

International Relations and Contemporary Artwork:
Canadian Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Self-Determination, and
Decolonizing Visuality

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Abstract

In this project I analyze the international dimensions of sovereignty, political self-determination, and creative self-expression by Indigenous contemporary artists in the context of Canadian settler colonialism. My key research question is: how does the conventional International Relations (IR) imagination of state formation and world ordering through territorial sovereignty displace the violences of Canadian settler colonialism? With a transnational feminist analysis I examine visual expressions of the Canadian settler colonial imaginary of world ordering by territorial sovereignty expressed at particular historical moments and how the work of Indigenous artists, curators, academics, and communities calls attention to the power relationships and violences of these international processes. Methodologically, I analyze how visual methods of knowledge production in art museums, galleries, and international art exhibitions express and inform conventional identities, policies, institutional practices, divisions of labour, academic theories, and popular ideas about Canadian nationalism, subjectivity, and settler colonial claims to territorial sovereignty. I demonstrate how contemporary visual artwork by Brian Jungen, a Dane-zaa First Nations artist of European descent, and Anishinaabe artist Rebecca Belmore unsettle the conventional Westphalian imaginary of sovereignty in IR and offer transformative potentials for decolonizing material conditions of power, agency, and visibility in international politics. I analyze how Jungen and Belmore's artwork and framing of their projects in the contexts of the international political conditions within which they live and work intervenes in mainstream Canadian and global visual cultures in terms of political struggles over colonial ethnographic institutional visual methods, Indigenous peoples' experiences of dispossession, colonial commodification, sexual violence, and Indigenous peoples' lands and waterways reclamations. Taking the lead from the artists' self-identified entry points in framing their work, I contribute to IR debates by analyzing how Jungen and Belmore's work as contemporary visual artists puts pressure on conventional IR theories and methods of understanding power, sovereignty, visibility, anarchy, hierarchy, commodification, violence, agency, and social justice. I discuss the tensions between settler claims to sovereignty and Indigenous peoples' relationships with traditional lands and waterways as well as Indigenous scholars' land-based philosophies, in order to better understand possibilities for decolonizing international relationships between non-Indigenous Canadian settlers and Indigenous peoples through artwork.

Dedication

This project was made possible by the loving support and lifelong insights of my Mom,
Susan Merson. This work is dedicated to you.

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List of Abbreviations

AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CSC	Correctional Service Canada
#INM	#IdleNoMore
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
IPE	International Political Economy
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian
NWAC	Native Women's Association of Canada
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCNDALS	Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
UBC	University of British Columbia
UN	United Nations
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	United Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization

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Introduction

Current global events are increasingly challenging the governance capacity of the international system of sovereign states to be held accountable to communities' priorities and political claims put forward through these struggles. The political authority and governance capacity of sovereign states and the international system are called into question by transnational processes such as protest movements against neoliberal austerity measures, community-based organizing to end systemic gender-based violence, militarized insurgencies, and the effects of global climate change. What role can contemporary artwork play in decolonizing international relations through envisioning alternative global political communities that enact justice and peace? Historically, the academic discipline of International Relations (IR) has focused on explaining the practices of state actors in military and economic conditions of conflict and cooperation in a world ordered through Westphalian territorial sovereignty. The register of contemporary IR has shifted to focus on explaining and understanding the geopolitical dynamics and ontological foundations of the international system of sovereign states. My entry point in this project is to demonstrate how the discipline of IR systematically undertheorizes processes of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination as powerful forces in international relations. I focus on how sovereignty is imagined by political communities and in IR knowledge production in order to understand how contemporary reproductions of sovereignty, transnationalism, and Indigenous self-determination are shaped by historical colonial capitalist conditions that inform peoples' everyday lived experiences of colonialism, racialization, gender, sexuality, and economic status. The historical and contemporary presence of Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles in the context of Canadian settler colonialism

demonstrates how the IR imagination and international relations practice of territorial sovereignty as a separation of domestic (internal) and foreign (external) political communities expresses a colonial worldview that privileges settler colonialism and does not affirm the position of Indigenous peoples' political communities as inherently self-determining in international relations.

Indigenous communities, scholars, artists, and activists working to decolonize social conditions emphasize the need to transform the idea of academic knowledge production as inherently objective and understand how knowledge production is expressed and shared across many sites including artistic production, imagination, culture, and ceremonial practices. My analysis focuses on how contemporary visual artwork by Indigenous artists Brian Jungen and Rebecca Belmore, working within conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and global art communities, problematize the assumed universality of Eurocentric modernity and the international system of Westphalian territorial sovereignty in order to express Indigenous self-determination. I argue that their projects, exhibitions methods, sites of exhibition, and statements framing their work invite non-Indigenous and Indigenous people to understand and transform the colonial conditions of international relations and to imagine the role of artwork in these processes.

Research Question for International Relations

In this project I analyze the international dimensions of sovereignty, political self-determination, and self-expression by Indigenous contemporary artists in the context of Canadian settler colonialism. The key research question guiding my work is: how does

the conventional International Relations (IR) imagination of state formation and world ordering through territorial sovereignty displace the violences of Canadian settler colonialism? In this dissertation I analyze how the conventional IR imaginary of sovereignty and the interstate system circumscribes the limits of agency and authority in IR knowledge production, governance, and political struggles.

Thesis

Visual expressions of power are a crucial element of the historical emergence and ongoing reproduction of colonial sovereignty in international politics. Throughout the following chapters I examine the changing visual expressions of the Canadian settler colonial imaginary of world ordering, with a focus on territorial sovereignty, expressed at different historical moments. I trace how the work of Indigenous artists, curators, academics, and communities calls attention to the violences of these international processes. I examine how this contemporary artwork is an international political relationship expressing Indigenous self-determination struggles in the context of ongoing Canadian settler colonialism. I demonstrate how visual artwork by Brian Jungen, a Dane-zaa First Nations artist of European descent, and Anishinaabe artist Rebecca Belmore unsettle IR knowledge production and the Westphalian imaginary of sovereignty in international politics by calling attention to the historical and ongoing violences of Canadian settler colonialism. In this way, I argue that their artwork offers transformative potentials for decolonizing material conditions of power, agency, and visibility in world politics today. In each chapter I focus on how the international dimensions of artwork express three themes: power, embodiment, and visibility.

I argue that visual artwork is a vital and contested site of expressing colonialism, decolonization, solidarity, and self-determination between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples in world politics historically and today. While conventional methods of knowledge production in the discipline of IR may not recognize artwork as a site of power relationships in world politics, I argue that creative work is a method of expressing and contesting multiple contending power relationships in international politics. In this way, visual artwork is and should be understood as a site of international political struggle and agency. Conventional Political Science theories and methods that do not affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent rights and ongoing practices of political self-determination are informed by colonial worldviews that displace the violences of settler colonialism by claiming that Aboriginal Politics is only a domestic political matter of the field of Canadian Politics. I focus on artwork as a crucial site of expressing and contesting Canadian settler colonialism, decolonization, and Indigenous self-determination as international power relationships by engaging with how these sites are essential to decolonization and enacting social justice in political governance, institutional, and everyday social relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples.

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

My theoretical and methodological engagement with the academic literature on Canadian settler colonialism, Indigenous self-determination, and aesthetics in IR is a transnational feminist approach to decolonizing academic knowledge production and affirming the power of creative self-expression through contemporary artwork in world politics. My theoretical analysis in this project focuses on the racialized, gendered,

economic impacts of relationships between IR academic knowledge production and colonial power dynamics in world politics. Methodologically, I analyze how contemporary artwork offers insights to these power dynamics in global politics by calling attention to how art history and artwork shape worldviews about political communities' relationships with land and water. I focus on how Jungen and Belmore's artistic production methods, exhibition methods, and statements about their work unsettle Canadian colonial sovereignty, enact Indigenous self-determination, and create opportunities for audiences to imagine decolonial international relationships. My commitment to decolonizing academic work from my position as a white Canadian settler and IR theorist involves accounting for the international dimensions of power relationships between knowledge production, settler colonialism, and Indigenous self-determination struggles in the work I do.

Drawing from the work of Indigenous and transnational feminist scholars analyzing relationships between academic knowledge production, decolonization, and social justice, I examine how multiple modes of international power relationships are expressed visually through artwork and academic knowledge production about artwork. Methodologically, I analyze how visual methods of representation in museums, art galleries, and international art exhibitions express and inform dominant identities, policies, institutional practices, divisions of labour, academic theories, and popular ideas about Canadian nationalism, subjectivity, and settler colonial claims to territorial sovereignty. To analyze Jungen and Belmore's artwork in the context of IR I engage with the artists' self-identified priorities in making the work, by examining artists' statements, curatorial essays, exhibition notes, and published interviews with the artists. With this approach I analyze the visual

expression of international power relationships and the artists' analyses of their visual artwork in the context of three dynamics of international relations. In my analysis, firstly I focus on the contradiction of the Canadian settler colonial imaginary of historical *terra nullius* in international political conditions of treaty making, trade, and the violence of colonial dispossession experienced and resisted by Indigenous peoples. Secondly, I examine how visual artwork is a site of articulating forms of international relations: transformations in the Canadian settler colonial imaginary; Indigenous artists unsettling colonial world ordering; and expressions of Indigenous self-determination. Thirdly, I analyze how the work of contemporary Indigenous visual artists expressing self-determination contributes to IR theories and methods of power, violence, and agency. In this way, IR knowledge production is the site of my analysis and my method of analysis is to examine the international political dimensions of visual artwork and academic knowledge production about artwork. I focus on the IR problematics of: *world ordering* through the sovereign interstate system; the violence of claiming *territorial sovereignty* through settler society dispossession of Indigenous peoples; and the *agency* of artists as actors of political struggles enacting change in international politics.

My methodological approach focuses on power, embodiment, and visibility. I analyze how the artists' production methods, sculptures, performances, exhibition methods, and the artists' analytical framing of their work demonstrate how visual artwork is a site of international political struggle. As contemporary artists, Jungen and Belmore produce creative projects driven by insights to the conditions they live and work in and through the exhibition of their work they invite people to engage in questioning the assumptions we hold, the ways we imagine and experience the worlds we live in, and

how we can begin to imagine alternative international relations. By articulating Indigenous self-determination as a salient international political struggle of concern to all peoples engaged in social justice, Jungen and Belmore's artwork can be understood as a site of decolonizing the imagination of relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers in Canada and globally. In this way, I have not made a decision to isolate these dynamics in the artwork but rather my method of analysis is to engage with Jungen and Belmore's self-identified priorities in making the artwork and situating their exhibitions in the context of Indigenous self-determination struggles in international politics and how these insights contribute to key debates in IR on world ordering, sovereignty, and agency. Jungen and Belmore's artwork and their framing of their projects through analyses of the social conditions within which they live and work intervenes in the normalized mainstream Canadian and global visual cultures in terms of political struggles over colonial ethnographic institutional visual methods, Indigenous dispossession, colonial commodification, sexual violence, and Indigenous lands and waterways reclamations. Taking the lead from the artists' self-identified entry points, I contribute to IR debates by analyzing how this contemporary artwork puts pressure on dominant IR theories and methods of understanding power, sovereignty, visibility, anarchy, hierarchy, commodification, violence, agency, and social justice.

Significance in International Politics

I analyze the work of Indigenous artists, scholars, curators, and communities in order to intervene in the ways in which colonial visibility becomes normalized. I discuss how Jungen and Belmore's projects express political self-determination through the artwork itself and in relation with Indigenous communities' cultural resurgences and

lands and waters reclamations. In this way, my understanding of artwork is not limited only to the sculptures, performances, and films created by Jungen and Belmore. I understand artwork to be a historically situated material process of artists, curators, art administrators, art critics, scholars, and audiences engaging with collective memories, experiences, and imaginaries of world politics. To analyze the international political dimensions of IR knowledge production about artwork, I examine conversations across multidisciplinary academic, artistic, and activist communities. I am especially inspired by and draw from work that emphasizes the importance of decolonizing academic knowledge production in struggles for social justice.

Indigenous self-determination struggles against Canadian settler colonialism emphasize two dimensions that characterize the relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers as *international relationships*. Firstly, Indigenous community leaders, scholars, and artists in Canada and global transnational Indigenous movements, expressed in interventions such as #IdleNoMore and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), emphasize how nation to nation relationships are embodied in treaty relationships and in Indigenous peoples' inherent rights and ongoing practices of self-determination. Secondly, while practices of Indigenous self-determination call on settler governments and societies to honour treaty relationships and often work strategically within existing settler colonial political institutions, this is not simply a mirroring of Westphalian sovereignty and effort to seek recognition of Indigenous nationalisms on colonial terms (Maddison and Brigg; Moreton-Robinson *Sovereign*; Rickard "Visualizing"; A. Simpson *Mohawk Interruptus*). Rather Indigenous self-determination struggles that engage settler societies' and governments'

treaty relationships by foregrounding Indigenous communities' historical and ongoing relationships with traditional lands and waterways unsettle the colonial imaginary of world ordering by Westphalian exclusive territorial sovereignty by asserting political communities and modes of governance that cannot be contained within colonial imaginaries, international laws, and modes of governance. Throughout the following chapters I discuss the tensions between settler claims to sovereignty and Indigenous nations' relationships with lands and waterways, as well as Indigenous scholars' land-based philosophies about political communities, in order to better understand possibilities for decolonizing international relationship between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples.

In academic analyses of colonialism, the historical and ongoing violence of dispossession and genocide experienced by Indigenous peoples are often named as the defining characteristics of settler colonialism. Patrick Wolfe states:

In contrast to the kind of colonial formation that Cabral or Fanon confronted, settler colonies were not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labour. Rather, they are premised on displacing indigenes from (or replacing them on) the land... Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event” (Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism* 1 - 2).

In this project I focus on how, in conditions of Canadian settler colonial violence, academic knowledge production plays a crucial role in the circumscription of political authority and agency of Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers (Beier *International*; Morgensen *Destabilizing*; Razack *Race*; Regan; Simpson and Smith). Further, institutional visual methods of knowledge production in museums, art galleries, and international art events are also key sites of expressing and contesting settler colonial

nationalisms, subjectivity, and world ordering through the representational erasure of Indigenous lifeways and assertion of Westphalian sovereignty as universal. In this way, settler colonial institutionalized knowledge production historically and today systematically participates in the dispossession and genocide of Indigenous peoples through the reproduction and regulation of images, ways of imagining, narratives, and knowledge systems that attempt to deny the presence of Indigenous nations on Indigenous lands. As Audra Simpson says:

“The story that settler-colonial nation-states tend to tell about themselves is that they are new; they are beneficent; they have successfully ‘settled’ all issues prior to their beginning. If, in fact, they acknowledge having complicated beginnings, forceful beginnings, what was there before that process occupies a shadowy space of reflection” (A. Simpson, *Mohawk Interruptus* 177).

In this work I do not claim, nor am I interested in attempting to formulate, an overarching definition of what Canadian settler colonialism is. Rather, taking a transnational feminist approach to knowledge production and power in world politics, I analyze how specific sites of exhibition and methods of artistic production by Jungen and Belmore call attention to how contemporary artwork is a key site of making decolonial political claims in and against the material conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and in the context of Indigenous self-determination struggles. Artwork is a powerful force in world politics and transnational feminist analyses emphasize the transformative power of imagination and creative self-expression happening in colonial conditions. In this way, throughout the following chapters I show how historical and contemporary visual artwork acts as an expression of power, violence, and agency in enacting change in international politics.

Contemporary artwork is a form of creative expression that is distinct from *modern* artwork. In “The State of Art History: Contemporary Art” Terry Smith argues that contemporary artwork is not simply artwork produced in this present moment. Rather, contemporary artwork functions as a site of “art historical inquiry” (366) and that there has been a “worldwide move... unmistakable since the 1980s – from modern art to contemporary art” (369). Smith’s analysis emphasizes how contemporary artwork is characterized by an expression of how the time and place within which the artist lives, imagines, and creates is conditioned by transformative global historical forces of colonization, decolonization, and globalization (380). Smith says:

“Place making, world picturing, and connectivity are the most common concerns of artists these days because they are the substance of contemporary being. Increasingly, they override residual distinctions based on style, mode, medium, and ideology. They are present in all art that is truly contemporary. Distinguishing, precisely, this presence in each artwork is the most important challenge to an art criticism that would be adequate to the demands of contemporaneity” (380).

Smith emphasizes how art historians contribute to contemporary art communities by tracing the global dimensions of production, exhibition, and experiences of artwork to show how this impacts our understandings of the present. Analyzing Jungen and Belmore’s projects in the context of IR, I argue that their contemporary artwork is an expression of agency as artists enacting change by engaging with the international political conditions that inform their worlds, posing questions about salient global political issues, and foregrounding the role of artwork and art history in coming to terms with these matters.

Overview of Chapters

In this project I engage with three interconnected themes: the tension between the present day material conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles; how contemporary artwork by Jungen and Belmore expresses Indigenous self-determination; and how I am situated in my position as a student and theorist of power and violence in international politics. The artworks I have selected to focus on are Jungen's sculpture series *Prototype for New Understanding* (1997 – 2002), Belmore's exhibition *The Named and the Unnamed* (2002), and Belmore's performance-film installation *Fountain* (2005). I focus on the relationships between the artists' methods of production and performance, the thematic content of their exhibitions, the context of the specific exhibition space, how their work is presented visually in the exhibition, the artists' discussions of their work, and how this calls attention to the material conditions of colonial discourse about Indigenous artists' work in global and Canadian settler society and institutions.

In writing about Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination through the power of visual artwork, I am addressing the politics of naming and how my decisions to use specific words and phrases to describe groups and individuals is part of transnational feminist praxis of decolonizing my own imagination of world politics and my practice of academic work. In my writing about settler colonialism, Indigeneity, and artwork in the context of IR I engage with how Canadian settler colonialism is a distinct form of racism and how colonialism informs Westphalian sovereignty, epistemologically in IR and as a lived experience of international relationships. In this context, writing about the conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination

struggles involves decolonizing academic, legal, and social categorizations by engaging with the context-specific terms self-identified by Indigenous individuals and communities.

Throughout the following chapters I refer to International Relations and international relations. International Relations is a field of study in the academic discipline of Political Science that specializes in analyzing power relationships in world politics. I use the phrase international relations to describe relationships between actors in global politics, for example I would describe state representatives participating in the United Nations as practicing international relations. When discussing the words, art projects, and political struggles of Indigenous individuals or communities I refer to them as they self-identify themselves. Depending on the context I would refer to the Indigenous language name for their nation, First Nation or band name identified by the person(s). If the person or group self-identifies as being Indian, Aboriginal, Métis, Inuit, First Nations or Native American I refer to these identifications. Indigenous is a term that refers to communities who have a historical relationship with particular lands and waters that informs their collective identity as peoples, which transgresses colonial sovereign borders and affirms Indigenous peoples' self-determination in a global context. Where individuals and groups self-identify their particular Indigenous nation or First Nation's band name I describe them in this way, for example Rebecca Belmore describes herself as an Anishinaabe artist and when discussing specific circumstances, such as her role as the representative of Canada at the Venice Biennale, she also refers to herself an Aboriginal artist as this reflects her position as an Indigenous representative of Canada in the international art world. I use the term Indian to refer to specific Canadian government

policies such as the *Indian Act* and if an individual self-identifies as Indian in a particular context. The identifications Aboriginal, Métis and Inuit are codified in the legal categorization of Aboriginal Rights of Aboriginal, Métis, and Inuit peoples in Section 35 of *The Constitution Act* (1982), also known as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and some individuals and groups self-identify with these terms depending on the context. The identification Native American is often used by Indigenous peoples in the United States in a similar way that an Indigenous person in Canada may identify as Aboriginal, when identifying with Indigenous peoples from another Indigenous nation in the context of their international relationships with the settler state and/or global community. Since colonial power relationships become normalized through repetitive processes of imposing colonial naming and attempts to erase Indigenous peoples' self-identification through assimilation, Indigenous self-determination struggles prioritize decolonizing terms of identification as a process of reconciliation, decolonization, and cultural resurgences. As I discuss in , One, James Anaya's definition and analysis of Indigenous self-determination in international politics emphasizes the creation of new political policies, communities, and subjectivities and in this way Indigenous peoples' terms of self-identification create new practices of Indigenous self-representation as well as transforming and decolonizing international relations with non-Indigenous peoples.

In Chapter One "Canadian Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Self-determination, and Visual Artwork as International Relations" I analyze how the historical foundation of the Canadian state and the ongoing present day conditions of Canadian settler colonialism have emerged through the genocide of Indigenous peoples and the colonial erasure of relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples as international

relationships. A key priority identified by Indigenous peoples in their resistances of Canadian colonialism and enacting self-determination is the urgent need for settlers to decolonize institutional knowledge production about Indigenous peoples in universities, government ministry reports, and art institutions, as colonial knowledge is framed as a justification to intervene in Indigenous peoples' daily lives, communities, and nations. I focus on how a transnational feminist analysis engaging with the intersections of visual artwork, Indigenous self-determination, and Canadian settler colonialism can be a productive entry point to affirming how relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples are international processes.

Examining these intersections in the context of IR matters because Jungen and Belmore's methods of artistic production and the imaginaries articulated in their projects unsettle the Westphalian imaginary of the international and who is and is not considered an authorized international subject with agency to enact change in world politics. This unsettling calls attention to the historical and ongoing violences of Canadian settler colonialism and how Indigenous and transnational feminist approaches to the politics of academic knowledge production offer theoretical and methodological entry points to transforming both discursive representations and material conditions of power, agency, and visibility in world politics. As Indigenous scholars, curators, and artists have demonstrated, colonial visual methods of knowledge production about Canadian subjectivity and Indigenous peoples work in relation with Indigenous peoples' experiences of the violence of direct force of the dispossession from lands and waterways, the residential school system, and systemic injustices experienced through the child welfare system, policing, and incarceration. A process of decolonizing the IR

imaginary of the international and how power, agency, and visibility are experienced in world politics disrupts the linear trajectory of present day settler colonial understandings of the foundation of the international state system, in particular colonial entitlement and claims to settle lands as inevitable and progressive acts.

Chapter One outlines many themes that I continue to engage with throughout the following chapters: the tension between the social conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and the colonial imaginary of the discovery and settlement of ‘empty lands’; the role of artwork in Indigenous self-determination struggles; and how these processes put pressure on dominant IR methods of power, violence, and visibility. In each chapter I engage with the material conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination struggles, taking artwork as an entry point to engage with a key theoretical concept in IR and texts that are foundational to IR theories and methods of power.

In Chapter Two “Kenneth N. Waltz’s ‘The Three Images’: Imagination, Settler Colonialism, and IR Theorizations of Sovereign Power” I analyze how Indigenous self-determination struggles in the context of Canadian settler colonialism call attention to how IR theories and methods normalize colonial conceptions of sovereign power. The key IR text that I analyze is Kenneth Waltz’s *Man, the State and War*, which productively opened a space of recognizing the role of imagination in IR theories and methods of power and yet is also read as a foundational text in normalizing the settler colonial imaginary of world ordering through Westphalian territorial sovereignty, as this text has informed the IR ‘levels of analysis’ paradigm. I argue that the effect of this dominant reading of Waltz’s ‘three images’ and the emergence of the ‘levels of analysis’ paradigm problematically forecloses disciplinary spaces for epistemic contestations and

analyses of international political struggles over land. I also discuss art critic Clement Greenberg's work on abstract visuality in the New York art world in the 1950s, the era in which Waltz wrote *Man, the State and War*, and I analyze the settler colonial imaginary expressed in the 1949-1951 Canadian Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences Chaired by Vincent Massey. I analyze how the Westphalian imaginary and abstract visuality expressed in Waltz, Greenberg and Massey's work articulated a reassertion of settler colonialism in an era of national liberation decolonization movements in Africa and Asia. I conclude with an analysis of the enduring popularity of Waltz's 'three images' method in 'the levels of analysis' method across IR realist, liberal, and critical approaches to academic knowledge production.

In Chapter Three, "Decolonizing Canadian Institutional Visual Methods: Brian Jungen's Methods of Exhibiting *Prototype for New Understanding*" I discuss Jungen's sculptural and exhibition methods and analyze how this work intervenes to unsettle the normalization of historical Canadian settler colonial institutional visual methods of knowledge production. I outline how dominant ideas about anarchy (as *terra nullius*) and hierarchy (as colonial settlement) are concepts that historical and contemporary artists in Canada grapple with. I show how anarchy and hierarchy are expressed visually in Canadian museum, art gallery, and art history methods of display and scholarly analysis Indigenous artists' work as 'artifacts' and settler artists' work as foundational to Canadian nationalism. I focus on how Jungen's *Prototype For New Understanding* puts pressure on the normalization of Canadian settler colonialism in institutional methods of visual knowledge production in art museums, academic institutions, and popular cultures

by showing how artwork is not simply a static object, such as a ceremonial mask in a museum display case, but rather artwork is a dynamic, creative process of imagination, fabrication, and interpretation. Jungen's artwork offers entry points to understanding how hierarchical colonial power dynamics expressed and contested through artwork as international relationships of imagination and subject formation between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples.

In Chapter Four "Materializing Self-Determination: Brian Jungen's Methods of Sculpting *Prototype for New Understanding*" I discuss how Jungen's sculptural methods call attention to the importance of contesting ongoing, present day assertions of settler colonialism in Canadian art institutions. Following on the previous chapter's discussion of how postcolonial IR analyses engage with the tension of colonial anarchy and hierarchy in IR theories and methods of power, I discuss how Indigenous studies scholarship extends current IR postcolonial (Agathangelou and Ling; Chowdhry and Nair) and IR political economy (Cox *Production*; Cohen; Murphy and Tooze; Strange) analyses of power by foregrounding present day Indigenous self-determination struggles over dispossession and colonial commodification in the context of settler colonialism. I discuss how ongoing contestations over settler institutional visual representation of Indigenous cultures and Indigenous peoples are connected with Indigenous lands and waters reclamations as demonstrated through Jungen's ongoing projects, in particular Jungen's collaborative film project with Duane Linklater, *Modest Livelihood*.

In Chapter Five "Remembering Traumas of Canadian Settler Colonialism in Rebecca Belmore's Performance Artwork Installation *The Named and the Unnamed*" I analyze how Belmore's performance *Vigil*, exhibited as a film installation in the

exhibition *The Named and the Unnamed*, is a method of naming sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and communities as foundational to Canadian settler colonial power relationships. Drawing from performance studies scholar Diana Taylor, I analyze how understanding Belmore's performance artwork as a 'scenario' of naming power disrupts conventional IR aesthetics theories and methods of engaging with artwork as a text by instead engaging with Belmore's performance artwork as embodied knowledge of political struggle. Belmore's performance, visual recording, and film exhibition of *Vigil* in the context of her exhibition *The Named and the Unnamed* is a powerful remembrance of the trauma of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls in Canada. Understanding this artwork as a scenario of naming sexual violence as foundational to Canadian settler colonial assertions of power allows for a productive method of re-envisioning structure and agency debates in IR, as Political Science is a discipline that describes itself as specializing in the naming of power. I discuss how two key IR texts on structure and agency, Alexander Wendt's "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory" and Roxanne Doty's "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory", established the present parameters of structure and agency debate in IR. I offer a transnational feminist analysis of the IR structure and agency debate, discussing Belmore's artwork as an enactment of agency in international politics by drawing on performance studies scholar Diana Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* and Indigenous Studies scholar Dian Million's "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History".

In Chapter Six “International Art World and Transnational Artwork: Creative Presence in Rebecca Belmore’s *Fountain* at the Venice Biennale” I discuss how Belmore’s performance/film installation *Fountain* at the 2005 Venice Biennale expresses a scenario of Indigenous reclamation. Belmore’s aesthetic strategy of engaging with water as a visual interface between the artist and viewer, by projecting the film of her performance onto a stream of falling water in the Canadian Pavilion exhibition space, offers a productive method of understanding and potentially transforming colonial power relations in world politics. In this chapter I analyze how Indigenous self-determination struggles demonstrate the limits of current IR scholarship on Westphalian territorial sovereignty and offer transformative analyses and methods of understanding Indigenous peoples’ land and water reclamations as processes of cultural resurgence in world politics today. In this way I argue that Belmore’s artwork is engaging in both international decolonization and transnational Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences.

In the concluding chapter I discuss the key findings of the project and the questions this work raises for further work in IR scholarship. I review the key insights of each chapter and how they demonstrate possibilities for IR methods of decolonizing the imagination of world ordering by Westphalian territorial sovereignty and non-Indigenous settler communities affirming Indigenous peoples’ inherent self-determination, ongoing cultural resurgences, and lands and waterway reclamations as international processes.

Chapter One. Canadian Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Self-determination, and Visual Artwork as International Relations

“The appropriation of the term *sovereignty* was and remains a critical source of self-determination for Indigenous peoples globally... Further, Indigenous artists are calling for the use of this idea beyond a legal frame and shifting the discussion to an orchestration” Jolene Rickard in “Visualizing Sovereignty in the Time of Biometric Sensors” (467).

“Colonization involves the taking of space: geographical, historical, narrative, cultural, political, legal, intellectual, and pedagogical. Decolonization requires settlers to make space through substantive acts of apology and various forms of restitution, even as Indigenous people are reclaiming and renaming such space through acts of resistance and renewal” Paulette Regan in *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada* (239).

Conventional theories and methods in the academic discipline of IR express the belief that state institutions, militaries, banks, and corporations are *the* sites of global power. This understanding of power depends on the imagination of culture as separate from the realm of political and economic international relations. In my methodology of analyzing power in international politics I engage with approaches that theorize the international dimensions of artistic production, curatorial work, audience engagement, art history, and art criticism in order to emphasize the role of visual artwork in the historical emergence and present day experiences of Westphalian sovereignty. These approaches demonstrate the entanglements of the imagination and practice of sovereignty and how the erasure of connections between imagination and material expression is itself an expression of power. In this project I analyze how this foundational separation is an international process of expressing sovereign power and how the insistence on artwork as

being outside the disciplinary range of IR is an act of erasure of Indigenous self-determination struggles and normalizes claims to Canadian settler colonialism and patriarchal white supremacy. Indigenous nations, community organizations, scholars, artists, and curators who emphasize the importance of understanding relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers as international relationships demonstrate how these relationships are contested sites of many forms of global power. Their interventions emphasize how the violence of asserting sovereignty in settler colonial societies depends on the genocide of Indigenous peoples: the colonial destruction of Indigenous peoples' cultures, ceremonies, and political modes of governance and at the same time imposing colonial institutions and practices as the norm. Indigenous peoples' strategies of resisting genocide and practicing self-determination, historically and in the present, engage with colonial institutions of knowledge production including universities, museums, and art galleries to call settler societies to account.

Indigenous peoples' resistance and survival of colonial violence demonstrates how settler colonial assertions of territorial sovereignty depend in part on visual methods of knowledge production that attempt to normalize the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from traditional lands and waters, based on a deep tension between the collective settler imagination of a national origin story based on the doctrine of discovery of 'empty lands' (*terra nullius*) and at the same time the relentless colonial assertion of European conquest of Indigenous peoples and lands and waterways. This tension is foundational to settler colonial claims to entitlement to occupy Indigenous lands and waterways and to repeatedly claim sovereign authority over the lands and waterways known today as Canada. Historical studies have shown how more than five hundred years of colonial

encounters between Indigenous peoples, European settlers, enslaved African peoples, and indentured labourers in the Americas have been a key dimension in the global emergence of Westphalian sovereignty and categories of racialized, gendered identifications of peoples (Anghie; Barker; McClintock; McKittrick; Mignolo; Mohanram; Palmater; Walcott; Wynter). These analyses of colonial relationality have demonstrated how these historical violences continue to sustain current processes of world ordering and worldviews that normalize Indigenous peoples' experiences of dispossession and settler colonial claims to exclusive territorial sovereignty. Indigenous peoples' contestations of colonial violence and self-determination struggles through land and waterway reclamations and cultural resurgences create opportunities for all people concerned with social justice to reflect on how multiple forms of colonial power shape and are expressed through our daily lives and to engage in decolonization as an international process between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples. Specifically, Indigenous contemporary artists, curators, art historians, and arts organizations demonstrate how a key dimension of Canadian settler colonial sovereign power is expressed through embodied processes of visual knowledge production and how contemporary artwork that calls attention to these international relations is an expression of ongoing Indigenous self-determination struggles and Indigenous sovereignty. These processes of reflection on colonial power relationships and engagement in decolonization of social relationships, especially concerning political communities' relationships with land and water, can offer specific insights to settler colonialism, decolonization, and Indigenous peoples' self-determination in world politics that are analytically and methodologically distinct from

current postcolonial and feminist IR literatures on sovereignty, subjectivity, and the politics of knowledge production.

Canadian Settler Colonialism and Power in IR

In “The Public Role of Writers and Intellectuals” Edward W. Said states that one of the key roles of academic writing in social justice struggles is to call attention to how unjust power dynamics become normalized through systematic silencing (Said 31).

Writing as a theorist of international politics concerned with social justice, I focus on how methods of academic knowledge production in IR that understand power as being limited to military and economic dominance or co-operation problematically regenerate commonplace silence about Canadian settler colonialism and do not affirm Indigenous peoples’ inherent self-determination or the role of artwork in social justice struggles.

My commitment to this project is not only to engage with IR theories and methods of analyzing power dynamics in world politics but also to call attention to how current IR knowledge production participates in the unjust normalization of the material conditions of Canadian settler colonialism and the possibilities for the work of Indigenous arts communities to create possibilities for the emergence of transformative international relationships. By analyzing IR knowledge production as a process of international politics I am responding to Indigenous political leaders, scholars, activists, and artists who call on non-Indigenous Canadians to reflect on our treaty responsibilities and decolonize our international relationships with Indigenous peoples. In this context, my reading of Jungen and Belmore’s artwork can be understood as an act of solidarity in social justice struggles, engaging with how the artists’ creative self-expression enacts

international political claims and creates possibilities for imagining decolonial international communities.

I examine how visual artwork is a contested site of international power relationships between Canadian settlers and Indigenous peoples. With this approach I understand many contending modes of power to be imagined, expressed, and contested through visual methods, including: colonial institutional visual methods of knowledge production in universities, museums, and art galleries; Indigenous peoples' resistances of the violence of colonial institutional visual methods as an international process; and visual artwork as a vital aspect of Indigenous peoples' self-determination through creative self-expression. While creative self-expression by Indigenous artists as a method of self-determination is the central focus of this work, throughout the following chapters I also discuss how artwork relates to many other methods of contesting the unjust power and violences of settler colonialism and enacting Indigenous peoples' self-determination. This chapter focuses on Canadian settler colonialism and artwork as international power relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers. In this section of the chapter I engage with Canadian settler colonialism as a process of international relations by discussing how, in naming the violences of Canadian settler colonialism as genocide, Indigenous peoples have called settler society to account for historical and ongoing injustices.

