John, a former chief of the Musqueam First Nation and a founder of the Musqueam weaving revival in the 1980s. Wendy’s words succinctly contextualize the artworks; chronicle weaving’s ancient origins, its disruption in the early 20th century, and its revival (Appendix A, Text 4).

Robyn Sparrow’s Weavings #1 and #2, hang in the southern end of the vitrine, and are woven in wool using natural dyes that were requested of them in the commission (Figures 9 and 10). Her work here is done primarily with twine type stitches, a form of weaving described by Paula Gustafson as the one most able to “accommodate an infinite number of pattern variations.” Robyn included patterns indicative of mountains and rivers in both pieces, as they are the geographical formations that visually designate the spaces and places of Musqueam territory. Her dedication is “to honour our ancestors and show respect to the ‘Marpole Midden,’ or in our language ‘cəsnaʔəm’” (Appendix A, Text 5).

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57 The vitrines were empty on April 10, 2016. Rita Beiks advised they had been removed for cleaning. Rita Beiks (art consultant) in discussion with the author, April 2016. The weavings had been re-installed by September 2016.
58 Baird and Johnson, Source Book, 3-4.
59 Paula Gustafson, Salish Weaving (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1980), 102. See also Johnson and Bernick, Hands of Our Ancestors, 14.
60 Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017.
Robyn describes her weavings as important and fluid connectors, both metaphorically and in daily life. She feels a sense of being grounded through weaving, and honours the ability of weaving to “interweave and create threads of connection across communities.”\(^{61}\) She finds her weaving practice something that centers her and gives her a sense of tranquility. In her creative process, she is open to being guided by her ancestors, and not pre-determining what patterns she will incorporate before she begins. Emphasizing the sense of connection that she encounters through weaving, she speaks of the knowledge shared by her ancestors when she weaves, as a gift. She also feels that this gift of weaving is a means of strengthening a sense of connection for her family and for her community. Sharing her gift with her granddaughters is very important to her, and she ensures they learn by taking part in the weaving, spinning and dyeing processes as their interest develops. Robyn is quietly passionate about her talent, and takes pride in having taught weaving in the community. For her, there is a strong connection between weaving and her identification as Musqueam.\(^{62}\)

In the middle section of the glass vitrine, Krista Point’s *Weavings #3* and *#4* are also in natural dyes, a slightly different palette from Robyn, and an indication of the labour intensive processes of weaving that the artists practice, including the dyeing and spinning of their materials (Figures 11 and 12). What is noticeable beyond the patterning choices is the different stitch size and orientation in Krista’s work compared to that of Robyn, as well as the uncut fringe edges. This difference is indicative of each woman’s own distinct and expert practice, as well as her teaching, her learning and her choices for each project. Krista’s two works also present a mirroring of sorts. She has incorporated the “flying goose” pattern - an image made emblematic by Mary Peters in the 1960s weaving revival at Sardis, BC - at the top of one and the bottom of the other, and triangular

\(^{61}\) Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017.

\(^{62}\) Ibid.
geometric patterns centered in one. Krista and Robyn have also, each in one piece of weaving, included adaptations of the zigzag pattern, choices that links and individualize their works.

Krista’s text speaks of the influences of tradition in her work, the transformations she enacts to make each work her own, and her deeply felt connection to her community. Her artist statement effectively encapsulates a tumultuous history of attempts at assimilation. “Our culture was all but taken from us a long time ago. This is part of our culture being revived and introduced to people in different cultures and communities” (Appendix A, Text 6).

Debra Sparrow’s Weavings #5 is hung in a horizontal orientation within the vitrine. Her two woven blankets are connected through a band of off-white wool fabric appliquééd with an abstract salmon design, and each end is bordered with a similar panel, appliquééd with Salish trigon and crescent forms (Figures 13 and 14). Debra’s palette is slightly more variegated than that of Krista or Robyn, incorporating a darker red and a brighter blue along with shades of green, burnt orange to golden brown tones, with the shared use of black and undyed wool. She uses a range of stitch types and patterns in sections of the weaving, and writes that this weaving “represents the people: the complex intricate beauty of the Musqueam” (Appendix A, Text 7).

A prolific and talented weaver, graphic artist and designer, Debra wants to raise awareness of Musqueam’s deep history in the territory on which Vancouver has been built. Debra is confident in her knowledge of Salish weaving and Coast Salish graphic designs, which enables her to integrate new techniques. Sparrow is cognizant that representing Musqueam people is not easy, and that “our lives can be sometimes very contradictory.” She speaks of her community living on the river but not having access to fish, and the difficult process of integrating Musqueam cultural

63 Gustafson, Salish Weaving, 113.
practices with daily life in Vancouver. In this way, her weaving at the Granville Project mirrors her understanding of the paradoxical nature of life at the Musqueam reserve, a place still outside of the consciousness of many people in Vancouver.

The Musqueam woven blankets at the Granville Project are presented as contemporary art in a ‘public art’ setting. Their presence is symbolic of Musqueam and Coast Salish continuity and “survivance.” Musqueam weavings are concurrently symbols of wealth, esteemed women’s work, active in ceremony, a source of pride, knowledge and history. These blankets enact the social agency of the makers. Just as their historic counterparts had done, Debra, Robyn and Krista weave blankets for family and friends to mark life transformations such as university and high school graduations, taking on leadership roles in the community, and as gifts to honour witnesses at important events within Musqueam territory.

All of the artworks in the installation at the Granville Project are visually and materially different: each is unique and can be assessed as the work of an individual, and reflect a moment in each artist’s oeuvre. They variously employ recognizably Coast Salish trigons (wedges) and crescents, weaving patterns and references to spindle whorls. While Debra states, “our work flows, it isn’t rigid,” she is confident this principle allows for innovation. All six of the Musqueam artists

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65 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
66 Emily Goes Commercial, “Call to Artists,” 1; and Musqueam, A Living Culture, 4.
69 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017; and Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017. Debra and Robyn each spoke about weaving regalia for their brother, Chief Wayne Sparrow. Robyn shared images of a family member wearing a blanket woven to celebrate her university graduation. See also Bierwert, “Weaving in Beauty,” 226, 230, 241.
70 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
innovate while respecting a Coast Salish sensibility in their designs. In that way they are true to
daily life: though the Musqueam people are a strong community, they are not a homogenous one.\(^\text{71}\)

Each artwork at the Granville Project contains designs and representations of the land, sea, and creatures that inhabit the river delta environment. The river and mountain forms in the
weavings, the flow of plants and animals, sea creatures and riverine environments represented in the
light boxes and the sculpture are indicative of a continuous connection to territory containing all of
those elements. But these statements are not readily legible to all viewers, and many passersby will
have little or no knowledge of Musqueam peoples or their cultural practices and art forms. From a
distance the artworks appear as abstract designs, less readily discernable than the nationally known
Safeway brand and logo that emblazon the building (Figure 15).

However, with more knowledge of the designs and their significance, the artists and their
practices, a general sense of the work may be gleaned. The encounter with this installation becomes
richer when the viewer takes the initiative to “look closely” (Appendix A, Texts 2 and 3). Indeed,
Robyn Sparrow’s words with *Weavings #1 and #2* open a window onto local history, and make a
heartfelt reclamation of the cəsna?əm village as a community of ancestors, rather than as an isolated
burial site (Appendix A, Text 5).\(^\text{72}\)

Even in “looking closely,” there are still omissions and elisions. Each text mentions territory,
but none call it “unceded.” Only an indirect mention of the history of colonial encounters is made in
Krista Point’s statement of what “was all but taken from us” with *Weavings #3 and #4* (Appendix A,
Text 6). This may be an instance of what Crisca Bierwert called “crypticism,” a respectful

\(^{71}\) Ibid. And Musqueam, “Musqueam 101,” accessed July 29, 2017,
\(^{72}\) Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017.
discretion. The scale of the “cultural genocide” wrought through the residential school system, and
publicly witnessed in The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s Final Report, could not be
reasonably stated in such a brief text. Nor could it describe the extent of ongoing struggles against
territorial dispossession, the loss of hereditary access for procurement of resources, and
assimilationist policies that criminalized Indigenous ceremonial practices, and obstructed
Indigenous language and knowledge transmission. Some passersby may only guess at Krista’s
meanings, if they are not aware of these historical realities.

Nevertheless, Debra Sparrow’s artist statement contains the beginnings of a legible crack in
the façade of harmonious co-existence and urban renewal at this site. Debra writes,

I am honoured to exhibit my weavings in this space; a space where my ancestors, the
Musqueam of the Coast Salish, have lived since the beginning of time. Not far from here,
along the Fraser River, we gathered our supply of salmon; today we gather here to buy it.
(Appendix A, Text 7).

Sparrow’s statement speaks to modern reliance upon commercial supermarkets for daily sustenance,
a relatively common urban experience. Her weaving includes reference to salmon as does her text,
and brings together questions of resource access that have been so important for Musqueam peoples
for millennia. But Roy writes about a case in October 2004 involving the Musqueam First Nation

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73 Crisca Bierwert, Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River: Coast Salish Figures of Power (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 163.
75 Douglas White, “‘Where Mere Words Failed’: Northwest Coast Art and Law,” in Townsend-Gault, Kramer, Ki-Ke-In, Native Art, 647-9; and Harris, Making Native Space, xxi, 14, 205-6.
that appealed the provincial government’s sale of the University Golf Course land, in October 2004.\textsuperscript{77} Roy’s summary shines a light on the history being referenced by Sparrow.