Indigenous scholars, artists, and curators have demonstrated how Canadian settler colonialism historically emerged through and in many ways functions today on the assumption of homogenous and separate 'Indian' and 'white' settler identities expressed through settler colonial patriarchal laws, popular cultures, and academic knowledge

production (Borrows; Crosby “Imaginary”; Cardinal; Houle “Spiritual”; King; Maracle *Woman*; Palmater). These interventions unsettle the patriarchal white supremacist colonial myth of biological racial purity and hierarchy by demonstrating how the social construction of racialization is an embodied and relational process between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples that is enforced by violence through settler colonial laws, institutional interventions, and social norms (Alfred; Simpson and Ladner; Suzack, Huhndorf, Perrault, Barman). In this context, I join approaches that ask how contemporary social relations of power and violence between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada exist within an ongoing five hundred year history of colonial encounters and contestations in the Americas (Deloria Jr.; Dussel; Fusco; Gómez-Peña *New World*; R.W. Hill *World*; Manuel and Posluns; Mosaka; A. Smith *Conquest*). Indigenous nations, scholars, artists, curators, and activists who name the violence of settler colonialism as genocide emphasize how systemic colonial violence against Indigenous peoples and imposing a colonial social order that privileges settlers is a foundational aspect in the emergence of Canada as a nation claiming sovereign authority over these lands and waters and continues to be a defining characteristic of contemporary Canadian law and everyday social interactions (Neu and Therrien; A. Simpson “Settlement’s”; L. Simpson *Dancing*). These interventions discuss how the *Indian Act* (Alfred; Anderson and Lawrence; Palmater), reserve system, forced assimilation, and systemic sexual violence in the residential school system (Muskrat Magazine; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada), child welfare system, violence against missing and murdered Indigenous women (NWAC; Barrera), settler corporate-government partnerships in resource development, policing and incarceration

were historically established and continue to function as Canadian settler colonial institutions of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their lands and waterways, processes that have always been resisted by Indigenous peoples (Fournier; A. Smith *Conquest*). These interventions emphasize that it is crucial to understand settler colonial genocide of Indigenous peoples as an international injustice and in this process non-Indigenous settlers must affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to self-determination as peoples in relation with their traditional lands and waterways (Alfred and Cornassel; L. Simpson *PKOLS*). Many non-Indigenous settler scholars, artists, curators, and activists are increasingly responding to these interventions by recognizing that settler societies are being called to account for genocide, treaty responsibilities, and affirming Indigenous peoples' inherent self-determination and that these are collective concerns of all people who live on Indigenous lands in the territory known as Canada (Baldwin, Cameron, and Kobayashi; Caldwell, Leroux, and Leung; Epp; FUSE Magazine; Morgensen *Destabalizing*; Regan; Tuck and Yang).

Engaging with these priorities identified by Indigenous peoples, as a non-Indigenous white settler myself, I see this project contributing to the decolonization work of non-Indigenous settlers reflecting on our positions as political subjects and engaging in our work in ways that affirm how the violences of settler colonialism today are based on many injustices: the institutionalized expression of settler superiority and patriarchal entitlement to intervene in Indigenous peoples' systems of political governance, identification, and relationships with traditional lands and waterways through the *Indian Act*; silence about white settler colonial genocide of Indigenous peoples in the foundation of the Canadian state; and ongoing denials of Indigenous peoples' inherent rights and

practices of self-determination. In this context, analyzing how heteropatriarchal white supremacy is normalized through Canadian laws, nationalism, and academic knowledge production can contribute theoretical and methodological insights to understanding power in international politics and IR knowledge production. While it is important for Canadian state institutions and actors to be held to account for their actions and privileges accrued through systemic power inequalities, Indigenous artists and community-based organizations approaches to international relations are also shifting the terms of international authority and political accountability to demonstrate the importance of settlers not looking to state policy-making procedures alone to provide leadership in transforming relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers. These approaches underscore how the current conditions of impunity in settler colonial state, corporate, and everyday societal violences that are experienced, resisted, and survived by Indigenous peoples are an injustice that Canadian settler society urgently needs to confront and transform.

A crucial aspect of decolonization is the power of solidarity between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people working together to name the violences of Canadian settler colonialism and to affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent self-determination as international relations. Historically, analyses of settler colonialism, Indigenous peoples' self-determination, and decolonizing international relations have been undertheorized in IR knowledge production. J. Marshall Beier has shown how the "'hegemonologue' of the dominating society" (Beier, *International 2*) is expressed in IR by privileging Eurocentric colonial knowledge as a universal authority, attempting to marginalize and erase alternative knowledges, especially Indigenous peoples' voices, knowledges, lifeways, and

cosmologies (Beier, *International* 13–52). In engaging with scholarly theorizations of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination, I draw on the work of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars across many academic disciplines including Anthropology, Canadian Studies, Film Studies, Fine Arts, International Law, Literary Studies, Native American Studies, Philosophy, Sexuality Studies, Visual Studies, and Women & Gender Studies. In conversation with these multi-disciplinary works, I argue that the undertheorization of settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination in IR is not an oversight but is part of a pattern of segregation and hierarchical privileging of knowledge production in settler colonial academic institutions. The systematic silence about Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles as international relationships in IR knowledge production is an injustice that occurs in relation with many other institutionalized forms of settler colonial knowledge production. In this way, unsettling the normalization of colonial academic knowledge production is an important part of transforming unjust hierarchical power relations between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples in international politics.

The tension between the imagination of *terra nullius* and the violence of asserting European conquest over Indigenous peoples in the Canadian national origin story continues to be a site of international contestation. Indigenous peoples throughout the Americas have contested the settler myth of the ‘Doctrine of Discovery’ whereby it is assumed that the presence of Europeans in the Americas marks the existence of these lands and waters in world history. This settler myth enacts a colonial erasure of the presence of Indigenous peoples in the Americas, settler dependence on Indigenous

peoples for survival in initial stages of contact, and the genocide experienced by Indigenous peoples in the colonization of the Americas. Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars, activists, and artists have increasingly questioned the Doctrine of Discovery in public forums since the 1992 quincentenary of Christopher Columbus' initial voyage to the Americas (Chomsky; Fusco and Gómez-Peña; Maracle *Woman*; Nemiroff, Houle, Townsend-Gault; Ngũgĩ; South and Meso-American Indian Information Centre; Zinn). Nevertheless, the Doctrine of Discovery endures in the colonial imagination and lived experiences of settlers' relationships with Indigenous peoples in the territory known as Canada. In *Canada's Indigenous Constitution* John Borrows discusses the conception and practice of "Law as Hierarchy" (12) and demonstrates how "In the legal literature, Canada is largely regarded as a settled territory, meaning that it is considered legally vacant at its foundation" (13). Specifically, Borrows shows how the Canadian settler legal system is based on the "Doctrine of Reception" whereby the colony (Canada) 'receives' the transfer of laws from the Crown (England) as the foundation of the settler legal and political systems (14). Borrows shows how the Doctrine of Reception "creates a fiction that continues to erase Indigenous legal systems as a source of law in Canada" (14). The historical and ongoing assumption of the Doctrine of Reception is a colonial process of international relations because this privileges the political relationship between Canada and England and does not recognize Indigenous peoples' presence as self-determining nations prior to contact with settlers and continuing in the present. Assuming that settlement is complete and not recognizing the violence of dispossession experienced and resisted by Indigenous peoples characterizes the foundation of the Canadian state as a passive event rather than an active process of dispossession and settlement. By focusing

on the often unexamined colonial assumption of the Doctrine of Reception, Borrows emphasizes how the present Canadian legal system and law schools normalize the imposition of settler colonial law and claims to territorial sovereignty and do not affirm Indigenous peoples' legal systems or treaty relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers as international relationships.

While Canadian settler colonial myths, laws, and academic theories depend on the erasure of genocide and marginalization of Indigenous peoples, conversations about decolonizing present social relations focus on how Canadian subjectivity and the imagination of Canadian society have been constituted through institutional practices, intimate relations, and everyday interactions between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples. The historical enactment and ongoing enforcement of the *Indian Act* (1876) by the Canadian settler government, in violation of treaty relationships with Indigenous nations and the Crown's *Royal Proclamation Act* (1763), continues to be a site of resistance for Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous women and communities have spoken out about the devastating gendered impacts of the settler colonial government's invention, enforcement, and regulation of the legal identification 'Indian Status' which mediates access to band membership (Anderson and Lawrence; Sandra Lovelace V. Canada 1977- 1981; Welsh). Prior to Indigenous women's international mobilization, which forced the Canadian government to enact Bill C-31 in 1985, if an Indigenous woman with Indian Status married a man without Indian Status she and her children were no longer legally recognized as having Indian Status under settler colonial law. On the other hand, a non-Indigenous woman without Indian Status who married a man with Indian Status would become legally recognized as having Indian Status and so

would her children. In tandem with the colonial establishment of the reservation system through the *Indian Act*, the denial of Indian Status forced the dispossession and exile of community members without Indian Status. Indigenous women and communities who have challenged this colonial intervention in intimate, familial, and community relationships emphasize how the colonial imposition of heteronormative patriarchal social relations (by insisting that kinship and political community membership is traced through women's heteronormative relationships with men) was a genocidal method of attempting to displace traditional matriarchal kinship, community relations, and political systems of governance through imposing a colonial system of controlling the movement, governance, and daily social relations of Indigenous peoples. In *Beyond Blood: Rethinking Indigenous Identity* Pamela Palmater discusses how the *Indian Act* continues to enforce discriminatory denial of status "based on racist conceptions of blood purity. These criteria are not only discriminatory, but counter to modern democratic principles and notions about identity and human dignity" (29). Palmater discusses how the colonial invention and regulation of band membership, the reserve system and Indian Status through the *Indian Act* has been a method of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from traditional lands and waterways and has been the source of painful divisions and loss of traditional knowledges within nations, communities, and families. Canadian settler colonial subjectivity and claims to territorial sovereignty have been produced through these processes of forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples in the settler legal system. As Palmater says "The whole concept of Indianness was based on the idea that there was one Indian people who existed at a point frozen in time, and that they should either be civilized or assimilated to free up lands for settlement" (32).

Anti-colonial and anti-imperialist feminist approaches to understanding historical and contemporary global politics emphasize how colonial interventions are often framed as benevolent and necessary for the greater good of humanity and especially for the betterment of women and girls' lives (Alexander; Arat-Koç; Bannerji; Mohanty "Under Western Eyes"; Spivak "Can The Subaltern Speak?"). In challenging the assumptions and claims of colonial interventions, Indigenous feminist and transnational feminist analyses of colonial power dynamics emphasize how everyday social relationships are contested sites of expressing colonial national imaginaries through embodied experiences of racialization, gender, and sexuality (Agathangelou "Queerness"; Alexander; Driskill, Finley, Gilley, and Morgensen; Emberly *Defamiliarizing*; O'Hara; Suzack, Huhndorf, Perreault, and Barman).

Questioning the role of the international peacekeeper myth in the Canadian national imaginary is important when discussing possibilities for decolonizing relations between non-Indigenous Canadian settlers and Indigenous peoples. One of the priorities of Canadian foreign policy is a commitment of Canadian Forces to international peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions (Government of Canada). In *Dark Threats, White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping and the New Imperialism* Sherene Razack demonstrates how the characterization of Canadian soldiers as peacekeepers problematically frames these military interventions as benevolent civilizing missions (155 – 158). Razack also disrupts the militarization of Canadian citizenship by questioning the claim that soldiers exemplify a model of the best citizen. In *Men, Militarism and UN Peacekeeping: A Gendered Analysis* Sandra Whitworth analyzes the gendered violences and colonial relations of power that are enacted through training of

and operations by Canadian soldiers in UN peacekeeping missions. Whitworth discusses how UN peacekeeping interventions are understood in disciplinary IR and mass media to be less violent than other military actions, even represented as necessary interventions, most often by Western states intervening in the Global South (23 – 52). In this context, peacekeeping interventions are dependent on ongoing processes of socializing and institutionalizing militarized masculinities with violent gendered effects and the conceptual separation of domestic and foreign affairs. The socialization and institutionalization of militarized masculinities and the colonial logics of peacekeeping interventions frame these processes as benevolent practices by Western militaries establishing or re-instituting political and economic stability out of violent chaos in the global South. Razack and Whitworth call attention to how the racialized, gendered violences of peacekeeping training and military interventions are not exceptional moments but are integral aspects of foreign policy which produce the national identity of peacekeeping countries such as Canada as benevolent actors in international relations. Razack and Whitworth's analyses of the racialized, gendered effects of Canadian peacekeeping join feminist approaches to foreign policy analysis in IR that attend to the limits of conceptualizing military interventions and war itself as exceptional and instead offer more nuanced understandings of securitization and sovereignty by showing how ongoing institutionalized relations of power systematically privilege white, heteronormative masculinity through the militarization of Canadian citizenship and nationalism. In this way, the myth of pure benevolence through peacekeeping missions obscures the racialized, gendered power dynamics of colonialism in Canadian nationalism.

Analyzing the racialized, gendered effects of Canadian peacekeeping as an embodied expression of colonial sovereign power in international relations makes it possible to imagine shifting the status quo perception from the *passive* foundation of the state by good Canadian subjects to an understanding of the *active* process of settlers dispossessing Indigenous peoples from lands and waterways through *Indian Act* policies that institutionalized the reserve system, residential school system and Indian Status legal identification. This approach emphasizes the need to analyze how colonial power and privileges are afforded to non-Indigenous Canadians *in relation with* the injustices and devastating impacts experienced and resisted by Indigenous peoples. In *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling and Reconciliation in Canada* Paulette Regan focuses on the need for non-Indigenous settlers to be accountable to the calls to action by residential school survivors and Indigenous communities. Regan describes her methodological approach to understanding the impacts of the residential school system and the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC): “I make settlers (myself and others) the subject of this study” (27). In particular, she focuses on the importance of settlers listening to, reflecting on, and learning from the experiences of individual survivors and Indigenous communities, in order to critically examine Canadian settler subjectivity, nationalism, and governance. Decolonizing methodologies of knowledge production in processes of truth telling and reconciliation between non-Indigenous Canadians and Indigenous peoples is at the forefront of her analysis. She says this work:

“is also congruent with a broader Indigenous research agenda that supports decolonization and self-determination in ways that confront the historical and theoretical foundations of Western research paradigms and practices that privilege objectivity and neutrality over subjectivity and engagement” (27).

Reagan's work contributes an articulation of methods and analyses that foreground the importance of unsettling colonial academic knowledge production as an essential part of processes of decolonizing everyday social relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples and in order for non-Indigenous settlers to affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent self-determination (Mignolo and Escobar; Morgensen *Destabalizing*; Simpson and Smith; A. Smith *Native*).

Research methods in IR focus on identifying how power operates in world politics, with each approach emphasizing an entry point that is central to the problematique of their theoretical framework. In analyzing power in world politics, realist theorists such as John G. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt focus on power as state military and economic dominance over other states (Mearsheimer; Walt). Liberal theorists such as John G. Ikenberry and Anne Marie Slaughter focus on power as institutional capacities for facilitating economic co-operation, establishing legal standards, and mediating military conflict resolution between state and non-state actors (Ikenberry; Slaughter). Critical theorists such as Anna M. Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling focus on power as an everyday contested process of violently producing inequalities and also theorize how power operates as processes of enacting social justice (Agathangelou and Ling). Specifically, IR postcolonial theorists such as Naeem Inayatullah and Siba N. Grovogui have demonstrated how the IR conventional understanding of Westphalian sovereignty as a universal system of governance is a central element of colonial world ordering (Inayatullah; Grovogui).

Indigenous Self-Determination and Westphalian Sovereignty

Sovereignty is a debated concept in IR theory and experiences of international relations. From the increasing securitization of borders and citizenship to Indigenous peoples' ongoing self-determination struggles, sovereignty is a contested process in contemporary world politics (Alfred; Bell; Citizenship and Immigration Canada; Coulthard "Subjects"; Pasha; Rickard "Visualizing"). As I discuss in Chapter Two, conventional approaches in IR imagine world politics to be ordered by international, state, and individual levels through which social identifications and political institutions are managed (Waltz). In disciplinary IR and in international political institutions, membership in the interstate system is based on mutual recognition among sovereign states in order to gain membership and participate in institutional proceedings (Anghie 98; Mongia 395; United Nations). Critical IR scholars analyzing colonial power in international politics have demonstrated how the assumption that the interstate system is the single universal site of global politics displaces the violence of colonialism that the imagination, theorization, and institutionalization of Westphalian sovereignty has emerged through historically and as it continues to be reformulated in the present. Specifically, scholarly engagements with the material conditions of settler colonialism have shown how institutionalized and social mechanisms of political recognition in locations such as Australia, Canada, Israel/Palestine, and South Africa work to relationally privilege whiteness and marginalize Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles (Coulthard "Subjects"; Nuttall; Povinelli; Said *Question*; Weizman).

This project is informed by several guiding assumptions that shape my research questions, methodology, and argument about IR knowledge production, sovereignty, and

visual artwork as a powerful force in world politics. Firstly, it is crucial to recognize how current intensifications in securing borders and identifications are not exceptional practices of contemporary moments. Neoliberal relationships of power that are reproduced in world ordering through the Westphalian sovereign state system and citizenship are part of ongoing histories of colonial violences (Agathangelou and Ling; Anghie; Anzaldúa *Borderlands*; Beiman; Blaney and Inayatullah; Edkins; Grovogui *Sovereigns*; McClintock; Mongia; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Weizman).

Secondly, conventional approaches in the academic discipline of IR are informed by the positivist epistemology that claims a certainty in knowing the entirety of the world from a single perspective. This does not attend to the ways in which modes of representation are mediated by relationships of power. This also does not allow for recognitions of multiple contending perspectives and accounts of any given event, relationship or institution (Agathangelou and Ling; Chow; Chowdhry and Nair; Cox *Social*; Grovogui *Sovereigns*; Hollis and Smith; Milliken; Shapiro *Textualizing*; Sylvester *Feminist*). As I discuss in Chapter Two, IR realist and liberal approaches to global politics assume that international politics is ordered by three ‘levels of analysis’, informed by Kenneth N. Waltz’s ‘three images’: an *international system* characterized by anarchy or potential co-operation, sovereign autonomous *states*, and rational *individuals*. In contrast, I draw from critical IR approaches that focus on how hierarchy and injustice characterize many relationships and events in world politics, rather than anarchy or co-operation among equals. I contest how productions of individual citizens as rational subjects works to justify sovereign interventions upon subjects understood as irrational or not belonging in the dominant national imaginary (Chowdhry and Nair; Howell; Onuf

1995; Razak; Whitworth *Men*). Further, conventional approaches in the field of foreign policy in IR focus on interventions outside state borders and locate world politics as happening elsewhere, whereas I understand interventions within state borders to also be crucial sites of producing normative understandings of sovereignty, citizenship, and borders (Campbell; Doty; Krause and Williams; Weber *Imagining*). I focus especially on how gendered, racialized, economic, and further social differences are relationally embodied identifications that are produced through historically situated, particular encounters, and relationships (Ahmed *Strange Encounters*; Anthias and Camppling; Arat-Koç; Dussel; Puar; Yuval-Davis). Nevertheless, critical analyses have shown how dominant methods in IR problematically frame embodied differences as essential identities of individual bodies (Agathangelou and Ling; Blaney and Inayatullah).

Thirdly, these assumptions are all informed by the insight that theories and practices of world politics are interconnected processes, such that knowledge production about sovereignty and subjectivity are shaped by and inform modes of production and social reproduction, divisions of labour, distribution of resources, policy decision-making processes, and social identifications. In this context, there is a collective responsibility among those participating in academic knowledge production to transform unjust relationships of power, including decolonizing Eurocentric cosmologies, ontologies, epistemologies, research methods, pedagogies, and visual methods of representation (Agathangelou and Ling; Beier *International*; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Krishna; Mohanty *Feminism*; Shilliam; Tuhiwai Smith).

A range of critical IR theoretical perspectives question the idea of the organization of sovereign territorial borders as static and universal (Agathangelou and Ling; Blaney

and Inayatullah; Campbell). Postcolonial IR methods have shown that the dominant normalization of the Westphalian state system as universal operates in part through the production of sovereign subjects as the agents of change. Anghie's analysis emphasizes how the Westphalian system of sovereign states did not emerge exclusively in Europe and then expand throughout the world in economic and political exchanges (100 – 114). Rather Anghie shows how the production of the Westphalian state system, expressed through international law, customs, jurisprudence and correspondence between elite actors, emerged through processes of colonial encounters (115 – 244).

In Radhika Mongia's "Historicizing State Sovereignty: Inequality and the Form of Equivalence" she emphasizes how colonial relationships of power and violence emerge from, and are constituted through, historical and ongoing processes of institutionalizing sovereignty in international relations and international law. She says:

"Central to sovereignty is the notion of recognition: an entity can only be sovereign if it is recognized as such by other sovereign entities. For theories of international relations and international law, every sovereign state is formally equivalent to the other" (394).

Mongia shows how theories of sovereignty work to produce academic foundational categories of meaning and claims to universal lived experiences while enacting erasures of the particular circumstances through which they emerge. Mongia focuses on the ways in which processes of mutual recognition of membership in a world system of sovereign states works to produce an understanding of sovereign territorial entities as autonomous authorities (394).

Further, Mongia contests the conventional Eurocentric understanding of the 'origin and spread' of the sovereign state system; the idea that the international state system

emerged exclusively within Europe and then expanded globally (395). She demonstrates how the emergence of Westphalian sovereignty, as a process of international politics and an analytical category of inquiry, has been constituted through global colonial encounters. Mongia draws on Antony Anghie's analyses of sovereignty in international law, in which he talks about how notions of 'discovery', 'conquest', and 'cessation by treaty' in European occupations of territories from the late fifteenth century to today depend upon a 'doctrine of recognition', whereby European sovereigns understood themselves to be vested with an *a priori* authority whether or not to "admit new members into the realm of sovereignty" (396). Mongia outlines how the comparative framework in international law and IR that operates as modes of hierarchical identifications of political communities depends upon comparable but distinct units of analysis that are evaluated against an implicitly privileged Eurocentric norm (384-388). Mongia describes sovereignty as a world system of ordering political relationships that produces "the standardization of inequality through the form of equivalence" (411). In other words, sovereignty is a mechanism of managing colonial relationships of power and violence in world politics. In this approach Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjects are cast as the universal entities of international politics, while simultaneously displacing the violences of the continual institutionalization of territorial claims and exclusive citizenship.

Mongia and Anghie's analyses of international law and IR speak to broader, transdisciplinary conversations about how conventional approaches in academic knowledge production that privilege Eurocentrism continue to displace the foundational violence of colonial encounters in the Americas (Alfred; Buck-Morss; Hyatt and

Nettleford; Mielke; Mignolo; Sharpe; A. Smith *Conquest*). Enrique Dussel's *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of the 'Other' and the Myth of Modernity* has been an influential text in these discussions, as he problematizes the conception of modernity as exceptional to Europe cultures and political communities (9). Dussel examines the historical material conditions that have informed dominant norms in Western academic knowledge production, popular culture and everyday practices that claim that ways of knowing and being modern, such as rational objectivity and autonomous individuality, have been produced historically as being exceptional to European subjects (10). Dussel questions this Eurocentric approach by outlining how modernity emerges "in a dialectical relation with non-Europe. Modernity appears when Europe organizes the initial world-system and places itself at the centre of the world history over against a periphery equally constitutive of modernity" (9 – 10). Dussel shows how historical processes of colonial encounter in the European settler genocidal violences of dispossession of Indigenous peoples of the Americas and the transatlantic enslavement of black Africans produced self-knowledge of European subjects as superior agents of modernity (11). Dussel unsettles the particularly Eurocentric conception of modernity, and the normalization of its production as universal, emerged and was contested through processes of colonization and capitalism. In this way, he disrupts the Eurocentric "forgetting of the periphery" as he emphasizes the need to denaturalize the conception of modernity as exceptional to Europe (10).

Scholars seeking to transform the injustices of expressions of colonial violence and management of colonial power relations through sovereignty emphasize the need for academic knowledge production to examine how colonialism and capitalism are co-

constituted in international relations (Hall; Mbembe; Mignolo; A. Simpson “Settlement’s”; Weizman). In *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* Kahnawake Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred demonstrates how settler political institutions and philosophies of sovereignty impose colonial conditions of assimilation on Indigenous nations. Alfred discusses how Canadian settler colonial institutions do not affirm Indigenous peoples’ inherent rights to self-determination as international relations and instead seek to compel Indigenous nations to engage in political processes of self-government within Canadian domestic politics (79 – 93). In this context, Alfred analyzes the role of sovereign state-corporate partnerships in the interconnected processes of colonial capitalist appropriation of land through unjust processes of dispossession and commodification:

“The form of distributive or social justice promoted by the state today depends on the development of industry and enterprises to provide jobs for people and revenue for government institutions. Most often – especially on indigenous lands – those industries and enterprises centre on the extraction of natural resources. Trees, rocks, and fish become commodities whose value is calculated solely in monetary terms without reference to the spiritual connections between them and indigenous peoples...The situation now, and in the framework of conventional economic development models, is that a small minority of the white population of the earth go far beyond sustenance to take extravagant wealth from indigenous lands” (85).

Alfred’s analysis calls attention to how inequitable and unsustainable global processes of capitalist commodification, consumption, and wealth accumulation are dependent upon colonial settler political institutions that aim to assimilate and marginalize the self-determination struggles of the Indigenous nations whose lands they occupy.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Frantz Fanon argues that global divisions of labour and distributions of wealth must be analyzed in the context of colonial appropriations of

land and wealth (59). Fanon's discussion of global power relations, violence and (re)distributions of wealth problematizes Marxist political economy analyses that privilege a homogenizing class-based analyses, by attending to the presence of multiple contending racialized, economic power relations in anti-colonial revolutionary movements (28). In this context, Fanon unsettles the assumed universality of the imagination of capitalism versus socialism as the limit of potential desirable forms of social organization by showing how this particularly Eurocentric understanding of international politics does not affirm the presence of ongoing processes of decolonization in world politics (55). Fanon's analysis calls attention to the need for decolonizing the limitation of the imagination of progress in international politics as enacted through either *capitalism* or *socialism*. Rather, Fanon demonstrates how this conceptualization facilitates the unjust marginalization of *decolonization* movements and Indigenous peoples' *self-determination* struggles that seek to transform hierarchical institutions, laws and processes of affirming political communities in international politics.

Dene scholar Glen Coulthard's analysis of "the politics of recognition" demonstrates how Canadian settler colonial institutions and laws seek to assimilate Indigenous peoples' political claims through colonial processes and attempt to deny that Indigenous peoples' inherent self-determination is an international relationship (Coulthard, "Subjects" 437; Coulthard "Indigenous"). In "Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the Politics of Recognition in Canada" Coulthard asserts that "whereas prior to 1969 federal Indian policy was unapologetically assimilationist, now it is couched in the vernacular of 'mutual recognition'" (Coulthard, "Subjects" 438). Drawing on Fanon's analysis of colonial structures and anti-colonial agency Coulthard demonstrates how

political theorists and Canadian federal government policies that promote “the politics of recognition”, as a reciprocal process among equal partners, in effect reconstitute colonial relationships between Indigenous nations and the Canadian state (Coulthard, “Subjects” 437). Further, as Jeff Corntassel discusses in “Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination”:

“While Indigenous peoples do not tend to seek secession from the state, the restoration of their land-based and water-based cultural relationships and practices is often portrayed as a threat to the territorial integrity of the country(ies) in which they reside, and thus, a threat to state sovereignty. The politics of recognition highlights the shortcomings of pursuing rights-based strategies for Indigenous peoples desiring decolonization and restoration of their relationships with the natural world” (92).

While conventional IR theories and methods understand sovereignty as a claim to occupy land and control territorial borders, Indigenous cultural resurgences involve reclamations of Indigenous peoples’ relationships with lands and waterways, including affirmations of water as an essential element in Indigenous cosmology that is expressed in sacred laws, ceremonies and creation stories. In Chapter Six, I discuss how Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences not only unsettle IR theories and methods of claiming exclusive territorial sovereignty but also transgress the IR imagining of man, the state and war as the standard purview of international relations by demonstrating the power of Indigenous creative presence as transnational agency.

Indigenous and Transnational Feminist Analyses of Colonial Knowledge Production

In Dian Million’s “Telling Secrets: Sex, Power and Narratives in Indian Residential School Histories” she analyzes the material conditions of the emergence of narratives about the experiences of residential school survivors in Canada. Million discusses these narratives in the context of both global Indigenous self-determination struggles and in the

context of Canadian public scrutiny about the health and safety of children in social welfare institutions. She emphasizes how oral histories shared across generations in Indigenous communities and individual survivors' narratives challenge the Canadian public's silence about the injustices of the residential school system. Million focuses on how the emergence of survivors' narratives in the collective consciousness of Canadian settler society and Indigenous communities are not only about the suffering and violence they endured as children; the present day collective attention to these narratives also expresses a shift in the mobilization of self-determination struggles within Indigenous communities and the crucial role of healing work done by Indigenous women (99).

Million discusses how events such as the Canadian Federal Government's 1969 White Paper proposed "unilaterally to end its treaty relationship with myriad Canadian Native peoples with a plan that would relinquish federal responsibility" mobilized many Indigenous communities to organize resistance to further colonial settler interventions and the settler government's resistance to be accountable treaty responsibilities (99).

Further, Million shows how, while community mobilization in response to the 1969 White Paper united generations of Indigenous peoples across many nations, proposals by Indigenous women to change Section 12 (1)(b) of the *Indian Act* during the 1970s and 1980s initially brought gendered divisions within communities and families to the surface (99). Million discusses how many Indigenous men in political leadership positions wanted to focus limited community resources and emphasize policy priorities on the process of patriation of the constitution for constitutional protection of Aboriginal Rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (99).

In this context, Indigenous women's experiences of seeking to transform the gendered oppression of the colonial settler *Indian Act* were initially met with further marginalization within their Indigenous communities and outright hostility from Canadian political institutions (Welsh). Million's article demonstrates how Indigenous women's experiences and insights about the gendered effects of Canadian settler colonial power contribute vital analyses about how colonial power dynamics are embodied processes as well as contributing to methods of decolonizing social relations. In particular, Indigenous women's struggles have called attention to the extent to which the colonial imposition of heteronormative patriarchy through the *Indian Act* has harmed generations of Indigenous families, communities, and nations as well as emphasizing the central role of Indigenous women's healing work in enacting Indigenous peoples' self-determination. In *Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival*, edited by Kim Anderson and Bonita Lawrence, the authors emphasize how Indigenous women experience, resist, and heal the pain of the gendered effects of colonial practices that have imposed patriarchal white supremacy upon Indigenous peoples in Canada. The authors in the collection show how *Indian Act* policies of the reserve system, residential schools, and Indian Status are colonial processes of dispossession that seek to justify settler claims to territorial sovereignty produce conditions where Indigenous women and girls are vulnerable to experiencing violence and economic marginalization disproportionately. Anderson and Lawrence describe the book in the introduction chapter: "*Strong Women Stories: Native Vision and Community Survival* takes a critical look at some core issues and demonstrates how, through hard work and ingenuity, Native women are actively shaping a better world for the future generations" (11).

Indigenous feminists and transnational feminists share an analytical focus on how colonial power relationships produce gendered, racialized, economic effects in world politics. In contrast with feminist analyses that conceptualize ‘women’ and ‘men’ as homogenous, universal social identities and foundational categories in academic knowledge production, Indigenous feminist and transnational feminist approaches attend to the gendered effects of experiences and contestations of colonialism and capitalism and do not privilege analyses of gender or consider gender in isolation from racialization, economic status, sexuality, spiritual practices, nationalisms, age, ability, and further social identifications (Agathangelou and Ling; Ahmed *Strange Encounters*; Alexander and Mohanty *Feminist*; Anderson and Lawrence; Anzaldúa; Arat-Koç; Chowdhry and Nair; Maracle *Woman*; Million “Felt Theory”; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*). In the introduction to Chandra Talpade Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander’s edited volume *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* they attend to how articulations of ‘women’ as a foundational category in feminist epistemologies, methods and world views is an aspect of ongoing histories of colonization and capitalist modes of re/production. Mohanty and Alexander foreground their discussion in an emphasis on time in transformative politics, by considering feminist academic knowledge production in relation to ways of remembering the past, the present effects of historical processes, and more just future communities. In thinking through genealogies of Western feminist academic knowledge production (xvi), contemporary processes of colonization through international financial institutions as legacies on ongoing histories of imperialism (xvii), and transborder movements for more just futures (xix), Alexander and Mohanty show how transnational feminist approaches to academic knowledge production disrupt *women*

as a foundational category by instead accounting for gendered effects of colonization and capitalist modes of production. Mohanty and Alexander also demonstrate the importance of conceptualizing decolonization in the present as a continuation of past contestations of colonialism and capitalism in order to collectively reimagine and remake communities and senses of belonging (xxxviii). Crucially, Alexander and Mohanty disrupt the colonial conceptualization of memory as an archive that tries produce relationships and events as a static catalogue, by instead conceiving of memory as an embodied process of remembering that is productive of meaning and ways of making meaning.

Alexander and Mohanty also engage with transnational feminist praxis and the politics of knowledge production in their essay “Cartographies of Knowledge and Power: Transnational Feminism as Radical Praxis”. Alexander and Mohanty reflect on the relationship between subjectivity, systemic power relations, and knowledge production to ask: “can transnational feminist lenses push us to ask questions that are location specific but not necessarily location bound?” (27). This question is important for my theoretical and methodological framework analyzing the international dynamics of how Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles unsettle Canadian sovereignty. Taking a transnational feminist approach to my analysis of sovereignty and artwork, I engage with these relationships as international processes that express multiple modes of power. My methodological approach and theoretical analysis in the academic discipline of IR joins approaches that seek to call attention to the erasure of settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination struggles from the realm of international politics. Specifically, I focus on artwork and visual methods as modes of expressing Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination as modes of international power. I discuss the

tension between the settler colonial *imaginary* about relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers and the simultaneous *material conditions* of asserting white settler dominance and privilege in relation with the marginalization of Indigenous peoples.

Imagination and IR Knowledge Production

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, Indigenous scholars, artists, curators, and activists who name the violence of settler colonialism as a social process emphasize the need for non-Indigenous settlers to affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to self-determination by recognizing that relationships non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples are international relationships. These discussions call attention to the contrast between the settler colonial *imaginary* about social relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous Canadians and the *material conditions* that Indigenous peoples experience in the context of settler colonialism and self-determination struggles. The focus of the previous two sections of this chapter emphasized some of the key historical and contemporary conditions of Canadian settler colonialism as identified by Indigenous peoples. This section of the chapter focuses on how the Canadian settler colonial imagination of land and subjectivity has emerged through historical colonial encounters between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples. The decolonization of the dominant Canadian imaginary about present day relationships between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples is a priority in the work of decolonizing social relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers. Decolonizing the Canadian settler imaginary involves understanding the colonial historical context of the emergence of visual technologies of representation and understanding the role of artwork in contemporary global Indigenous self-determination struggles. Throughout this section,

I discuss these key elements of the Canadian settler colonial imaginary, technologies of visual representation, and artwork in global Indigenous self-determination struggles.