During the case Madam Justice Southin, increasingly frustrated by the Crown’s insistence that archaeological evidence could not reveal ethnic identity and its emphasizing that the golf course lands themselves contained no evidence of villages or site-specific resource use, proclaimed: “There seems to be little doubt…that the Musqueam had village sites all over this place… There is plenty of evidence on the ground. After all, they weren’t going to the Safeway to get their groceries.”\textsuperscript{78}

A subtle commentary exists in Debra Sparrow’s inversion of Madam Justice Southin’s statement, one regarding Musqueam’s experience with settler colonialism and urban development that is not made visible in this art installation. Her words leave open a space in the copper cladding for the complexity of history to surface, and disrupt what Coll Thrush describes as “…a larger binary that estranges Indigeneity from modernity…”\textsuperscript{79}

1.2.2 Copper

Copper is not equally representative of all Indigenous people’s material practices and forms of representation.\textsuperscript{80} Archaeological and anthropological texts refer to the long-term presence of copper in the region as a trade good, but in context, it is one of many traded materials and

\textsuperscript{77} Roy, \textit{These Mysterious People}, 146.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid. (Emphasis added)
\textsuperscript{79} Thrush, “How Many Worlds,” 299.
belongings. Additionally, of the thousands of recorded ancestor burials excavated across British Columbia, only a small number actually contained copper belongings.

There are some nations along the northern Northwest Pacific Coast for whom copper enacts a powerful social agency, one revitalized in recent artistic practices. Specific to more northern nations such as the Haida, Tlingit and Kwakwaka’wakw, objects made of thin sheets of painted copper in the shape of a shield, and referred to as “Coppers” are “symbols of wealth” used in displays of power, status and rank within and between Indigenous families and nations. Coppers are named social agents, and index complex, fluid and hierarchical social relations.

In 2007, Michael Nicol Yahgulanaas used the status that copper represents for Haida peoples in the institutional space of the Museum of Anthropology (MOA), to enact social relationships

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81 Kory Cooper, “The life (lives) and times of native copper in Northwest North America,” World Archaeology 43, no. 2 (2011): 259-263; Garrett Hunt, “Marpole Metal: Contextualizing the Evidence of Pre-Contact Copper Technology in the Salish Sea Basin,” MSc. Thesis, Purdue University, 2015, 40; Roy, These Mysterious People, 102-06,128-29; and Susan Roy, “Who Were These Mysterious People? cənsəm, the Marpole Midden, and the Dispossession of Aboriginal Lands in British Columbia,” BC Studies 152 (Winter 2006/07): 68-71; and Jessiman, “Challenges,” 81. There is no clear record of how many ancestor burials have been taken from cənsəm by archaeologists, collectors, tourists and local residents.

82 Hunt, “Marpole Metal,” 34-38, and 97.


84 Levell, “Coppers,” 113; Townsend-Gault, “Circulating Aboriginality,” 184; Beau Dick, “The Coppers,” In Lalakenis / All Directions: A Journey of Truth and Unity, ed. Scott Watson and Lorna Brown (Morris and Helen Belkin Gallery, University of British Columbia, 2016), 19-20. See also Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, trans. Ian Cunnison (New York: Norton, 1967), 33-34. Excerpted in Townsend-Gault, Kramer and Ki-Ke-In, Native Art, 229-230. Mauss describes Coppers as “living beings” that are “identified with salmon,” but not how this identification is made. However, this supports the argument for such cultural products as indexes of social agency. Salmon is referenced in Susan Point’s sculpture and in Debra Sparrow’s weaving, indicating importance to Musqueam people. Although a shared resource, generalizing the value of salmon to all Indigenous peoples on the Northwest Coast, or attending to the relationship between copper and salmon only visually, repeats the misrecognition occurring in the Granville Project. This question requires an in-depth inquiry not feasible within this thesis.
during the *Copper from the Hood* exhibition. Nicola Levell writes of Yahgulanaas’ creation of large scale painted “Coppers” from the hoods of automobiles, and the social agency enacted through their exhibition in the entryway of MOA. In what Levell describes as perhaps the most significant activity of the exhibition, Yahgulanaas arranged for the enactment of Indigenous social relationships, thereby reaffirming those relations. As artworks and material objects transformed in their relationship with copper, Yahgulanaas’ “Coppers” were recognized animators of social relations.  

Historic “Coppers” also play a significant role in the artistic, social, and political relationships of contemporary First Nations on the Northwest Coast. To paraphrase Charlotte Townsend-Gault, the “realpolitik” of First Nations’ social relations was made evident in the 2013 and 2014 journeys to Victoria and Ottawa for the cutting of Coppers in front of the provincial and federal parliaments, led by Kwakwaka’wakw hereditary chief and artist, Beau Dick. Through these Copper cutting actions, the late Beau Dick and his colleagues publically activated the cultural practices of his nation with the provincial and federal governments, fueled by the desire for the recognition of failed relationships with First Nations.

In aid of understanding the potential power of copper for some Indigenous forms of social agency, this thesis turns briefly to the field of archaeological collections management, where scholar

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Maria Zedeño has exemplified copper in her research for the development of less arbitrary categorizations for such collections that would be more consistent with Indigenous peoples’ systems of knowledge. Zedeño’s research discusses copper as a material with properties of animacy, one that can move across object classes and transform objects, and is within a relational ontology that includes “situational object hierarchies.” From this perspective, copper could “insinuate itself as a plausible ordering criterion for bundling a relational taxonomy.” In other words, copper’s animacy is a form of social agency, with the ability to affect other materials and objects. The question of an ordering capacity can be directed to the Granville Project’s copper cladding: With the capacity to invoke or animate hierarchies, especially in the context of ongoing First Nations struggles for status in this region, what unintended effect might copper have on the Musqueam artworks? Although the copper cladding is not a “Copper,” the popular idea of the value attached to copper by

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91 Ibid., 407-409. Zedeño positions Indigenous North American ontologies as “relational,” having consulted with Algonquian and Numic peoples, and records and collections from across North America. This generalization is potentially problematic as it is not specific to Coast Salish peoples. However, it is the principle of animacy of materials and objects within relational ontologies that remains invisible if attention to non-Cartesian ontologies is not considered. Zedeño’s argument for animacy is especially significant in regard to “Coppers” as social agents on the Northwest Coast; Bierwert, Brushed by Cedar, 6-7. She attends to the idea of agency in Coast Salish epistemology.
Indigenous peoples has been invoked. Through the invocation of an ancient Indigenous burial to signal Indigenous value in the copper cladding, what social relations, what hierarchies come into play? What historical misrecognition is opened up in this conflation?

Chapter 2: Critiquing the Institutions engaged in the Granville Project

I have so far argued that the particular use of copper cladding at the Granville Project promotes a problematic assumption of consistency of values across Indigenous groups of the Northwest Coast. This action risks overlooking the longstanding efforts of the Musqueam people to maintain a distinct visual identity.\textsuperscript{95} It also risks undoing the persistent work of Coast Salish artists to disrupt the “monolithic” construct of Northwest Coast Native art that has privileged northern forms, materials and cultural products.\textsuperscript{96}

Authors such as Andrew Martindale make clear the historical factors of Enlightenment thinking that participated in the construction of a homogenizing regional culture for the Northwest Coast.\textsuperscript{97} Bruce Miller also shows how “unilineal cultural evolutionism” and a hierarchical approach that ordered cultures created a classification along the Northwest Coast that positioned the northernmost groups at the pinnacle of the region’s cultural groups.\textsuperscript{98} This assumption flattens the depth and breadth of cultural expressions and practices, a reductionist approach where there is considerable evidence of complexity.\textsuperscript{99}

Scholars such as Garrett Hunt are working similarly to Martindale to challenge these assumptions. Hunt’s 2015 regional archaeological data analysis shows how prior studies that privileged copper homogenized the pre-contact value of copper across the broader region of the

\textsuperscript{95} Musqueam, \textit{A Living Culture}, 12, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{96} Townsend-Gault, “Circulating Aboriginality,” 188.
\textsuperscript{99} Martindale, “Thresholds of Meaning,” 95.
Northwest Coast. Hunt’s conclusions echo the question asked by Susan Roy regarding the history of the Musqueam First Nation and their struggles to maintain their land, identity and cultural practices in light of settler colonialism and continuing urban development. Roy asks,

Who has the authority to assign meaning to the human skeletal remains and cultural objects taken from such places (meaning the cəsnaʔəm village site, or Marpole Midden)? What are the historical and political circumstances in which such assertions are made? What are the larger ramifications of these representations?

Roy presents “the Marpole Midden as an example of what happens to land that does not become an Indian reserve but that is clearly marked with Indianness.” Roy recognizes that the Musqueam First Nation is part of an urban community, and “have been especially subjected to the colonial forces of dispossession.” She shows how the Musqueam people have responded innovatively to this imposed invisibility and marginalization, and has worked to maintain a distinct identity in spite of urban encroachment.

The choice to ground a “sense of place” through the ancestor burial at cəsnaʔəm is indicative of the influence of past archaeological findings on “broader, popular ideas” about Indigenous peoples. The tying of meaning at the Granville Project to an ancient burial employs the trope of

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100 Garrett Hunt writes, “Native copper has been subjected to a polarizing debate. While initial discussion of archaeological native copper described it as a frequent element within Marpole Phase components, later scholars emphasized its rarity... Additionally, the connection between archaeological native copper and the Marpole Phase (cəsnaʔəm), has been continuously cited despite having not been tested.” Hunt, “Marpole Metal,” 28.
102 Susan Roy, “Who Were These Mysterious People?”, 70.
103 Ibid., 70; and Roy, These Mysterious People, 10.
104 Roy, These Mysterious People, 151.
105 Ibid., 151.
“Indianness” through what Margot Francis would call a “necessary haunting.”\textsuperscript{107} In this way, the complex negotiations of everyday life for Musqueam people today is made obscure as the site reaches far into the past for meaning.\textsuperscript{108}

Both Margot Francis and Marcia Crosby employ the term “parasitic” when they engage the idea of “Indianness.”\textsuperscript{109} Of the tropes that form the colonial narrative of “an Indian”, the classic narrative of the “noble savage”, along with the idea of a phantom of “Indianness” continue to permeate the Canadian consciousness.\textsuperscript{110} The romanticized qualities are exemplified in the stereotypes of the “noble savage,” and the equation of “Native” with the natural world.\textsuperscript{111} Indigenous scholars such as Marcia Crosby speak directly to “constructing pseudo-Indians in literature and the visual arts.”\textsuperscript{112} What is overwhelmingly apparent in much analysis of this trope is that the construct was built upon, and remains in the past.\textsuperscript{113} This construct has also been recognized and challenged by curators such as Lynn Hill.\textsuperscript{114}