My understanding of imagination as a contested site of international politics is informed by historical studies, artwork and Indigenous communities' self-determination struggles that situate contemporary social relationships in the Americas in the context of the past five hundred years of colonization. In a publication for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation discussing the possibilities for reconciliation between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada, entitled *Cultivating Canada: Reconciliation through the Lens of Cultural Diversity*, Rinaldo Walcott states in "Into the Ranks of Man: Vicious Modernism and the Politics of Reconciliation":

“reconciliation requires a wholesale rethinking of the contemporary stakes of human life for the last 500-plus years (343)... the question of what constitutes European modernity is a complicated story of genocide, slavery, ecocide and, most strikingly, the production of a new world not just for those colonized and enslaved but for those engaged in the project of expansion as well” (345).

The recent and ongoing work of the #IdleNoMore (#INM) movement, the TRC, and transnational initiatives to enact the UNDRIP, have opened up opportunities for discussion in scholarship, artwork, activism, and public forums about the urgent need for decolonizing settlers' understanding of Canadian history, nationalism, and governance. Walcott's piece speaks to critical engagements with processes of truth telling and reconciliation that stress the importance of non-Indigenous settlers reconsidering their beliefs and assumptions about historical relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples, in order to understand how the violent injustices of this colonial historical context informs present conditions in Canadian society. Walcott engages with the past

five hundred years of colonial encounters as his historical frame of reference for engaging with possibilities for decolonization in reconciliation work. I engage with the five hundred years of colonial encounters frame of reference as my entry point for examining the present Canadian settler colonial imaginary about the historical emergence of the Canadian state and present conditions of artwork as a site of decolonization and Indigenous self-determination struggles.

My analysis of the Canadian settler colonial imaginary in the context of IR is a response to Indigenous scholars, artists, curators, and activists whose interventions call attention to how the dominant Canadian national imaginary has harmful impacts on material conditions experienced by Indigenous peoples and the need for non-Indigenous scholars to decolonize their participation in knowledge production. Marcia Crosby's essay "Construction of the Imaginary Indian" reflects on her experiences as a student in Canadian university courses in fine arts, anthropology and literature. Crosby analyzes the relational presence of the colonial "imaginary Indian" figure represented by non-Indigenous people and the absence of scholarship about art by Indigenous academics. Further, she argues that the appropriation, commodification and colonial stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and Indigenous artists' work is foundational to Canadian subjectivity, nationalism, and academic knowledge production:

"Native art and imagery is already deeply entrenched in the public arena and in institutional collections, as a symbol for a national heritage, a signifier for Canadian roots, a container for the Canadian imagination and a metaphor for the abstract ideas of Western ideology" (296).

Crosby discusses how settler colonial academic knowledge production about artwork is a crucial element of producing the Canadian national imagination as expressed in

universities, art institutions, and popular culture. She emphasizes how the Canadian imagination depends on the relational production of self-knowledge about settler subjectivity and colonial academic discourse about Indigenous peoples, through the site of artwork by Indigenous people. Crosby describes the “imaginary Indian” as “a peripheral but necessary component of Europe’s history in North America – the negative space of the ‘positive’ force of colonialist hegemony” (279). Crosby demonstrates how the Canadian imaginary of settler subjectivity and claims to territorial sovereignty are dependent on producing the fictional “imaginary Indian” figure that, in effect, normalizes colonial interventions in Indigenous peoples lives and settler desires to claim and possess Indigenous peoples’ lands (279). Crosby examines how nineteenth and early twentieth century settler government policies that remain in effect, such as the *Indian Act*, and artwork, such as paintings exhibited at the National Gallery in Ottawa, express a colonial worldview that imagines settlers as agents of a progressive civilizing mission in the foundation of the Canadian state and unjustly seeks to normalize genocide, dispossession, and assimilation of Indigenous peoples in this process. The tension between the ‘empty lands’ myth and the need to assert settler claims to territorial sovereignty over Indigenous peoples’ traditional relationships with lands and waters is consistently present in the canon of Canadian art history and art museum collections (O’Brien and White). Crosby discusses how the Group of Seven and Emily Carr’s paintings offer a productive site for understanding this tension within the Canadian settler imaginary; again, the tension between the conception of the European ‘discovery’ of the ‘empty lands’ of the Americas and the ongoing assertion of settler conquest of Indigenous peoples (282-288). Crosby’s analysis calls attention to the danger of seeing artwork such as Carr’s paintings of

decaying West Coast totem poles as authentic ethnographic documentations of a declining Indigenous population rather than recognizing how they function as representations of the colonial “imaginary Indian” that obscures the dispossession, genocide, and forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples (285). In other words, Crosby’s analysis indicates how artwork is a material expression of the settler imaginary and how the social conditions of colonization at the time of its production and in the enduring canonization of the work are normalized through settler art history scholarship, institutional display, and popular reverence of these artworks. In Chapter Three and Chapter Four I discuss in detail how settler colonial institutional visual methods of display are disrupted through Brian Jungen’s methods of exhibition and sculptural methods of producing his artwork. In particular I discuss how Jungen engages with in decolonizing ethnographic methods of knowledge production and museum institutional visual methods of display that frame Indigenous artists’ work as ‘artifacts’. In Chapter Three and Chapter Four I focus on how Jungen’s creative engagement with these dominant modes of knowledge production foreground the relational production of settler subjects’ self-knowledge and Indigenous peoples self-determination struggles.

In addition to engaging with the gendered, racialized, and economic effects of colonial power relationships, transnational feminist theorists argue that academic knowledge production needs to methodologically account for how the historical and contemporary production of imaginaries about land and space are articulated through national identities in popular cultures and academic knowledge production. Anne McClintock’s *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* has been an influential and generative text in these conversations, through her analysis of

how colonial imaginations of time and space are embodied knowledge and have emerged historically through Eurocentric cartography and myths about lands and peoples encountered colonization in Africa, the Americas, and Asia. McClintock analyzes how mapping and myths of discovery of ‘virgin lands’, such as in Christopher Columbus’ diaries, functioned as:

“a strategy of violent containment – belonging in the realm of both psychoanalysis and political economy. If, at first glance, the feminizing of the land appears to be no more than a familiar symptom of male megalomania, it also betrays acute paranoia and a profound, if not pathological, sense of male anxiety about boundary loss... the feminization of the land represents a ritualistic moment in imperial discourse, as male intruders ward off fears of narcissistic disorder by reinscribing, as natural, an excess of gender hierarchy” (24).

As discussed in the previous section, the colonial imagination of ‘empty lands’ prior to the presence of settlers features prominently in transnational feminist analyses of how this imagination is in tension with the ongoing presence of Indigenous peoples prior to colonial contact and settlers’ dependence historically on Indigenous knowledge, resources and trade relationships to survive. Yet still this colonial erasure, a prominent feature of historical relationships, endures in the present day Canadian colonial imaginary. Tracing how Canadian sovereignty and settler subjectivity are produced through this colonial erasure is a key aspect of my methodological framework in Chapter Three as I analyze how Jungen’s exhibition methods decolonize visual knowledge production in Canadian art institutions and art history. Crosby and McClintock’s analyses inform my reading of the politics of knowledge production in Canadian art history and institutional methods of exhibiting artwork, as I analyze how colonial hierarchy and anarchy are expressed visually through artwork to normalize settler sovereignty and subjectivity.

In “When Place Becomes Race” Sherene Razack emphasizes how processes of racializing space and disciplining hierarchically racialized bodies in Canadian nationalist popular narratives and social practices normalize the “national mythologies” of the white settler society (1). Razack draws on Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja in disrupting positivist abstractions that conceptualize space as empty by considering how “dialectical relationships between spaces and bodies” generate meanings associated with bodies, social relationships, places and events in everyday practices (8). By considering how meanings associated with space are mediated by embodied relations of colonial power, Razack considers how “space as a social product” operates as a crucial aspect of normalizing Canadian settler colonialism and white supremacy as inevitable and even necessary (7). Razack argues that discourses of Canadian nationalism are dependent on processes of excluding and silencing bodies, social relationships and spaces that are produced as ‘other’ in an attempt to normalize the idea of white settlers as “the original inhabitants and the group most entitled to the fruits of citizenship” (2). Space is racialized in the Canadian national imaginary through the white settler colonial entitlement to land, water, resources, and claiming territorial sovereignty, obscuring historical and ongoing violences of genocide and dispossession of Indigenous peoples, intensifying militarization of immigration policies, and policing experienced by communities of colour (3-4).

Crosby, McClintock, and Razack’s work analyzes the colonial, racialized and gendered effects of settler colonial imaginations of land as sovereign territory. In a 2013 issue of *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* guest-edited by Patrick Wolfe,

he reflects on the growing settler colonial studies literature in his introductory essay “The Settler Complex: An Introduction”. Wolfe says:

“to invoke Raymond Williams, settler colonialism promotes distinct structures of feeling, affective predispositions, and ways of being in the world that accompany the continuing dispossession of Native peoples in ways that oblige our analyses to move beyond the formal instrumentalities of statecraft, law-making, economic accumulation, and policy formation” (2 – 3).

In response to Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles that call on Canadian settlers to recognize and transform historical and ongoing injustices, I engage with settler colonialism in IR through transnational feminist methodologies to join conversations that seek to better understand and to transform institutionalized and everyday power relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. While the previous section of this chapter emphasized the fundamentally international character of these relationships, this section focuses specifically on the role of imagination in Canadian settler colonialism and artwork as a site of Indigenous self-determination struggles.

Decolonizing the imagination is a powerful method of engaging with Canadian nationalism and sovereignty as contested sites. From #INM to implementation of the UNDRIP and the work of the TRC, many current collective actions seeking the decolonization of relationships between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples focus on the imagination of political communities and world ordering. Many #INM actions focus on the relationships between public education initiatives for settlers and transforming conditions to support resurgences of Indigenous peoples’ lifeways. This includes events such as workshops to understand how the 2012 Canadian federal government Bill C-45, which sparked the #INM movement, emerge in the context of ongoing settler colonial political institutions of governance like Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

Canada (AANDC) and settler colonial policies like the *Indian Act*. Ongoing work to implement the UNDRIP emphasizes the need for substantive transformations in present ways of thinking and actions in non-Indigenous peoples' engagement with Indigenous peoples in order to uphold treaty responsibilities and international law as nation to nation relationships as well as in public education through non-governmental organizations (Hartley, Joffe and Preston). The TRC's five-year mandate focuses on gathering residential school survivors' testimonies, hosting public events and establishing a national research centre at the University of Manitoba. The TRC mandate states that one of the purposes of the events is "engaging and educating the public through mass communications" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada). As #INM, UNDRIP and the TRC demonstrate in the context of emerging public conversations on Indigenous self-determination and Canadian colonialism, there is growing attention in international human rights work and social justice scholarship recognizing that Indigenous peoples experience colonialism as a distinct form of racism and decolonizing non-Indigenous peoples' worldviews about this is a central aspect of affirming Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to self-determination.

I engage with decolonizing the imagination as a method of understanding the role of artwork in Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples self-determination struggles. In the context of the colonial conditions that inform Canadian settler institutions, policies, technologies of representation, popular culture, artwork, and imagination, Indigenous artists, curators and scholars have demonstrated how creation and self-expression is a vital aspect of Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, and as I will discuss in detail through this

project, as a theorist in IR I am engaging with artwork as a mode of global power relationships. Here, I will briefly outline two key aspects that of artwork as power, that I engage with in detail throughout the following chapters: creation and self-expression.

In *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith identifies “the imperial imagination” as a condition of oppression and “the project of creating” as a key site of Indigenous communities and individual resistance to colonization in Aotearoa/New Zealand and globally. In analyzing the historical intersections of European colonial economic exploitation, political subjugation and knowledge production, Smith says: “the imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth and new possessions existed and could be discovered and controlled. This imagination was realized through the promotion of science, economic expansion and political practice” (22). Smith demonstrates how, in these ongoing colonial conditions, creating is a method of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination:

“The project of creating is about transcending the basic survival mode through using a resource or capability which every Indigenous community has retained throughout colonization – the ability to create and be creative. The project of creating is not just about the artistic endeavors of individuals but also about the spirit of creating which Indigenous communities have exercised over thousands of years. Imagination enables people to rise above their own circumstances, to dream new visions and to hold on to old ones... Creating is not the exclusive domain of the rich nor of the technologically superior, but of the imaginative. Creating is about channelling collective creative energy in order to produce solutions to indigenous problems... Indigenous communities also have something to offer to the non-Indigenous world... [and] communities are the ones who know the answers to their own problems, although their ideas tend to be dismissed when suggested to various agencies and governments” (158-9).

In her outline of the project of creating, Smith demonstrates how imagination, creation and self-expression are interconnected and crucial aspects of Indigenous peoples' self-determination in world politics.

In his 1993 article "A Contemporary Definition of the International Norm of Self-Determination", S. James Anaya, currently the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, identifies key characteristics of self-determination in the context of international law from the perspective of Indigenous peoples' global self-determination struggles. Anaya begins by stating that, while dominant methods in international law scholarship focus on interpreting international legal instruments as texts, his analysis engages with self-determination norms in the social context of global decolonization movements (133). Anaya identifies the freedom and equality of political participation *as peoples* in institutional processes of governance as a defining characteristic of self-determination (133). Anaya says:

"In self-determination's constitutive aspect, core values of freedom and equality translate into a requirement that individuals and groups be accorded meaningful participation, commensurate with their interests, in procedures leading to the creation of or change in the institutions of government under which they live" (145).

Further, situating the norm of self-determination in the context of Indigenous peoples' experiences of colonialism, Anaya emphasizes the importance of decolonizing the international state system of sovereign territoriality (137 – 140). He argues that the existing state-centric model in international law assumes that the state is a universal avenue for making political claims to self-determination and this is problematic because: "by effectively denying *a priori* a right of self-determination to groups that in many instances passionately assert it as a basis for their demands, this limited conception may

serve to inflame tensions” (139). This approach is problematic because it insists that Indigenous peoples mobilize political struggles within state borders and systems of law that emerged through the colonization of their lands and waters, whereas decolonizing enactments of self-determination would involve affirming Indigenous peoples’ self-identification of their relationships with land and waters, legal systems, and international diplomacy. Anaya emphasizes that transforming current colonial conditions in international relations involves enacting Indigenous peoples’ self-determination through the creation of new processes of making political claims, as he says a:

“remedy for this infraction of self-determination does not entail a reversion to the status quo prior to the historical pattern of colonization but rather to the creation of an altogether new institutional order viewed as appropriate to ‘implementing’ self-determination” (158).

Crucially, Anaya foregrounds the importance of *the creation of new political processes, institutions, and international relationships* in the decolonization of world politics and the enactment of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination. Engaging with visual artwork as a site of power in international relations, in Chapter Three, Four, Five and Six I analyze how Brian Jungen’s exhibition and sculptural methods and Belmore’s performance and installation methods, as projects of Indigenous contemporary artists’ creative self-expression in conditions of Canadian settler colonialism, generate possibilities for new modes of engaging with decolonizing relationships between Canadian settlers and Indigenous peoples.

By engaging with Jungen and Belmore’s artwork in my dissertation writing I am responding to their insights on colonialism, decolonization, and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination in many registers. Understanding Jungen and Belmore’s artwork as a

process involving research, rendering, performing, documenting, exhibiting, and having conversations with curators, journalists, and audiences counters academic methods of engaging with art as an object or performance to be interpreted as an illustration of a theory. From my perspective as a theorist engaging with IR knowledge production, in conversation with Jungen and Belmore's artwork and analytical framing of their projects, I analyze how Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles demonstrate the enduring importance of visibility as a contested sites of power relationships in world politics. Jungen and Belmore's artwork shows how visual knowledge production is a material process of world politics and can be a method of decolonization. Jungen's artwork shows how colonial imaginations of Canadian nationalism and subjectivities are expressed and disrupted through institutional visual methods in museums and art galleries. Belmore's visual documentation and exhibition of her performance artwork shows how the creative presence of Indigenous artists disrupts dominant historical and contemporary conversations that enact erasures of Indigenous peoples' experiences and self-determination struggles as international relations. By engaging with Jungen and Belmore's artwork in the context with IR knowledge production I am joining Indigenous and transnational feminist theories and methods of affirming how creative expression is a vital method of subject formation, decolonization, and enacting Indigenous peoples' self-determination.

Chapter Two. Kenneth N. Waltz’s “The Three Images”: Imagination, Settler Colonialism, and IR Theorizations of Sovereign Power

“The concept of imagination, when employed as a sociological tool, is often reduced to a way of seeing and understanding the world, or a way of understanding how people either construct the world or are constructed by the world. As Toni Morrison argues, however, imagination can be a way of sharing the world. This means, according to Morrison, struggling to find the language to do this and then struggling to interpret and perform within that shared imagination” Linda Tuhiwai Smith in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (37).

“Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined” Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition* (6).

“Canada... We also have no history of colonialism” Stephen Harper, Prime Minister of Canada, addressing a G20 meeting in Pittsburgh, USA, September 25, 2009 (Harper quoted in Ljunggren).

Imagination is a vital site of expressing and contesting international power dynamics. By focusing on relationships between visual abstractions in IR knowledge production and the material conditions of settler colonialism, in this chapter I analyze how conventional IR theories and methods of analyzing power contribute to the normalization of colonial power dynamics between non-Indigenous settlers and Indigenous peoples. In this way, I understand IR knowledge production to be a part of everyday processes of world politics and I understand visibility to be an essential method of reproducing, contesting and transforming dominant modes of world ordering. In each chapter of this project I discuss tensions between contending modes of power in world

politics: power as the violence of settler colonialism, power as creative self-expression through visual art, and Indigenous self-determination as a powerful force in world politics.

In this chapter I focus on how international power operates through the dominant IR imagination of world ordering by Westphalian sovereignty. I examine how this is expressed through the dominant reading of IR scholar Kenneth N. Waltz's *Man the State and War*, which informs the present day IR 'levels of analysis' paradigm. I analyze how this colonial imaginary of world politics is expressed in Waltz's book, originally published in 1959, the discursive authority of New York-based art critic Clement Greenberg's writing on abstract expressionist painting in 1950s, and the report of the Canadian Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (RCNDALS) 1949-1951, chaired by Vincent Massey. I analyze how Waltz's *Man, the State and War* asserts the importance of imagination in IR knowledge production, yet, problematically assumes that a settler colonial imaginary of world ordering through Westphalian territorial sovereignty is the universal experience of international politics. The settler colonial imaginary of world ordering through territorial sovereignty expressed in Waltz, Greenberg, and Massey's work demonstrates how knowledge production across USA and Canadian academic, arts, and policy communities in this era reasserted settler colonial sovereignty in an era of global decolonization movements expressed through national liberation movements. In the following chapters I examine the international political implications for Indigenous self-determination struggles in Canada, when IR knowledge production normalizes the settler colonial imaginary of world ordering by Westphalian territorial sovereignty. Analyzing this settler colonial imaginary in the

context of visual artwork of Indigenous artists, curators, arts administrators and scholars demonstrates how the present day IR ‘levels of analysis’ paradigm systematically privileges settler claims to sovereignty and marginalizes the presence of Indigenous nations’ political self-determination in world politics today.

Kenneth N. Waltz’s “three images”

Visuality is a historically situated embodied experience that is a vital site of contestation in world politics, both as a social practice that is increasingly militarized in the service of settler colonialism, Westphalian sovereignty, nationalisms, and imperialism and also as a practice that is a part of broader processes of political self-determination, decolonization, and social justice. Visual Studies and Art History scholars have demonstrated how dominant images, ways of seeing, and imagination work to produce privileged viewing subjectivities in relation with practices of justifying systematic interventions in the everyday lives of marginalized people (Crosby “Imaginary”; Elkins; Emberly *Defamiliarizing*; C. A. Jones; Mirzoeff; Mitchell; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Rickard “Visualizing”; Townsend-Gault “Circulating”). In this process, unjust claims to authority are made in the positivist correlation of objectivity and vision as a disembodied means of accessing unmediated and universal truths (Crary; C.A. Jones *Eyesight*). By critically examining the relations of power these processes emerge through, it becomes possible to recognize how embodied identifications are not pre-constituted aspects of autonomous bodies but are produced through social processes of encounter. Analyzing Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination struggles in the context of IR knowledge production about sovereignty in the 1950s, I focus on the conventional ideas and material conditions that systemically privileged scholars, art critics and

government policy advisors understood to be rational observers offering universal explanations for international conflict and peace (Waltz), the role of visual artwork in Cold War global politics (Greenberg), and the international dynamics of artwork in cultivating Canadian nationalism, citizenship, and diplomacy during the Post World War Two era of reorganizing global power dynamics (Massey).

Kenneth N. Waltz's three images method has been read by IR theorists as being informed by an epistemology of positivist observation and rational choice theory and rightly so in many regards, as I will outline in this chapter. However, Waltz's three images method is also significant in the sense that it underscores how imagination plays an important role in academic research methods by recognizing how the scholar's imagination of relationships, events, and actors is an important aspect of analyzing current and potential future power dynamics in IR. My entry point to understanding the ongoing resonance of Waltz's three images method, as the conventional levels of analysis approach in IR today, is to examine the tension between the positivist observation of rational political actors and the recognition of imagination as a material process that informs academic analyses of world politics. Throughout this chapter I analyze the tensions between processes of producing sovereign viewing subjects and artwork to call attention to how visibility is an embodied process of world politics. I argue that understanding imagination as an embodied process of world politics and how imagination informs IR knowledge production about sovereignty allows for engagement with the subjects, locations, and experiences of world politics that disrupt the assumption that the Westphalian system is natural, inevitable or the only operation of power in world politics.

Kenneth Waltz's *Man, The State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* is a foundational text in IR. First published in 1959 by Columbia University Press, this book is based on Waltz's doctoral dissertation, which was written while he was a graduate student at Columbia University in New York City from 1950 to 1954 (vii-xi). Many of the ideas articulated in this text have become conventional research methodologies and have reinforced ontological assumptions that privilege positivist knowledge production in IR. Waltz outlines three images for understanding power and war in world politics, which importantly foregrounds the role of visibility in academic analyses of international politics. The *first image* focuses on observing human behaviour, the *second image* focuses on state institutions as the visible appearance of sovereignty, and the *third image* focuses on foreseeing events in the international system of world politics. Methodologically, Waltz's three images inform the levels of analysis method where world politics is understood through categories of individual, state, and international institutions, actions, and events. The levels of analysis approach remains the most prevalent method in mainstream and critical approaches to teaching, researching, writing, and discussing world politics in IR today. At the same time, Waltz's insights about the role of imagination in academic analyses of world orderings of social relations remains an essential insight for modes of knowledge production today that work to understand and transform conditions of power and violence.

It is important to note that *Man, The State and War* is not a book about visual methodologies. The book is based on Waltz's dissertation, which is a project where candidates are expected to demonstrate an understanding of the limits and possibilities of the literature and debates in the discipline they are studying. Waltz's project offers an

analysis of debates among canonical Western philosophers, behavioural scientists, and anthropologists to explain the causes of war and possibilities for peace in international politics. Waltz's typology of the three images to analyze these debates shows how observation and imagination inform methods of studying world ordering through Westphalian sovereign power relations. This text expresses a turning point occurring across many elite communities of knowledge production in the 1950s, where abstract visuality became understood as an essential part of claims to modern subjectivity and authority in knowledge production. As part of my discussion of Waltz's three images method, I analyze tensions between Waltz's articulation of imagination and behavioralist methods of observation.

After an introductory chapter, in Chapter Two "The First Image: International Conflict and Human Behaviour" Waltz discusses how the causes of war and potentials for peace can be understood through observing human behaviour. Waltz offers a survey of canonical Western political theorists such as St. Augustine and Spinoza to argue that human behaviour, whether acting based on rational thought or passionate feelings, is fundamentally motivated by self-interest (22). Responding to Hans Morgenthau's assertion that *human nature* is inherently self-interested, Waltz shifts his focus to describe *human behaviour* in international politics as being characterized by competitive self-interest between individual men acting within the constraints of an anarchic international system (25 – 26). Waltz argues that possibilities for peace in international politics are limited due to self-interested behaviour inevitably causing conflict (39 – 41). In "Chapter Three Some Implications of the First Image: The Behavioural Sciences and the Reduction of Interstate Violence" Waltz discusses the work of behavioural scientists

on the subjects of war and peace. Waltz explains that behavioural scientists' observations, in particular anthropologists and social psychologists, have led to a consensus that "increased understanding among peoples means increased peace" (47). Yet Waltz asserts that behavioural scientists' belief in the possibilities for peaceful cooperation in international politics is problematically based on the belief that "the problem is all one of knowing and not at all one of doing" (59) and does not account for the need for the "prior existence of world government" (66). In this way, Waltz asserts that the liberal understanding of achieving peace through education about cultural diversity is not viable in an anarchical international system (48 – 49). Waltz concludes: "the proffered contributions of many [behavioural scientists] have been rendered ineffective by a failure to comprehend the significance of the political framework of international action" (76). In other words, Waltz's realist approach argues that the international political system is characterized by the condition of anarchy, due to the lack of an international government with ultimate authority, and therefore self-interested actions within this dynamic dramatically limits possibilities for peace between sovereign states. Waltz's imagined agent of change in international politics in the first image circumscribes limitations of whose experiences, actions and insights are understood to be expressing agency and enacting change in international politics. In Waltz's discussion of the first image in the context of sovereign state foreign policy he explains: "the social scientist attempts to turn his findings into a prescription for social action" (43). In this way, Waltz's understanding of the role of IR knowledge production in state policy was a commonly held view at the time that a primary goal of social science research was to provide guidance to governance methods and policy matters. The behaviouralist method in Political Science emphasized

the role of observation in analyzing the motivations and actions of individuals, in order to assess political dynamics, foresee possible outcomes, and propose state policy measures.

Critical analyses of social science research methods have shown the limits of positivist behavioralist approaches to observing social relationships as blank slates to be analyzed and inscribed with meaning in the process of research. Critical scholars have demonstrated how this approach is informed by a problematic assumption that researchers' methods of observing, analyzing and documenting are not shaped by particular social relationships and that it is possible and desirable to hierarchically compartmentalize spaces and bodies (Fanon *Wretched*; Tuhiwai Smith). Scholars of colonial histories have demonstrated how academic, legal, bureaucratic and popular understandings of *terra nullius* (empty lands) have emerged through and continue to work to normalize colonial violences experienced by Indigenous peoples globally through displacement and theft of land for real estate developments, state military testing, and corporate mining and resource extractions that produce devastating environmental and health effects (Lloyd; Neu and Therrien; Paglan). Genevieve Lloyd argues that the "philosophical imagination" of contemporary social relations in the colonial settler society of Australia continues to be informed by the contradictory belief in *terra nullius* (the idea of land being empty prior to European settlers' arrival) and in extensive colonial interventions in the everyday lives of Indigenous peoples (Lloyd focuses on state abduction of Indigenous children as discussed in the *Stolen Children* Report). Geographical materialist approaches also contest the idea that spatial organization and embodiment can be experienced or documented outside of social relationships. Drawing from Henri Lefebvre's argument that everyday practices produce meanings associated

with space (Lefebvre), Edward J. Soja has argued that processes of experiencing and theorizing about space are always embodied processes (Soja *Seeking*; Soja *Postmodern*). These perspectives are crucial to problematizing settler colonial attempts to erase Indigenous peoples' embodied experiences from popular and disciplinary academic epistemologies and methods of knowledge production.

In Chapter Four "The Second Image: International Conflict and the Internal Structure of States" Waltz focuses on the military and economic practices of state institutions as the visible expression of sovereign power in world politics. Waltz outlines the problematique of the second image as a concern with understanding "the idea that defects in states cause wars among them" (83). Throughout the chapter Waltz analyzes, from a realist approach, liberal theories of how individual and state economic and military security is negotiated through state institutions. Waltz notes: "in internal affairs, liberals begin with the doctrine of the sterile state. All the good things of life are created by the efforts of individuals; the state exists simply to uphold the ring as impartial arbiter among the individual competitors" (108). Waltz concludes the chapter by emphasizing that "The actions of states, or, more accurately, of men acting for states, make up the substance of international relations. But the international political environment has much to do with the ways in which states behave" (122 – 123). While Waltz acknowledges that state institutions emerge through social relations, he maintains an abstract understanding of these dynamics by taking particular men's experiences and agency to be representative of universal understandings of security and justice. Waltz's focus on the international systemic constraints of reforming state military and economic policies in order to reduce war obscures the historical violence of state formation and ongoing reassertions of

territorial sovereignty. The imagination of violence as an international conflict that is external to a state's territorial borders represents an erasure of settler colonial violence of dispossession and genocide experienced by Indigenous peoples.

In this context Waltz's discussion of state institutions as the visible expression of sovereign power in world politics excludes many other ways in which sovereign power is experienced in world politics. As outlined in the Introduction and Chapter One, I am concerned with how this understanding of sovereignty endures in many conventional and critical approaches in IR today and continues to marginalize Indigenous peoples' experiences of colonial violence and self-determination struggles as processes of world politics. Sovereignty is a foundational category in IR. According to Gyan Prakash in "Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World" a foundational category operates whereby events, institutions and social relationships in a historical context are understood through a homogenizing category that obscures how reproductions of colonial capitalist relations are based on "alterity which underlies this identity" (399). In relation to the tensions in the processes of abstraction in Waltz's first image and positivist visuality, Antony Anghie identifies how the idea of sovereignty as a universal category in international law has emerged through particular colonial encounters in the Americas (103). Anghie problematizes the idea that the Peace of Westphalia was an event of resolving strategic and political conflicts among competing European actors in 1648, only to be later extended globally as the "Westphalian model" (310). Instead Anghie emphasizes how the Westphalian sovereign state system emerged through particular colonial encounters that produced conceptions of embodied and ontological European and non-European 'differences' as essential and fixed (103). In these historical contexts

Anghie reads the texts of European positivist jurisprudence and demonstrates that sovereignty, as a marker of European civilization and authority in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, became relationally constituted through foreclosing the possibility of non-European peoples as legal subjects of sovereign states (104). In this way, Indigenous peoples' experiences of colonial violence and the marginalization of practices of self-determination in world politics ought not to be understood as an oversight of research methods in IR. Rather, taking up Anghie's analysis in the context of IR calls attention to how IR knowledge production about sovereignty as a universal experience is particular approach to managing colonial relationships of power in international politics.

In Chapter Six "The Third Image: International Conflict and International Anarchy" Waltz argues that the lack of legal authority to hold states accountable in international relations produces a condition of anarchy in the system so that "conflict, sometimes leading to war, is bound to occur" (159). Waltz argues that, to understand the complexities of international relations, if one image (human behaviour, the internal structures of states or international anarchy) is overemphasized it can "distort one's interpretation of the others" (160). While Chapter Six and the following two chapters are concerned with the possibilities of foreseeing war and peace between states in international relations, emphasizing the importance of the international system, there is a consistent focus on how the three images are interrelated. As Waltz states in his conclusion of the book:

"The third image describes the framework of world politics, but without the first and second images there can be no knowledge of the forces that determine policy; the first and second images describe the forces in world politics, but without the third image it is impossible to assess their importance or predict their results" (238).

The positivist approach to observing human behaviour and rational decisions made within state institutions has been problematized as a dynamic of colonialism, as outlined above. Discussing these observations in order to foresee events in international law further demonstrates how processes of imagining social relationships are interconnected with actions in world politics.

In *International Relations Theory: A Critical Introduction* Cynthia Weber argues that Waltz's three images of human behaviour, the internal structures of states and international anarchy do not explicitly analyze the role of fear and yet "without adding fear none of the competitive and potentially conflictual things he predicts will occur in a system of structural anarchy" (32). Weber suggests that anarchy ought to be understood as a myth in Waltz's three images where, rather than being a pre-existing condition that fosters violent conflict between states, anarchy and fear can also be understood as functioning in ways that unite actors around common causes (33). In this way Weber demonstrates how fear is not restrictive but is productive of national identifications, worldviews, and ways of interacting in world politics. While Weber importantly shows how the actions and ideas of privileged sovereign actors in the international system are shaped by particular experiences of fear, in my project I am focusing on how Indigenous peoples' ongoing experiences of colonial violence and practices of self-determination call attention to how IR knowledge production emerges through and reproduces colonial power dynamics in international politics.

Waltz's three images typology articulates an epistemological and ontological turning point in IR and in other elite communities of knowledge production. As I will discuss in the next section, elite academic and artistic communities in New York City in

the 1950s shared common understandings of the intensifying role of visuality as an abstract mode of knowing and being a modern subject in the world. There was an emerging consensus among USA behaviouralist social science research and modern art criticism that vision was an exceptional sense (separate from the sensations of touch, taste, smell, and hearing) and that this specific kind of visuality played an increasingly crucial role in everyday peoples' understanding of themselves as modern subjects. In the case of Waltz's text, visuality is understood as a method of analyzing the causes of war and possibilities for peace in international politics. As Waltz notes in the "Preface to the 2001 Edition" of the book, "the word 'image' suggests that one forms a picture in the mind... to say 'image' also suggests that in order to explain international outcomes one has to filter some elements out of one's view in order to concentrate on the presumably fundamental ones" (ix). Waltz's reflection in the 2001 edition of the book express an understanding of visuality that importantly emphasizes how ways of imagining inform academic research methods and actions in world politics (28).

Waltz discusses how the three images approach to understanding power in IR calls attention to how "one forms a picture in the mind" or, in other words, the academic's imagination of the international system dynamic (ix). In the "Preface to the 2001 Edition"

Waltz says:

"'Image' is also the better term because, although analytic thinking is appropriate to some problems of international politics, a wider understanding of international politics requires a systemic approach, which at once draws attention to third-image effects and enables one to comprehend all three 'levels'" (ix).