Essentialist ideas about Indigenous peoples as “natural,” “ancient,” “noble,” or “passive” have their basis in systems of knowledge that constructed a linear evolutionary pathway from “savage” to “modern.”\textsuperscript{115} Scholars such as Leslie Dawn show how in the Canadian context, those who were determining national museum collections were doing so on the basis of “evolutionist

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\textsuperscript{107} Francis, “Playing Indian,” 127. Francis refers to “Indianness” as “haunting” and a “phantom”. \\
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 141, 127. \\
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 127-8, 130; and Marcia Crosby, “Construction of the Imaginary Indian,” in Vancouver Anthology: A Project of the Or Gallery, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talon Books, 1991), 289. \\
\textsuperscript{111} Francis, “Playing Indian,” 139-140, 144-145. \\
\textsuperscript{112} Crosby, “Imaginary Indian,” 277. \\
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 285; Dawn, National Visions, 243; and Steven Leuthold, Indigenous Aesthetics: Native Art, Media and Identity, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998, 30. \\
\textsuperscript{114} Lynn Hill, “Curator’s Statement,” In Raven’s Reprise, Museum Note 36b (Vancouver: UBC Museum of Anthropology, 2000), 1, Excerpt in Townsend-Gault, Kramer, and Ki-Ke-In, Native Art, 911-12. \\
\textsuperscript{115} Dawn, National Visions, 253, 259, 106; Bruce Miller, “Anthropology of Art,” 203, 205.
\end{flushleft}
theory, which ranked cultures hierarchically, with European civilization at its apex.”

Dale Turner cites Robert Williams Jr’s scholarship to show how “European thought contains deeply embedded colonial assumptions about American Indians.” Additionally, the work of Melanie Hertzog and Sarah Stolte assesses the contemporary teaching of “American Indian art history” in universities, and they challenge the status quo when they call for a “critical …reframing” to shift paradigms upon which understandings of Native American art were historically founded.

However, it is not only non-Native individuals who apply the idea of “Indianness.” It is sometimes strategically applied for the purpose of visual self-representation in ways that are ironic, provocative or empowering, but are not always without “strategic concessions.” In his work on joint media projects with an Indigenous community, Harald Prins recounts how they struggled to work with and against visual reinforcements of the concept of “an Indian” as a one-dimensional being. Prins reflected, “We quickly discovered the political ambiguity of visual self-representation.” The ambiguity that Prins speaks of is definitely at play in the Granville Project, where modern materials and designs are framed by an abstract notion of an ancient past that is connected to copper. Scholars such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith express concern over how the term “Indigenous” risks creating a homogenous state of being for all Indigenous peoples, and Margaret Kovach cautions against “pan-Indigenizing” methods and theories that might universalize what she

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119 Kovach, Indigenous Methodologies, 40-41.


121 Prins, “Visual Media and Primitivist Perplex,” 64.
calls tribally contextualized knowledge.\textsuperscript{122} Ambiguity and pan-Indigeneity may present strategic opportunities for the Musqueam, but they also risk losses of specificity and local identity that have only recently become positively acknowledged.

2.1 Situating Coast Salish art

The vast and diverse cultural production of a large number of Indigenous nations, communities and groups along the West Coast has been subsumed under the umbrella term Northwest Coast Native art.\textsuperscript{123} Ideas about what this constituted formed within the history of colonial encounters, and collections of belongings were based upon Western standards and expectations for aesthetic and material value. Within those structures, hierarchies of art production were constructed for the region.\textsuperscript{124}

The hegemonic processes described by Glen Coulthard are also apparent in Northwest Coast Native art constructs; though the field is distinct, it has been subject to external definitions of select groups of cultural products, and for a long time failed to recognize distinctions about those cultural products drawn by First Nations peoples.\textsuperscript{125} The totem pole for instance, has become synonymous with representations of Northwest Coast Native culture, overlooking the Salish practice of carving house posts.\textsuperscript{126} Likewise in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century, northern Northwest Coast depictions of crest imagery in an abstract form line system were positioned as the superior form of cultural production

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{123} Aaron Glass, “Objects of Exchange,” 8.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Coulthard, \textit{Red Skin, White Masks}, 4. See also Jonaitis, “Franz Boas” 22-23, 31, 39.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Jonaitis, “Art of the Northwest Coast,” 162; Jonaitis, “Franz Boas,” 45-6; Alice Ravenhill, “Pacific Coast Art,” \textit{The Beaver}, Sept. 1942, 5; and Bierwert, \textit{Brushed by Cedar}, 15.
\end{itemize}
in the region. Further, early exhibitions focused on more northern coastal forms of production, such as the 1967 *Arts of the Raven* at the Vancouver Art Gallery.

Within this hierarchy, Coast Salish cultural production was historically disregarded and misunderstood in both academic and popular interpretations. Coast Salish cultural production was positioned as derivative of northern styles, and thus indicative of lesser artistic capacity. What is now more clearly understood are the practices of privacy that surround certain Coast Salish spiritual and ceremonial activities that prohibited openly sharing cultural practices and production. Additionally, a high degree of social autonomy enabled Coast Salish peoples to choose not to share,

127 Jonaitis, “Art of the Northwest Coast,” 127; Ravenhill, “Pacific Coast Art,” 4-8; Dawn, “West Coast Art, Native and Modern,” 272. For all that the Northwest Coast was lauded as exemplary in its abstractions by the avant-garde in the 1920s and 30s, it was not until the 1980s that Northwest Coast Native art was broadly accepted as fine art, and as contemporary art, see Graham McInnes, “Indian Art,” in *A Short History of Canadian Art* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1939), 7-11. Excerpt in Townsend-Gault, Kramer and Ki-Ke-In, *Native Art*, 337-8. And Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar*, 16-17.


sell or perform such practices and products beyond their social networks. It is only relatively recently that Coast Salish art has become positively discernable and decipherable amidst other forms of First Nations arts that circulate in the region. This is visible in the most recent exhibition of Susan Point’s artworks at the Vancouver Art Gallery. This one-woman retrospective was conceptually driven through the iconic Salish spindle whorl, and is indicative of a growing respect for some Coast Salish artists.

Musqueam has identified itself most closely with the creation of cedar house posts, canoes, spindle whorls, and especially with Salish blanket weaving. Discussion of Salish woven blankets have predominantly occurred within anthropological and craft discourses, and less so in art historical discourse. Although their production underwent a significant decline with the introduction of trade blankets manufactured abroad, the material form of blankets continues to serve daily and ceremonial functions, as evidenced in the documentation of potlatches, and ceremonies past and present. Emphasis in the scholarship on Salish blanket weaving has long focused on the historic value, economic role and technologies of Salish weaving, more so than on the blanket’s current

135 Kew, “Traditional Coast Salish Art,” 903-6; and Musqueam, A Living Culture, 21-23.
136 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017; and Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017.
operations as artworks and cultural forms within the community today.\textsuperscript{137} A partnership-based relationship between the Musqueam First Nation Band and the Museum of Anthropology has established a public or institutional space where Coast Salish leaders generate programming, research and education that emphasizes continuity in cultural practices.\textsuperscript{138}

A wide range of materials and new technologies have been adapted into production by Musqueam artists, and there is no prohibition against the use of copper in contemporary Coast Salish artwork.\textsuperscript{139} However, Musqueam does not present itself as sharing the material index of social relationships in the form of “Coppers”.\textsuperscript{140} Of the artworks present at Granville Project rather, woven blankets are the only representation of a long-standing form of cultural production, and one that still operates as an index of social agency. Although they are presented as a form of public art, they are concurrently a material and cultural form that marks status and bestows honour. At the Granville Project site, the recognition of this fluid capacity of Coast Salish cultural practices is pertinent to reading their social agency as markers of territory, and an alternative “sense of place” for the Granville Project.\textsuperscript{141}

2.2 The Granville at 70\textsuperscript{th} Project “site” as “place”

Depicted in the public press as “15 minutes to everything,” the developer was tasked by the City of Vancouver to maintain the look and feel of the existing boutique-style retail shops on South Granville to the east, and to make a visual transition into the single-family homes to the west on


\textsuperscript{138} Museum of Anthropology, “Musqueam Teaching Kit,” accessed August 25, 2017, \url{http://www2.moa.ubc.ca/musqueamteachingkit/}.

\textsuperscript{139} Brotherton, “How Did it All Get There?” 73; Walsh, Wherry and George, \textit{Transporters}, 10, 24.

\textsuperscript{140} Musqueam, \textit{A Living Culture}, 21, 29, 33, 35; and Hunt, “Marpole Metal,” 56.

\textsuperscript{141} Bierwert, \textit{Brushed by Cedar}, 267.
Cornish Avenue. The complex contains over 350 residential units spread across three towers and a bank of townhomes and includes a ground-level play structure, a rooftop garden and recreation space, and a number of retail and service businesses. The mixed-use complex was considered an economic “anchor” for revitalization of the neighborhood. The busy intersection at Cornish and 70th where Fusion would stand, transitions the flow of vehicle, bicycle and pedestrian traffic from the major thoroughfare into the suburban, residential neighbourhood. Built on a major traffic corridor from the Vancouver International Airport into downtown Vancouver, the Granville Project was positioned as a “high profile gateway” that would set a particular tone for future development in the area (Figure 17).