Waltz's emphasis on the importance of theorizing the third image joined a shift in IR knowledge production in the 1950s; the increasing examination of the international

political system as a dynamic forum of expressing power relationships. For example, in “The Department of International Relations at LSE: A Brief History, 1924 – 1971” F.S. Northedge discusses how Martin Wight’s LSE course on “International Institutions”, taught after World War Two, articulated an IR analysis of how the United Nations (UN) functions as a dynamic site of expressing and creating international power relationships, instead of framing this institution within the international political system as a diplomatic formality of communicating sovereign state self-interests (21). IR liberal analyses of the global political conditions of the Post World War Two era that led to the emergence of institutions such as the UN and International Monetary Fund (IMF) argue that European and North American state actors sought to establish a new peaceful international system of global governance through political cooperation and economic prosperity for all. Critical IR approaches demonstrate that this liberal argument of hegemonic stability through the Bretton Woods system displaces the unjust power dynamics of institutionalizing USA imperialism in political decision-making authority and capitalist financial policies. In *The New Imperial Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization*, Makere Stewart-Harawira’s analysis of colonialism, decolonization, Indigenous self-determination struggles and international political institutions emphasizes “that during the latter half of the twentieth century, the locus of hegemony shifted from the level of the state to the global arena” (146). Stewart-Harawira’s analysis of the Bandung Conference in 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement, and national liberation movements in Asia and Africa during this era demonstrate how Indigenous peoples mobilized political movements that articulated global visions and processes of decolonization and also asserted a “Third World” presence within the hegemonic Bretton Woods system of

implementing discourses of development (148). In the next section I discuss how the imaginary and practice of decolonizing the Westphalian global order at this historical moment problematized the assumed universality of the Cold War imaginary of US capitalism and USSR socialism in conflict by asserting the presence of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples' modes of governance and political movements, both within the hegemonic global political system and beyond its' limits, demonstrated the ongoing presence of the imagination and work of enacting Indigenous self-determination that cannot be contained within colonial worldviews (Césaire *Discours*; Fanon *Peau Noir*; Glissant; Memmi).

“The Triumph of Modernism”?

Mark Tansey's painting “Triumph of the New York School” (1984) depicts a fantasized meeting where elite actors of arts communities, dressed in military uniforms, gather to formally recognize the transition of global hegemonic status from European arts communities to USA arts communities in the aftermath of World War Two. Tansey's depiction of the militarization of divisions of labour, social status, and relational embodied positioning in this painting offer insights to understanding global power dynamics and understanding how these social relationships became institutionalized in the discipline of IR. In this context militarization is not just an illustrative metaphor but this painting can be understood as an entry point to understanding how militarization informs imaginaries and ways of seeing articulated by elite actors in world politics. Tansey's positioning of André Breton and Clement Greenberg at the centre of the painting emphasizes the authoritative position of particular art critics within elite artistic communities and across many communities of knowledge production.

Tansey's painting calls attention to the role of art history discourse in popular culture. The title of Tansey's painting is a satirical take on E.H. Gombrich's assertion of "The triumph of Modernism" in his best-selling art history book *The Story of Art* (599 – 617). One of the main dynamics depicted in Tansey's painting is the shift in global cultural hegemony from European to USA artistic production and more specifically, from 'The Paris School' to 'The New York School'. Many interpretations of this transition have shown that this was not simply an ascendance of superior artistic talent but rather emerged through the global political economy of the post World War Two era. In *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*, Serge Guilbaut demonstrates how the "ideological resonance" of the work of American abstract expressionist painters and art critics reinforced global capitalist divisions of labour and distributions of wealth that favoured the intensifying US military-industrial complex (2). In *Mark Tansey: Visions and Revisions* Arthur Danto asserts that: "The armored car on the American side emblemizes the way the New Yorkers steamrolled their way to world eminence in the arts" (Danto and Sweet 21). The cluster of American abstract expressionist artists depicted to the right of Greenberg in Tansey's painting includes art critic Harold Rosenberg, abstract expressionist painters Robert Motherwell, Mark Rothko, William de Kooning, David Smith, Ad Reinhardt, Barnett Newman, Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, and Joseph Cornell. An anonymous photographer to the left of Pollock documents the triumphant moment of André Breton conceding victory to a grinning Greenberg. Breton stands across the table from Greenberg, and to his left he is surrounded by many French Surrealist and other prominent European artists including Marcel Duchamp, Pablo

Picasso, Fernand Legér, Pierre Bonnard, Henri Matisse, André Derain, Guillaume Apollinaire, Juan Gris, Henri Rousseau, and Salvador Dalí (Danto and Sweet 136).

Tansey's depiction of Greenberg as embodying the position of a triumphant General leading an American abstract expressionist army to victory over European avant-garde artists and art critics articulates complex ideas about visibility and the role of Greenberg's work in relation to divisions of labour and social status in world politics. Many of Tansey's works are monochromatic paintings, resembling photographs, of fantasized scenarios that satirize conventional narratives of events in world politics and ideas that circulate in artistic communities. Tansey has discussed how, by painting fictional events in a photographic documentary style, he draws on the tensions that uphold popular assumptions that photographic images capture the essential truth of events as they happen while paintings are understood to be a particular depiction from the artist's perspective (Tansey quoted in Danto and Sweet 132). As I discuss further in this section, the discursive privileging of Greenberg's understanding of visibility in relation with abstract expressionist painting also expresses a tension between the recognition of visibility as a central aspect of modern subjectivity while maintaining that visibility is disassociated from the further senses. Arthur Danto has noted that, while the "pictorial candor" of Tansey's paintings can create an initial belief in the possibility that these fantasized scenarios could have happened, Tansey's techniques invite the viewer to contest positivist visibility and the conventional narrative of the 'Triumph of Modernism' and the New York School (Danto and Sweet 15-23). In this way, Tansey engages with the supposed universally acknowledged victory of USA abstract expressionism through his metaphorical and representational style.

Tansey has discussed how an important function of contemporary painting is to both recognize the limits of representational painting and engage with the importance of visibility in everyday life to “use the painted picture as a way of studying its own modes of reference, its ranges of sensitivity and insensitivity, its deceptions, by way of offering insights into the analogous functions of, for example, film, photography and television” (Tansey quoted in Danto and Sweet 135). In this context, I understand the fantasized explicit militarization of social status, embodied positioning, and the smouldering war-torn landscape in this painting as a recognition that the social relationships of elite actors in the New York abstract expressionist painting community in the 1950s existed in relation with the emerging global hegemonic status of USA political, economic, and military institutions. In other words, the military uniforms worn by these painters and art critics are not merely metaphorical but also demonstrate how one element of their lived embodied position was that their work and community existed within a network of militarized international relations. As critical perspectives on militarism in IR have demonstrated, conventional IR methods that privilege analyses of state military strategies and foreign policies do not attend to the ways in which many aspects of everyday social relations are militarized (Agathangelou and Killian; Beier *Militarization*; Enloe; Weber *Imagining*; Whitworth *Men*). My analysis of Tansey’s painting in this context emphasizes how artwork and knowledge production about artwork was an element of the transformation in world ordering during this era. Further, Tansey’s painting demonstrates how contemporary artwork offers insights to analyzing global power dynamics through foregrounding specific themes in the work and through calling attention to how art history shapes our worldviews of these themes.

Tansey's depiction of Greenberg as a central figure leading the New York abstract expressionist painting community aligns with many critical approaches to understanding the influential role of art critics in the international art world. The authority of art critics is validated through their work of offering insights into works of art and the role of art in societies. In this way, art critics are positioned as interpreters of artists' creative expressions into conceptual frameworks that are useful for an audience to understand their experience of viewing art, for understanding the significance of artists' work in a historical context, and for understanding artists' roles in society. Sarah Thornton's ethnography of contemporary global elite art communities in *Seven Days in the Art World* demonstrates how the authority of elite art critics published in popular forums such as *The New York Times* and *Artforum International* are reproduced through networks of industry professionals and private investors at auctions, academic institutions, art fairs, gallery exhibitions, and institutional awards. These practices are related to the ongoing privileging of the work of established historical art critics such as Greenberg (Brzysky; G. Pollock; Bloom). Understanding art critics as embodying a position on the borders of many communities including creative artistic communities, art history scholarship and popular media publications involves recognizing the limits and possibilities for art critics to contest and to reproduce the power relations that order these communities and maintains boundaries between them. In this way, Tansey's painting shows how contemporary artwork intervenes in art criticism and art history knowledge production about global politics. Tansey's artwork also invites audiences to reflect on how we imagine the historical constitution of international political communities and the role that artwork plays in these processes.

Critical perspectives on The New York School have argued that Greenberg's art criticism was particularly problematic in reinforcing hegemonic ideas and practices of whose art was and was not significant and an understanding of art history that attempted to normalize these processes of privileging and marginalization. Caroline A. Jones has demonstrated that Greenberg's participation in the CIA-funded organization the American Committee for Cultural Freedom beginning in 1951, promoting abstract expressionist art as demonstrating the exceptionality of American freedom of expression, can be understood in part as a desire to consolidate recognition for abstract expressionist art *within the United States* (84-87). Guilbaut argues the main dynamic articulated in Greenberg's writing is of *US cultural imperialism* in a global context, where abstract expressionism was understood to be emerging as the leading form of artistic expression over European modern art and against Soviet Union oppressive restrictions on public expression. Guilbaut identifies two key transitions in Greenberg's discourse on abstract expressionism in the geopolitical context of the Cold War in the 1950s: "American art moved first from nationalism to internationalism and then from internationalism to universalism" (174).

When focusing on the visual expression of power in world politics in the 1950s it is important to not privilege an analysis of the Cold War as a universal global rivalry between capitalist USA and socialist USSR but also to recognize how artists, scholars, and activists participating in global movements for self-determination were contesting historical and ongoing colonial violences. Edouard Glissant's *Soleil de la Conscience* (*Sun of Consciousness* published in 1957), Frantz Fanon's *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (*Black Skin, White Masks* published in 1952) and *Corps Perdu* (*Lost Body* published in

1950, a collection of poems by Aimé Césaire with images by Pablo Picasso) are some of the projects that demonstrate the presence of creative academic contemporaries of Waltz and Greenberg engaging with ongoing movements for self-determination in world politics that contested colonial violences. Glissant, Fanon, and Césaire's works foreground the conditions of colonial violence and articulate imaginaries of world ordering and subjectivities that are powerful counterpoints to Greenberg's emphasis on abstract alienation and individual aspirations for freedom as universal experiences in Greenberg's art criticism.

Nevertheless, Greenberg's writings are a key reference point for many art historians' work about visual art during the 1950s. Serge Guilbaut's *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War* (1985) offers what he calls a "materialist history" of professional New York arts communities from 1935 - 1948 by discussing paintings, the writing of art critics, the practices of art institutions, and government policies (12). Guilbaut contests the "ritual repetition" of the dominant narrative of US art history and popular ideas that suggest that US global cultural dominance in the years following World War Two was inevitable and desirable (9). Guilbaut contests the belief in US capitalism as an expression of universal freedom and prosperity and analyzes how this dominant reading is canonized in art history.

Guilbaut discusses Greenberg's writings as an essential part of understanding the "ideological resonance" of the belief that the global cultural centre had shifted away from European artists in Paris and settled firmly in the community of New York abstract expressionist painters in the late 1940s and into the 1950s (2). Guilbaut discusses the growing influence of Greenberg's writing throughout the 1940s as he consistently

discussed how abstract expressionist paintings were a definitive articulation of American modern subjectivity in particular and of universal aspirations for freedom (102 – 163). In “Chapter Three: The Creation of an American Avant-Garde, 1945-47” Guilbaut discusses Greenberg’s influential essay “Avant Garde and Kitsch”, first published in *Partisan Review* magazine in 1939 and later published in Greenberg’s book of essays *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* in 1961. In the essay Greenberg discusses the emergence of US avant-garde culture in relation to the growing USA demand for kitsch (commercially produced visual art and literature) in the period following the Great Depression of the 1930s as well as in the context of the suppression of individual artistic expression by fascist leaders such as Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin (3-21). Greenberg establishes these two prominent dynamics as the conditions in which avant-garde artistic production emerges in the USA and defines itself against during this time. According to Guilbaut, Greenberg’s discussion of abstract expressionist painting and avant-garde culture produces an understanding where: “alienation was thus a token of liberty. The corollary of this was that only the alienated man could be truly free: this was the central dogma of avant-garde criticism” (159). In this way, Guilbaut shows how art criticism by Greenberg and others expressed an “ideological resonance” with USA economic practices and global military presence:

“American art was transformed from regional to international art and then to universal art. French ‘taste’ and ‘finish’ gave way to American ‘force’ and ‘violence’ as universal cultural values: ‘Pollock is one of the more important painters of our age’ [Greenberg in 1949 in *Nation*]. In this respect, postwar American culture was placed on the same footing as American economic and military strength: in other words, it was made responsible for the survival of democratic liberties in the ‘free’ world” (177).

Guilbaut importantly shows how Greenberg's art criticism contributed to an emerging understanding of USA cultural dominance in a global context and contests how this continues to be reproduced through contemporary art history scholarship, art criticism, and art institutions.

Guilbaut's argument about the "ideological resonance" (2) of USA abstract expressionist painting and art criticism offers many insights to relationships between abstraction and visuality in IR knowledge production. Guilbaut notes that contemporary perspectives on USA literature produced during the 1950s shows a change in conceptions of alienation, whereby "after World War II alienation ceased to be seen in the United States as a deviant condition and began to be viewed as a way of being. The period saw a reevaluation of madness and, more generally, of alienation" (158). In the context of academic knowledge production, the dominance of positivism in North American Social Sciences and behavioralism in Political Science research methods during this time expressed similar practices of abstraction that are present in Greenberg's art criticism. Milja Kurki and Colin Wight outline how the ontological, epistemological, and methodological practices of behaviouralism in 'second debate' in IR challenged realist conceptions of power that could not be quantified through observation and were themselves challenged by many European scholars such as the English School theorists who emphasized that the behaviouralist analysis of data is an interpretive process (17-18). In this way, practices of abstraction in behaviouralist methods and rational choice theory were not implicit or unexamined but rather were valued as a means to explain the sources of key problems in international politics and to inform policy solutions.

In understanding the enduring authority of Greenberg's work, I focus on how abstract expressionism is understood as a site where the modern man comes to know himself as a subject in the world through viewing this artwork. In Caroline A. Jones' *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses* she shows how Greenberg's writing about Pollock's paintings outlines an understanding of visuality as an essential part of viewers' capacities to interpret their encounters with abstract expressionist paintings and how these experiences with abstract expressionist art were a defining characteristic of understanding their existence as a modern subject (xv). The experience of viewing abstract expressionist art through "eyesight alone" is understood as a universal register for experiencing life as a modern subject (C.A. Jones *Eyesight*). Jones characterizes Greenberg's understanding of his writing as offering "pedagogical criteria for the 'average' viewer" (138) in order to understand how their experiences of viewing art relate with their ways of thinking and being in the world. In this way, Greenberg understood visuality as a process of organizing relationships between bodies, paintings, and institutions in world politics (xiv).

There is a deep tension in Greenberg's understanding of viewers' encounters with art, simultaneously as a process of "bodying forth visibility" in interpretation (Greenberg quoted in J. O'Brian *Clement Greenberg* 2:352) and also as an experience of "eyesight alone" in isolation from other embodied sensations (C. A. Jones, *Eyesight* 285).

Greenberg's writings discussed how viewers' processes of encountering a painted canvas are embodied processes yet simultaneously focuses on visuality as a disembodied way of rationally making sense of one's own subjectivity (149). Jones analyzes these material conditions as the "bureaucratization of the senses" (xvii – xix) along with the

bureaucratization of everyday life in the United States at that time (149 – 150). Part of Greenberg’s praise of the special qualities of abstract expressionist painting, and Pollock’s paintings in particular, was a focus on how this artistic medium uniquely and precisely expressed rational detachment, the defining experience of urban industrial modernism according to Greenberg (283). The viewer could become aware of their existence and agency as a rational detached subject by experiencing abstract expressionist painting through “eyesight alone”, Greenberg’s conceptualization of vision as an exceptional sense separated from further sensations (J. O’Brian *Clement Greenberg* 4:59). Jones argues that the purging of representations of bodies in abstract expressionist painting, in combination with the bureaucratization of everyday life in major cities in the US such as New York City where Greenberg lived and worked mainly, produced a social context within which Greenberg could articulate an understanding of visuality that Jones calls a “bureaucratization of the senses” (xvii – xix).

Jones notes that, among the many revolutionary effects of Pollock’s drip method, two key effect were destabilizing the wall as the referential location for producing paintings (286) and creating an awareness in the viewer of the painter’s body rhythms in working with the canvas (71). Jones’ analysis points out that Greenberg’s art criticism expresses an abstract visuality based on the exclusion of analyzing Pollock’s embodied gestures that produced this work. This is significant to understanding the role of abstract visuality in IR knowledge production because Greenberg’s authoritative position as a producer of knowledge about artwork was based on his assertion that a modern subject comes to knows himself and understand his place in the world through viewing abstract

expressionist art, yet Pollock's unique method of making this artwork is defined by embodied gestures.

In conventional understandings of divisions of labour between academic communities producing theoretical concepts and artistic communities producing creative experiences, Greenberg's art criticism writing published in popular forums placed him in a powerful position as an intermediary with authority to interpret concepts and experiences between these communities. Greenberg's active participation in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom in the 1950s, an organization funded by the CIA, demonstrates Greenberg's participation in activities and organizations that promoted cultural imperialism and global political hegemony as desirable and achievable goals (83 – 95). Greenberg's advocacy of American artistic supremacy centred around his explicit belief that abstract expressionist painting depicted an American experience of freedom in contrast with post-Cubist European abstractionists, and was implicitly understood to be superior to Soviet artistic production where individual artistic expression was limited by state censorship and surveillance (87).

Greenberg's art criticism, and the enduring influence of his conceptualization of visuality, draws attention to the need to recognize how knowledge production emerges through and articulates material power relationships across academic and artistic communities. Influential and enduring ideas about connections between abstraction and visuality were articulated in the work of elite academic communities and artistic communities in New York City in the 1950s. These specific understandings of visuality were connected with ongoing hegemonic practices and ideas about visuality. Visual studies scholars recognize that a new consensus had been emerging in elite communities

of knowledge production since the European Renaissance and intensifying during the Industrial Revolution, where visuality was understood as an exceptional sense (a sensation that could be experienced apart from taste, hearing, smell, and touch) and was an essential part of experiencing life as a sovereign modern subject. Visual studies theorists focus on how sight is produced as an exceptional sense when vision is understood as characteristic of a subject who knows objective truths about the world (Crary 4). In this field of study there is a focus on understanding the emergence of the idea of a sovereign viewing subject being produced in nineteenth century European reconceptualizations of vision as separate from further senses (Crary; Elkins; Jay; Mitchell). In particular, the disassociation of sight and touch is crucial because objectivity is understood to originate in the sovereign viewing subject's disembodied way of seeing. In this context, the hegemonic idea of visuality as a method of objective rational observation and analysis was understood as a capacity of masculine, white subjects. As I will discuss in this section, many elite actors in academic and artistic communities in New York City shared this understanding of visuality in the 1950s.

Being attentive to the institutionalized and informal relationships between these artistic and academic communities calls attention to the emergence of new global power dynamics. In this context, this means recognizing that Waltz and Greenberg's processes of research, writing and communication of their work were material experiences. Discussions and feedback across academic and artistic communities contribute to insights and analyses in both streams of knowledge production. Maintaining a distinct division of labour where conceptual theoretical labour is understood exclusively as academic work and creative inquiry is understood as artistic labour participates in modes of world

ordering that produce authority, power, and privilege through the specialization of knowledge production. The emphasis on distinctions between these communities, rather than recognizing the connections that sustain them, serves to legitimize status quo power relations and does not recognize the interconnections of elites in both communities. In this way, I follow transnational feminist approaches that understand knowledge production as a collaborative process of social reproduction, not a cumulative project based on individual insights (Agathangelou and Ling; Alexander and Mohanty *Feminist*; Trinh; Spivak “Can The Subaltern Speak?”). Transnational feminist approaches to knowledge production also emphasize that self-reflexivity in processes of research, writing and communicating academic work is an essential part of transforming hierarchies in world politics (Agathangelou and Ling; Ahmed *Strange*; Alexander; Mohanty *Feminism*; Puar; Tuhiwai Smith). In other words, everyone researches, theorizes and writes within networks of power relations and it is essential to be attentive to how all work, including critical work, can reproduce the problematic dynamics we wish to transform. In this context, it is necessary to attend to how elite academic and artistic communities in New York City in the 1950s to today are sites of hegemonic institutions and practices that operate in relation with many sites in world politics. In the final section I discuss how this abstract visuality continues to be reproduced within the field of IR.

In “Art, Abstraction and International Relations” Christine Sylvester demonstrates how artwork and academic knowledge production in IR are interconnected communities in world politics. She says: “the two bodies of knowledge borrow from each other constantly and simply cannot divorce, even though one of them may operate as though

the other's colourful abstractions are irrelevant to it" (545). In discussing Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* (1979) and the field of IR, in "Art, Abstraction and International Relations" Sylvester says:

"Waltzian IR is not the only School that has promoted abstract picture making of the international and its relations. Much of the field teaches generations of students to conceptualise and render the international as the realm of actors, anarchy, interdependencies, threats, rationality, ideas, exchanges, and now globalisation processes; abstractions all. War, the core area of IR, has been abstracted into the language of strategic weaponry and games to the detriment of scholarly inclusions of bodies, death and killing" (540).

In this way, Sylvester is attentive to how a range of IR theories, methodologies, and pedagogies marginalize discussions of the violent effects of war and militarization through processes of abstraction in language, images, and imagination. Further, in *Art/Museums: International Relations Where We Least Expect It* Sylvester argues that modern art museums and IR emerge through and express power dynamics in world politics. Sylvester's work is in conversation with feminist analyses that contest the claim that academic knowledge production is an abstract process by showing how these institutional sites are processes of social reproduction (Collins; Grosz and Pateman; Harding; Maracle *Woman*; Mohanty "Under Western Eyes"; G. Pollock; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*). Sylvester's analysis also draws from critical museum studies work on how modes of power and agency are enacted through methods of representation in institutions (Bal; González; Karp and Lavine; Luke; Macdonald and Fyfe). Sylvester's methodology shows how Eurocentric power/knowledge relationships are enacted and normalized through institutional methods of displaying objects, images, and words in modern art museums. These processes of privileging and marginalization continue to impact social

relations within and across academic and artistic communities by attempting to circumscribe authority and agency to enact change in world politics.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences

In the post World War Two era of Canadian economic prosperity and the ascendancy of USA hegemony in world politics, the Canadian federal government established the RCNDALS to propose policies to strengthen institutional resources for Canadian artwork, academic research in social sciences, humanities and science, and public education about Canadian culture. The recommendations of the Commission have importantly established many cultural institutions and funding bodies such as the Canada Council for the Arts that continue to provide crucial resources to professional artists, arts and academic communities across Canada, and improve everyday peoples' accessibility to this work. However, my focus in analyzing the work of the Commission here is to understand how the Commission's Report expresses a settler colonial understanding of sovereignty that privileges Canadian subjectivity, nationalism, and diplomacy and marginalizes Indigenous artists and Indigenous peoples' self-determination. These dynamics are demonstrated in the appointment of Commission members, international political conditions at the time of the Commission, and the Commission's focus on the role of education in cultivating Canadian citizenship and nationalism.

Canadian Minister of National Defense Brooke Claxton put forward the initial proposal to Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King to establish a national commission that would assess the state of Canadian culture and seek policy proposals to institutionalize state funding for broadcasting, public education, artwork and academic research (Litt 13). The Commission conducted its work from 1949-1951 and was chaired

by Vincent Massey with committee members Arthur Surveyer, Norman A. M. MacKenzie, Georges Henri-Lévesque, and Hilda Neatby (RCNDALS 1951). Commission members were selected for their experience in university teaching and administration, policy making and regional representation of expert knowledge of Canadian culture. However, none of the commission members were professional artists. As Paul Litt notes: “a commission staffed and supported by academics would regard the university, rather than the artist’s studio, as the real centre of cultural life in Canada” (147). The Commission hosted public forums where community members and volunteer association representatives could voice their experiences and priorities for government funding. However the Commission’s membership, mandate, and final report privileged the specialized knowledge of academic researchers of Canadian culture and their proposals for public education and institutional funding. Historical analyses of the Commission demonstrate how the Report’s assessment and policy proposals reinforced the members’ socioeconomic status and emphasis on curbing the influence of USA popular culture, which was perceived as a threat to the integrity of a distinct Canadian culture (Fatona; Litt). Assessing the milieu of the Commission members, Litt states: “Members of this cultural elite were generally well educated, white, middle-class, and male, and their interaction led to friendships which reinforced their shared interests” (21). Chairman Massey’s experiences as Canadian Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Canadian representative at the League of Nations during World War Two, Chancellor of the University of Toronto, Chair of the National Gallery of Canada, and author of the book *On Being Canadian* are reflected in the Commission’s emphasis on the role of fine

arts and academic knowledge production in fostering citizenship, nationalism, and international diplomacy (Massey).

The Commission's Report includes twenty-five chapters outlining the mandate, assessments and policy recommendations on mass media, voluntary bodies, federal agencies, scholarship, and cultural relations abroad (RCNDALS 1951). The Report's mandate expresses a liberal education model of individual self-improvement through knowledge and assumes men are the ideal Canadian citizen: "Education is the progressive development of the individual in all his faculties, physical and intellectual, aesthetic and moral. As a result of the disciplined growth of the entire personality, the educated man shows a balanced development of all his powers; he has fully realized his human possibilities" (6). The *British North America Act* (1867) established the constitutional division of authority between Canadian federal and provincial governments, with Section 93 declaring educational institutions as a provincial responsibility. Therefore, the Commission's Report focuses their recommendation for federal government investment in a broader interest in public education "which enriches the mind and refines the taste" (6), the role of "universities in the national service" (134), participation in the newly established UNESCO (246 – 252), and "the projection of Canada abroad" through cultural diplomacy, artwork, and institutions such as the National Film Board (253 – 267). The Report's characterization of universities as "a network of cultural communication between provinces and indeed with other countries" and as a "recruiting grounds for the national services" shows the Commissions' emphasis on the role of scholars and university administrators in Canada's diplomatic relations with other sovereign states (134). The Report discusses how national security should not be

understood in limited terms of the armed forces only, but rather, argues that Canadian academic knowledge production is a key aspect of national security as demonstrated by the “the fundamental research work which they undertook during the war [World War Two], and are continuing in the perilous times in which we live [the Cold War]” (135). This characterization of academic knowledge production as a national service and fundamental element of national security underscores the Commissioners’ belief in the role of universities enacting Canadian national security, cultural diplomacy, and global leadership during the Cold War in the 1950s.

Chapter Fifteen of the report discusses the committee’s assessment and policy recommendations for “Indian Arts and Crafts” (239 – 243). The report expresses a colonial assessment of the lack of authentic “Indian arts” (241) and assimilationist policy proposals such as the establishment of “a Canadian Council of Amer-indian Studies and Welfare to consider every aspect of Indian life and to make suggestions for suitable legislation” to ensure that “the Indian can be best integrated into Canadian life if his fellow Canadians learn to know and understand him through his creative work” (243). This approach aligns with ongoing colonial assimilationist policies and settler institutions of governance that Indigenous peoples in Canada experienced and resisted at the time, as Indigenous peoples with Indian Status were disenfranchised from Canadian elections until 1960 due to *Indian Act* regulations (Elections Canada 83 – 87). As Litt notes, at the time of its publication the report was widely received as evidence that participation in World War Two was a rite of passage for Canada, transitioning from a colony of the United Kingdom to a distinct nation in its own right:

“The Massey Report was hailed as a symbolic step forward in national development from the moment it hit the bookstores. Drawing on the popular saga of Canada’s ‘progress’ from colony to nation, nationalists noted that just as political, military, and diplomatic autonomy had been earlier stages on the road to national independence, now the young nation, confident and optimistic following its wartime feats, was discovering its cultural identity. The Massey Commission reflected a new stage national development that would see a coarse adolescent Canada mature into a civilized adult” (5).

Litt’s account of the popular understanding of Canada’s position in world politics and self-identity at the time of the publication of the report underscores how this imagination of international relations obscured the ongoing colonial conditions of Canadian governance and culture experienced by Indigenous nations, communities, and artists. Further, the Commission’s liberal education model of individual self-improvement through cultivating knowledge and appreciation for Canadian fine arts, literature, and scientific progress imagines the ideal Canadian subject as a white male middle-class subject (Litt 21; Fatona 37 - 41). Through the appointment of Commission members, emphasis on Cold War international political conditions, and obscuring the colonial conditions experienced by Indigenous peoples, the Commission’s report expresses a settler colonial imaginary of world ordering where the Canadian nation arrives on the international scene, in part, through artwork and academic knowledge production. In this way, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science demonstrates a relational privileging of white male middle class Canadian citizens and the marginalization of Indigenous nations, artists, and scholars. Indigenous artists, scholars, and communities resisted this Canadian settler colonial imagination and governance in multiple registers, as demonstrated in the “sixteen briefs and presentations” by Indigenous people/groups to the Commission itself (RCNDALS 239). Further, as I discuss in Chapter Four, from the 1970s to today networks of Indigenous

artists, curators, scholars and community organizers have organized artist-run centres, mobilized networks, and enacted projects of reclaiming self-representation in Canadian public art museums and galleries in colonial neoliberal conditions.

Imagining Sovereignty and the IR “Levels of Analysis” Paradigm

IR scholars analyzing colonization and decolonization movements in the 1950s have shown how Cold War military and diplomatic hostilities between the USA and USSR were an important, but not universally experienced, dynamic of international relations. Critical IR analyses have demonstrated the role of IR knowledge production in the 1950s in the relational process of obscuring the violences of colonial dispossession of Indigenous peoples as international processes and not affirming the presence of Indigenous self-determination struggles and processes of decolonizing imaginaries of world politics (Grovoqui *Beyond*; Shapiro *Methods*). Analyzing the imagination of international relations expressed in Waltz, Greenberg, and Massey’s work together, I argue that these works demonstrate a reassertion of USA and Canadian settler colonial sovereignty and denial of Indigenous self-determination during the post World War Two and Cold War eras. Nevertheless, Westphalian sovereignty endures as the dominant mode of world ordering in international relations and the conventional imagination expressed in IR knowledge production. Methodologically, the three images as outlined in Waltz’s foundational text *Man, the State and War* (individual human behaviour, internal structures of sovereign states, and anarchy in the international system) are conventionally taken for granted in contemporary IR as the universally applicable levels of analysis for explaining events in world politics (Onuf 36; Singer; Waltz 1-15). This approach does not attend to the ways in which colonial worldviews work to secure the disciplinary

boundaries of IR by privileging these particular categories of meaning and modes of political organization as universal ones. Indigenous communities in the Americas working for self-determination, in terms of political decision-making authority and land and waters reclamations, are not recognized as sovereign by the governments of states within the Westphalian system and are not recognized as sovereign within the contemporary IR levels of analysis framework (Beier, *International* 44-47; Cardinal; A. Smith, *Conquest* 5; A. Simpson *Mohawk Interruptus*). In this way, IR knowledge production participates in the normalization of dispossession and marginalization of Indigenous communities in international relations. With this analysis I join critical interventions that not only identify but also work towards transforming unjust systemic power dynamics in the international system of political communities (Agathangelou and Ling 6; Arat-Koç 44-47; A. Smith, *Conquest* 137-176; Mohanty, *Feminism* 1-16; Raheja, “Reading” 1166; Razak, *Dark Threats* 153-166; Tuhiwai Smith 5).

Waltz’s three images continue to capture IR scholars’ collective imagination, as expressed in the conventional levels of analysis approach. IR knowledge production in undergraduate lectures, graduate seminars, research methods, publications, conference presentations, and by other means frame power, violence and agency in international politics in terms of the levels of analysis. Drawing from Waltz’s three images, the levels of analysis method outlined by J. David Singer involves analyzing the connections between “the international system” (80), “the national state – our primary actor in international relations” (82) and the decision-making process that informs the actions of individual men (84). Undergraduate textbooks, which initiate students to the historical frames of reference and methods shared by the IR community, demonstrate the

prevalence of the levels of analysis approach to understanding the international system, states and individuals (Kaufman; Mingst and Arreguin-Toft; Spiegel, Matthews, Taw, and Williams). Various theoretical analyses of international politics express distinct perspectives on the characterization of the relationship between the three images in the international system: realist analyses emphasize that *anarchy* in the international system constrains state foreign policy and individual actors; liberal approaches assert that the international system is a forum for the pursuit of *freedom* through co-operation among states and individuals; and critical theories understand the international system to be characterized by *hierarchical* power relations and examine possibilities for transforming systemic inequalities. While critical theories do analyze the violent effects and hierarchical power dynamics involved in the production of sovereignty, the historical and ongoing presence of Indigenous nations' self-determination continues to be marginalized in critical IR knowledge production that takes the levels of analysis approach for granted and does not examine the settler colonial imaginary of world ordering underpinning this method.

In this way, I understand the IR levels of analysis paradigm to be an expression of the normalization of Westphalian sovereignty in world politics, where academic knowledge production is a material process of power. As stated at the outset of this project, power can be understood as the reproduction of colonial social relationships, as contestations of colonial injustices, and as enactments of political self-determination through visual expression. In analyzing these contending modes of power in world politics, I emphasize the importance of transforming the foundational levels of analysis method in IR that assume we already know what power looks like by conflating

Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity as the singular universal expression of power in international politics today. I argue that this dominant practice of world ordering and IR knowledge production is not a finished project but an ongoing site of contestation in world politics. Waltz's three images importantly recognizes the central role of visuality in methods of analyzing power in IR. However the tension in Waltz's visual method between the positivist behaviouralist method and recognizing the role of imagination in IR, and the enduring popularity of the three levels method across many theoretical perspectives in IR today, points to broader tensions in current methods of understanding power as an embodied process of world politics. Further, the translation of Waltz's three *images* (naming a process of conceptual picturing or imagining in order to understand global politics) to the *levels* of analysis suggests a deeper investment in positivist knowledge production where analytical categories can be taken for granted as universal mechanisms for explanation.

I draw on transnational feminist methods of understanding and transforming power relationships in world politics that show how self-expression is an embodied process of world-making that can offer both substantive theoretical contestations of dominant modes of world ordering and can also offer ways of imagining less violent, more equitable futures (Alexander; Anzaldúa; Fusco; Gómez-Peña *New World*; hooks; Lorde; Maracle *Postcolonial*; O'Grady; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*; Trinh; Tuhiwai Smith; Wynter). My method of analyzing Jungen and Belmore's visual artistic practices recognizes a distinction between power as the injustice of settler colonialism and power as enacting self-determination in world politics. In this way, I draw from Taiaiake Alfred's assertion that "the value of the indigenous critique of the Western world view lies not in the

creation of false dichotomies but in the insight that the colonial attitudes and structures imposed on the world by Europeans are not manifestations of inherent evil: there are merely reflections of white society's understanding of its own power and relationship with nature" (45) and in relation "the collective struggle for indigenous self-determination is truly a fight for freedom and justice" (8).

With this understanding, I focus on how the presence of colonial visual knowledge production about relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers in North America is foundational to settler colonialism in Canada. While dominant visual methods attempt to marginalize and enact erasures of self-determination by Indigenous peoples, I discuss how Jungen and Belmore's visual artwork is a method of expressing self-determination. In this way, I join conversations that show how academic knowledge production emerges through and informs hierarchical social relationships (Haver; Mohanty *Sites*; Wallace). A key starting point of my inquiry is to recognize that universities operate as sites of social relationships of power by focusing on how visual methods in IR are embodied processes of world politics. My focus is on how dominant visual methods of understanding power in IR emerge through and reproduce colonial social power dynamics while Indigenous visual artists' methods of self-expression articulate substantive insights about power, violence and agency that are part of struggles for self-determination. Understanding how power relationships work is a defining characteristic of the discipline of Political Science more broadly and it is not problematic to analyze the three images as key sites of power in world politics. However it is important to recognize the historically specific circumstances these sites are emerged

through and the modes of visibility that enable the three images to endure as the dominant levels of analysis method in IR.

IR transnational feminist and postcolonial approaches have opened up discussions about IR knowledge production as an embodied practice of world politics. While conventional approaches in the affective turn in IR understand ‘the body’ as a universal, undifferentiated register for feelings, transnational feminist approaches to affect understand embodiment to be relationally produced through particular encounters. Transnational feminist methods of understanding structures and agency in world politics focus on how transformative power relations operate through ongoing practices of political self-determination, self-representation, struggles for reparations for colonial violences and redistributions of authority in governance (Ahmed *Being*; Alexander and Mohanty *Feminist*; Maracle *Woman*; A. Smith *Conquest*; Trinh). In understanding IR as an embodied process of world politics, I draw on Anna M. Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling’s concept of “worldism” where social relations articulate ways of knowing and being that exist in multiple registers, or “multiple worlds” simultaneously (Agathangelou and Ling 85). Worldism as a method of understanding power in IR makes possible recognitions of how colonial structures of domination in Canada and Indigenous peoples’ agency of self-determination exist simultaneously in contemporary world politics. Specifically, Agathangelou and Ling’s understanding of relational materialism – where social encounters and expressions of imagination not only describe but materialize social norms, institutional practices and modes of identification – is an entry point to understanding the importance of contemporary visual art and imagination as practices of decolonization and self-determination in world politics today (97).

Critical approaches in art history have long demonstrated how dominant modes of visual expression historically privilege Eurocentrism, whiteness, and masculinities. John Berger's *Ways of Seeing* shows how gendered, classed, and racialized social power dynamics were articulated through the technique of perspective in European oil painting in the fifteenth century (83-112). Feminist artistic production and academic visual methods have demonstrated how university, museum, and gallery institutional canonization of Eurocentric legacies of white male artists marginalizes the historical and contemporary artwork by women, people of colour and Indigenous artists (Bal; Bloom; Brzyski; Guerilla Girls; La Pocha Nostra; G. Pollock). Visual studies theorists have analyzed how the production of sight as an exceptional sense is a key element of producing sovereign subjectivity. In this way, vision as an exceptional sense is characteristic of a subject who knows objective truths about the world through observation (Crary 4). Visual studies scholars focus on the emergence of a sovereign observing subject as being produced in nineteenth century European reconceptualizations of vision as separate from further senses of touch, taste, smell and hearing (Crary; Elkins; Jay; Mitchell). The disassociation of sight and touch is crucial where objectivity is believed to originate in the sovereign viewing subject's disembodied way of seeing (Crary 4). In these ways, feminist art history and visual studies scholarship has demonstrated how all ways of experiencing the world visually are transformative, embodied social relationships.

To understanding the intersections of Canadian settler colonialism, Indigenous self-determination, visibility and IR knowledge production, J. Marshall Beier's *International Relations in Uncommon Places* offers many productive entry points. Beier shows how most approaches in IR maintain a "hegemonologue" that normalizes colonial divisions

and governance of territories through the Westphalian interstate system and marginalizes alternative modes of knowledge production and governance by Indigenous peoples (13-47). Beier shows how practices of writing, reading and speaking the hegemonologue work to secure the disciplinary boundaries of IR by producing particular categories of meaning as universal terms of politics. Beier states: “If International Relations is implicated in the maintenance and reproduction of advanced colonialism, this has as much to do with the disciplinary parceling of knowledge realms by which certain categories of people are denied the possibility of an ‘international’ presence” (Beier 54). In other words, the authority, credibility and legitimacy of Eurocentric academic knowledge production in IR works in relation with state policies and public conversations about the assumed limits and boundaries of political communities. Indigenous nations in the Americas practicing self-determination are not understood to be sovereign by the Federal Government of Canada, but rather are considered to be less authoritative local political actors working within the sovereign state of Canada or the USA. Beier points to the contradiction of how, in Eurocentric understandings of IR, the lectern is privileged as a site of authority in knowledge production (as the space of the lecture hall is arranged to accommodate this privilege) while Indigenous peoples’ oral histories are routinely not acknowledged in Eurocentric curricula, court rooms and policy decision making processes. Beier’s contestation of the colonial Westphalian sovereign state system and sovereign subjectivity as the only mode of agency shows how the ongoing marginalization of Indigenous people by IR knowledge production is a process of world politics that operates within everyday social relationships of power.

As I focus on in the next chapter, IR transnational feminist and postcolonial methods understanding hierarchy, rather than anarchy, to be the defining characteristic of Westphalian sovereignty expressed through social relationships and institutions in world politics (Agathangelou and Ling 48 – 67; Chowdhry and Nair 4; Krishna 408). Further, transnational feminist visual methods focus on decolonizing Eurocentric cosmologies, ontologies, epistemologies, research methods, pedagogies and modes of representation in which hierarchies of sovereignty and citizenship are practiced. While there is not a monolithic transnational feminist approach to visual methods, I work with theories and methods that centralize an analysis of the gendered, racialized, economic dimensions of colonial violences and put pressure on conventional understandings of the ‘international’ as being limited to official state actors and policies in the interstate system (Agathangelou and Ling 3; Alexander 181-256; Emberley, *Defamiliarizing* 28-44; McClintock 207-231; Whitworth, *Men* 61-71). These methods attend to how dominant modes of socialization privilege the hierarchical institutionalization of whiteness, economic status, masculinities, and heteronormativity (Ahmed, *Being* 19-50; Arat-Koç 33-38; Mohanty, *Feminism* 17-42; Puar 207-209; Razak, *Dark Threats* 57-66). These approaches attend to the ways in which academic disciplines such as Political Science, popular culture genres such as war films, and spaces such as art galleries can problematically limit which violences may and may not be recognized as *international* (O’Grady; Spillers 1-64; Spivak, *Nationalism* 15; Razak, *Race* 57-66; Weber, *Imagining* 151). Transnational feminist visual methods that foreground analyses of Westphalian sovereignty as colonial violence understand the ongoing visual contestations of these processes through creative expressions of alternative imaginaries and practices of social ordering to be powerful forces in

international relations (Bennett 1-21; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Jacir; Mitchell 183-207; Raheja, “Reading” 1160; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*).

In focusing on relationships between Indigenous peoples’ political self-determination and contemporary art, I argue that understanding the role of visuality in articulations of social justice can generate shifts in conventional understandings of power and violence in IR knowledge production and world politics. IR scholars whose main ethical claim is to transform global conditions of violence are responsible to articulate approaches that contest IR knowledge production that only locates world politics ‘elsewhere’ and instead create possibilities for transforming hierarchical social relations when world politics is located as an everyday lived experience. To contextualize the IR undertheorization of Canadian settler colonial political institutions, social status, divisions of labour, and dispossession of Indigenous peoples from traditional lands and waters, it is crucial to understand how institutional visual methods participated in the historical emergence of the Canadian state, nationalism, and subjectivity. In the next chapter I examine how Brian Jungen’s methods of exhibiting his sculpture series *Prototype for New Understanding* unsettles historical and present day Canadian institutional visual methods of colonial ethnographic display in museums and art galleries. I analyze how Jungen’s methods of research, artistic production, exhibition, and insights in discussing his artwork contribute to processes of decolonizing international relations between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous Canadian settlers and call attention to the settler colonial imaginary that informs conventional IR understandings of anarchy and hierarchy.

Chapter Three. Decolonizing Canadian Institutional Visual Methods: Brian Jungen's Methods of Exhibiting *Prototype for New Understanding*

“My work is not about my personal relationship to these [native] traditions but about the interface of traditions with wider contemporary culture. I am interested in the role of native art in culture rather than in an interpretation of that culture” Brian Jungen quoted in “Air Jungen” (Baird 90).

“Jungen’s sculptures provide the recognition that the imagination is both simple and layered and, in this regard, his work is inestimably generous...The objects he makes will embody, in the fullest and most necessary sense of the term, a tension” Robert Enright quoted in “The Tortoise and the Air” (21).

Many Indigenous contemporary artists engage in self-determination struggles through their projects and participation in arts communities. Brian Jungen’s methods of producing and exhibiting sculptures creatively engage with tensions between colonial visualities that produce knowledge about Indigenous peoples and Indigenous peoples’ visual methods of expressing self-determination. This tension has historically been an entry point for Indigenous peoples’ contestations of colonialism and continues to be a productive site for self-determination struggles in current world politics. Indigenous, transnational feminist, and postcolonial scholars’ methods have shown how, while historical and contemporary processes of colonialism depend on popular perceptions of these processes as benevolent, necessary, and inevitable, these violent processes are dependent on extensive interventions in everyday social relationships of people embodying marginalized *and* privileged positions (Agathangelou and Ling; Alexander; Cardinal; Maracle *Woman*; McClintock; Said *Culture*; A. Smith *Conquest*). These

analyses crucially emphasize how the circulation of colonial knowledge about Indigenous peoples produces self-knowledge about colonial societies and settler subjectivity (McClintock; Perry; Said *Orientalism*; Simpson and Smith; Wolfe *Settler Colonialism*). Contemporary artists, curators, scholars, and activists demonstrate how colonial visualities are essential methods of normalizing colonial settler claims to territorial sovereignty, authority in governance, and patriarchal white supremacy in everyday social interactions (Berkhofer; Crosby “Imaginary”; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Francis; Gómez-Peña *New World*; Houle *Spirit*; Luna; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; P.C. Smith *Everything*; Townsend-Gault “Circulating”). As I discussed in Chapter One, these approaches to artwork and international political theory have demonstrated how Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity emerged through processes of encounter in European colonization of the Americas (Anghie; Buck-Morss; Dussel; Wynter).

In this chapter I discuss how everyday productions and circulations of colonial images, ways of seeing, and imaginaries about Indigenous peoples and Indigenous artists’ work privileges colonial Canadian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity. Drawing from the insights of Indigenous and transnational feminist methods I analyze how creative self-expression through contemporary artwork contributes to transforming colonial violences and enactments of Indigenous self-determination (Anzaldúa *Borderlands*; R.W. Hill *Meeting*; hooks; Lorde; Nanibush; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Trinh). I discuss how Brian Jungen’s sculptural and exhibition methods offer substantive insights to lived experiences of tensions between colonial visualities and Indigenous peoples’ visual self-determination. Jungen’s visual methods of producing the sculpture

series *Prototype for New Understanding* (1998-2005) express frameworks for understanding how colonialism is an embodied experience for all involved and how these processes are contested by Indigenous peoples and Indigenous contemporary artists through creative visual expressions of self-determination. Discussions of colonialism in Canada emphasize historical and contemporary processes of dispossessing Indigenous peoples' from traditional lands and waters as well as political economies of exploiting labour and commodification of natural resources to enrich settler economies. Drawing from Indigenous and transnational feminist methods of understanding these processes, I focus on how colonial visual representations, working in relation with state interventions regulating social relationships, have historically been and continue to be an essential part of marginalizing Indigenous peoples in international relations and attempting to normalize claims to Canadian territorial sovereignty, subjectivity, and nationalism.

The Aesthetic Turn in IR

The aesthetic turn in IR has importantly opened discussions about the need for methodologies that analyze of the role of creativity and imagination in world politics. Indigenous contemporary artists, curators, and scholars engaging in international self-determination struggles in their work emphasize the importance of decolonizing knowledge production about artwork. In this chapter I argue that Jungen's exhibition methods call attention to how there is a need within the aesthetics and IR debates to theorize the ways in which creativity and imagination are particular embodied experiences in world politics.

The aesthetic turn in IR joins recent attention to the relationships between aesthetics and politics across many academic disciplines (Kompridis; Rancière

Dissensus; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*). Many approaches to understanding the role of aesthetics in IR question how sovereign subjectivity and territorial sovereignty problematically operate as foundational, unexamined categories of inquiry in IR methods and are socially reproduced in everyday discourse (Edkins and Kear; Millennium; Weber *Imagining*). Roland Bleiker argues in *Aesthetics and World Politics* that it is important to study the role of aesthetics in world politics to “highlight how we understand and construct the world we live in” (8), especially in understanding the relationship between aesthetics and ethics when “difficult ethical decisions must often be taken precisely at a time when dramatic events, such as wars, genocides, terrorist attacks or financial turmoil, have shaken the very foundations of our principles” (13). Bleiker emphasizes that these experiences cannot simply be incorporated into existing IR methods and theories, but that this will involve transforming research methods, theories, and worldviews about creativity and imagination in world politics.

Yet in contrast with Bleiker’s focus on world events as exceptional disruptions, I am interested in focusing on how everyday ways of seeing, producing images, and imagining relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers in Canada express ongoing historically situated tensions between colonial violence and political self-determination. Further, as discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two, my analysis of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination as a dynamic of world politics today demonstrates the need to put pressure on conventional methods of understanding ‘the body’ in the aesthetic turn as a universal, undifferentiated sovereign register for feelings and recognize how all experiences of world politics are particular embodied experiences of racialization, gender, sexuality, spirituality, economic, and citizenship status.

Bleiker's analysis of the aesthetic turn in IR makes key contributions to affirming artwork as a method of understanding world politics and the importance of engaging with art as a method of knowledge production itself, not simply as an illustration of an academic theory (3). In Bleiker's postmodern theoretical analysis of aesthetics, academic knowledge production, and world politics he problematizes the positivist epistemology, which he calls "mimetic" representation (20). He says:

"The latter [mimetic representations], which have dominated international relations scholarship, seek to represent politics as realistically and authentically as possible, aiming to capture world politics as it 'really' is. An aesthetic approach, by contrast, assumes that there is always a gap between a form of representation and what is represented therewith. Rather than ignoring or seeking to narrow this gap, as mimetic approaches do, aesthetic insight recognizes that the inevitable difference between the represented and its representation is the very location of politics" (Bleiker 18 – 19).

Bleiker's analytical framework foregrounds how IR scholarship has historically been dominated by positivism. The IR debate over positivism and post-positivism has shaped the disciplinary terms within which the aesthetic turn has emerged. In this context Bleiker establishes the importance of the methodological treatment of aesthetics as a distinct form of knowledge production, rather than another object of analysis to be incorporated into the IR canon.

However Bleiker articulates a modern art history framework that cannot account for the specific work and effects of contemporary artwork that I engage with in this project. Bleiker conflates aesthetics with European modernity as a universal experience in focusing on analyzing Martin Heidegger, Immanuel Kant, and Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophies of aesthetics. The contemporary artwork by Indigenous artists and curators I analyze in this project call attention to a distinction between colonial modernity and

contemporaneity in world politics. Their work emphasizes how Indigenous peoples have experienced and contested the hierarchical power dynamics of colonial modernity historically and how contemporary artwork today can be a method of understanding the generative role of artwork and art history in international relations.

In contrast with Bleiker's understanding of aesthetics and modernity, transnational feminist approaches to understanding visual methods emphasize how processes of creative self-expression are embodied methods of offering substantive insights into events and social relationships in world politics. This involves understanding the role of visibility in Eurocentric modernity and how creative self-expression is always a particular embodied process with the potential of being a method of conceptual analysis and insight. Further, Charlotte Townsend-Gault's decolonial art history framework of understanding Indigenous peoples and artists' creative methods of self-expression consistently emphasizes how creative methods are embodied practices of self-determination in world politics (Townsend-Gault "Kinds"; Townsend-Gault "Circulating"; Townsend-Gault "Sea-Lion"). Townsend-Gault discusses how the *Indian Act*, Section 35 of the Canadian Constitution on Aboriginal Rights, and the Supreme Court of Canada *Delgamuukw* ruling "accepting the wearing of regalia, of oratorical narrative, and dancing in the courtroom as forms of evidence" are ongoing sites of struggle over asserting Canadian sovereignty in tension with Indigenous peoples' self-determination (Townsend-Gault, "Sea-Lion" 424). Townsend-Gault discusses how creative self-expression is a vital enactment of self-determination that calls attention to how the historical emergence of colonial sovereignty and capitalist social relationships emerged co-constitutively: "carving, weaving, engraving – often making use of imported tools – were the very skills that were demoted

as Native people joined the wage economy, at the bottom. The skills that had previously been at the service of social distinctions were now designated low status” (Townsend-Gault, “Sea-Lion” 422). In this context, Townsend-Gault insists that contemporary understandings of Indigenous artists’ creative visual self-expression in world politics need to be attentive to how experiences are embodied in particular ways:

“It is provocative, or provoked by the politics of Native governance, to acknowledge material strategies and material affect in the present more than usually contentious political moment in Canada’s westernmost province. This is not least because discourse is not the right term for arguments – over rights, images, access to resources to land, and how to make them – arguments that take place materially, tacitly, for both historical and strategic reasons” (417).

Townsend-Gault contributes to discussions across academic, artistic, and activist communities that emphasize how social relationships are historically situated, particular embodied experiences (Ahmed *Cultural*; Bennett and Joyce; Clough; Coole and Frost; Gregg and Seigworth; Lock and Farquhar; Protevi). In this context, I understand Jungen’s creative visual methods of engaging with exhibiting institutions as social relationships and repurposing materials as a method of expressing Indigenous self-determination. In other words, Jungen’s exhibition and sculptural methods are not just a production of objects that represent ideas about self-determination. Jungen’s exhibition and sculptural methods articulate how visibility is a central aspect of colonial dominance and also a productive method of decolonization through envisioning and expressing possibilities for enacting social justice through Indigenous peoples’ self-determination in world politics.

By discussing Jungen’s methods of exhibiting his works *Isolated Depictions of the Passage of Time* and *The Evening Redness in the West* I introduce the main themes of visual methods, embodiment, colonial encounters, decolonization, and Indigenous self-

determination that I discuss in relation to his sculpture series *Prototype for New Understanding* in this chapter and the next chapter. Jungen's method of researching and engaging with exhibiting institutions as social systems of knowledge production and sites of power relationships is expressed in his production of *Isolated Depictions of the Passage of Time*. Further, Jungen's methods of producing and exhibiting *The Evening Redness in the West* engage with historical and contemporary imaginaries and practices of settler colonial frontier violence as entertainment in settler and global visual cultures. Both installations demonstrate how theorizations of the role of aesthetics in contemporary world politics need to be attentive to all experiences as embodied and historically situated social relationships.

Some of the features of Jungen's methods in these two projects are consistently part of his approach to sculpting materials and installing work in exhibitions spaces, including his methods of producing and exhibiting *Prototype for New Understanding*. Jungen takes apart and reassembles materials that are commercially produced and readily available and produces sculptures that are recognizable yet unfamiliar and therefore invite viewers to participate through imagination. It is this tension of unsettling familiarity that led curator Paul Chaat Smith to call Jungen's National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) exhibition "Strange Comfort" (Smith "Money"). Jungen has said that his interest in the process of taking apart and reassembling everyday materials that compose commercially available products is how the exposure of interiors can unsettle the ways in which institutional colonial methods of framing become normalized in everyday life. In a discussion session at the NMAI in Washington, DC at the time of the *Strange Comfort* exhibition in October 2009 Jungen talked about the relationships between his methods of

producing *Prototype for New Understanding*, his methods of exhibition, institutional exhibitions spaces, and audiences that participate in viewing the artwork:

“a lot of people only see Native masks in the museums, not in their community or ceremony so they either see them there [in museums] or they see them in mass produced catalogues and books and whatnot. So it’s always within that frame of this kind of institution or the authority of the institution of the museum. So the location of that was really important to me in the presentation of *my* work. For instance the Nike trainer masks in glass cases. I wanted it to read that way so that the glass case is very much a part of the piece, so people can understand this is a kind of *framing* of something that *was* ceremonial and is no longer ceremonial. And there’s also – *I’m* interested in sports culture because it functions as a kind of contemporary ceremony within society. So the Air Jordan trainers [which the *Prototype* were made with], it’s kind of unusual for a trainer to be *that* expensive and that collectible and it has its own history within sports culture and popular culture that’s kind of elevated it to this kind of fetishized collectible, which is very similar to how the masks exist as well” (NMAI, *Brian Jungen*).

Jungen’s work offers insights to IR methods of understanding aesthetics and affect by his interest in creating opportunities for viewers to experience a transformation in their understandings of relationships between art materials, institutional visual methods of framing, and everyday social relationships in world politics. By emphasizing the agency of Indigenous peoples, contemporary artists, and of the viewers of artwork, Jungen’s exhibition and sculptural methods contribute to methods of understanding Indigenous self-determination as an expression of power in world politics and also demonstrate the role of contemporary visual artwork in raising critical questions about the role of artwork and art history in the present moment. These distinct qualities of contemporary artwork offer a more complex understanding of artwork and art history to the IR aesthetic turn by questioning the assumed progressive universality of modern art canons and modern art history theories.



Fig. 1. Brian Jungen. *Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time*, 2001. Plastic food trays, television, red cedar pallet 50 x 47 x 40 inches (127 x 119 x 102 cm). Collection of the Rennie Collection, Vancouver. Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

Jungen produced *Isolated Depictions of the Passage of Time* on site at the Correctional Service Canada (CSC) Museum in Kingston, Ontario in 2002 for the *Museopathy* exhibition. The exhibition featured an installation by Jungen and several other artists at key museum and heritage sites in Kingston including the Royal Military College and the CSC Museum. *Museopathy* curators Jim Drobnick and Jennifer Fisher describe some of the relationships between embodied experience of institutional spaces and social transformation that were engaged with through the exhibitions:

“Museopathy thus focused on the types of affective interactions that take place in museums, such as between audiences and objects, between objects and collections, and among the varied exhibition contexts of the city of Kingston as a whole. The neologism of the exhibition’s title, ‘museopathy,’ pertains first to ‘museo-,’ the museum. The suffix ‘-pathy’ evokes two related ideas: that of ‘moving’ and ‘being moved’...Rather than focus on the museum as something pathological, we premised Museopathy on a logic of homeopathy in which ‘like treats like’ and each artist, to some degree, mimicked distinctly affective aspects of museum display” (112).

Jungen researched and produced *Isolated Depictions* on-site at the CSC Museum. According to the CSC website: “The CSC Museum is housed in "Cedarhedge", the former warden's residence, of Kingston Penitentiary, at 555 King Street West, in Kingston, Ontario. Built by inmate labour between 1871 and 1873, the building is a fine example of Victorian architecture” (Correctional Service Canada). Jungen researched the CSC Museum archives including a collection of artwork produced by prisoners and instruments that had historically been used for corporal punishment (Tousley). *Isolated Depictions* was installed in the centre of a room that visitors encountered at the end of their tour of the museum. The piece featured plastic meal trays stacked on top of a cedar pallet and in the centre of the piece, hidden from view, a television played. In discussing the installation, Jungen said he was interested in producing a piece that deals with the systemic racism of disproportionate incarceration of Indigenous men in Canada (Tousley; Iacobucci). The number of Indigenous men incarcerated in Canada and the length of their sentences was represented by the colours of the meal trays, with the multiple stacks of trays representing the regimented daily routines of prisoners marked by meal times. Jungen has said that he deliberately did not include a breakdown of the corresponding data, to counter the other museum displays’ pedagogical methods of seeking to quantify peoples’ lived experiences of incarceration (Tousley). The construction of this piece also makes reference to an escape attempt by an inmate at the Milhaven maximum-security prison, when the inmate hid inside a hollowed-out stack of meal trays. Jungen said: “I felt a kind of real alliance with this prisoner because I think we both look at material in the same way... he cut it up” (National Museum of the American Indian).

In these ways, Jungen's methods of producing *Isolated Depictions* unsettles the normalization of institutionalized colonial power relationships that disproportionately impact Indigenous men in relation to non-Indigenous people in Canada. *Isolated Depictions* engages with inmates lived experiences and museum visitors' experiences as embodied social relationships. Rather than understanding artwork as objects on display to a passive audience, Jungen's methods foreground the process of viewers' engagement with the installation and the visual knowledge produced in this experience. Jungen's project also contests the prison industrial complex's mandate of confinement for corporate profit by centralizing how ideas, experiences and bodies evade disciplinary control and cannot be contained. In *Engaged Resistance: American Indian Art, Literature and Film from Alcatraz to the NMAI* Dean Rader shows how the work of contemporary Indigenous artists expresses sovereignty to Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. Rader discusses poetry, documents, signs, and graffiti made during the Indigenous occupation to reclaim Alcatraz in 1969 and artwork made about the occupation by Joe Morris. Rader argues that reclaiming colonial methods of documentation, mapping, and identity cards as well as the use of iconic materials such as animal hide is a strategy of drawing attention to how the prison and the land are sites of contestation (14 – 26). Rader cites Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allan Warrior's statement that Alcatraz was "a reservation-like piece of real estate... that represented the incarcerated spirit of Indians everywhere" (Smith and Warrior 34). In this way, Jungen's *Isolated Depictions* joins ongoing creative interventions to engage Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences in understanding how settler colonial institutions such as prisons and museums are sites of enacting and contesting colonialism in world politics.

Jungen's methods of exhibiting and producing *Isolated Depictions* offer insights to understanding IR knowledge production about aesthetics, sovereignty, and Indigenous self-determination. Conventional worldviews expressed in IR do not affirm the political self-determination of Indigenous peoples. Jungen's methods of exhibiting and producing sculptures foreground how institutionalized visual methods have emerged through historical practices of producing images, imaginaries, and ways of seeing Indigenous peoples and artwork created by Indigenous artists. His methods demonstrate how institutionalized colonial visual methods of producing knowledge about Indigenous peoples continue to work in relation with everyday ways of seeing and imagining experienced by Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Further, Jungen's methods of repurposing everyday objects as source material for producing sculptures unsettles the boundary between the international dimensions of everyday life and the institutions that objectify artworks, in order to show possibilities to transform these processes. In these ways, Jungen's methods of exhibiting and producing sculptures show how creative self-expression is a vital part of Indigenous self-determination and puts pressure on conventional IR knowledge production about sovereignty and the interstate system.

Jungen's methods of exhibiting and producing sculptures present opportunities to understand and transform how colonial assumptions about Indigenous peoples in IR methods marginalize the importance of artwork produced by Indigenous artists and communities. Critical theorists have demonstrated how all knowledge production is an embodied process, though producers of colonial knowledge claim a universal objective position. In *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* Linda Tuhiwai Smith shows how processes of abstraction in positivist knowledge production

create relational subjectivities that privilege settlers and marginalize Indigenous peoples. In “Chapter 2: Research Through Imperial Eyes”, Tuhiwai Smith shows how colonial methods of knowledge production “draws from an ‘archive’ of knowledge and systems, rules and values which stretch beyond the boundaries of Western science to the system now referred to as the West” (42). In this way, Tuhiwai Smith draws from Indigenous, postcolonial, and feminist theorizations of gender and racialization to show how colonial academic research methods of categorization and comparison have emerged in relation with gendered “social institutions such as marriage, family life, the class system and ecclesiastic orders” in Western societies (45 – 46).

Indigenous and transnational feminist theories of academic knowledge production emphasize the importance of challenging colonial implicit and explicit claims to white patriarchal supremacy and Indigenous inferiority as an essential part of decolonizing research methods (Alexander and Mohanty *Feminist*; Dua and Robertson; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Maracle *Postcolonial*; Mathur, Dewar, and DeGagné; Nanibush; Price; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Razak *Race*; Tuhiwai Smith; A. Smith *Conquest*). In *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* Sarah Ahmed’s theorizations of “institutional whiteness” and “institutional racism” show how lived experiences of institutions are embodied experiences of routinized processes of privilege and marginalization (Ahmed, *Being* 33-50). Ahmed says: “the struggle to recognize institutional racism can be understood as part of a wider struggle to recognize that all forms of power, inequality and domination are systemic rather than individual” (44). To analyze how systemic power dynamics are expressed visually, I analyze how Jungen’s

artwork unsettles how colonial ethnographic visual methods of producing knowledge about Indigenous peoples continues to be a part of Canadian settlers' self-knowledge.

Jungen's *The Evening Redness in the West* engages with how images, imaginaries, and ways of seeing historical and ongoing violences of colonial frontiers are reproduced in popular visual cultures. In discussion with Robert Enright, Jungen says that he was interested in producing a piece that draws viewers' attention to connections between representations of the violences of current wars and the violences of colonial frontiers depicted in Hollywood films and mass media (Enright, "Tortoise" 11). The title of this installation is from *Blood Meridian: Or The Evening Redness in the West*, Cormac McCarthy's poetic novel set in the mid-nineteenth century that vividly depicts the violence of white settlers killing Native Americans living in the US-Mexico borderlands. While conventional IR methods locate the violence of warfare and international conflict as being outside the borders of sovereign states, Jungen has discussed how he wanted to draw attention to connections between injustices of historical colonial violence in North American in relation with contemporary military interventions around the world. Focusing on how the violence of military interventions is depicted as entertainment in Hollywood films and corporate news media, Jungen created a sculpture resembling a saddle by using the leather from luxury home entertainment chairs. Jungen says the chairs originally had "Buttkicker" subwoofers embedded inside that play in synch with the film being watched on the home entertainment system, so that the person in the chair has an enhanced experience of feeling the impact of the film from the subwoofer shaking. He installed the subwoofers inside the saddle with the unanticipated result that, when the volume was turned up to maximum, the force of the subwoofer made the saddle slowly

move around in the gallery. Sculptures that appear to be replicas of human skulls are made from baseball leather were scattered across the gallery floor surrounding the saddle. Jungen said that some of the skull sculptures were produced from baseballs found by his dog, when they were walking together (NMAI *Brian Jungen*). Audio clips playing on speakers inside the skull sculptures included excerpts from the Hollywood films *Platoon*, *Unforgiven*, and *Saving Private Ryan* (Farrell). Jungen describes the audio as “this cacophonous mixture of dialogue and horses and sweeping music and helicopters and machine guns” (Jungen quoted in Enright, “Tortoise” 32). Jungen’s methods in this project engage with how everyday ways of seeing images and imaginaries of colonial frontiers continue to inform global popular visual cultures in film and television, art gallery exhibits, museum displays, public monuments, school curricula and tourist economies and how creative visual methods are a productive site of decolonization.



Fig. 2. Brian Jungen, *The Evening Redness in the West*, 2006. Sender Collection, New York. Courtesy Casey Kaplan Gallery, New York Photo: Bob Goedewaagen.

Brian Jungen's Methods of Exhibiting Prototype for New Understanding

“I was interested in using the collection of Aboriginal artworks in museums as a reference point... and how that work has become synonymous with Native art practice and the identity of British Columbia. I wanted to use material that was paradoxical to that but merged some ideas of commodification, globalisation and the work production of material. So I used Nike Air Jordan trainers which had a very similar red, white and black colour scheme and graduated curved lines and proved to be very flexible working material.” Brian Jungen discussing the production of *Prototype* in “Home, Identity and the Cultural Implications of Displacement” (Jungen quoted in Canadian Art School)

In this interview excerpt Jungen makes reference to two aspects of his methods of exhibiting and producing his sculpture series *Prototype for New Understanding* that I focus on in this section and in the next chapter. In this chapter I focus on discussing Jungen's methods of researching and creatively engaging with institutions as sites of reproducing and transforming colonial social relationships. Jungen's methods show how institutional methods of display and ways of seeing in museums and art galleries are mutually constituted in relation with everyday colonial methods of seeing, producing images, and imaginaries about Indigenous peoples. The second key aspect of Jungen's methods, which I focus on in the next chapter, is how his work with corporate athletic fashion products as source material emphasizes the ways in which expressions of Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity in Canada are dependent on the colonial commodification of Indigenous artwork. Jungen's methods of repurposing athletic materials engages with these problematic dynamics by unsettling conventional expectations, considering relationships between interiors and exteriors, and emphasizing how these dynamics are social rituals with possibilities to be transformed. These methods demonstrate a sustained engagement with possibilities for audience experiences with sculpture to transform social dynamics in world politics. Jungen's methods of engaging

with institutions, selecting source material, and engaging with audiences in exhibiting and producing *Prototype for New Understanding* demonstrates a consistent engagement with creative visual methods as embodied expressions of self-determination in contemporary world politics. In this chapter I take Jungen's methods of exhibiting *Prototype for New Understanding* as an entry point to understanding how art institutions operate as sites of visual knowledge production and subject formation.



Fig. 3. Brian Jungen. *Prototype for New Understanding*, 1998 – 2005. Installation view, *Brian Jungen*, Vienna Secession, Austria, 2003. Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

A recurring point of discussion in Jungen's artist statements and interviews about *Prototype for New Understanding* is his concern with how Indigenous peoples' artworks are displayed as artifacts in museums and the social relationships produced through these practices. Jungen discusses how, in the weeks before he created what would become the first of the *Prototype for New Understanding* series, he was in New York City meeting

with friends and colleagues and working through ideas for a project to produce with a grant he had recently acquired, when he happened to visit the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH). He recounts how he was deeply troubled by how Indigenous peoples' artwork and ceremonial objects continue to be exhibited as artifacts in museums such as the AMNH. The same day as his visit to the AMNH, Jungen visited the Manhattan Nike Town store and was struck by how much the display cases for the specialized Nike Air Jordan sneakers resembled museum display cases (McKenna). In addition to focusing on the similar methods of displaying fetishized objects in museums, galleries, and corporate shops, Jungen experienced Nike Town's information displays as being very similar to museum displays. Jungen says: "The corporate propaganda in the store displays explained the history of Nike shoes and the global role of Nike products. I felt like I was in an anthropology museum" (Jungen quoted in Lidz). Further, Jungen says that while he was walking through Nike Town:

"I was kind of overwhelmed by their self-aggrandizing and historicizing; placing a very specific history around their product and athleticism in the US. It was kind of shocking. The Air Jordans seemed like the pinnacle of excess for athletic gear. Almost \$300. It seemed like this ultimate shoe fetish that I wanted to parallel with the idea of the Native Art trade as well, the similarities" (Jungen quoted in Egan).

In total, Jungen would go on to produce twenty-three *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures in the series "a reference to the number on Jordan's uniform" (P.C. Smith, *Strange* 7). In another interview Jungen said that "I was really intrigued by how Nike themselves present their products in their Nike Town stores: creating an environment that collides a technological aesthetic with the more traditional display methodologies of the museum" (Jungen *Secession*). The moments when Jungen began to conceptualize the first *Prototype for New Understanding* sculpture were shaped by his ongoing concern with

how institutions such as museums and art galleries commodify artwork, reproduce colonial ways of seeing Indigenous peoples, and reproduce self-knowledge of settler societies. By focusing on Jungen's methods of engaging with relationships between institutions and visibility, it becomes clear how Jungen offers key contributions to ongoing interventions by Indigenous contemporary artists, curators, and art historians who problematize relationships of colonial objectification through institutional visual methods of exhibiting artwork as artifacts and maintaining archival collections.