To accommodate rezoning requirements, the Project was routed through municipal approval processes that included public hearings, special city council meetings, an open house, and bylaw amendments. It was only after the Urban Design Panel suggested the inclusion of public art on

144 Emily Goes Commercial, “Call to Artists,” 3-4.
January 12, 2011, that Musqueam artworks and copper cladding became part of the design.\textsuperscript{146} The “Call to Musqueam Artists,” was developed in consultation with Emily Goes Commercial Art Consultants and the Musqueam First Nation Band, and was approved by the Public Art Committee in June 2012.\textsuperscript{147}

Though the Granville Project was positioned as a panacea for Marpole, there is an unacknowledged history beyond the limited definition of “heritage” represented in the repurposed glue-laminate beams.\textsuperscript{148} The building presents only ancient history, modernist architecture, and contemporary artworks in a luxurious façade of copper, while eliding numerous dispossessions within Musqueam’s unceded territory: contemporaneous events of destruction at the nearby cənəmən village, settler-colonial land pre-emption and reserve development practices, and the imposition of municipal, provincial and federal governance structures on Musqueam peoples.\textsuperscript{149}

The 3.2-acre site was home to a Safeway supermarket store constructed in 1966.\textsuperscript{150} Designated as a Heritage “A” building in the 1980s – only two decades after it was built - the supermarket was one of only a handful of midcentury modern buildings constructed by the retailer

\textsuperscript{146} City of Vancouver, “Regular Council Meeting Minutes, May 17, 2011,” 14, http://council.vancouver.ca/20110517/documents/regu20110517min.pdf; and City of Vancouver, “Urban Design Panel Minutes For: Sept 7, 2011,” 7-8. As part of the rezoning approval process, Vancouver’s City Council required the development team prepare a plan for public art, in coordination with the Public Art Program. Urban Design Panel members “remarked that the materials made the project and congratulated the team for adding the wood and copper.” They “commended the applicant for using a Musqueam Band artist for the public art piece.”


\textsuperscript{149} Harris, \textit{Making Native Space}, 10, 14, 75-76.

in Vancouver (Figure 16).\textsuperscript{151} Safeway Corporation used the architectural style for its supermarket chain across Canada and the United States in the 1960s, making the grocer’s infrastructure consistently recognizable along with its signage and logo. The architect is recorded as trying “to respect the history of the site” in the Granville Project by incorporating the glue-laminate beams that, together with the glass form an awning for entrances to the Safeway and an outdoor seating area (see Figure 15).\textsuperscript{152} Thus, the site’s ancient Musqueam history and the so-called Heritage status of the midcentury architectural style are conflated in a general idea of “history.” To paraphrase Nicholas Whybrow’s triangulation of art, the city and people, the discourse is limited, or focused upon, those aspects of the history that place Musqueam in the past, and distinct from the narrative of Marpole as a modern community, and part of a international economy.\textsuperscript{153}

What is called the “history” and “heritage” of the Marpole neighbourhood focuses on the settler-colonial presence and not on prior Indigenous villages or places in the region.\textsuperscript{154} As discussed earlier, Susan Roy’s scholarship confirms a focus on settler-colonial presence as the limit of history, as does Jean Barman’s analysis of settler priorities determined for land use in what is now called Stanley Park.\textsuperscript{155} Cole Harris shows how Musqueam fought to secure reserve lands and manage

\textsuperscript{152} City of Vancouver, Community Services, “Urban Design Panel Minutes For: September 7, 2011,” 7-8. Gregory Henriquez “described the materials and noted there will be a public art component that they are planning to have created by a Musqueam Band artist.”
\textsuperscript{153} Nicholas Whybrow, Art and the City (London: IB Touris, 2011), 8; and Burk, “Frame,” 93, 101.
\textsuperscript{155} Susan Roy, These Mysterious People; and Jean Barman, “Erasing Indigenous Indigeneity.”
settler incursions that disregarded their presence. Most importantly, Musqueam people know they have occupied the Fraser River delta for thousands of years.

2.3 Operations of the Granville Project as Public Art

Westbank Corporation and Henriquez Partners Architects have each declared the importance of art to their practices. The Public Art Program operated by the City of Vancouver was developed 1991 with an understanding of public art as a means of enriching the community and fulfilling civic objectives that are seen to positively affect the overall quality of life. Public art has become a requirement for new urban development in Vancouver, and is centrally managed through the apparatus of the Urban Design Panel and the Public Art Committee.

Paradoxically known for boosting the arts and for not taking public art seriously, Vancouver has made use of Indigenous cultural productions such as totem poles and house posts for its own visual identity, while expanding as a metropolis upon unceded territory. Although a new development for Marpole, the Granville Project is not unique in Vancouver in its use of Indigenous

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157 Musqueam, “Our Story,” accessed April 4, 2016, http://www.musqueam.bc.ca/our-story; and Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017. Debra’s grandfather took his grandchildren to important places in Musqueam territory to recount histories. Debra accounts for over 300 years of history being shared while visiting important places in Musqueam territory.
artworks.\textsuperscript{162} Prior to this city’s existence, the places upon which it is constructed had different meanings and values to Coast Salish peoples.\textsuperscript{163} 

Public art has long been understood as a means of animating a city, positively engaging residents and visitors with representations of ideas held about a city.\textsuperscript{164} In publically available documentation concerning the Granville Project site, the artworks are positioned as active, affective and agentive components that promote respect and add value to the site.\textsuperscript{165} The Granville Project performs what Miwon Kwon refers to as “art in public places”; seen as decorative, the works are expected to improve the experience of pedestrians.\textsuperscript{166} Also like Kwon’s categorization of “art as public space,” the site is a redevelopment formed in collaboration with an architect, urban planners, and artists.\textsuperscript{167} But the Granville Project is not solely aesthetic or collaborative. As Kwon argues regarding functions of public art,

Public art participates in the production of a site’s distinction, often a city’s uniqueness, which in turn is intimately engaged in the processes of economic reorganization of resources and power as they are played out through the rehierarchization of space in the social structure of cities.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{162} Dawn, National Visions; and India Young, “A Narrative of Modern Tradition,” in Lawrence, Record, (re)create, 22.


\textsuperscript{165} Westbank, “Granville at 70th.”


Indeed, the Granville Project operates as a “rehierarchization” through the contextual moment of its connection to an ancestral burial. At roughly the same time that the Granville Project was receiving its authorization to proceed, Musqueam was focused on protecting the cəsnaʔəm village. The development firm of Century Holdings had been granted permits in 2011 to build condominiums in an undisturbed portion of the village, a project to which Musqueam was opposed.169 Almost immediately after work began at this location in January of 2012, three ancestor burials were unearthed. By May 3, 2012 (roughly one month prior to the City’s approval of Westbank’s “Call for Musqueam Artists” on June 11, 2012), Musqueam people and supporters were engaged in an ongoing vigil for these disturbed ancestor burials, performing protests and blockades to raise public support against further destruction of the site.170 On September 27, 2012 (the day after the final submission deadline for the “Call for Musqueam Artists”), the Province acquiesced and the development project at the cəsnaʔəm location was halted.171

That these two vastly different relationships with Musqueam co-exist simultaneously – one that disregards a documented history of occupation and territorial dispossession and destroyed ancestral burials, and another that reaches out to Musqueam artists as a gesture of respect to have that same ancient past visually represent a “sense of place” for a new development in Vancouver - speaks to the ways in which the Musqueam community must dynamically negotiate its way through instances of misrecognition. In its connection to the cəsnaʔəm village, the Granville Project is a visualization of Musqueam’s hard-fought success in thwarting further destruction of the village, and is indicative of their agency in swaying the provincial government to terminate the Century

171 Musqueam, “cəsnaʔəm.”
Holding’s project. But unlike the retrospective artwork at Woodward’s, the Granville Project does not visualize protest or monumentalize Musqueam’s successful vigils and negotiations. The conflict of the nearby project, and the history of conflicts of colonial dispossession are occluded to the passerby.\textsuperscript{172} As Andrew Schaap has written, “In societies divided by a history of political violence, political reconciliation depends on transforming a relation of enmity into one of civic friendship.”\textsuperscript{173} The public art is a gesture of respect and fosters civic awareness of Musqueam’s continued presence, but risks rendering Musqueam art “consistent” with broad popular understandings of “Indigenous” peoples, and “Northwest Coast Native art” rather than as a distinct nation with specific rights within a territory. The aesthetic application of copper cladding creates a harmonious façade, but it obscures the fraught social relations that still exist. As a “marker… of social relations of reception”, the Granville Project was not developed by the Musqueam, and may not be enacting the same kind of assertion against the dominant culture as do other recent First Nations’ authored infrastructure projects along the Northwest Coast.\textsuperscript{174} Nevertheless, it still presents contested relationships, such as those referenced in the artist statements.

2.4 Relating Architectural Theory to the Granville Project

In the language of architecture, the cladding on a building has been compared to the clothing of a body. Hence, copper cladding serves as a protective envelope for the building’s exterior, ensuring the building systems and the inhabitants are protected from the elements. The cladding also operates in relationship to the artworks and to the sense of place being established through the meaning-making intentions of the development team. A particular theory of architecture posited by the nineteenth-century German architect Gottfried Semper known as “the dressing principle”

\textsuperscript{172} Burk, “Frame,” 111-12.
\textsuperscript{174} Townsend-Gault, “Art, Argument and Anger,” 143 and 132.
(Bekleidungsprinzip) proves in this case to be useful. As architectural theorist Gevork Hartoonian states in an exploration of Semper’s theory of dressing, “Semper’s theory of dressing is primarily concerned with the artistic articulation of the material of the exterior clothing in relation to the load bearing elements.” In this sense, the architectural façade is understood to represent the textile-like form of the architectonic structure—the binding of joints. However, Hartoonian argues, Semper’s conception of architecture also relies on an idea of theatricality. “Semper argued for a concept of dressing through which the architect could wrap the structure, the core-form, in an art-form that might even deny the material basis of the former.” The dressing at once points to and occludes the physical structure and its material history.

The copper cladding of the Granville Project takes on that theatrical element in reference to this ancestor burial’s description in the pamphlet produced by the Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association in 1948. The “beaten copper sheets” referenced by the Granville Project are said to have “encased” the “high ranked” ancestor’s body, and “crowned” his head. A second text in the pamphlet is less descriptive and more poetic, depicting this individual as the “lofty” browed “mystery man of the Great Fraser Midden.” The trope of “noble savage” of the ancient past is apparent in the 1948 text, and is conceivably wrapping “Indianness” into the “sense of place” for the Granville Project, whether or not that was the intended effect.

177 Ibid., 270-291, and 279.
179 Art, Historical and Scientific Association, “The Great Fraser Midden,” 16 and 28. Grant Keddie (Curator of Archaeology, Royal British Columbia Museum), e-mail message to author, April 18, 2016. Keddie wrote that the 2007 Vancouver Sun article and the 1948 pamphlet were too theatrical in their descriptions of the copper belongings. He described them as “rolled… tubes that may have functioned as partial armour or… decorative material.”
If the copper cladding wraps the building in comparative fashion to the copper said to have encased the ancestor burial, this action requires attention to its social agency. Laurence Douny and Susanna Harris identify the action of wrapping as one of “enclosing, covering and containing… as a means to materialize the identity of the contents or to add identity to an otherwise uninscribed surface.” Their discussion of the concept’s application to places allows for consideration of how the copper cladding affects the “sense of place” being constructed through it as a wrapping.

According to Douny and Harris, the effect of a wrapping may be ambivalent, where “the relationship between the content and the wrapping is questionable. Wrapping may make the contents clearer or conceal them to the extent that they cease to exist.” This ambivalence is significant, as it leaves open an opportunity for multiple readings of the relationships between the art, the site and the concepts that link them together. It also presents a dilemma: How is the cladding visible as a wrapping loaded with so-called Indigenous values, “Indianness,” or the idea of a “Copper” and its social agency, to the passerby? Unless the viewer is what anthropologist Alfred Gell would call an “instructed person,” much of this significance will not be “visible.” Only those who have read the “Detailed Public Art Plan” or the “Call to Musqueam Artists” will be aware of the significance that this building material carries. And only those who are knowledgeable of the social agency of “Coppers,” may link this understanding to the copper cladding and “see” its capacity to mark status and rank, and thus effect a hierarchical relationship at this location. So why attend to these “invisible” relationships? Importantly, Douny and Harris also note that wrapping is “observable, and capable of being experienced, in everyday life.”

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181 Ibid., 15-16.
182 Ibid., 16.
184 Ostrowitz, “The Good Reader,” 111. She discusses contemporary Native artwork as “hermetic”.
What are most accessible to the passerby on Granville Street are the weavings and the texts of the weavers. Fundamental information about Musqueam weaving and history is shared, discretion is applied in how it is shared, and the desires to respect, honour and connect, are clearly stated in the installation. What impression does this make upon the passerby? What interpretations are possible outside of the “invisible” conceptual load of the copper? What other social relations between the artworks, the copper and the weavings are present? Although the weaving is physically small in comparison to the scale of the copper cladding, as a pliable textile and a blanket, it is more readily recognizable as a wrapping. What affects might occur in recalling Debra Sparrow’s reference to the weavings as wrappings?

Debra’s stated goal is to wrap the city of Vancouver in weaving. She ascribes to it the ability to welcome visitors to Musqueam territory, as they do at the Vancouver Airport, and at the Museum of Anthropology. Debra feels the work is “right where it should be,” and believes it “speaks more volumes in being beautiful than it does being written about in a book, where people may read it or not. When they see it, I hope they start to think about what it is.” Elsewhere she has shared her understanding of Musqueam weaving as “part of a whole that can’t be extracted.” She sees weaving as something that expands beyond the category of art, and an important knowledge system that connects her culture to its own modes of education. Debra considers weaving as part of her ancestor’s philosophy, and taking that approach to knowledge sharing was necessary to fulfill her desire to “weave two worlds together.” It is the capacity of the weavings to carry these

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186 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
188 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
189 Baird and Johnson, Source Book, 68
190 Ibid., 70.
philosophies and to act as a source of knowledge that Debra continues to foster in her practice and her teaching. Robyn Sparrow and Krista Point have also made the agency of Salish art clear in their reflections on weavings.¹⁹²

¹⁹² Baird and Johnson, *Source Book*, 59 and 73. Krista Point describes the power accorded to the zig-zag pattern, and Robyn Sparrow speaks of the “power and dignity” of Salish art.
Chapter 3: The Granville Project as a “nexus of intentionalities”

I return to the first term that underlies this analysis through the work of Keith Basso. “Sense of place” originates within the discipline of human geography in the 1970s, and was taken up by Basso in his ethnographic writing to describe the processes of “interanimation” he observed between people and land, in which knowledge and identity are co-created. Sense of place allowed him to point to the importance of understanding “cultural constructions of place” as a part of ethnography inquiry that needed more attention. Brian Thom’s dissertation points specifically to the importance of local places to Coast Salish peoples, and is traceable in the ethnographic literature of Coast Salish societies. Thus geography, locale, and the context of ‘place’ in which art exercises its agency must play a role in the Granville Project’s analysis.

Basso describes the relationships that people create with the ‘space’ in which they live.

Through a vigorous conflation of attentive subject and geographical object, places come to generate their own fields of meaning (and)...give rise to their own aesthetic immediacies, their shifting moods and relevancies, their character and spirit.

Basso’s thinking sparks an important question: what is involved in the Granville Project’s interanimation? The idea of copper, respect, an ancient burial, a heritage designation, contemporary artworks, and a gateway into Vancouver, are present and must be considered as active. If each “attentive subject” has a different knowledge base about the site, the ideas that animate it, and how they do so, there will be divergent understandings of value for the copper and weavings, rather than a singular “sense of place.” Such a range of understanding is evident in the feedback gathered during the project’s community consultation in December 2010.

The modern design will revitalize the Marpole core and stimulate growth and a more vibrant community. The height of the buildings is suitable for the neighbourhood and will become a landmark development for the community.

There is no justification for highrises [sic] in Marpole. The City might think we area [sic] a Gateway (to Richmond) but we are a neighbourhood. It’s like a giant taking up residence on top of a sleepy village.

Need more public art and public lighting to make more of a village feel.197

Based on this small sample of comments it is clear the Marpole community is also not homogenous, and the multiple senses of place are independently formed. For whom then, is the new sense of place important? What demands cohesion and coherence?

Alfred Gell’s theoretical approach to agency and the indexicality of the site’s artworks supports a conceptual move beyond the aesthetic aspect of the individual artworks, and into the agentive aspect of the artworks and their social relationships amongst one another. It is the capacity for social relations to be activated by the agency indexed in each work of art that fosters the appearance of the site as a network and a “nexus of intentionalities.”198 Enmeshed with the values attached to the copper cladding, the potential re-inscription of social relations may not have been considered by the development team for the art installation.

Alfred Gell’s idea of a “nexus of intentionalities” works to disrupt historical distinctions between artworks and artefacts, and is insightful when navigating between the museum and the art

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gallery in the study of Northwest Coast Native art. Gell argues, “this evocation of complex intentionalities is in fact what serves to define artworks,” and demonstrates it in comparison with conceptual artworks. His discussion of the concepts embedded in a hunting net on display as art are extended to a discussion of the intentionalities in hunting traps, and how they are semiotically akin to artworks. His approach to these objects as a nexus of intentions allows for metaphorical readings of the “transubstantiation” of the “things” upon which they (the net, or traps, or the artworks) operate. The meanings embedded in the copper and in the weavings, can be viewed as active, and working together to animating the site.

Gell’s “nexus” resonates with the Granville Project as a site where the aims of the developer, the City of Vancouver, the architect, the Marpole neighbourhood residents, the Musqueam Indian Band, the art consultant and the artists are interacting. Each artist chose to engage in the public art installation, and their works can be considered as instances of social agency and expressions of social relations. The publically stated desire for the development indicates an expectation that the building and the art “do” something together in situ. This capacity of art for “doing” through an

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199 Gell, “Vogel’s Net,” 220, 228 and 230. Gell Argues in defense of a hunting net on exhibit as concept art, and expands this to discuss traps as artworks. He refers to the material emanation of the maker’s desired outcome as a “nexus of intentionalities” that notionally sets up a “network of complex intentionalities.”


201 Ibid., 229.

202 Ibid., 231

203 Ibid.
understanding of it as having agency was highlighted by Gell.\textsuperscript{204} He positions the work of art as the pivotal index of the social agent, or as the material manifestation of the maker’s intention.\textsuperscript{205}

Although developed as a classificatory device, Gell’s nexus presents a model for assessing artworks as “embodied thought(s)”, such as the values attached to the copper cladding and the “Indianness” they connote.\textsuperscript{206} Gell’s approach to art as a nexus, an intersection of ideas and agency, makes it feasible to investigate how the possible but unknowable intentions of the participants in this “place” create innumerable interanimations.

In Gell’s “art nexus” an artwork is a “locus of agency”.\textsuperscript{207} Agency (the capacity to act) is pertinent when art is appreciated as politically active and capable of activating a subject. The Granville Project involves inferential logic (abduction) that occurs through the value placed upon copper as a representation of “Indianness” and as an active agent in the creation of an undetermined “sense of place” left open to each ‘recipient’ to determine for themselves. The attitude of the City of Vancouver and the developer to public art as described earlier, infers that the art installation is active, and will change people’s experience. It is the potential abduction of copper as highly valued, which risks occluding the agency of the Musqueam artworks, an occlusion that is argued for in this thesis as an operation of misrecognition of social relations in and between the artworks and the copper cladding of the Granville Project.\textsuperscript{208} Abduction in this instance becomes part of the structures of colonialism that do not allow for the visibility or acknowledgement of Indigenous ontologies and

\textsuperscript{204} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, ix.

\textsuperscript{205} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 37 and 20; Ibid., 27. Gell’s model forms a logical grid of one to one interactions between the following four entities, “1. Indexes: material entities which motivate abductive inferences, cognitive interpretations, etc.; 2. Artists (or other ‘originators’): to whom are ascribed, by abduction, causal responsibility for the existence and characteristics of the index; 3. Recipients: those in relation to whom, by abduction, indexes are considered to exert agency, or who exert agency via the index; 4. Prototypes: entities held, by abduction, to be represented in the index, often by virtue of visual resemblance, but not necessarily.”

\textsuperscript{206} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 28; and Gell, “Vogel’s Net,” 226. Gell discusses “embodied thoughts.”