While Jungen's methods of producing *Prototype for New Understanding* can be interpreted to be problematizing many complex institutional dynamics of visibility, I focus here on how Jungen engages with the ways in which colonial ethnographic visual methods continue to become institutionalized in present day museums, art galleries, universities, and corporations. Many reviews of exhibits of *Prototype for New Understanding* and interviews with Jungen discuss how these sculptures explicitly deal with institutional visual methods of displaying Indigenous artists' work (Augaitis, Cuauhtemoc, and Smith; Bedford; Enright "Tortoise"; Jungen *Brian Jungen*; P.C. Smith *Everything*). While being attentive to the specific contexts of each institutional site, these discussions engage with patterns of colonial methods of display, ways of seeing, images, and imaginaries that continue to be produced in a wide range of institutions in Canada. I focus on Jungen's engagement with how colonial ethnographic visual methods produce knowledge about Indigenous peoples and colonial settler social dynamics in Canada. Understanding institutions as sites of producing visual methods of knowledge production in this context, it is important to attend to the particular spaces and ways in which the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures have been exhibited. While the sculptures

have been exhibited extensively and established global attention to Jungen's work as a contemporary artist, in this chapter I am focusing on two exhibitions: *Brian Jungen: Strange Comfort* exhibited at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) in Washington, D.C., USA from October 16 2009 – August 8 2010 and Jungen's 1999 solo exhibition at Charles H. Scott Gallery at Emily Carr University of Art + Design in Vancouver.

To understand the context of the exhibit *Brian Jungen: Strange Comfort*, it is important to not only consider historical events and relationships that inform his selection of materials to work with but to also attend to the politics of the place in which the exhibit was shown – the NMAI, which is located on the National Mall in Washington D.C. As Edward J. Soja has argued, many approaches in Western academic knowledge production privilege an analysis of time and history over space and geographies. Soja emphasizes the importance of critical social theories attending to the ways in which geographical imaginaries and lived experiences of space are contested terrain and a key part of struggles for social justice (Soja, *Postmodern* 43-75; Soja, *Seeking* 16). In attending to the politics of place in relation to Jungen's exhibit, it is important to understand the process of establishing the museum and the role of the museum's Associate Curator Paul Chaat Smith. The NMAI website describes their mandate:

“Since the passage of its enabling legislation in 1989 (amended in 1996), the NMAI has been steadfastly committed to bringing Native voices to what the museum writes and present, whether on-site at one of the three NMAI venues, through the museum's publications, or via the Internet. The NMAI is also dedicated to acting as a resource for the hemisphere's Native communities and to serving the greater public as an honest and thoughtful conduit to Native cultures – past and present – in all their richness, depth, and diversity” (NMAI *About*)

The NMAI is one of the sixteen Smithsonian Institution museums and was established by an act of the United States Congress in 1989. The museum's collection includes a transnational archive of Indigenous cultures in the Western Hemisphere. The NMAI "incorporates Native methodologies for the handling, documentation, care and presentations of collections" and emphasizes the vitality of past, present and future Native culture production (NMAI *Cultural*).

Paul Chaat Smith is a Comanche curator and author and he is currently an Associate Curator at the NMAI. In his book *Everything You Know About Indians is Wrong* Smith discusses how the location of the NMAI on the National Mall in Washington D.C. is emblematic of the ongoing centrality of Native American peoples' contestations of colonizations of land and modes of representation in USA politics (P.C. Smith, *Everything* 53-63). Smith argues that the NMAI is a place of potential for visitors to not only experience the content of the exhibits but to afterwards continue to think through assumptions about collective memories, the politics of representation and remaking future social relations and institutions (Smith, *Everything* 63). Smith has worked on NMAI projects with James Luna and Brian Jungen, to foreground the importance of Indigenous contemporary artists unsettling conventional ideas about collective memories of colonization in the space of the NMAI as an institutional site of knowledge production and in connection with global social justice movements. Discussing the role of curatorial work, Smith says: "For me, writing and curating are mostly the same enterprise. I see my job as something like a talk show host, someone who stages an interesting conversation" (Smith quoted in Gregory). In terms of the specific context of this institution, Smith says it is important for the NMAI to be "a place

where questions are as important as answers and no facts are beyond dispute... a place where the most important exhibit comes after everyone leaves, as visitors, for the very first time, look closely at the ground beneath their feet” (Smith, *Everything* 62-63).

In this way, the NMAI engages with Indigenous peoples’ strategies of survivance through visual methods (Lonetree and Cobb; Rader). Anishinaabe Professor of American Studies, poet, and author Gerald Vizenor says: “native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence... survivance is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy and victimry” (Vizenor 15). Paul Chaat Smith’s curatorial panel displayed in the “Guns, Bibles and Treaties” exhibition discusses survivance:

“Survivance: Native societies that survived the first firestorm of Contact faced unique challenges. No two situations were the same, even for Native groups in the same area at the same time. But in nearly every case, Native people faced a contest for power and possessions that involved three forces – guns, churches, and governments. These forces shaped the lives of Indians who survived the massive rupture of the first century of Contact. By adopting the very tools that were used to change, control, and dispossess them, Native peoples reshaped their cultures and societies to keep them alive. This strategy has been called survivance” (P.C. Smith quoted in Atalay 280).

In this way, projects at the NMAI that challenge dominant colonial institutional methods of representation and express Indigenous self-determination can be understood as a continuation of strategies of survivance. Further, in the introduction to their edited collection *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations*, Amy Lonetree (Ho-Chunk) and Amanda J. Cobb (Chickasaw) emphasize that the Smithsonian NMAI is a transnational site that engages with transnational subjectivities (xxvi). In discussing Cobb’s chapter in the book they say she:

“contends that Native Americans have ingeniously turned what has historically been an instrument of colonization and dispossession – a national museum – into an instrument of self-definition and cultural continuance... in effect, any overarching [U.S.] ‘national’ agenda of the nation-state present in the NMAI has been fundamentally altered by the ‘national’ agendas of the Native nations of the Americas, making the NMAI a powerful exercise in cultural sovereignty for Native nations” (xxvii).

A key method of enacting cultural sovereignty in curating and administrative work at the NMAI is through policies and practices of community involvement. Collaborations between NMAI staff and Indigenous communities include many activities, such as structured agreements in co-curating specific projects and long-term processes of identifying ceremonial objects and human remains to be repatriated to communities. Discussing her experience as an NMAI curator of *Our Lives: Contemporary Life and Identities*, one of the institution’s inaugural exhibits, Cynthia Chavez Lamar (San Felipe Pueblo/Hopi/Tewa/Navajo) emphasizes how power and authority are expressed in these practices. While community involvement emerges from the need to address how colonial knowledge production about Indigenous peoples was foundational in the establishment of museums in the Americas, community participation is not an inherently transformative experience for Indigenous communities and settler societies. Chavez Lamar says:

“in my opinion, community involvement further complicates issues of representation because the roles of all the players are not as simple as the dichotomies earlier museum critiques suggest: Native/community and Non-Native/museum. Additionally, trying to balance Native and non-Native perspectives with mere numbers doesn’t avoid issues of power and authority” (158).

Her insights show how Indigenous community participation is not a one-time act that resolves historical injustices of colonialism, but rather raises further tensions and questions about agency in seeking social justice through representation in art museums. In this context, the exhibition of Jungen’s *Prototype for New Understanding* at the NMAI

poses salient questions about power, authority, and agency in institutional visual methods of display of artwork by Indigenous artists.

In “Money Changes Everything”, Smith’s essay for the *Strange Comfort* exhibit, he discusses how Jungen’s methods of production and thematic interests intersect with the NMAI mandate and curatorial practices. In discussing *Prototype for New Understanding* Smith says: “When the artist named the Nike series *Prototype for New Understanding*, it was both a description and a kind of hopeful dare, a challenge to see the globalized world differently in order to more clearly understand our collective histories and present circumstances” (7 – 8). Smith describes Jungen as “that rare artist whose work is accessible, yet unsettling, funny yet infused with loss, both provincial and global” (6). As Smith points out, understanding how current Native and Non-Native peoples’ experiences in colonial settler societies are intertwined is an essential part of transforming ongoing unjust social dynamics. Curating exhibits of work by living artists in the NMAI foregrounds Indigenous contemporary visual artists’ practices of working through tensions between ongoing colonialism and Native self-determination.

In Robert Enright’s discussion with Jungen about his experiences as a student at Emily Carr University of Art + Design, they discuss how visual art can be a mode of political expression without explicitly naming the content of the topic or working with direct action activist methods (Enright, “Tortoise” 30). In extending this kind of political expression to his current work, Enright says: “I guess there are a number of ways to be political. When you put the ‘Prototypes’ in a museum context you use the Museum’s methodologies against itself. So many of your moves have political implications. Is that a conscious residue of your experience?”. Jungen responds: “Definitely. I learned that

persuasion was much better than force” (Enright, “Tortoise” 30). In this context, Jungen’s *Strange Comfort* exhibition at the NMAI engages with audience assumptions and expectations of visual methods in institutional contexts and in popular cultures. Jungen’s *Prototype for New Understanding* exhibited at NMAI invited viewers to consider relationships between colonial institutional methods of display in relation to lived experiences of social identifications produced by these visual methods.

In “Decolonizing the ‘Nation’s Attic’: the NMAI and the Politics of Knowledge-Making in a National Space” Patricia Pierce Erikson discusses critical engagements with colonial practices of museum. She states that: “historically, mainstream museums have been considered the centre of knowledge-making; in this vision Native American communities are represented as the periphery or frontier of discovery, the content but not the authors” (47). Erikson argues that the conceptualization of power being centralized in colonial institutions does not recognize the agency of Indigenous peoples (45). Erikson argues: “we need to embrace a more complex model, one in which conflicting ways of understanding our world are interwoven” (45). Jungen’s sculptural methods in the *Prototype for New Understanding* series unsettles this colonial idea of centralized, hierarchical power by showing how multiple modes of power interact: methods of display in art museums (the colonial claim to authority to frame and objectify Indigenous artists’ work), in the viewer’s processes of interacting with exhibitions (viewing what at first appears to be a familiar object and engaging with a process of thinking about how Indigenous artwork is framed by colonial worldviews), and in the artist’s self-expression through contemporary artwork.

Jungen's 1999 exhibition of *Prototype for New Understanding* at the Charles H. Scott Gallery in Vancouver also invited audience members to rethink assumptions about methods of visual display in institutional contexts and the circulation of popular ideas about social identities. *Prototype for New Understanding #1 - #8*, the sculptures in the series that had been produced at that point in time, were exhibited on pedestals encased in plexiglass. The walls of the gallery were covered in colour fields painted by Jungen, with images traced in paint in vivid colours. As Philip Monk points out, the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures and *Untitled* paintings were positioned to face each other in the gallery (Monk). Displaying his work in this way, Jungen's sculptures and paintings produced an encounter of the tension between the colonial visuality the images emerged through and Jungen's visual methods of self-determination the sculptures emerged through. Many exhibitions including *Prototype for New Understanding* have involved the display of similar images engraved or painted directly on the walls of the gallery and the display of the sculptures on pedestals in plexiglass cases (Baerg; Jungen *Brian Jungen*; Maclear). Jungen has discussed how he acquired the images through what he calls a "reverse ethnographic study" of popular stereotypical images about Native peoples in Canada (Jungen quoted in National Public Radio). Jungen says "I wanted to try to extract those images (abject or earnest) out of the imaginations of the public consciousness and reproduce them as colour compositions arranged within the framework of classical ethnographic research" (Jungen quoted in Turner 31). Either Jungen or an assistant would set up a temporary table on a sidewalk and ask people passing by to make various drawings, which were reproduced on the gallery walls of the installation. Baerg says: "The wall drawings refer to his time spent probing the street searching for public

response to what the general populace's thoughts were on what Aboriginal art should look like" (Jungen quoted in Baerg). Jungen then incorporated the drawings into the exhibition of the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures as a way of engaging with representations of Indigenous peoples and work by Indigenous artists in the dominant Canadian visual culture. Discussing the 2004 exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery, Jungen said:

"I guess I was partly interested in the idea that these stereotypes were shared: by everyone... In a way I wanted to set up a kind of visual paradox: between images that were violent or derogatory and these cheerful colour-fields. The colours were selected from a home decorating store. Also, I set up the work as a kind of loose ethnographic survey – only in reverse: where I was no longer the 'subject', but instead both observing and collecting images from the public... It was really a way of developing and questioning notions of identity that were not necessarily autobiographical – thinking perhaps about identity as a more socially-constructed identity" (Jungen, *Secession* 23-24).

Jungen's unsettling of colonial subject/object relationships in ethnographic methods demonstrates how visibility is a central part of producing commonly held beliefs about Indigenous peoples in Canada. Decolonial autoethnographic methods of Indigenous contemporary artists, such as James Luna's *The Artifact Piece*, have opened up discussions across many artistic, academic, and activist communities about resisting colonial representations and expressing self-determination (Mansour). Jungen's work joins these conversations and takes a distinct entry point to decolonizing ethnographic visual knowledge production. Jungen's exhibition methods here focus on the institutionalization of visual production and circulation of stereotypes and identifications as a relational process between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, rather than foregrounding specific instances of his own experiences of these processes.



Fig. 4. Brian Jungen. Installation view. *Brian Jungen*. Charles H. Scott Gallery. Vancouver, 1999. Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

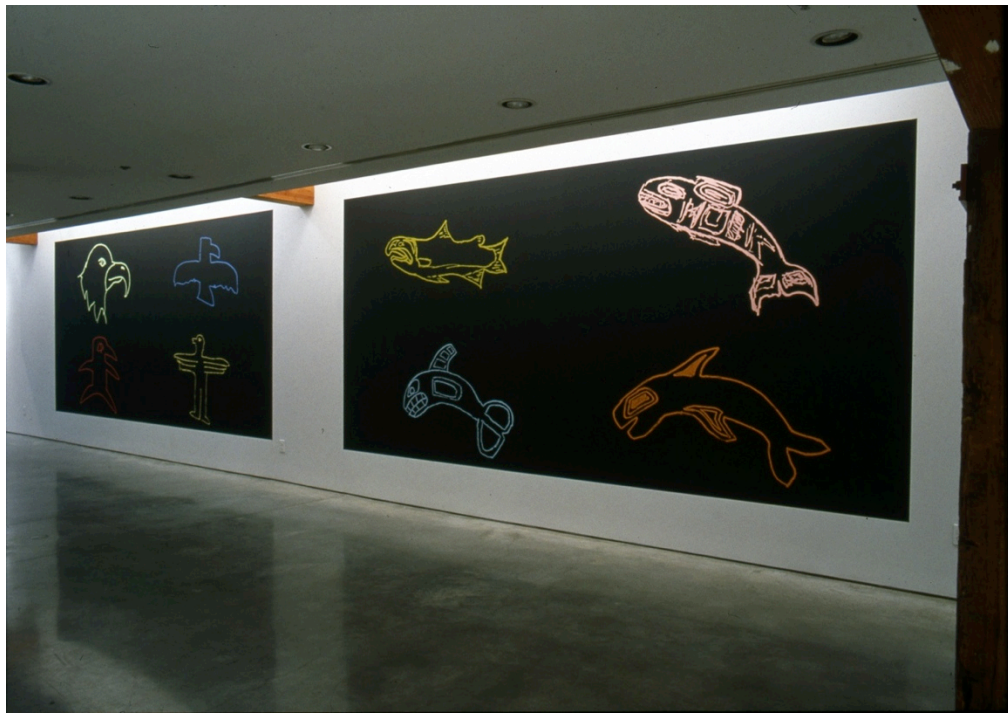


Fig. 5. Brian Jungen. Installation view. *Brian Jungen*. Charles H. Scott Gallery. Vancouver, 1999. Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

Decolonizing Visual Methods of Display in Art Museums and Galleries

While art institutions are sites of expressing dominant power dynamics, they can also become sites of decolonizing imaginaries and international political relationships. Jungen's sustained engagement with possibilities for transforming dominant visualities offers vital contributions to world politics today. Contemporary dominant institutional methods of representing relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in Canada continue to reproduce colonial power dynamics. Jungen's attention to colonial methods of knowledge production through ethnographic visual methods speaks to many ongoing artistic interventions, academic discussions, and community initiatives. A common theme across many of these actions is a commitment to understanding how contemporary visualities are informed by historically situated colonial practices of ethnographic methods of academic knowledge production, museum displays, and tourist industries that objectify Indigenous peoples and artists' work for settler audiences.

Performance art and installation art speaking to these themes offer powerful interventions in colonial institutional methods of representing Indigenous peoples.

Luiseno performance artist James Luna, speaking about his performance installation *The Artifact Piece* in 1987 at the San Diego Museum of Man, says:

“I became the Indian and lied in state as an exhibit along with my personal objects. That hit a nerve and spoke loud both in Indian country, the art world and the frontier of anthropology. The installation took objects that were representational of a modern Indian, which happened to be me, collecting my memorabilia such as my degree, my divorce papers, photos, record albums, cassettes, college mementos. It was a story about a man who was in college in the 60s, but this man happened to be native and that was the twist on it.” (Luna quoted in Fletcher 2008)



Fig. 6. James Luna. *The Artifact Piece*, 1987. Performance at San Diego Museum of Man. Courtesy James Luna.

Luna's method of unsettling colonial ethnographic visual methods, by strategically embodying objectification in the museum, calls attention to the institutionalized power dynamics that these ways of seeing emerge through.

By embodying tensions between the settler culture's visual perception of Indigenous peoples and lived experiences of objectification through these processes, Luna demonstrates how colonial ethnographic visual methods continue to inform contemporary lived experiences. In *Subject to Display: Reframing Race in Contemporary Installation Art* Jennifer A. González describes Luna's performance, pictured above:

“In the live performance tradition of artists such as Chris Burden (*Bed*, 1972) or Marina Abramović (*Rhythm 2*, 1974), James Luna engaged in body art endurance tactics by lying, partially sedated, on a sand-covered table, wearing only a loincloth, several hours a day during the run of the exhibit. He was so still and quiet that some visitors did not realize he was alive until they were standing beside him” (38).

Placed next to Luna's body were museum labels that offered descriptive information about scars and marks on his body, as might be found next to a specimen or artifact in a

conventional museum display. González says: “Luna’s performance became not only a metaphor the long history of violence that led Europeans to place Indian bodies on display, but also uncensored evidence of violence in Native American life today” (38). González notes that Luna’s selection of popular culture mementos to be displayed as artifacts in *The Artifact Piece* can be interpreted as an expression of how Indigenous peoples are not passive icons or one-dimensional objects of mass media depictions, but survivors of genocidal violence who are actively engaged with the circulation of popular cultures in contemporary everyday life (40). In these ways, Luna’s method of explicitly embodying objectification in the museum contests popular imaginaries of Indigenous peoples in colonial settler societies by demonstrating agency of self-representation denied in dominant institutional methods. Miwon Kwon argues that Luna’s performance does not simply seek revisions of museum collections or the content of historical narratives, but rather that “killing himself is a strategy of opposition and resistance of a different order... Even as Luna enacts a personal erasure in order to make visible a social one, *The Artifact Piece* claims life and survival” (Kwon quoted in González 40). By embodying the colonial ethnographic figure of the ‘vanishing Indian’ and foregrounding the scars of his lived experiences, Luna demonstrates how the prevalent colonial myth that the settlement of the Americas is a completed project that has conquered Indigenous peoples continues to be a dangerous, unjust assumption in the dominant culture and in the lived experience of Indigenous people. In this context, Luna’s project shows how contemporary artwork can be a method of decolonizing imagination, ways of seeing, and institutional visual methods informed by colonial ethnographic knowledge about Indigenous peoples produced for settler audiences.

Both Luna and Jungen's visual methods engage with embodied tensions between colonial ethnographic visualities and methods of visual self-determination. Many academic publications question how colonial anthropology as an academic discipline, historically and in contemporary practices, attempts to normalize patriarchal white supremacy through representations of Indigenous peoples (Berkhofer Jr.; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Fabian; Francis; Jonaitis; *Maracle Woman*; Tuhiwai Smith). Johannes Fabian's *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* demonstrates how methods of colonial anthropology have been a central part of attempting to normalize colonization as benevolent and inevitable progress, by producing Christian European peoples and white settlers as agents of civilizational progress and Indigenous peoples as 'others' to be studied and objectified (1983). Fabian focuses on how colonial ethnographic methods of research and written representations of Indigenous peoples depend on an ontology of time that he characterizes as the "denial of coevalness" (25). Given that Fabian's text has been such a generative foundational text in decolonial conversations across many academic disciplines, I will quote a few passages at length here to demonstrate how Jungen's methods of sculptural production express visual self-determination in the context of pervasive colonial visualities in the dominant settler culture in Canada. Fabian says:

"The naturalization of Time which succeeded to that view [the medieval, Christian (or Judeo-Christian) vision of time] defines temporal relations as exclusive and expansive. The pagan was always *already* marked for salvation, the savage is *not yet* ready for civilization (26)... It is not difficult to transpose from physics to politics one of the most ancient rules which states that it is impossible for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time. When in the course of colonial expansion a Western body politic came to occupy, literally, the space of an autochthonous body, several alternatives were conceived to deal with that violation of the rule. The simplest one, if we think of North America and Australia, was of course to

move or remove the other body (29 – 30)... Most often the preferred strategy has been simply to manipulate the other variable – Time (30)... Beneath their bewildering variety, the distancing devices that we can identify produce a global result. I will call it *denial of coevalness*. By that I mean *a persistent and systemic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse*” (30 - 31).

Fabian’s text, demonstrating the continuing pervasiveness of the “denial of coevalness” between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in conventional academic research methods, has become a generative intervention transforming critical research methods in social science disciplines working with ethnographic methods (31).

Ethnographic methods are recognized to have emerged historically through the anthropological fieldwork of Franz Boas and his students in the early twentieth century. Their innovations in research methods emerged in response to the dominance of Social Darwinist characterizations of racialization as biologically innate and privileging white male supremacy. Richard Berkhofer Jr.’s book *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, first published in 1979, analyzes how colonial ways of seeing, images, and imaginaries about Indigenous peoples are reproduced through academic knowledge production and popular culture in the USA and Canada. In Berkhofer Jr.’s analysis of the historical context of ethnographic representation in anthropology he says:

“Boas’s own fieldwork among the Eskimos and Northwest Coast tribes as well as his experiments in physical anthropology caused him to question the easy correlation of race, language, culture and social organization that lay at the foundation of racial and evolutionary anthropology at the turn of the [twentieth] century. His own experience among native peoples and his study of Northwest Coast mythology convinced him that the so-called primitive mind operated the same way as the so-called civilized mentality. His experiments and measurements in physical anthropology revealed no stable and consistent features attributable to race. His and his students’ interest in

the distribution of Indian languages, cultural traits, and tribal boundaries, likewise, showed no uniform correlation (62 – 63)...Boasian anthropology particularly sought to replace the conjectural approach of evolutionary history with what its practitioners thought was a more scientific method based on empirical research (63)...The aim of Boasian anthropology, therefore, became the study of localized culture traits shared by social groups or the lifestyle and beliefs of a single group. To get to know a culture from the ‘inside’ demanded intensive investigation among the people studied so the anthropologist could get the ‘feel’ of the culture. Ethnographic description in terms of the interrelationship of the parts of one culture instead of a cross-cultural comparison to establish evolutionary sequence became the goal of American anthropology” (64).

Berkhofer argues that, while ethnographic research methods contested the dominant Social Darwinist methods of biological anthropology, the ethnographic practice of anthropologists producing extensively detailed written documents and photographs about Indigenous peoples reproduced colonial norms of the time. The nineteenth century to early twentieth century was a time of intensifying colonial settler claims to establishing the territorially sovereign states of Canada and the United States of America, with visual methods of colonial knowledge production about Indigenous peoples and the white settler society playing a crucial role. Many critical perspectives recognize the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century as a time of intensive colonial visual knowledge production about Indigenous peoples through museum displays, performances at world’s fairs, tourist industries at trading posts and in Indigenous territories, film and photographic documentation, academic knowledge production and settler government methods of identification and documentation through establishing the federally administered reservation system, residential school system, USA Office of Indian Affairs and Canadian Department of Indian Affairs (Berkhofer 64 and 169; Francis 24; Nanibush). Recognizing these institutionalized historical patterns of colonial visual methods demonstrates how colonial ethnographic methods contribute to the dominant

settler culture's imaginary of Indigenous peoples as inferior and assume white supremacy. These colonial ethnographic visual methods draw on a positivist approach to understanding the world and demonstrate many parallels with behaviouralist approaches in IR, especially the dependency on the assumption of a sovereign viewing subject objectively observing, recording, analyzing, and representing Indigenous peoples to a predominantly non-Indigenous audience. In these ways, colonial academic methods of representation attempt to reduce Indigenous peoples' lives to contained moments, cultural rituals, and fetishized objects that are legible in a colonial framework of expectations and imaginations about Indigenous peoples in relation to settler societies.



Fig. 7. American Museum of Natural History Library. *The Northwest Coast Hall of the American Museum of Natural History circa 1902.* Photograph 12633.

Many art critics and curators discuss how Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* draw attention to how colonial visual methods continue to inform the ways in which artwork produced by Indigenous artists is conceptualized, displayed, and viewed in art galleries (Baerg; Baird; Bedford; Dick; Enright "Tortoise"; Garneau; Kuan; Lidz; Maclear; Milroy "Art"; Rodgers; Tousley). By focusing on two key exhibitions here, I'll discuss how historical methods of displaying artwork by Indigenous peoples at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City articulated institutional patterns of settler colonial assimilation that continue to be reproduced and contested today.

One of the first extensive exhibits of artwork made by Indigenous peoples in a prominent settler art gallery in North America was the *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern* at the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa in 1927. The exhibition was popular and critically praised at the time, later touring for exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto and Art Association of Montreal (Nemiroff, "Modernism" 20). The visual method of displaying the art works in the exhibit produced a colonial juxtaposition between the work of Indigenous artists and non-Indigenous settler artists. Diana Nemiroff discusses the 1927 exhibit in her essay "Modernism, Nationalism and Beyond: A Critical History of Exhibitions of First Nations Art" for the 1992 exhibition catalogue "Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada". She quotes Eric Brown, the Director of the National Gallery of Canada at the time, describing the purpose of putting together the exhibit:

"to mingle for the first time the art work of the Canadian West Coast tribes with that of our more sophisticated artists in an endeavour to analyze their relationships to one another, if such exist, and particularly to enable this

primitive and interesting art to take a definitive place as one of the most valuable of Canada's artistic productions" (Brown quoted in Nemiroff, "Modernism" 20).

Brown's statement can be an entry point to understanding how these methods of display in the National Gallery of Canada produce claims to authority in colonial settler knowledge production about Indigenous peoples and produce colonial settler claims to territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity. Nemiroff argues that Brown's characterization of the exhibit aimed "to validate native art as a distinctively Canadian art form" (20). In this way, the exhibition aimed to normalize Canadian territorial sovereignty, nationalism, and settler artists' subjectivity and to circumscribe work produced by Indigenous artists within this colonial frame of reference. Recalling Fabian's conception of the "denial of coevalness" in representations of Indigenous peoples (31), in this context, the artwork of non-Indigenous settler artists was understood to express progressive modernism while artwork by Indigenous artists was understood to express the essential primitiveness of Indigenous peoples as a homogenous group and both were understood to be defining characteristics of Canadian nationalism. Nemiroff's discussion of the exhibit also shows how the popular colonial narrative at the time characterized Indigenous peoples as 'disappearing', which does not recognize how it was colonial interventions that actively and systemically dispossessed and killed Indigenous peoples (24). For example, Daniel Francis has discussed how Emily Carr, one of the non-Indigenous settler artists whose work was included in the exhibit, understood her work as an artist to be "devoted to recording the heritage of British Columbia's Native peoples before it vanished" (46). Francis also cites a review of the Toronto exhibition published by the *Daily Star* on 9 January 1928, which described Carr's paintings as "'a revelation' ... comparable to the discovery of a 'Canadian tomb of Tutankhamen'" (49).

Nemiroff and Francis' analyses, in relation with Fabian's analysis of the "denial of coevalness" (31), show how the exhibition's curator and its reception by art critics expressed settlers' colonial entitlement to represent the work of Indigenous artists and Indigenous peoples through colonial anthropological and archaeological frameworks.



Fig. 8. *Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art - Native and Modern*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1927. National Gallery of Canada Library and Archives.

The exhibition *Indian Art of the United States* in 1941 at MoMA in New York City is recognized as the first exhibit of Native American art in a prominent art gallery in the United States. The exhibition was co-ordinated by René d'Harnoncourt, General Manager of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board of the United States Department of the Interior, and displayed collections of museums and universities as well as artwork by living Native American artists. The two institutions sponsoring the exhibition were the United States

National Museum in Washington D.C. and the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology in Toronto. In contrast with the National Gallery of Canada exhibition, which juxtaposed artwork by Native artists with artwork made by non-Native settler artists, this exhibition featured artwork made exclusively by Native artists. A press release issued by MoMA on January 20, 1941 states that “The exhibition is a cross section of the artistic achievements of the Indians of the United States during the last fifteen hundred years” (2). The statement also includes an excerpt of the foreword to the exhibition book written by USA First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, saying:

“In appreciating the Indians past and present achievements, we realize not only that his heritage constitutes part of the artistic and spiritual wealth of this country, but also that the Indian people of today have a contribution to make to the America of the future (1)... We acknowledge here a cultural debt not only to the Indians of the United States but to the Indians of both Americas” (2).

The exhibition and accompanying book were organized in three sections: Tribal Traditions and Progress, Indian Art and Indian Origins and History. The press release notes that: “There is also a section in the book on Indian Art for Modern Living. The end papers show Indian designs and give a chart of the chronological relationship between the discovery of the various tribal groups and their cultural development” (3).

As I’ve been discussing throughout this chapter, many artistic, academic and activist interventions have shown how colonial knowledge production about art works created by Indigenous artists also produces self-knowledge about colonial settler and European societies. The exhibitions at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927 and MoMA in 1941 participated in this kind of knowledge production, with many shared patterns and significant differences in methods of display between the two exhibitions. In

comparing and contrasting the exhibits at the National Gallery of Canada in 1927 and at the MoMA in 1941, Nemiroff said:

“The difference between the nationalism implicit in the earlier Canadian exhibition and that evident in *Indian Art of the U.S.* reflects the different agendas of their organizers: Eric Brown, the director of the National Gallery, was an important advocate of a national school of Canadian painting and supporter of the Group of Seven, several of whom had had work in *Canadian West Coast Art: Native and Modern*. His real interest lay in supporting the growth of modern movement in painting in Canada. Marius Barbeau, the ethnologist, had a respect for a genuine aesthetic appreciation of Indigenous West Coast art, but saw its survival as incompatible with the inroads of white society. It could be saved only by salvaging the remnants for museum collections. This is in direct contrast with René d’Harnoncourt’s belief that change and development had always been a part of Native art and would ensure it a place in modern society” (Nemiroff, “Modernism” 29).

Both exhibitions worked with colonial anthropological understandings of time in framing the work of the artists in the exhibitions, with the National Gallery of Canada exhibit more explicitly maintaining the idea of Indigenous artists’ work as artifacts while the MoMA exhibit framed Indigenous artists’ work in a chronological timeline as ‘primitive’ with a trajectory of progress towards assimilation to modern settler life. Another distinction between the exhibits was that one of Eric Brown’s main motivations for the National Gallery of Canada exhibit was to establish national and international recognition for a distinctly Canadian school of modern painters featuring the Group of Seven, while Rene D’Harnoncourt sought to establish a higher profile for Indigenous artists and “self-sufficiency” of the arts and crafts communities he was familiar with through his work with the US Federal Government through the “Indian Arts for Modern Living” section of the MoMA exhibit (Nemiroff, “Modernism” 20 – 31). While working with distinct visual methods of display and motivations for organizing the exhibits, both the National Gallery of Canada and MoMA exhibits institutionalized colonial visual methods of producing

knowledge about Indigenous peoples and settler societies in art institutions. Indigenous and non-Indigenous artists, academics, and activists have contested these dominant practices in order to transform popular visual methods of viewing art gallery exhibitions and museum displays.

Several art critics and curators writing about Jungen's work have pointed out how - despite ongoing grassroots reclamations, artistic practices of self-representation and academic interventions - many museums continue to display artworks produced by Indigenous peoples as artifacts and maintain collections of Indigenous peoples' bones, hair and ceremonial objects that were taken from Indigenous communities at the height of colonial anthropological knowledge production in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Baird; Clifford; LaDuke). Many transnational initiatives by Indigenous peoples are underway to reclaim ancestors' bones, artworks and ceremonial objects from museum displays and collections (Daniels; Gáldu Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples). The NMAI has established a Repatriation Office to facilitate repatriation: "the process whereby specific kinds of American Indian cultural items in a museum collection are returned to lineal descendants and culturally affiliated Indian tribes, Alaska Native clans or villages, and/or Native Hawaiian organizations. Human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony are all materials that may be considered for repatriation" (NMAI *Repatriation*). The Repatriation Office website states that 25,000 items of the NMAI's collection of more than 800,000 items would be eligible for repatriation claims, around three per cent of the collection (NMAI *Repatriation*).

Ongoing Indigenous self-determination struggles demonstrate that European colonialism was an actively contested process that never was a complete project of global

dominance and disrupts the myth that settler colonialism conquered Indigenous peoples and established a universal Westphalian sovereign state system. Decolonizing the IR assumptions that Westphalian sovereignty is experienced as a universal system opens possibilities for understanding the particular embodied circumstances that Westphalian sovereignty emerged through, has been contested and continues to be reproduced and contested. Jungen's processes of engaging with institutional visual methods in producing the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures offer unique perspectives and substantive insights in relation with global movements for Indigenous self-determination.