\textsuperscript{207} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 133, and 52. Gell speaks to artworks as mediators.

\textsuperscript{208} Ibid., 13-15.
attendant agencies. They are the operations of misrecognition, which is a central concept in Glen Coulthard’s *Red Skin, White Masks*, and one pivotal for this thesis.\(^{209}\) It is this potential for the invisibility of social agency (or its occlusion), that is critical for an analysis of what misrecognition occurs at the Granville Project site.

Gell rightly considers the index (the artwork) and the ability of a recipient to read or understand its agency, through their “cultural education,” pertinent to the index, or their knowledge of the social relations that the index mediates.\(^{210}\) This “instructed person” is one who can, in Gell’s model, know the intention of the artist.\(^{211}\) It is through this awareness of the need for prior knowledge – knowledge that is perhaps not shared, not common, or incommensurable, that Gell’s model allows for the potential invisibility of social agency from some recipients, such as the passersby on Granville Street.\(^{212}\)

It is necessary to consider that the Granville Project came into being through more than a directed, traceable, and causal chain of social agents: layers of history (including that of Northwest Coast Native art), politics, urban development, and settler-colonial impositions on land bring multiple understandings and interests to bear on this location. But Gell does not directly address the structures of colonialism and how they inflect forms of agency, or which indexes are valued as agentive and which are not, and by whom. The site is complex and multi-dimensional, read across numerous forms of “cultural education” and operates within a colonial structure that is a governmentally, historically and politically informed development project. To muddle through the enmeshed contexts of the Granville Project requires looking at systems of power that have brought

\(^{211}\) Ibid., 2 and 62.  
the redevelopment project, its artworks and copper cladding into being, and how they have come to be where they are now. The power relations enacted by the City of Vancouver, the Musqueam First Nation, and the corporate entity of Westbank are pertinent, but without a direct critique of colonialism and its specific structures of land and dispossession, the theorization of relations of power as proposed by someone such as Michel Foucault are inadequately understood.\textsuperscript{213} Intentionality and social agency complicate what appears as a singular colonial authority at the Granville Project. And Gell’s contextualization of the limits of legibility based on the individual’s “cultural education” or their status as an “instructed person” are made clear in examples where collected belongings have been subjected to authoritative Western symbolic readings that misunderstand the actual social relationships embedded by the cultural practitioners.\textsuperscript{214} 

Paradoxically, the Granville Project is regarded as a singular index for a “sense of place” while it also operates as a nexus of multiple agencies, structures, systems, desires and intentions. Its analysis demands more than the one-to-one transactional model of the art nexus. The social agency it contains is neither coherent nor direct, and its dimensions exist beyond the physical manifestations found within the site itself. This confusion and incoherence is more real than a tidy grid of relations, no matter how valuable that grid is in launching an analysis of the site. The effort to “reduce ontological havoc” denies the richness and complexity that complicates and frustrates determinations of causality and origination, two things Gell recommends against.\textsuperscript{215} 

I look, therefore, to Glen Coulthard’s discussion of the structures of colonialism to focus on their operations in the contemporary politics of recognition. Coulthard’s concise statement for the “core theoretical intervention” of his book note that, “colonial relations of power are no longer

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\textsuperscript{213} Paul Rabinow, “Introduction,” in \textit{The Foucault Reader} (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 4. Aply stated by Rabinow, Foucault’s approach questions how we understand where we are now through historicization, rather than finding a universal understanding of humanity.
\textsuperscript{214} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 2, 62; and White, “Where Mere Words Failed,” 641.
\textsuperscript{215} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 22; and Gell, “Vogel’s Net,” 224.
\end{flushleft}
reproduced primarily through overtly coercive means, but rather through the asymmetrical exchange of mediated forms of state recognition and accommodation.”

This view of the relations of power is one way of framing what occurs at the Granville Project: local recognition of the Musqueam people is mediated by the art installation, and the asymmetry is surmised when public art becomes the vehicle of exchange for recognition of Musqueam and côsnaʔəm rather than structural changes that alter the recognition of Musqueam’s pre-existing rights in their unceded territory.217 But such an analysis is incomplete, as Musqueam’s “struggle” over the destruction of the côsnaʔəm village altered the course of that nearby development. This contemporary event of struggle is obscured in the projection of “Indianness” onto the site through the copper cladding’s association to an ancestral burial. This projection becomes a site for misrecognition, as it lacks a specific acknowledgement of the difference between contemporary Musqueam forms of cultural production that do not engage with copper, and the practices of other First Nations on the Northwest Coast, who do so. These practices are not merely visual displays, but enact significant forms of social agency that have an effect on the social relationships between many Indigenous nations of the Northwest Coast. Regardless of their historical movement out of daily or ceremonial life, such belongings still perform important social, political, legal and spiritual functions.218 As objects (and their production) transitioned from their use in daily life into art objects, much knowledge regarding their social roles was dissociated, but

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217 Ibid., 27-28, and 23. Coulthard traces the politics of recognition through the contexts of Hegel’s master/slave dialectic and the asymmetry of that pattern, and Franz Fanon’s work to “redirect our attention to the host of self-affirmative cultural practices that colonized peoples often critically engage in to empower themselves.”
218 “our painting and sculpture, our performance, our oratory and song are our history, law, political and philosophical discourse, sacred ceremony and land registry.” Jensen, “Metamorphosis,” 96.
not lost. Douglas White, who shows how belongings in museums still index the status of the individuals through whose knowledge and lineage they are activated, reinforces this. Part of the legacy of the recognition of the material culture of coastal Indigenous peoples as “fine art” within the institutions of art, has resulted in a misrecognition of the social, political and legal purposes and values associated with Indigenous cultural production.

Like other Coast Salish Nations upon whose territories urban centers have been formed, Musqueam contends with the encroachment of settlement and the ongoing negotiations of a broader systematic territorial dispossession. The Musqueam First Nation indicates as much in Musqueam: A Living Culture, and has worked to re-inscribe the Musqueam community and identity in Vancouver’s consciousness. They also contend with the interests of other First Nations peoples in an ever-changing urban centre. These interests include the recognition and circulation of their own visual representations and cultural practices that may also index social agency. These visual representations and practices are also applied throughout Vancouver, and circulate broadly.

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222 Susan Roy, “’Who Were These Mysterious People?’ The Marpole Midden, Coast Salish Identity, and Dispossession of Aboriginal Lands in British Columbia,” PhD Dissertation, Interdisciplinary Studies, The University of British Columbia, 2007, 2, 10, 33-34. See also Musqueam, A Living Culture, 11; and Gustafson, Salish Weaving, 69. They point to how urban development and encroachment includes loss of local access to resources such as cedar, mountain goat wool and salmon, variously due to deforestation, dredging of the Fraser River, and pollutants.
223 Musqueam, A Living Culture, 7; and Levell, “Coppers,” 116.
too has an effect on what the passerby on Granville Street will be able to “know” about Musqueam specifically, and Indigenous people in general.226

Therefore, misrecognition occurs in the Granville Project not just through the act of bestowing respect, but in how it is being bestowed and by whom. It is the “Indianness” bestowed upon the site through the copper cladding that runs the risk of reproducing a singular formation of Indigenous identity. What is at risk of being “mirrored back” in the Granville Project is the reproduction of imposed cultural and social hierarchies that Musqueam has clearly worked against throughout its recent history.227 The lack of acknowledgment of difference permits the misrecognition of Indigenous forms of social agency that are connected to the different material and cultural practices each group choses to perform.228 In discussion of reconciliation, Coulthard projects the reinforcement of colonialism. He writes:

> The politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demands for recognition have historically sought to transcend.229

As per Charles Taylor’s theorization, Coulthard agrees that misrecognition deforms identities, even if he sees a different path toward decolonization.230 The concept is not in a binary relationship with that of recognition, as there is a complex interplay of these “accordances” in the structures of colonialism that frustrate decolonization in the contemporary Canadian social and political landscape.231 Coulthard sees a solution in radical change. His “alternative politics of recognition” would operate “through cultural practices of individual and collective self-fashioning that seek to prefigure radical alternatives to the structural and subjective dimensions of colonial

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227 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 30; and Musqueam, Living Culture, 15-19.
228 Townsend-Gault, “Art, Argument and Anger,” 146-147.
229 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 3 and 151.
230 Ibid., 29-30.
231 Ibid., 30-31.
power.” But as a gesture of respect, the Granville Project neither radically alters colonial structures, nor enact Coulthard’s notion of “authentic decolonization” through struggle. The question of whether or not this art installation fails to disrupt the status quo presents itself if radicalism is required. And I would still argue that the art installed at this site is an instantiation of the “resurgent politics of recognition.”

If the analysis in this thesis is focused only on the wrapping action of the copper that presents a homogenized idea of Indigenous values, the site becomes a visible instance of the contemporary convergence of “reconciliation politics” with the “politics of recognition.” As a respectful gesture that follows upon the heels of a thwarted development that destroyed ancestor burials at the cənəmnəm village location, the Granville Project is legible as an attempt at “restoring estranged or damaged social and political relationships” through the commissioning of public art from Musqueam artists.

However, this is too expedient. To conclude that the artwork included in the Granville Project is merely a conceptual concession to colonial dominance through a one-sided application to the site by the dominant culture would negate Musqueam’s participation in the development of the public art plan, and the role of the artists in the development, production and installation of the artworks. In many respects, the enactment of a harmonious welcome at the Granville Project is consistent with the rationale for the selection of non-confrontational artworks at the Vancouver

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233 Ibid., 14 and 25. Coulthard does not advocate violence, but proposes that “struggle” must be borne out, as exemplified by the Idle No More movement.
234 Ibid., 24.
235 Ibid., 106.
236 Ibid., 107.
International Airport prior to the 2010 Vancouver Olympics.\textsuperscript{237} In associating Salish weaving with these welcoming or gateway locations, the risk is that they will be understood only as an index of domestic comfort and warmth, a flattening of weaving’s multi-dimensional agency in Salish cultural practices. But singular associations occlude the agency within these practices, an agency that has subtly and strategically negotiated the weavings into a highly visible location.\textsuperscript{238}

Debra Sparrow raised as an example Bill Reid’s \textit{The Jade Canoe (1994)} at the Vancouver International Airport.\textsuperscript{239} Debra has no issue with Reid’s Haida artwork being included on Musqueam territory, though she thinks it would have been more appropriate for him to include a Salish graphic design for a footprint around its base, as a way of showing respect to Musqueam for allowing his work in their territory.\textsuperscript{240} It is this respect for protocol between Indigenous nations on the Northwest Coast that risks being denied by the application of copper to the Granville Project in Musqueam territory. This example addresses what is misrecognized – the relationships between Indigenous communities when territory is not respected and is overwritten with other interests. It is as if the long history of protocols for territorial rights of access has never existed. As the Musqueam’s territory remains unceded, these protocols are likewise not extinguished.

\textsuperscript{238} Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 25, 2017. Weavings created by Debra and Robyn Sparrow are located at the Museum of Anthropology, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Studio in downtown Vancouver, the Vancouver International Airport, and other sites in the city. See also Simon Fraser University, “Ceremony marks aboriginal weaving’s rebirth,” March 25, 2009, accessed July 30, 2017, \url{http://www.sfu.ca/archive-university-communications/media_releases/media_releases_archives/media_03250901.html}. Salish weavings by the Squamish L’hen Awtxw Weaving House hang at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, BC (personal observation, February 5, 2016). The Granville Project is unique as the weavings are accessible at all times without entrance into a civic institution.
\textsuperscript{240} Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
Returning to the weavings at the Granville Project, the three artists can be seen to intervene subtly – if not critically – in the cycle of misrecognition.\textsuperscript{241} Their forms of creativity negotiate the categories of tradition, craft, textile art, and domestic décor, to act as “self-affirmative practices of cultural regeneration and decolonization.”\textsuperscript{242} The artists articulate their works and words to resist an image of Musqueam as subordinate in the construct of Northwest Coast Native art, and re-center the weavings as contemporary agents of Musqueam identity, history and presence.

The inclusion of Musqueam artworks in the Granville Project reflects the success of the long-term vigil mounted by Musqueam to have its ancestors respected, that resulted in the provincial government reversing its permission for the development project at the cəsnaʔəm village location.\textsuperscript{243} But that event of direct action as called for by Coulthard in his conclusions, left no visual markers outside of its temporal moment to remind the neighbourhood of Musqueam presence.\textsuperscript{244} The Granville Project raises Musqueam’s presence beyond the event of the vigil, as a symbolic entrance to Vancouver, denoting this urban space in Musqueam territory. In this way, it is a resurgent practice of marking territory, and an innovative one in an urban environment where land-based alternatives are limited.\textsuperscript{245} Indeed, based on the historic tendencies to erase Indigenous peoples from within cities, this choice to make Musqueam permanently visible in the daily life of Marpole and within their territory is a sustainable alternative to blockades as a way of life.\textsuperscript{246} And the new 2014 Marpole Community Plan encourages consultation with Musqueam, marking a step toward structural changes.

\textsuperscript{241} Townsend-Gault, “Making Native Modernism,” 101.
\textsuperscript{242} Coulthard, \textit{Red Skin, White Masks}, 133.
\textsuperscript{243} Musqueam, “cəsnaʔəm,” and, “cəsnaʔəm Media and Information,” accessed July 29, 2017, \url{http://www.musqueam.bc.ca/}.
\textsuperscript{244} Coulthard, \textit{Red Skin, White Masks}, 165, 169.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid., 154, 172.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid., 173-76. See Coulthard, 169 for discussion of blockades as a “form of community.” In no way do I disparage the actions discussed by Coulthard: my goal here is to consider what actions are not represented, and how they may too have validity and effectiveness for change.
actively pursued by Musqueam. Thus, the artworks at Musqueam are part of the “prefigurative politics” of resurgence being witnessed through incremental change; a politics that is missed if a singular emphasis upon struggle is foregrounded.

Debra Sparrow sheds more light on such a politics. Sparrow expects the weavings will catch the curious traveller’s eye. Some may only appreciate the beauty of the weavings, and some may want to learn more. In those curious individuals who are drawn in with the weavings, Debra sees an opportunity to share a deeper understanding of Musqueam’s history. And Robyn sees the installation as a way to positively affect the pride of her family and her community, and to reaffirm her Musqueam identity in the process of weaving, and in sharing her knowledge of weaving. For these sisters, the Granville Project is an alternative place of self-affirming practices, and a site for the formation of a contemporary version of Gell’s “instructed persons” in the passersby. Their approach is “dialogical,” something proposed by Indigenous scholar Dale Turner as a process of decolonization that “must engage the dominant culture.” Musqueam’s choice to balance their struggle to protect cəsnaʔəm with a practice of welcoming guests into their territory, is perhaps also indicative of the terms they set for themselves in their resurgent practices.

This thesis proposes that the presence of the weavings enact what Sarah Hunt and Cindy Holmes describe as a form of “everyday decolonization.” Hunt and Holmes value “the quiet,

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248 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 159.
249 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017.
250 Robyn Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, June 2017.
251 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 23, 34, 109, 114.
253 Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 154. He quotes Taiaiake Alfred, to “decolonize ‘on our own terms.’”
relational processes of change” in the daily practice of resistance. They agree that public struggle is necessary, as one of multiple practices to overcome structures of colonial oppression. Without transforming the spirit of Patrick Wolfe’s insights on the nature of colonialism, perhaps “everyday decolonization” is a process and not an event. Metaphorically speaking then, I also propose that weaving is a practice of everyday decolonization, one that requires patience, knowledge, and innovation. This practice is one that Debra Sparrow and her colleagues employ as they wrap another “place” in Musqueam weavings.

The position of the weavings on Granville Street leverages the banality of daily life; commuting to work, shopping for groceries, or walking down the street, they are accessible outside of the special circumstances of an art gallery or museum. The preciousness accorded to these blankets as works of art, was not a concern for Debra. For her, the weavings’ visibility makes Musqueam’s presence real in the present tense. The weavings are reinserted into daily life by the weavers and index their desires to keep “tradition” alive, instill pride in Musqueam identity, and wrap Musqueam territory.

256 Wolfe, Settler Colonialism, 2. See also Coulthard, Red Skin, White Masks, 125.
257 Gregory Henriquez, “Foreword,” in Towards an Ethical Architecture: Issues within the work of Gregory Henriquez, ed. David Weir, Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication (China: Blueimprint, 2006), 7-8. The architect for the project may be empathetic, as he considers his practice is situated in an exploration of the rituals of everyday life.
258 Debra Sparrow (artist), in discussion with the author, April 2017. Although concerns were raised regarding the effects of sunlight, pollution, and temperature and humidity fluctuations on the weavings, Debra felt the vitrine was sufficient protection.
259 Burk, “Frame,” 90. Burk proposes the idea of a “politics of visibility.”
In asking what the copper cladding is doing, Alfred Gell’s cautionary words on avoiding “fixity” of meaning for objects must be heeded.\textsuperscript{260} It is notable that the support pole upon which the massive Salish weaving \textit{Ten} (1999) hangs at the Museum of Anthropology is made of copper. In this instance of literal support, the relationship between the wool and the copper could be deemed recognition of the value of weaving, and a form of solidarity with Musqueam in its desire for distinct recognition.

It could be that the woven blankets wrap the site, and protect the Granville Project from its vulnerability to misinterpretation, misrepresentation, and misrecognition. In an urban center on unceded territory, where many First Nations peoples live, and where many interests and identities intersect, are the copper and the weavings adapted to bring new forms of social agency into existence?\textsuperscript{261}

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Chapter 4: Conclusions

Seemingly “unified” in its general description as “Musqueam art” and wrapped in copper cladding that literally and figuratively flattens its meaning for all Indigenous peoples, the artworks installed at the Granville Project still operate as independent and discrete entities. Each installation is not readily visible from the other, as they are mounted in three different parts of the complex, and are each materially and visually different. None of the artists partook in the opportunity to use copper as a medium for their artworks, and two of the three installations required modifications, evidence of an exertion of agency on the design plan.

As public art, the Granville Project installation refers to the respect held for the c̱ənsnaʔəm village and Musqueam’s ancestors, while simultaneously (if subtly) referring to other losses and dispossessions wrought through colonial systems. This dual reference is confounding, but does not limit the Granville Project’s art installation to function as recognition in “exchange” for continued territorial dispossession. But this is also too tidy, and the “ontological havoc” to which Alfred Gell draws attention, is also denied in such a move.262 The site has been discussed in the thesis as simultaneously enacting recognition of Indigenous presence, misrecognition of Musqueam difference, and as evidencing instances of self-affirming praxis. That one site “does” so much is not surprising: discussions of ingenious hybridization, entanglement, and reintegration are not uncommon when regarding Indigenous art.263 Embracing ambiguity, uncertainty and complexity is of utmost importance for any critical engagement with Indigenous art practices.264

In the Granville Project’s public art installation, many agents have made new meanings in the choice to connect an understanding of copper with an understanding of the history of Musqueam

and that of the Northwest Coast. The “sense of place” they inform remain unspecified, “to be determined” qualities based upon knowledge, or “cultural education” of each passerby.\textsuperscript{265} A number of possible unintended consequences emerge from the multiplicity of agents and indexes. The “ontological havoc” that results from these intersecting agentive actions is unavoidable when assessing the Granville Project as an index of the state of “being-in-the-world”.\textsuperscript{266} To deny that “havoc” is to close off the very potential for change that both Gell and Coulthard require of art.\textsuperscript{267}

It is apparent then that the social agency dissociated from or not considered as part of many Indigenous artworks (art forms, cultural products and practices, or belongings) are ways into, and ways out of misrecognition. If social agency is only recognized as being present in events of radical change and public conflict, its presence in sustainable daily practices of resistance risks being rendered invisible. Active consideration must be given to Hunt and Holmes’ “quiet” forms of agency. It has only been through considering the Granville Project as a site rich in social agency, that it can be read as capable of holding and sustaining multiple intentionalities despite the apparent unification of its copper wrapping.