Decolonizing Anarchy and Hierarchy in International Relations

IR transnational feminist and postcolonial analyses of relationships between colonialism and academic knowledge production offer key insights to understanding how Indigenous self-determination expressed through contemporary visual art can transform IR knowledge production about world ordering, sovereignty, and agency. As Anna M. Agathangelou and L.H.M. Ling's "The House of IR: From Family Power Politics to the Poises of Worldism" shows hierarchical divisions of labour, distributions of wealth and social status among theorists in IR emerge through and reproduce colonial modes of world ordering (Agathangelou and Ling 48 – 67). In Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair's "Introduction" to *Power, Postcolonialism and International Relations: Reading Race, Gender and Class*, they demonstrate how postcolonial theorizations of IR are crucial in attending to hierarchical interrelated racialized, gendered and economic effects of ongoing histories of colonizations (Chowdhry and Nair 2). Chowdhry and Nair show how dominant conversations in IR attempt to universalize particular Eurocentric: narratives of history in realist approaches (5); foundational categories of meaning, such as class in

Classical Marxist approaches (7); assumed disembodied speaking positions in some poststructural approaches (9); and privileging analyses of gender in isolation from further power relations in some feminist approaches (9). They emphasize that such modes of knowledge production marginalize peoples' experiences and theoretical contestations of ongoing histories of colonizations by privileging epistemological authority in Eurocentric ontologies (12-17). Chowdhry and Nair emphasize that productive theoretical interventions recognize how knowledge production in IR can problematically normalize colonizing relationships in modes of representation, divisions of labour and access to resources (23). In this way, colonizing relations of power are reproduced in epistemologies that obscure how all knowledge and ways of knowing are produced in historically situated material relationships (15-17). Specifically, Chowdhry and Nair contest the realist problematique of IR that assumes that actors' relationships are conditioned by *anarchy* in the inter-state system, by instead emphasizing that *hierarchies* mediate actors' relationships. In this way transnational feminist, postcolonial approaches to IR emphasize how representations are never transparent descriptions of relationships and events (15-17). As discussed in the previous chapter, an IR realist approach is exemplified in Waltz's *Man, The State and War* as his analysis assumes anarchy as an ontological framework for a universal abstract analysis of world politics at the expense of understanding how certain dimensions of IR knowledge production and international politics emerge through and inform particular material experiences of colonization and self-determination.

IR realist views of anarchy as a condition of the international system are informed in part by Thomas Hobbes' theory of laws of nature, the commonwealth, and sovereign

power in *Leviathan*. Hobbes wrote *Leviathan* while living in England during the seventeenth century Civil War and his understanding of human nature and political community was shaped by this context. Hobbes states in the “Natural Condition of Mankind” (74) that self-interested competition and warfare lead to “continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” (76). Individual men secure the protection of their bodies and property by entering into a contract (82) to form a collective body, a commonwealth, (106) and in this process become political subjects by investing authority in a sovereign power to enforce these laws (219). Hobbes theorizes that, in order to transition from the natural condition of anarchy, men constitute themselves as subjects in a political community bound to one another and subordinate to a sovereign authority. In this view hierarchy characterizes a political community as laws are enforced by the sovereign power that governs the community. The sovereign maintains social and political order through the routine enforcement of laws and embodying the lawful capacity for coercion of subjects to uphold laws and the social contract. Hobbes’ theories of human nature, anarchy, political community, and hierarchy continue to inform how political theorists imagine the formation of sovereign political communities.

In “Society and Anarchy in International Relations” Hedley Bull outlines the characteristics of IR doctrines of the condition of anarchy in international politics and begins by emphasizing that conventional IR knowledge production understands anarchy to be a key dynamic underpinning the international system:

“The idea that international anarchy has as its consequences the absence of society among states, and the associated but opposite idea of the domestic analogy, became and have remained persistent doctrines about the

international predicament. The first of these doctrines describes international relations in terms of Hobbesian state of nature, which is a state of war. Sovereign states, on this view, find themselves in a situation in which their behaviour in relation to one another, although it may be circumscribed by considerations of prudence, is not limited by rules of law or morality (37) ...The second doctrine accepts the description of international relations embodied in the first, but combines with it the demand that the international anarchy can be brought to end. Where the domestic analogy is employed to buttress this doctrine, it is taken further to embrace the concept of the social contract as well as that of the state of nature... The third possibility of a society of sovereign states; and along with it the beginnings of the idea that the conditions of order among states were different from what they were among individual men... The salient fact of international relations is taken to be not that of conflict among states within the international anarchy, as on the Hobbesian view; nor that of the transience of the international anarchy and the availability of materials with which to replace it, as on the Kantian view; but co-operation among sovereign states in a society without government” (38).

In contrast to IR realist and liberal doctrines of competition and co-operation in the condition of *anarchy* of the international system, as outlined above, critical IR scholars have theorized how a complex range of *hierarchical* power relations structure international power relations through such dynamics as the hegemony of US military and capitalist economic forces (Dunne), gendered militarized everyday social relationships (Enloe), and human impacts on ecosystems (Laferrière and Stoett). In particular, postcolonial IR scholars have demonstrated the relationship between the claim that *anarchy* is the universal condition of the international system and the systemic underrepresentation of *hierarchical* colonial dynamics of power and violence in international politics (Acharya and Buzan; Agathangelou and Ling; Chowdhry and Nair; Grovogui *Beyond*; Krishna; Sajed; Seth).

Indigenous communities, scholars, and artists engaging in self-determination struggles emphasize how the Canadian state and settler society can transform colonial hierarchies through the treatment of relationships with Indigenous nations as international

relations. However research methods and worldviews articulated in IR that locate world politics as occurring ‘elsewhere’, through the division of foreign policy and domestic politics, do not understand the violences of Canadian settler colonial sovereignty and Indigenous peoples’ self-determination as dynamics of contemporary *international* politics. Based on the 2014-2015 undergraduate course calendars posted on the websites of forty-two Political Science departments in universities across Canada, eighteen departments offer courses in Aboriginal and Indigenous Politics and twenty-four departments do not offer courses in Aboriginal and Indigenous Politics. Of the eighteen departments that offer courses in Aboriginal and Indigenous Politics, fifteen courses are listed in the field of Canadian Politics, six courses are cross-listed with another department, two courses are listed in the field of International Relations, one course is listed in the field of Political Theory, and zero courses are listed in the field of Comparative Politics. While approximately half of the departments do not offer courses in Aboriginal Politics, the departments that do offer courses are overwhelmingly offered in the field of Canadian Politics and only two departments offer a course in Indigenous Politics in the field of IR (Appendix A).

This pattern articulates a worldview informed by the conventional Westphalian mode of world ordering by maintaining geopolitical imaginaries and divisions of academic labour that privilege settler colonialism and marginalize Indigenous knowledge production and political self-determination as processes of international relations. Canadian sovereignty as a practice of political institutions, category of inquiry in academic knowledge production, and foundational concept in popular settler nationalist imaginaries works to establish the appearance of Canadian sovereignty as normalized and

inevitable. This understanding does not account for how institutional practices and commonly held ideas about Canadian sovereignty emerge through social conditions that are shaped by AANDC, the *Indian Act*, the reserve system of governance, the legacies of the residential school system, systematic corporate and state thievery of Indigenous lands and waters, denial of treaty rights and responsibilities, police violence, the prison industrial complex, and sexual violence, disappearance and murder of Indigenous women and girls, among many other violent and traumatic social dynamics. Scholars analyzing social justice and decolonization have demonstrated how popular forms of Canadian national identity are founded upon processes erasure and marginalization of Indigenous peoples' experiences of colonization (Cardinal; G. Hill; Mackey; Razak *Race*). To transform the colonial violences of Canadian sovereignty it is important to understand how institutionalized practices and informal social relationships work in relation with one another in ways that bolster ongoing ideas and practices of Westphalian sovereignty and deny Indigenous self-determination. My entry point to engaging with these problematic research methods in IR is to analyze the relationship between political self-determination and modes of self-representation by Indigenous contemporary visual artists, to show how expressions of creative visuality in the work of Indigenous artists are essential sources of insight and transformation in world politics today. Here I focus on how the work of Indigenous contemporary visual artists calls attention to the international power dynamics of colonial institutional visual methods, settler colonial sovereignty, and Indigenous self-determination struggles.

Colonial encounters in the Americas since the fifteenth century shape contemporary commonly held Eurocentric ideas and imaginings about how people experience land as

territory. Transnational feminist approaches to understanding the role of knowledge production in these dynamics emphasize how popular visual technologies such as mapping, advertising and textbooks always emerge from specific embodied contexts that articulate the interconnectedness of material social relationships and imagined social relationships (Alexander; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; McClintock; P.C. Smith *Everything*; Tuhiwai Smith). In this way, no communication conveys a message transparently because modes of communication are productive in the ways they emerge through and reconfigure social relationships (Benjamin; Debrix and Weber; Shapiro *Textualizing*; Trinh; Williams).

Artistic expressions can offer unique perspectives on collective ways of remembering the violences of colonial encounters, pedagogies, divisions of labour and distributions of wealth and offer possibilities for imagining and enacting less violent futures (Agathangelou and Killian; hooks; Chen, Hwang and Ling; P.C. Smith *Everything*). Taking colonial encounters in the Americas as an entry point to understanding the role of contemporary visual artwork in world politics today contests the Eurocentric understanding that modernity emerged exclusively in Europe and then gradually expanded globally. In this context, modernity is characterized by the agency of autonomous individual subjects, the sovereign state system of international law, rational objectivity in knowledge production and the discourse of capitalism as an inevitable force of economic progress. This approach recognizes that colonial encounters in the Americas from the fifteenth century to today inform commonly held ideas about who is and who is not an authoritative political actor and producer of knowledge in world politics. Historical analyses of colonial violence and Indigenous self-determination struggles have

demonstrated how these experiences have profoundly impacted expressions of sovereignty in international law (Anghie; Borrows; Mongia), Western political theorists' discussions of slavery as a metaphor for understanding tyranny and freedom (Buck-Morss; Losurdo), the parameters of academic disciplines (Alexander and Mohanty *Feminist*; Chowdhry and Nair; Said *Culture*; Sajed; Tuhiwai Smith; Wallerstein) and subjectivity itself (Césaire *Discourse*; Fanon *Peau Noir*; Glissant *Soleil*; Maracle *Postcolonial*; Mbembe; McClintock; Wynter). While contemporary visual art is unrecognized as an authoritative source of knowledge in conventional IR and in public debates about international relations, Indigenous artists' creative expressions of survival and struggles of negotiating colonialism in everyday life bring into relief the contrast between lived experiences of colonial violence and the status quo belief that the Eurocentric conception of modernity is universal. Rather than seeking to make visible a more accurate image that has been written out by hegemonic narratives and modes of communication, the contemporary visual artwork by Jungen and Belmore that I discuss in the project articulates how power relations mediate ways of seeing, remembering and imagining embodied experiences of space in ongoing colonial encounters. In these ways, Jungen and Belmore offer creative interpretations of how contemporary relations in world politics continue to be informed by the emergence of Eurocentric conceptions of land and subjectivity that have been foundational to the discipline of IR.

In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* Anne McClintock shows how European colonial practices of mapping territories that claim to offer an objective representation of territories enact erasures of slavery and genocide and do not attend to people's lived experiences and imaginaries of racialization, sexuality and

gender (21-30). McClintock argues that narratives, images and legal documents that describe ‘virgin land’ and ‘empty lands’ at the time of colonial encounters attempt to displace the colonial violences of dispossession that Indigenous peoples continue to experience today (28-31). McClintock argues that gendered and sexualized metaphors and images of marking political borders and social boundaries is a central element of how colonial military interventions and occupations depend on an imaginary where land is feminized and in need of rituals of white patriarchal masculine ‘discovery’ and claims (24). In this way, women’s bodies are produced as “the boundary markers of empire” in both lived experiences and in the imaginaries of world ordering articulated in mapping practices (24).

Enrique Dussel’s *The Invention of the Americas: Eclipse of ‘The Other’ and the Myth of Modernity* problematizes the idea of modernity as exceptional to Europe (9). Dominant norms in academic knowledge production, popular culture and everyday practices figure that ways of knowing and being modern have historically been produced as exceptional to European subjects and Europe as a place and then gradually expanded globally (10). Dussel has demonstrates how modernity emerged “in a dialectical relation with non-Europe” through the colonial violences of dispossession, slavery, genocide and objectification in the ongoing colonization of the Americas (11). Dussel analyzes how these historical colonial violences produced self-knowledge of European subjects as superior agents of modernity (11).

Further, scholars have demonstrated how many conventional and critical methods in IR problematically do not recognize Indigenous peoples’ struggles to survive and transform colonial sovereign violences and do not recognize ongoing practices of self-

determination. In *International Relations in Uncommon Places: Indigeneity, Cosmology and the Limits of International Theory* J. Marshall Beier calls this process:

“the ‘hegemonologue’ of the dominating society: a knowing hegemonic Western voice that, owing to its universalist pretensions, speaks its knowledges to the exclusion of all others... Disabling the values and commitments upon which Indigenous peoples’ self-knowledges – and therefore, resistances – might be predicated, [the cosmological commitments of the dominating society] ideationally undergird the contemporary European settler states of the Americas and elsewhere. For this they are inseparable from the advanced form of colonialism that is politico-normative heir to the original project of European colonial conquest and domination. And for speaking the hegemonologue and participating in the reproduction of its attendant knowledges, International Relations is likewise identifiable as advanced colonial practice” (2-3).

In *Globalization and Postcolonialism: Hegemony and Resistance in the Twenty-First Century* Sankaran Krishna identifies four main critiques of postcolonial research methods in IR (and other academic disciplines): firstly Indigenous peoples’ experiences of ongoing colonial violence are not recognized by postcolonial methods that focus on understanding how historical practices of colonization have impacted countries that are now *de jure* sovereign states; secondly postcolonial methods that emphasize how colonization and decolonization have impacted the migration of people and mobility of capital do not attend to the experiences of Indigenous peoples within the territorial boundaries of settler colonial states; thirdly these approaches minimally engage with the “literatures, philosophies and worldviews” of Indigenous peoples; and fourthly postcolonial theories that deconstruct and unsettle essentialist identities may not recognize how Indigenous peoples strategically engage with identities such as nationalism in seeking reparations for colonial violences and in pursuing land claims cases (122-123). These critiques of the limits of critical approaches in IR that seek to transform relationships of power and violence in world politics emphasize how it is

important to recognize how process of abstraction in IR methods reproduce colonial violences while engagements with specific material conditions can be transformative processes of self-determination.

Therefore visual knowledge production is not outside systemic global power relations and is a site of making claims to which political communities constitute the international system. In this context, Indigenous contemporary visual artists' methods of self-expression are interconnected with Indigenous political self-determination in world politics today. In Michelle H. Raheja's book *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing,*

Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film she demonstrates how:

“visual sovereignty simultaneously addresses the settler population by creating self-representations that interact with older stereotypes but also, more importantly, connects film production to larger aesthetic practices that work toward strengthening treaty claims and more traditional (although by no means static) modes of cultural understanding” (19).

As I have discussed in this chapter and will discuss in the next chapter, Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures repurpose Nike Air Jordan sneakers to resemble the shape and colour patterns of Northwest Coast Indigenous artists' traditional masks. Shoe laces become hair and feathers, shoe soles become beaks, the Air Jordan logo becomes eyes and the iconic Nike swoosh logos become eyelids of the raven, the killer whale, the thunderbird, and the eagle. Jungen's rendering of these sculptures from corporate sports fashion as source material is a powerful intervention in deconstructing the hypervisibility and commodification of Indigenous iconography for consumption in North American settler audiences and global audiences. Raheja's visual methods trace relationships between dominant visibility working to normalize colonial interventions in Indigenous communities and Indigenous artists' visual expression emerging through

these contexts. In this context, Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* offer expressions of visual sovereignty that may transform the colonial neoliberal relations of production, representation and imagination that they emerge through.

In *Defamiliarizing the Aboriginal: Cultural Practices and Decolonization in Canada*, Julia V. Emberley's feminist historical materialist approach to decolonizing methodologies emphasizes the central role of visibility in state archives and popular representations of normative social relationships (4). Emberley's reading of visual documents, such as family portraits in Canadian and US government archives, shows how conventional assumptions about gender, sexuality, racialization and racism are articulated in colonial assimilationist policies were documented visually in the figure of "the Aboriginal family" (5). Emberley's analysis puts pressure on conventional academic methodologies that emphasize international political economic relationships, territorial contestations between state actors, and exploitation of natural resources as the main and often the only approaches to explaining the history of colonization in Canada (23). She accounts for how processes of colonization are dependent upon the intervention, management and visual mediation of peoples' everyday lived experiences (14). Further, Emberley discusses how processes of decolonization involve a responsibility to analyze and transform the technologies of representational violences normalize interventions in Indigenous peoples' everyday lives (34).

Art history, curatorial studies, visual studies, and cultural studies scholars have created a rich and dynamic account of the role of visual artwork in the emergence, global reach and contestations of European modernity. These analyses examine the impact of European artistic production during the sixteenth century to early twentieth century and

demonstrate how this artwork emerged through hierarchical economic, gendered, racialized social relationships that continue to impact visibility (Berger; Bhabha; Bloom; Dyer; McMaster “New Art”; Said *Culture*), institutional methods of visual representation (Bal *Double*; Gómez-Peña), subjectivity (Crosby “Imaginary”; O’Grady; G. Pollock; Townsend-Gault “Circulating”), modes of artistic production (Benjamin), knowledge production about artwork (Blocker; Brzyski; Guilbaut; hooks; Mercer; P.C. Smith *Everything*; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*), and the very categorization of fine arts as the supreme mode of human creative expression, which Jacques Rancière calls “the aesthetic regime of art” (Rancière, *Aisthesis* xi). As discussed in the previous section, analyses of hierarchical colonial power dynamics emphasize how Eurocentric modernity has historically been expressed through visual artwork, curating and institutional methods of display.

In this context, I analyze how historical Canadian visual artwork is a key site of understanding the relationship between colonial Eurocentric modernity and ethnographic knowledge production about Indigenous peoples. Here I focus on how early twentieth century landscape paintings by the Group of Seven express a Canadian settler colonial imaginary of anarchy, produced within international political conditions of colonial hierarchy. The ongoing popular reverence and contestations of Group of Seven paintings as a quintessential expression of Canadian heritage demonstrate the salience of these specific artworks and further demonstrate the role of knowledge production about visual artwork in international politics today. I argue that early twentieth century Group of Seven paintings are a material visual expression of a Canadian settler colonial imaginary of anarchical *terra nullius*, produced at the same historical moment where the dominant

institutional visual method of representing Indigenous peoples and Indigenous artists' work was colonial ethnography.

In *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* Eva Mackey analyzes how Group of Seven paintings inform Canadian settler colonial nationalism and express characteristics that are distinct from European modern art landscape paintings. Mackey says: "A central feature that differentiates the wilderness paintings of the Group of Seven from European traditions of painting is that the paintings are unpeopled, not just of human subjects but also of human traces" (44). Early twentieth century Group of Seven landscape paintings were produced after centuries of encounters between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples and were produced within a colonial political economy of dispossession, settlement and resource extraction industries (Donegan; Walton). In "Wild Art History" John O'Brian says: "The mapping and dividing up of Canada for national and commercial interests, therefore, were acts of possession and dispossession that preceded rather than followed the 'visualizing' work of landscape artists" such as the Group of Seven in the twentieth century (32). In this way, the imagination of the lands and waterways of Canada being a northern wilderness empty of human presence, as expressed in Group of Seven landscape paintings, enacts a colonial erasure of Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers. In "Graveyard and the Gift Shop: Fighting over the McMichael Canadian Art Collection" Richard William Hill discusses how the colonial imagination expressed in Group of Seven landscape paintings erases not only the presence of Indigenous peoples but also the possibility of Indigenous peoples as subjects, as producers of knowledge, and as communities expressing distinct cosmologies in relationships with traditional lands and waterways. Hill says:

“To produce this new *tabula rasa*, not only have Aboriginal peoples been erased but so has an entire perspective on the land. There are no Thunderbirds in the skies. No powerful spirits of the underworld down in the depths of the lakes. No fragile human beings in the middle, tending their relationships with these great forces. How quiet this wilderness must be. I find the silence is deafening” (215).

Critical conversations in Canadian art history scholarship emphasize how this colonial imagination of *terra nullius* in Group of Seven paintings both erases historical conditions of colonial hierarchy and raises questions for how Canadian history, nationalism and subjectivity are understood today through visual artwork (O’Brian and White).



Fig. 9. Jackson, A.Y., “Terre Sauvage”, 1913, Acc. #4351. Photo © National Gallery of Canada.
© Carleton University Art Gallery, Ottawa.

The Group of Seven painters were Franklin Carmichael, Lawren Harris, A. Y. Jackson, Frank Johnson, Arthur Lismer, J.E.H. MacDonald, and Frederick Varley. Their work was championed in exhibitions organized by the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa and in European exhibitions at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, England in 1924 and 1925, and in Paris in 1927 (Dawn). In “Art for a Nation” Lynda Jessup discusses how the Group of Seven’s emergence as a touchstone for the visual expression of Canadian nationalism and the National Gallery’s institutional resources contributed to the authority and prominence of one another (Jessup). Even with the institutional resources cultivating the Group of Seven’s status, by National Gallery of Canada Director and curator Eric Brown, the popular mythology of the artists is one of individual commitment to craft and perseverance in extreme environmental conditions to render masterpieces of Canadian art. This popular mythology of the Group of Seven expresses a settler colonial imagination of individual settler survival against all odds in harsh conditions (the Canadian wilderness and the competitive art world) in order to prosper and to be redeemed through social recognition.

Art history scholars have discussed the similarities and distinctions between the Canadian national mythology expressed in twentieth century Group of Seven landscape paintings and the USA national mythology expressed in nineteenth century landscape paintings. The settler colonial imagination of both national mythologies is framed by the promise of settler discovery and, as William Cronon describes USA frontier landscape paintings in “Telling Tales on Canvas: Landscapes of Frontier Change”: “Sometimes it is a story of progress, sometimes one of loss, but always it is about the projection of human desire onto a resisting but yielding land” (61). A key distinction between these

imaginaries is the Canadian settler colonial mythology of Northern wilderness and the USA settler colonial mythology of the Western frontier. In “Comparing Mythologies: Ideas of West and North” Sherrill E. Grace says:

“The West was virgin land meant to be conquered and occupied, or a territory for masculine challenge and escape from the East of women, cities and civilization. The western frontier was both a borderland with moving borders and a continentally bounded space that (harsh realities aside) welcomed and seduced men... The North was, and remains, largely inaccessible, uninhabitable, silent, mysterious, and deadly. It both resists human presence and beckons us with the promise of spiritual rejuvenation in the Near and Middle North, or with the most alluring of illusions, what Pierre Burton has called ‘the arctic grail,’ in the Far North; in both cases it is a land to visit, not a land in which to stay...North is not so much a physical thing, [as] a stage for demonstrating human power.” (250)

Analyzing the Canadian settler colonial imaginary of Northern wilderness in the context of present international politics and IR knowledge production the Group of Seven landscape paintings express, and their ongoing reverence perpetuates, a material visual expression of the imagination of Canadian passive goodness in contrast to USA active aggression. As I discussed in Chapter One, the Canadian settler colonial mythology of inherent goodness and passivity in contrast to USA patriotic aggression is also expressed in Canadian peacekeeping foreign policy, the Canadian legal system Doctrine of Reception, and in the erasure of dispossession and genocide experienced by Indigenous peoples in Canadian settler academic knowledge production.

In these ways the Group of Seven landscape paintings and their ongoing prominence in Canadian art institutions, art history and popular culture expresses a settler colonial imaginary of anarchy as the condition of the emergence and foundation of the Canadian state. As discussed throughout this chapter, the expression of this imaginary in the early twentieth century existed in relation with colonial ethnographic representations

of Indigenous peoples, cultures and artwork for settler audiences in the Americas and for European audiences. In this context, colonial anthropological written documentation and institutional methods of visual representation in museums and galleries throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries framed Indigenous peoples' ceremonial objects and artworks as artifacts of a homogenous 'vanishing race'. This visual knowledge production played a central role in institutionalizing white supremacy in Canadian settler colonial institutions and governance through the erasure of processes of Indigenous dispossession and projecting the desire for and civilizational promise of settlement. Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* call attention to this ongoing history of how Canadian institutional visual methods express hierarchical colonial power relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers. Further, Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* demonstrate the power of contemporary visual artwork to unsettle conventional ideas and inspire new collective imaginations of international relations. As I discuss in the next chapter, Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* also invite viewers to reflect on colonial commodification, primitive accumulation, and dispossession in the context of ongoing Indigenous self-determination struggles.

**Chapter Four. Materializing Indigenous Self-Determination: Brian Jungen's
Methods of Sculpting *Prototype for New Understanding***

“While conceptual artists often neglect, or contract out, the craft aspect of their work, Jungen does not. He hand-stitches these sculptures to emphasize his presence and intervention” David Garneau in “Beyond the One-Liner: The Masks of Brian Jungen (91).



Fig. 10. Brian Jungen. *Prototype for New Understanding* #7. 1999. Nike Air Jordans. 11 x 14 x 22 inches (27.9 x 35.6 x 55.9 cm). Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

“Although the surfaces are pristine, the backs and insides reveal his rougher handiwork. This gesture may be a symbolic reversal of the mechanized labour that went into the originals. The imperfect stitching is a sign of individuality and craft rather than of the mechanized uniformity in industrial production. Perhaps the artist is alluding to Nike’s poor labour record (see www.saigon.com/~nike) and our ontology of labour where ‘First World’ designs cost many times that earned by the ‘Third World’ which actually produces the product. This reading is reinforced by the presence in each sculpture of a ‘Made in Indonesia’ tag” David Garneau in “Beyond the One-Liner: The Masks of Brian Jungen” (91 – 92).



Fig. 11. Brian Jungen. *Prototype for New Understanding #7*. 1999. Nike Air Jordans. 11 x 14 x 22 inches (27.9 x 35.6 x 55.9 cm). Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.



Fig. 12. Brian Jungen. *Prototype for New Understanding #7*. 1999. Nike Air Jordans. 11 x 14 x 22 inches (27.9 x 35.6 x 55.9 cm). Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

Hand Stitching and Corporate Sports Fashion Products as Source Material

Indigenous and transnational feminist theories of the international political system emphasize how the historical emergence of Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivities were embodied experiences. Brian Jungen's sculptural methods of working with corporate athletic products as source material engage with contemporary productions of sovereignty within this historical context. Jungen's methods of engaging audience expectations and imaginations through repurposing athletic materials to

resemble Northwest Coast masks shows how the popular circulation of Indigenous peoples' artistic production in settler societies is a central part of reproducing colonial nationalisms, claims to territorial sovereignty, and sovereign subjectivity. In this chapter I discuss how Jungen's method of working with corporate sports fashion as source materials in producing the *Prototype for New Understanding* series, in relation with his artist statements and interview discussions about the sculptures, recognize that all locations and materials emerge through particular embodied experiences and complicate popular assumptions about relationships between interiors and exteriors. Many of Jungen's sculptures also engage with audience expectations about relationships between interiors and exteriors by working with athletic materials to emphasize how popular visions of sports cultures are rituals of expression social conventions with possibilities for transformation. I begin this chapter with a brief discussion of how these themes are expressed in Jungen's *Court* (2004). Then I discuss how Jungen's methods of producing the *Prototype for New Understanding* series contribute insights to IR political economy theories of commodification, primitive accumulation, and dispossession. I end the chapter with a discussion of how these insights are expressed in the context of Indigenous peoples' ongoing experiences of dispossession and lands and waters reclamations.



Fig. 13. Brian Jungen. *Court*, 2004. 224 sweatshop tables, paint, 2 rolling steel warehouse ladders, 2 basket-ball hoops each with net and backboard 148 x 336 x 840 inches (376 x 853 x 2134 cm). Collection of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa Courtesy Catriona Jeffries, Vancouver.

In 2003 Jungen was commissioned to produce an installation for Triple Candie Gallery in Harlem. The gallery's website describes its mandate:

“Triple Candie is a research-oriented, independent curatorial agency -- run by two art historians -- that produces exhibitions about art but largely devoid of it... A typical Triple Candie exhibition consists of reproductions, surrogates, models, stage-sets, or common objects, displayed using a combination of rhetorical devices borrowed from history and anthropology museums and community art galleries...When a show is de-installed, the materials -- both the objects and the display paraphernalia -- are generally recycled for future use or discarded.” (Triple Candie)

Jungen's *Court* appeared to be a reproduction of a full-scale basketball court, which visitors to the gallery could observe from above by climbing a ladder positioned behind each basketball net. Yet, even at first glance, hundreds of small openings in the surface of

the court signal that something else is at play here. As Holland Cotter's *New York Times* review of the exhibition noted, Jungen's *Court* is "not one that would meet N.B.A. regulations" (Cotter). Jungen's *Court* is constructed with 224 wooden tables that had previously been used in sweatshops (Baird). The tabletops were positioned, levelled and painted with lines to create the appearance of the surface of a basketball court. The holes in the surface of *Court* occupy the space where sewing machines were once operated by people working under exploitative conditions.

Jungen's *Court* expresses insights into the political economies that corporate sports fashion products emerge through. The late 1990s was a time of intense North American activist scrutiny of corporate clothing manufacturing labour policies. Campaigns focused on how Nike's exorbitant profits were made possible by the subcontracting of labour performed in exploitative and degrading conditions for workers, mostly women and men of colour working in Export Processing Zones in the Global South (Klein 195-230). Activist campaigns in the Global North aimed at raising consumer consciousness of how workers' actions organizing for better labour conditions were actively suppressed in factories and in communities. Political Economy scholars emphasize how these global divisions of labour, exploitative working conditions, and police/military oppression of workers' collective actions have been part of broader global trends of military and corporate violence directed at resistance movements for self-determination of workers and indigenous peoples (McNally). Critical discussions in the Global North countered Nike's slick ubiquitous celebrity endorsement campaigns with workers' accounts of unjust working conditions and oppression of unionization efforts. This public debate over the advertised appearance versus the material conditions of producing corporate athletic

goods was part of the broader context that Jungen's *Court* was produced within. While *Court* appears to be a basketball court, when the labour that produces corporate sporting culture commodities is recognized (emphasized by the gaps that accommodated sewing machines operated by workers), it is no longer possible to play that game without tripping up. As I will discuss in relation to *Prototype for New Understanding*, working with tensions between interiors and exteriors are a recurring theme in Jungen's work with athletic materials.

Further, produced on site in the context of Triple Candie gallery, *Court* engages with the role of contemporary visual artwork in calling attention to commonly held ideas about global divisions of labour and capital. By working with repurposed materials to produce the appearance of an iconic forum of sporting rituals and calling attention to the court's relationships with the material conditions of producing corporate sports fashion in the Global South, Jungen also disrupts popular ideas about sculptural methods. Dominant art history methods and popular ideas about sculpture privilege the expression of individual talent with pure materials such as marble, wood, and precious metals. Jungen's methods contest the idea of artists as individual geniuses working with a blank slate by working with an approach to sculpture that shows how all materials and modes of artistic production emerge through the social conditions that artists live and work within. Producing *Court* in Harlem also engages with the tensions between the local community context of multi-racialized youth culture's beloved obsession with basketball, fans' desires for expensive corporate sports fashion products like Nike Air Jordan sneakers, and National Basketball Association franchise owners' profit from the labour of predominantly young black male basketball players. Jungen's methods of repurposing

these materials in these contexts demonstrate how contemporary artwork engages with the ways in which social relationships emerge through particular embodied historical contexts.

Transnational feminist methods to understanding embodiment and colonial violence demonstrate that claims to territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity are embodied experiences in world politics. These approaches show how colonial legal and social interventions in peoples' daily lives emerge through intertwined historical contexts that privilege and marginalize people in settler colonial societies. Transnational feminist methods have focused on how colonial laws and social norms regulating collective identifications and intimate relationships have historically been a method of reproducing hierarchical modes of social privileging and marginalization (Agathangelou and Ling; Alexander; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; McClintock; Perry; Razack *Race*; Sharpe). Understand the enduring dominance of Westphalian sovereignty as a category of analysis in IR, it is important to recognize how these processes have been part of colonial claims to territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity. In Adele Perry's *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia 1849-1871* she demonstrates how the legal and social normalization of colonial violence of displacing Indigenous peoples in the colonial settlement of British Columbia was dependent upon extensive interventions in the daily lives of Indigenous peoples and white settlers. Perry says:

“Dispossession and settlement were not discrete processes: they were mutually dependent and deeply intertwined. Marginalizing First Nations and fostering white society were two sides of one colonial coin and it is gender that makes their intertwined character more clear (194)...colonialism was both fragile and formidable in mid-nineteenth-century British Columbia. To be sure, imperialism was triumphant insofar as the years between 1849 – 1871 marked the onset of sustained European occupation, a political,

economic and cultural arrangement that has subsequently been persistently challenged but never defeated. However successful the colonial state was in conclusively asserting its authority, it fundamentally failed to recast the society it governed in its own image” (195-196).

As discussed in the previous chapters, while colonial visual methods implicitly and explicitly depend on an understanding of colonialism as a natural expression of patriarchal white supremacy, understanding the colonial constitution of Canada as an inevitable natural process exists in tension with Indigenous peoples’ everyday experiences of and resistance to the extensive interventions required to continuously regulate social relationships.

A key site of regulation and contestation of Canadian colonial subjectivity and nationalism is the circulation of Indigenous peoples’ artistic production in tourist, corporate athletic fashion and art world industries. By examining the historical production and circulation of mask making by Northwest Coast Indigenous peoples, it becomes possible to recognize how visual methods are central to settler cultural appropriation and claims to colonial sovereignty as well as central to Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles. The historical circulation and appropriation of masks in tourist industries and the confiscation of masks by Canadian Federal Government can be understood as a central part of colonial processes of normalizing Canadian nationalism and territorial sovereignty in unceded territories. Understanding how settler and Indigenous peoples’ subjectivities are relationally shaped through these processes is an important part of understanding the roles of creative self-expression in world politics today.

In Paul Chaat Smith’s curatorial essay for the NMAI *Strange Comfort* exhibition he says:

“Jungen has asserted in interviews that his *Prototypes for New Understanding* cannot rightly be called masks, as they are not intended for use and (unlike traditional Northwest Coast masks) do not serve a ceremonial function. Instead, they build on ideas that are already one step removed from the originary object – representations of masks and their use as a commodity” (P.C. Smith, “Money” 14)

Jungen’s emphasis that these works are sculptures underscores how the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures are not to be viewed as reproductions of an authentic expression of Northwest coast mask making. Jungen’s insights show how his methods of producing and exhibiting the sculptures contest the very process of colonial ethnographic visual representation and commodification of the colonial desire for purity and imagination of Indigenous cultural authenticity. As discussed in the previous chapter, by engaging with colonial stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and artwork produced by Indigenous peoples, Jungen invites audiences to reconsider assumptions informed by colonial ethnographic visual methods. In this chapter I focus on how Jungen’s repurposing of commercial athletic products as demonstrates a sustained engagement with transforming ongoing colonial commodification of Indigenous peoples’ artistic production in tourist economies, corporate athletic fashion, and the international art world.