The artworks at the Granville Project are representative of the effects of contemporary Musqueam resistance to colonial dispossession. They create spaces for the presence of Musqueam to be made visible. In the visual and material components of the redevelopment, the site maps a partial history of the place.\textsuperscript{268} And the “place-stories” that would trouble a “two-world” model of “settler” and “Indigenous” only become evident through a deeper knowledge of Musqueam history, apropos Salish determinations of what, when and how to share knowledge.\textsuperscript{269}

\textsuperscript{265} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 2, 62.
\textsuperscript{266} Gell, “Vogel’s Net,” 226.
\textsuperscript{267} Gell, \textit{Art and Agency}, 6; and Coulthard, \textit{Red Skin, White Masks}, 17, 155.
\textsuperscript{268} Blomley, “Mud for the Land,” 561-562.
\textsuperscript{269} Thrush, “How Many Worlds,” 296.
A plurality of interests intersects in the Granville Project, part of an “imaginative geography” of Vancouver, a nexus of interests, expectations, and materialities that bring bundles of meanings together to build a ‘place’.

Pedestrians, cyclists and automobile drivers will develop their own relationships in travelling past Susan Point’s sculpture each day. Residents will consider the emitted energies of the Cannell’s light boxes each night from within their dwellings, a relationship that only they will be able to create. The effect of woven wool blankets on a sometimes cold and wet street will continue to intrigue, surprise or elude the passerby.

Through a gradual patination of the copper cladding, striated and transforming daily in Vancouver’s weather, the Granville Project signifies “Vancouver-ness” in transformation, a witness to the processes of a particular urbanization, the deployment of a particular Northwest Coast “Indianness,” and a particular process of maintaining Musqueam territory through presence.

Figures

Figure 1 Granville Street frontage of the Granville at 70th Project. Glass vitrine, containing *Weavings* #1 to #5. Photo by author, 2017.
Figure 2 Susan Point, *Fusion: Connecting History and Community*, Aluminum, 2014. Photo by author, 2016.

Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 3 Entrance to complex interior from West 70th Avenue access to parkade. Photo by author, 2016.
Figure 4 Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell, *Land & Sea*, 2014 (view of *Sea*), light boxes. Photo by author, 2017.

Photo with permission of the artists.
Figure 5 Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell, *Land & Sea*, 2014 (view of *Land*), light boxes. Photo by author, 2016.

Photo with permission of the artists.
Figure 6 Copper cladding within the complex's interior parkade access. Photograph by Ed White Photography, from Westbank Corporation website, http://westbankcorp.com/granville-70th. By permission of Westbank Corporation.
Figure 7 Susan Point, *Fusion*, 2014. Detail of painted eyes of salmon and human figures. Photo by author, 2017.

Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 9 Robyn Sparrow, *Weaving #1 and Weaving #2*, 2014. Dyed and spun wool fibres. Photo by author, 2017.

Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 10 Robyn Sparrow, *Weaving #2*, 2014. Photo by author, 2016. Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 11 Krista Point, *Weaving #3 and Weaving #4*, 2014. Dyed and spun wool fibres. Photo by author, 2014.

Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 12 Krista Point, *Weaving #3*, 2014. Photo by author, 2014. Photo with permission of the artist.

Photo with permission of the artist.
Figure 14 Debra Sparrow, *Weaving #5*, 2014. Detailed view of the appliquéd leather binding with salmon figures, and stitch type variations. Photo by author, 2017. Photos with permission of the artist.
Figure 15 Granville at 70th Project. Viewed facing south and west on Granville Street. Photograph by Ed White Photography, from Westbank Corporation website, http://westbankcorp.com/granville-70th. By permission of Westbank Corporation.
Figure 16 Marpole Safeway, prior to demolition. Photograph from Emily Goes Commercial Art Consultant, "Granville at 70th Detailed Public Art Plan." PDF presentation document, June 11, 2012, page 8.

Figure 16 has been removed due to copyright restrictions.
Figure 17 Conceptual image of an aerial view of the Granville at 70th Project. Image from Henriquez Partners Architects website, http://henriquezpartners.com/work/granville-70th. By permission of Henriquez Partners Architects.
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Appendices

Appendix A

A.1 Text #1

Text from copper plate on pedestal beside Fusion sculpture. (Transcribed by the author, December 6, 2014)

“Fusion: Connecting History and Community” – Aluminum, 2014, Susan A. Point

“Fusion” is an artwork that marries mediums and culture…as well as legends. It also, metaphorically, fuses natural imagery with modern methods.

Situated in traditional Musqueam territory, a place rich in cultural history, this contemporary Salish sculpture reflects not only the history of the area, but also the present: the rapidly growing, ever changing community that is Marpole. Close to the banks of the Fraser River, my work is conceptually based on the themes seen within the work: the “Salmon People”, which are the Musqueam and other First Nations further up the Fraser River. And the “People of the River Grass”, refer to the Musqueam people specifically. The human elements seen within the salmon and among the grass, refers to all peoples. The faces are revealed with the traditional Salish elements of crescents and wedges. Altogether, the forms represent a living, thriving culture and our historical legacy; a landmark that respects the past, present and future.

Susan A. Point O.C., DFA., RCA., D.Litt. a descendant of the Musqueam people; she is the daughter of Edna Grant and Anthony Point.
LAND & SEA – Light boxes, 2014, Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell
These light boxes reflect Nature’s connections and her ability to flow, peaceful and composed.

“The Sea”
Dreaming of the West Coast…Orcas are chasing salmon around the Salish Sea; dashing between islands. Kelp, thirty feet long, are unbroken in the currents; maybe it is spawning season? Flounders down below are thoughtless of our being. Cod are waiting among the rocks for an easy meal. Happenings are waiting to be discovered.

The broken circle of each design was inspired by a quarter moon which we saw one evening. It signifies a fragmented spindle whorl. Coast Salish women have used the spindle whorl for centuries to spin their mountain goat wool into the yarn used to create the weavings for which they are renowned. “Our hope is to remind young, and young at heart, to look closely; to remember all the charms and graces of our world.”

Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell are Coast Salish artists from the neighbouring Musqueam First Nation.
A.3  Text #3

Text from copper plates on wall beneath Land light box: (Transcribed by the author, December 6, 2014)

LAND & SEA – Light boxes, 2014, Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell
These light boxes reflect Nature’s connections and her ability to flow, peaceful and composed.

“The Land”
Walking along the forest floor…tall grass, a young buck is romping past for the fun of it. A beaver emerges through the reeds at the shore, looking for another sapling to chew down; he has found one, but his eyes hunt for prowlers. For now, only small creatures of the forest aren’t hidden. Happenings are waiting to be discovered.

The broken circle of each design was inspired by a quarter moon which we saw one evening. It signifies a fragmented spindle whorl. Coast Salish women have used the spindle whorl for centuries to spin their mountain goat wool into the yarn used to create the weavings for which they are renowned. “Our hope is to remind young, and young at heart, to look closely; to remember all the charms and graces of our world.”

Kelly Cannell and Thomas Cannell are Coast Salish artists from the neighbouring Musqueam First Nation.

Text from Vitrines at Marpole Safeway: (Transcribed by the author, December 6, 2014)
Salish weaving is an ancient art form, dating back at least 4,500 years. Woven blankets, made from the wool of mountain goats and dog hair, were often worn as garments and used in ceremonies, but also made for use in the home.

By the early 20th century, Coast Salish Culture had been profoundly affected by European influence, and the art of Salish weaving was almost lost. It was not until the 1960’s that Salish blanket weaving began its revival. The people responsible taught themselves, by studying examples of old weavings and questioning elders to learn whatever they remembered of the art.

Today, very near here, at the mouth of the Fraser River, Coast Salish blanket weaving continues in the community of Musqueam, where respected and accomplished weavers continue to develop this art form.*

A.5  Text #5

ROBYN SPARROW
(Weavings #1 and #2)

This weaving was not difficult to complete, once I sat down and started to weave. I just allow the creative side of me to create a work that represents Musqueam, our heritage, our pride and most of all, the First Nations People and our Territory, the Coast Salish. I allow the hands of our ancestors to guide me in the direction I need to go, I speak with those who have asked me to create this artwork and I also listen to my 9-year-old granddaughter, Scarlett Sparrow-Felix. She has the gift of weaving and, since the age of 5, weaves a portion of my work.

The two pieces I have create are to honour our ancestors and show respect to the “Marpole Midden,” or, in our language “cəsnaʔəm”. I am compelled to acknowledge those individuals who have paved the way for our generation enabling us to be heard and represented with pride.
A.6 Text #6

KRISTA POINT
(Weavings #3 and #4)
My weaving is greatly influenced by traditional Coast Salish designs. I take traditional designs from my culture and transform them into my own. All my weavings are different and tell their own story. The designs I have used here are flying geese, zigzag design (lightning in the sky, trail from a snake) and a weave that I believe represents water or mountains.

Weaving connects me to my culture, ancestors and community. When I weave I put my love and positive energy into it. I share my technique with my community members; it helps them learn some of our traditional teachings. Our culture was all but taken from us a long time ago. This is part of our culture is being revived and introduced to people in different cultures and communities.
A.7  Text #7

DEBRA SPARROW
(Weavings #5)

I am honoured to exhibit my weavings in this space; a place where my ancestors, the Musqueam of the Coast Salish, have lived since the beginning of time. Not far from here, along the Fraser River, we gathered our supply of salmon; today we gather here to buy it. Salmon can also be found within my weaving, as a contemporary balance to the geometric and graphic designs that reflect our tradition. The blankets were our wealth, representing each family. The textile I have created represents the people; the complex intricate beauty of the Musqueam.

We three weavers have been inspired for the last 30 years, redefining our existence through these fibers. I hope that when you view this work, you will think of Vancouver’s deep-rooted history; the ancient culture that thrived in this beautiful area which we now call Marpole.