Historical moments of intensifying settler claims to territorial sovereignty, such as the confederation of Canada in the late nineteenth century, involved colonial visual methods of producing knowledge about Indigenous peoples and white settler societies (Berkhoefer Jr.; Crosby “Imaginary”; Emberley *Defamiliarizing*; Francis; Houle “Spiritual”; Nanibush; Nemiroff; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Townsend-Gault “Sea-Lion”). The popular circulation of Indigenous peoples’ artistic production for settler audiences in Canada and audiences in Europe was a central part of these processes

through the display of cultural objects in museums, photographs on postcards, the sale of souvenir items, and performances of ceremonial rituals at exhibitions such as world's fairs. This colonial appropriation is in tension with how Indigenous artists' creative methods simultaneously expresses political self-determination. In Wanda Nanibush's curator's statement for the 2012 *Sovereign Acts* exhibition she says:

“The history of Indigenous Peoples performing cultural dances and practices for international and colonial audiences is an important part of Indigenous art generally, and performance art specifically. The Indigenous performers known as ‘Indians’ faced the conundrum of maintaining traditional cultural practices by performing them on stage while also having that performance fulfill the desires of a colonial imaginary... Embarking from specific historical moments, the artists in *Sovereign Acts* seek to define themselves from in- and outside colonial histories, and within constantly changing traditions of family, home, people and territory. Performance is an act of cultural and political resistance as well as a means of remembrance and commemoration. It offers glimpses of a forgotten past, and uses creative fictions as a force against colonial narratives of capture, savagery, loss and disappearance”.

Nanibush emphasizes how artistic labour by Indigenous peoples is an expression of self-determination that contests the dominant settler society's colonial imagination, visual representations, and international political relationships with Indigenous peoples.

Nanibush's understanding of creative expression as a central aspect of political self-determination joins Indigenous and transnational feminist methods of resisting and transforming colonial violence.

In this context, Jungen's work as a contemporary artist can be understood as a material expression of Indigenous self-determination in calling attention to the colonial dynamics of knowledge production through Canadian arts institutions, colonial commodification and inequalities in global arts communities, and in the articulation of decolonial imaginaries. Subject formation occurs through creative self-expression,

imagination, and making political claims in global contemporary art communities (Enwezor “Revisiting”; Jones “Biennale”; Kapur; McMaster “New Art”; T. Smith *What*). Jungen’s *Prototype for New Understanding* series contributes to Anaya’s characterization of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination, as discussed in Chapter One, as involving the emergence of new international political processes, communities, and subjectivities (Anaya 61). Jungen’s selection of Nike Air Jordan sneakers as source materials, sculptural methods of hand-stitching, and exhibition methods analyzed in the previous chapter contribute to decolonizing the conventional imaginary of Westphalian sovereignty and the global political economies of commodification, exploitation of labour, and Indigenous dispossession that sustain this hierarchical vision of organizing international political communities. Jungen’s work as a contemporary artist interrupts popular narratives including the idea of neoliberal globalization as universally beneficial, the normalization of Indigenous dispossession through Canadian settler claims to exclusive sovereignty, and the role of artwork and art history in both reproducing and contesting these processes. In this way, Jungen’s *Prototype for New Understanding* sculpture series demonstrates how contemporary artwork can be a site of becoming aware of, and expressing agency in articulating claims to, multiple understandings of sovereignty in international politics.

While the Westphalian conception of sovereignty is characterized by asserting exclusive territorial sovereignty, Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles that mobilize around the concept of sovereignty emphasize political decision-making autonomy and foreground how traditional relationships with lands and waterways inform Indigenous peoples’ lifeways, languages, ceremonies, and philosophies. Joanne Barker

has shown how this understanding of sovereignty has emerged at the forefront of Indigenous peoples' global self-determination struggles in the post World War Two context (17 – 24). Barker argues that Indigenous peoples' strategies of enacting self-determination have transformed in the conditions of global reconfigurations of power through the establishment of the United Nations system and human rights discourse that shaped “the dominant notion that Indigenous peoples were merely one among many ‘minority groups’ under administration of state social services and welfare programs” (Barker 18). In this way, Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles for international political autonomy involve the work of continuing to envision and enact new international political processes, communities, and subjectivities that honour intergenerational knowledge and peoples' traditional relationships with lands and waterways.

Understanding tensions between colonial violence and Indigenous self-determination through creative visual self-expression is discussed in many analyses of Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* series. Cuauhtémoc Medina's essay “High Curios” discusses the historical production of masks by Indigenous peoples in the Americas for colonial economies (Medina 27-33). Medina explains how Christian missionaries destroyed cultural objects such as hand carved masks in efforts to convert Indigenous peoples to Christianity and to exert settler dominance over Indigenous peoples. Medina discusses how Indigenous peoples responded to these colonial violences by creating new masks for missionaries in order to continue performing ceremonies with existing masks. Medina says:

“In the same way that art today may go straight from the artist’s studio into the museum collection, the Natives of central Mexico created objects that went directly from the workshop of their maker into the bonfire of the inquisitor despite not having been involved in any religious or magical ceremony. Their only function was to fulfill a paranoid colonial expectation, and they were, in fact among the first Amerindian objects produced solely for European consumption... I introduce this comparison with the Mexican context to consider [Jungen’s] work as an allegory for an entire series of historical transactions between ethnic groups in which colonial categories such as ‘idolatry’, ‘fetish’, ‘Indian Art’ or ‘mask’ can be effectively redirected to the colonizer, who, after all, is their original instigator” (28 - 29).

Medina shows how Jungen’s *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures exist in the context of historical processes of Indigenous peoples’ resistance to colonial violence and protection of ceremonies through artistic production for consumption by European missionaries. Specifically, Jungen’s methods of working with commercially available, expensive and coveted sports products offers opportunities to critically engage with how current capitalist consumer cultures perpetuate the marginalization of Indigenous peoples and privilege settler capitalist economies, imaginations and desires. In these ways, it is crucial to recognize the *Prototype for New Understanding* as sculptures and not as recreations of historically authentic masks. Jungen has emphasized in interviews how he considers the *Prototype for New Understanding* to be sculptures, not masks, and one of his motivations in producing the series was to engage with colonial stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and art produced by Indigenous peoples. As many articles and interviews have discussed, an important part of Jungen’s work in transforming stereotypes involves engaging with audiences to question how the very idea of cultural authenticity continues to marginalize Indigenous peoples and Indigenous artists. In discussing his struggles with expectations that he will produce art representing his personal experiences of identity as an Indigenous person Jungen has said: “I am often

asked why I don't speak the (Doig Rover First Nation) language. I'll be in Europe, and they will ask me that, and I think: 'You took it away, and now you want me to be able to speak it?' My art is more about what people see in their everyday environment, not my immediate family. I look out at the world" (Jungen quoted in Farrell). In this context, part of Jungen's responses to expectations about the kind of work he will produce has been to create sculptures and installations that unsettle dominant ideas about Indigenous peoples and about art work by Indigenous peoples.

Understanding some of the historical context of mask making by Indigenous peoples living in Northwest Coast territories is an important part of seeing how the *Prototype for New Understanding*, as sculptures, call attention to international dynamics of colonial commodification, dispossession, and settlement. Colonial missionaries' destruction of cultural objects and settler governments' policies of banning Indigenous peoples' cultural practices and ceremonies were a central part of asserting colonial dominance by intervening in the everyday lives of Indigenous individuals and communities. On July 20 1871 British Columbia and Vancouver Island joined Confederation, while Indigenous peoples maintain that the majority of these territories remain unceded land to this day. Railroads, which had been built by indentured and migrant labourers to facilitate the gold rush and extraction of other natural resources, also facilitated tourist economies along the West Coast of North America. The student-organized exhibition *Capitalizing the Scenery: Landscape, Leisure and Tourism in British Columbia 1880 – 1950* at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery in 1995 involved many visual documents such as Canadian Pacific Railway advertisements, souvenir post cards and watercolour landscape paintings from this time period (Figure

14). The exhibit and accompanying lecture series focused on the colonial social relationships reproduced through the popular circulation of these images, by considering how the emerging social identity of a Canadian subject was formed through these visual methods (J. O'Brian, "Exhibition"). Visual productions of frontiers as sites of colonial adventure, profit, and self-discovery are ever-present as territorial and imagined spaces in colonial ways of seeing and being. Historical visual productions of British Columbia as a frontier in tourist economies attempted to contain the West Coast within the sovereign boundary of Canada and normalize the privileged position of white settler subjects.



Fig. 14. *Capitalizing the Scenery: Landscape, Leisure and Tourism in British Columbia, 1880s – 1950s*, 1995, exhibition catalogue from the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia.

In *Art of the Northwest Coast* Aldona Jonaitis discusses how the late nineteenth century was a time of heightened colonial circulation of images of textiles, totem poles, and masks made by Indigenous peoples (189 - 218). Colonial stereotypes about Indigenous peoples and art made by Indigenous peoples were imagined and visually depicted through settler and European audiences participation in tourist economies, photographs, films, museum displays, and world's fairs exhibitions (189 – 218). These colonial representations attempted to reduce the diversity of Indigenous cultures and artistic methods to an idea of a single homogenous 'Indian' culture. These representations framed white settlers as superior to Indigenous peoples, implicitly justified colonial interventions to deny Indigenous peoples' self-determination and implicitly asserted settler claims to territorial sovereignty. The circulation of images and selective displays of artistic production were an essential part of visual methods of producing colonial knowledge about relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

These visual methods of colonial knowledge production worked in relation to colonial laws restricting Indigenous peoples creative self-expression through artwork, cultural practices and ceremonies. These colonial laws were increasingly enforced in the early twentieth century, in relation with the establishment of the residential school system and reserve system of colonial governance. Many Indigenous communities, scholars, artists and allies have shown how Canadian federal government agents and Christian missionaries enforced colonial laws oppressing Indigenous self-expression by banning potlatch ceremonies and ceremonial dances through the removal of objects such as masks from communities (Houle "Spiritual"; Jonaitis; Jungen *Brian Jungen*; Nanibush). Julia V. Emberley's work has shown how colonial visual methods of documenting and archiving

colonial interventions during this time was a central part of attempting to normalize white supremacy and interventions in the daily lives of Indigenous peoples (Emberley *Defamiliarizing*). While settler criminalization of Indigenous peoples' self-determination was a contested process, photographs of confiscated masks and other objects were understood by settlers to be evidence of success in the colonial settlement of Canada. Jonaitis describes the image shown on the following page, Figure 15, as: "Confiscated Kwakwaka'wakw potlatch regalia in Anglican Church Hall, Alert Bay 1922" and discusses the context of this visual documentation:

"The Indian agent who arrested the potlatchers and confiscated their regalia, William Halliday, had the items displayed at the parish hall, where they were inventoried by a teacher. Although the collection, now considered governmental property, was going to be sent to Ottawa, Halliday sold thirty-five of the finest pieces to George Heye, the collector who amassed the wealth of art currently at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. Many of the confiscated articles have since been repatriated to the Kwakwaka'wakw" (Jonaitis 225).



Accessed From Host on Mon Sep 22 16:20:01 2014

Title: Collection of masks; see PN12209 for a list of associated ...

Fig. 15. Image PN12189 courtesy of the Royal BC Museum, BC Archives.

Historical studies have demonstrated how European colonial domination has involved visual methods of representation, enacting hierarchical social relationships of privilege and marginalization, and establishing the Westphalian system of territorial sovereignty. These processes also dramatically impacted European social organization. In *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*, Timothy Brooks demonstrates how visual artwork and art history contribute insights to contemporary understandings of relationships between sovereignty, capitalism, and subject formation. Brooks analyzes the historical global economic, social, and political conditions within which Johannes Vermeer lived and worked. Taking Vermeer's "objects not as props but windows", such as a felt hat, porcelain fruit dish, and smoker's pipe in

the artist's paintings, Brooks demonstrates that Vermeer depicts how the everyday lives of people in the Netherlands were transformed through global economic relationships (184) during this era of European colonialism. While conventional approaches to understanding the historical European colonization of the Americas focus mainly on the role of technologies and economies, Brooks discusses how European modern artists' practices emerged through and transformed social relationships and subjectivities. In discussing Vermeer's painting *Officer and Laughing Girl* (1658), Brooks takes the officer's felt hat made from beaver fur as an entry point to understanding the global social dynamics of European fur traders and settlers' presence in the Americas. Brooks discusses European fur traders' dependence on Indigenous peoples' for survival in the Americas, how European consumers' desire for fur facilitated the expansion of the fur trade, and how this transformed gendered social relationships and institutional practices in Europe (26-53). Brooks' analysis of how the global conditions of the fur trade impacted European artistic production, social norms, and consumer desires problematizes approaches in IR that understand sovereignty and political economy as historically emerging in Europe and then expanding throughout the world. Brooks' method of analysis contributes to approaches that recognize how capitalist social relationships, the Westphalian sovereign state system, and the idea of sovereign subjectivity emerged through colonial encounters in the Americas, Africa and Asia (Alexander; Amin; Anghie; Buck-Morss; Césaire *Discourse*; P.C. Smith *Everything*; Dussel; Grovogui *Sovereigns*; Nanibush; Raheja *Reservation Reelism*; Said *Orientalism*; A. Smith, *Conquest*; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*; Wynter).

This Eurocentric conception of territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity has been contested theoretically, in global movements for political self-determination, in critical academic theories and in artistic communities. Critical approaches have shown how the Eurocentric understandings of these historical processes does not recognize how ideas and practices of capitalism and sovereignty emerged through colonial encounters. By not recognizing these social dynamics, Eurocentric approaches deny how territorial sovereignty, sovereign subjectivity and capitalist social relationships were produced through colonial violences experienced and resisted by Indigenous peoples. Further, Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism*, first published in French in 1955 and in English in 1972, demonstrates how colonial settler claims that colonialism is a benevolent "civilizing mission" attempts to normalize and justify the violences of colonialism. Focusing on the European colonization of Africa, Césaire emphasizes how processes of producing knowledge about black Africans as inferior to white Europeans was an essential part of attempting to justify white supremacy, enslavement of black people, Indigenous dispossession and colonial settlement of land, and exploitation of natural resources as an inevitable process of social and economic progress. One of the key legacies of postcolonial academic theorists has been the establishment of the interconnections between colonial academic knowledge production, the violence of colonial world ordering, and Indigenous peoples ongoing resistance to processes of institutionalizing white supremacy and colonial dispossession (Césaire *Discourse*; Fanon *Wretched*; Said *Orientalism*; Spivak "Can The Subaltern Speak?"; Wynter). In the context of Canadian settler colonial knowledge production about North West Coast Indigenous peoples, it is evident that visual methods of producing colonial knowledge

attempted to normalize the violence of colonial settlement and world ordering through Westphalian territorial sovereignty.

IR Critiques of Global Political Economies: Commodification, Primitive Accumulation, and Dispossession

Jungen's methods of production and exhibition that call attention to sleek exteriors and rugged interiors of the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures can be interpreted as an expression of decolonizing Eurocentric understandings of sovereignty and material conditions of capitalist commodification. In conversation with Robert Enright, Jungen talks about his conceptualization of the appearance of the interiors and exteriors of the *Prototype for New Understanding* in the process of taking apart the Nike Air Jordan sneakers and re-assembling them to make the sculptures: "I liked to use the same stitch holes when I re-assembled them, so they looked like they're massed produced... the other thing I wanted to show was an anterior/posterior relationship. I wanted people to see the layering on the inside" (Enright, "Tortoise" 24-25). In discussing how the *Prototype for New Understanding* are displayed, Jungen said:

"with the Nike 'mask' sculptures it is important that you are able to walk around them and see how they were disassembled and re-made: that you can see the shoes' original manufacturing labels that identify their place of manufacture, etc. I'm interested in privileging both the materials and the processes I employ. I'm preoccupied with the idea of exposing the interior, making visible what might otherwise remain obscured" (Jungen, *Secession* 28).

Many reviews of exhibitions of *Prototype for New Understanding* discuss how Jungen's stitching of the interior backings and exterior fronts of the sculptures draws attention to the divisions of labour that capitalist consumer cultures emerge through. A common aspect that is mentioned in many articles is Jungen's prominent display of the sneakers'

“Made in Indonesia” labels on the back of many *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures (Tousley). The visibility of detailed hand stitching on the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures, and close-up images in exhibition catalogues, is another feature that is discussed in many reviews. Many reviewers interpret these features to be exposing the global divisions of labour that produce commodities for corporate sports fashion consumer cultures, which exploits the manual labour of workers in the Global South and privileges the celebrity sponsors and design labour of workers in the Global North (Garneau). Further, some reviewers interpret the finished surfaces in contrast with the intricate hand-stitching to explicitly recognize the process of producing the sculptures themselves (Garneau). Further, in discussing Jungen’s *Court*, Trevor Smith says:

“Unlike photographer Jeff Wall’s backlit transparency *Outburst* (1989), which dramatizes a confrontation in a sweatshop that might take place in any large industrial city, Jungen’s *Court* merely provides a stage set, a set constructed of sewing-machine tables that foregrounds the gap between aspirational lifestyle and material realities. Jungen’s sculptures position viewers not as silent subjects of photography but as actors upon a stage... Jungen’s installation operates from a different perspective from the absorptive composition of Wall’s *Outburst*, whose protagonists enact their drama with no awareness of being observed. By absencing the literal representation of the body, Jungen subtly shifts the beholder from a position of observing a parallel universe to occupying a space of simultaneous awareness” (T. Smith, “Collapsing” 85).

In these ways the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures express how contemporary visual artwork offers insights to the global conditions of valuing and devaluing labour in capitalist consumer culture.

Further, seeing the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures as embodying the tensions of a borderline position between interiors and exteriors draws attention to how Jungen’s methods of producing the sculptures are expressions of self-determination in

world politics. Feminist methods that centralize the role of performativity as an embodied process offer insightful modes of theorizing the colonial social relationships produced through borders. Ursula Beimann's visual and written essay "Performing the Border" emphasizes how geopolitical boundaries operate as sites of materializing territorial boundaries and subjectivities in the passage of bodies through place (3). By weaving together written and visual depictions of bodies and borders Beimann shows that written texts should not be privileged over visual depictions as a way of communicating experiences and theoretical concepts. Further, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick discusses how performativity is never an isolated act but always an embodied materially productive process shaped by ongoing relationships of power. (Sedgwick 3). In this context, relationships of power are expressed through social patterns of normativity that determine which bodies and relationships are legitimate and which bodies and relationships are intelligible and imaginable. In relation to Beimann and Sedgwick's methods of theorizing the embodied performativity of boundaries, Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* express tensions between the hypervisibility of appropriated iconography and creative self-expression by Indigenous peoples in relation with unrecognized labour that makes these processes possible and attempts to deny Indigenous peoples' cultural resurgences and lands and waters reclamations.

Jungen's methods of producing and exhibiting the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures express ways of valuing labour and subjectivity beyond colonial capitalist understandings these experiences. Critical analyses of political economy that examine labour and subjectivity importantly focus on how relational experiences of marginalization and privilege are reproduced through the commodification

of labour. While contemporary visual artwork is not understood as a mode of political self-determination by conventional methods in IR, Jungen's creative methods of expressing insights into global divisions of labour, commodification in corporate sports culture and colonial appropriation of Indigenous cultures through contemporary visual artwork offer contributions to IR theories of commodification, primitive accumulation and dispossession.

IR critical theorists analyze how realist and liberal geopolitical imaginations of Westphalian sovereignty, military interventions, and international political institutions are interconnected processes that systematically produce a conceptual and material division between an internal domestic territory and population and an external foreign domain (Campbell; O' Tuathail and Agnew; Walker; Whitworth *Men*). In "The Westphalian Deferral" David Blaney and Naeem Inayatullah demonstrate how the logic of "the Westphalian Deferral" works to secure conceptions of sovereign state borders as static and domestic populations as homogenous and coherent, based on mutual recognitions between states "to contain difference within the state" (39). They argue this conception of sovereignty is characterized by territorial enclosure and containment of social difference that insists upon a denial of heterogeneity among peoples within the state (33). Blaney and Inayatullah suggest that, instead, by "facing, rather than deferring the problem of difference" it may become possible to understand how these processes emerge through and reproduce social hierarchies (57). Further, IR International Political Economy (IPE) historical materialist methods analyze the role of sovereign state institutions in global economic governance while also cautioning against reifying state-centric positivist worldviews (Cox *Production*; Cohen; Strange; Murphy and Tooze). Feminist IPE

methods analyzing the role of social reproduction in capitalist modes of production, citizenship, territorial sovereignty, global development policies, and global governance demonstrate how orthodox IPE has undertheorized the centrality of socially produced gendered norms in capitalist world ordering and global divisions of labour (Goetz; Peterson; Rai; Tickner). In these ways, critical IR theorists demonstrate how the dominant geopolitical imaginary and practice of world ordering divides territories and political communities into foreign and domestic groups, yet peoples' lived experiences of colonial capitalist conditions demonstrate that international power dynamics do not operate within the logics and territorial boundaries of Westphalian sovereignty alone.

As discussed in the previous chapter and throughout this chapter, settler colonial institutional visual methods express the desire for and power of possession through the collection, categorization and commodification of Indigenous artists' work and Indigenous peoples' ceremonial objects in museums and galleries. Marx's *Capital* begins with the statement that: "The wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails appears as an 'immense collection of commodities'" (125) and continues to say "In the form of society to be considered here they are also the material bearers... of... exchange-value (126). In *A Companion to Marx's Capital* David Harvey emphasizes that Marx's characterization of commodities as bearers is not the same as understating commodities as being inherently valuable (16). Rather, Marx's critique of economic philosophies and the conditions of capitalism examines how the labour of producing, circulating, and consuming commodities generates an economic system of valuation. Marx's critique of political economy analyzes the historical material conditions of capitalist commodification of labour itself and the products of labour. In the

context of analyzing the historical material conditions of colonial institutional visual methods in this project, I analyze how Jungen's *Prototype for New Understanding* contribute insights to the commodification of Indigenous artists' work through collections by museums, the labour of audiences participating in the visual consumption of exhibitions, and how these process contribute to the normalization of colonial dispossession of Indigenous peoples and Canadian settler claims to territorial sovereignty.

Critical theorists analyzing the global inequalities produced by neoliberalism identify dispossession as the central method of contemporary primitive accumulation (Butler and Athanasiou; Harvey *New Imperialism*; Roy *Capitalism*). Glen Coulthard's analysis of Indigenous peoples' experiences of dispossession by the Canadian state demonstrates the historical and ongoing colonial capitalist dimensions of these international processes:

“when related back to the primitive accumulation thesis, it appears that the history and experience of *dispossession*, not proletarianization, has been the dominant background structure shaping the character of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state” (Coulthard, “From” 62).

Focusing on how Indigenous peoples experience, resist and transgress colonial capitalist modes of world ordering, in *The New World Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization* Makere Stewart-Harawira examines the historical conditions “of indigenous peoples' relationships with the world order of nation states and the impact of the twin logics of accumulation and expansion on indigenous peoples” and how these historical processes inform contemporary world ordering (1). Further, in “Challenging Knowledge Capitalism: Indigenous Research in the 21st Century” Stewart-Harawira

demonstrates the role of the commodification of academic knowledge production in the present day world ordering through colonial capitalist accumulation and dispossession.

Stewart-Harawira says:

“Accompanying this redefinition of knowledge within the academy, without the academy has been an inexorable resurgence of the re-appropriation of Indigenous lands and identities, often through legislative measures which redefine Indigenous self-determination as economic development, remove environmental protections over lands and waterways, and reduce requirements to consult the traditional Indigenous landholders prior to initiating resource development activities on those lands” (42 – 43).

Situating academic knowledge production, visual artwork, institutional visual methods of display and corporate sports fashion products within these analyses of colonial capitalism, it becomes evident how Jungen’s sculptural and exhibition methods provide insights to understanding colonial commodification and dispossession as defining characteristic of contemporary international relations between Indigenous peoples, the Canadian state, and Canadian society.

In this context Jungen’s work raises critical questions about labour and subjectivity in conditions of settler colonialism and also articulates a global vision of social justice that cannot be contained within a Westphalian imaginary that segregates domestic and foreign affairs. Jungen’s selection, deconstruction, sculpting and exhibition of Nike Air Jordan sneakers engages with global colonial commodification in a way that unsettles the Westphalian imaginary expressed in Waltz’s three images and IR’s prevalent levels of analysis method, discussed in Chapter Two. Jungen’s materials, methods and vision of commodification expressed in *Prototype for New Understanding* demonstrate how the dominant mode of world ordering is a colonial capitalist process. In this instance

objectification occurs through manufacturing the desire to possess rarefied objects, whether through ethnographic museum displays or celebrity endorsed luxury athletic fashion items produced in exploitative working conditions. The exhibition method showing the interior hand stitching labour that makes the sleek exterior possible underscores hierarchical global divisions of colonial capitalist conditions. Further, Jungen's interviews and artist statements about the *Prototype for New Understanding* series discussed throughout this chapter demonstrate a commitment to a global vision of social justice linking together critiques of international political economy and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles.

In this context, visibility and culture remain central to Indigenous peoples' experiences, resistances and transgressions of colonial visual appropriation and dispossession in the condition of Canadian settler colonialism and Westphalian world ordering. In "Circulating Aboriginality" Charlotte Townsend-Gault discusses colonial commodification and visual methods of circulating artwork produced by Indigenous peoples on the North West Coast for tourist economies and public institutions such as universities. Townsend-Gault analyzes how colonial visual methods appropriate and circulate objects, images and cultural practices by Indigenous peoples in ways that are central to colonial settler nationalisms and self-knowledge of consumer subjects. Drawing on Frantz Fanon and Homi Bhabha's theorizations of visibility and colonial violence, Townsend-Gault argues that colonial appropriation and circulation of Indigenous cultural production operates as a process of "wallpapering the habitus" that privileges settler societies and normalizes processes of dispossession and marginalization of Indigenous peoples (189 – 192). Townsend-Gault says:

“The post-contact history of what is now British Columbia, Canada’s westernmost province and most of it on unceded native land, is threaded through with policies to control and assimilate native people. A pervasive consequence has been the tendency to make aboriginal cultural production a remote spectacle, typically referred to as Northwest Coast ‘art’. The point I shall try to make here is that on the Northwest Coast unassimilated aboriginality is now in vigorous circulation, less remote, more ubiquitous, more accessible, than ever before (185).

Townsend-Gault argues that this appropriation and commodification of cultural production by Indigenous peoples in tourist economies and colonial nationalist imaginaries works to “hide contemporary political struggles over land, sovereignty, or rights and deflect attention away from colonial violence in the past” (Townsend-Gault 189). In this way, Townsend-Gault importantly shows how settler tourist economies operate for colonial audiences within the state and transnationally.

Contemporary global tourist economies have been analyzed as sites of colonial appropriation (Kaplan; MacCannell; Mahrouse; Pratt; V. L. Smith). These ongoing colonial dynamics were expressed in the mass media coverage of the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games. While corporate media coverage continues to declare the 2010 Games “a success” and 200 members of the Vancouver Olympic Committee members were hired for the London 2012 Summer Olympic Games (Saunders), many critical interventions before, during and after the Vancouver 2010 Games protested the harmful power dynamics reproduced in the planning and hosting of the Olympics. Many Vancouver-based artists made public statements, produced public installations and curated exhibits to protest corporate profits subsidized by provincial and municipal resources, real estate developments that would benefit local elites and to draw attention to ongoing environmental justice initiatives and recognitions of Indigenous self-determination (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation “Vancouver”; Ingram; Whyte). While

the Canadian state and corporate media coverage emphasized the participation of the Four Host First Nations officially participating in the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games (Canada's Games), alternative and online social media focused on networks such as No Olympics on Stolen Land (No One is Illegal).

Media coverage of totem poles, clothing and dance performances by the Four Host Nations - Lil'Wat, Musqueam, Squamish, Tsleil-Waututh – and other Indigenous groups represented during at the Opening Ceremonies on February 12, 2012 is a salient example of how “wallpapering” may work to obscure colonial relations of power. The opening ceremony is produced as a welcoming ritual by the host nation for an international audience. While the ceremony recognized representatives of the Four Host Nations and Indigenous groups from across Canada, the event was structured to centralize Canada as a the host nation (including the raising of the Canadian flag by members of the Canadian Forces and presence of RCMP officers). The incorporation of Indigenous iconography and cultural practices in this event organized for international mass media distribution must be understood in relation to mass media inattention to resistance to the Olympics. Mobilizations of networks of people worked in solidarity to address Indigenous peoples' experiences of dispossession, environmental injustice and economic displacement in advance of promotional campaigns, developments of athlete's villages and spaces for athletic competition. Many activists working in relation with the No Olympics on Stolen Land movement emphasized the ways in which these effects of the Olympics Game were connected with broader anti-colonial efforts to seek justice in Indigenous peoples' experiences of sexual violence, economic inequalities, police violence, environmental injustice and territorial displacement in Coast Salish Territories.

In this context, Jungen's methods of engaging with institutions as social relationships and in working with corporate athletic commodities as source material in producing the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures offer expressions of visual self-determination. Michelle Raheja's concept of visual sovereignty calls for recognition of the role of visibility in Native American struggles for self-determination in governance, treaty rights and land reclamations. In her book *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty and Representations of Native Americans in Film* she says visibility:

“is a germinal and exciting site for exploring how sovereignty can be a creative act of self-representation that has the potential to both undermine stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and to strengthen what Robert Allen Warrior terms the ‘intellectual health’ of communities in the wake of genocide and colonialism” (194).

The *Prototype for New Understanding* series can be understood as a powerful intervention in deconstructing the hypervisibility and commodification of Indigenous iconography and ongoing marginalization of Indigenous peoples. The tension between hypervisibility and marginalization of Indigenous peoples in colonial settler societies is a key site of contestation for many Indigenous artists, cultural critics and theorists. In speaking about his work Jungen says:

“I like to think of my work as a relationship between the accepted idea of a traditional form and the embracing of a very contemporary material. I don't think such relationships create a disruptive or discordant presence, but rather expand parameters and blur some social boundaries. To bring up the natural world again, this is where hybridity often produces endless and harmonious varieties” (Jungen quoted in Starling 134 - 135).

In these ways, Jungen's methods of producing *Prototype for New Understanding* offer an important intervention in decolonizing modes of recognition that conventionally privilege Westphalian sovereignty and instead work towards affirmations of ongoing Indigenous self-determination in world politics.

Indigenous Self-Determination and Contemporary Artwork

In “Tortoise and the Air”, when Robert Enright asks Jungen how the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures offer a critique of capitalist consumer culture, Jungen discusses how his work in producing *Prototype for New Understanding* addresses connections between contemporary consumer culture and art market economies. Jungen says: “When I started – I was 28 at the time – the only reason I could afford to buy Air Jordans was because I had funding from grants, so a lot of it was about economies and commodities and finding parallels between the two different markets” (Enright, “Tortoise” 23). Jungen’s comments show his attention to how the commodification of arts communities in which he produced his sculptures exist in relation with corporate athletic fashion industries in global capitalist consumer culture. Jungen’s analysis calls attention to how commodification of the international art world and consumer culture are situated within a colonial global colonial capitalist economy where divisions of labour, wealth and social status benefit very few people at the expense of many.

In this context, recalling Terry Smith’s analysis of contemporary art discussed in the Introduction, Jungen’s work as a contemporary artist demonstrates how visual knowledge production in this contemporary moment of world ordering has emerged through historical processes of colonial capitalist dispossession, commodification, and ethnographic representation experienced by Indigenous peoples and produced for settler subjects. Jungen’s production of the *Prototype for New Understanding* sculptures during the late 1990s and early 2000s occurred during a time of work by Indigenous artists, curators and scholars decolonizing arts administration and also engaged with critical conversation about the role of contemporary artwork in public discourse. Christopher

Bedford's *Artforum* review of Jungen's *Strange Comfort* exhibition at NMAI in 2010 discusses how criticality functions in Jungen's work, saying:

“The endgame for Jungen is not simply critique. Critique is implicit in the work, of course, but it is the consistently propositional quality of his sculpture that defines his practice, and those propositions more often than not articulate a commitment to finding new possibilities for native expression in, quite literally, the fabric of contemporary culture.... Jungen's ongoing propositional address: It is the site for a ritual yet to exist” (202).

In interviews discussing the production of the *Prototype for New Understanding* and other works made during that time Jungen often emphasized how breaking down and reassembling everyday objects is an important part of his methods of producing sculptures. By rending source material from recognizable mundane and iconic consumer goods, Jungen invites audiences to conceptually break down how we experience and participate in colonial capitalist visual methods of knowledge production about Indigenous peoples and artwork produced by Indigenous peoples.

“I experiment until I can find a way I can manipulate them [the source material] or take advantage of their iconography without completely changing them. I like the fact that people can still recognize what the source material is” (National Gallery of Canada *Brian Jungen*).

In rendering sculptures that reconfigure institutional methods of display, conventional images, and ways of seeing the materials that constitute the colonial capitalist global economy in our everyday lives, Jungen's methods express frameworks for seeing the colonial capitalist dimensions of relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers and invites viewers to decolonize ways of seeing and imagining.

During the 1980s and 1990s Indigenous artists, curators, arts administrators, and scholars organized networks and created projects to transform Canadian colonial

institutional underrepresentation, ethnographic representation, and commodification of Indigenous contemporary artists' work. These interventions emerged from ongoing conversations among Indigenous arts communities analyzing how institutional mandates of collection acquisition and exhibition methods privilege Eurocentric art history and settler culture. Lee-Ann Martin's report "The Politics of Inclusion and Exclusion: Contemporary Native Art and Public Museums in Canada" documented and analysed the systemic factors which both marginalize and assimilate the work of contemporary Indigenous artists in Canadian public art museums through collections acquisitions, exhibitions methods, and institutional distributions of resources among arts administrators and Native communities. Martin's report, produced with funding from The Canada Council and published in 1991, identifies how processes of colonial inclusion and exclusion work as interconnected methods of marginalizing the work of Native contemporary artists in Canadian institutions. As Martin states: "Practices of exclusion, tokenism and marginalization not only deny the dynamic realities of Native cultural and artistic history but also affirm the imbalance in the power structure that is the history of all colonized nations" (19). Specifically, she emphasizes how institutional resistance to *contemporary* artwork by Native artists emerges through the commonly held racist colonial belief that authentic Native cultures exist only in the past. Martin says:

"Art curators and academics strongly resist the notion of contemporary expressions of historic and contemporary realities and changing values by Native artists. Experimenting with diverse media, these artists are creating new traditions, consistent with the dynamics of living cultures everywhere. Largely political in nature, their works are informed by the artists' personal history, aesthetic traditions, and invariably, their interpretation and critique of aboriginal peoples' position within the dominant societal framework. Often, mainstream institutions have difficulty in accepting the overtly political content of this work and the racism which it addresses" (30).

Martin concludes that institutional accountability and resource distribution needs to be decolonized by working with the self-identified priorities of Native communities and artists. In this context, Martin emphasizes how Canadian arts administrators need to enact affirmative action policies to transform the hierarchical conditions within which colonial arts discourses operate in public art museums (32).

Martin's report also spoke to global conversations at the time among arts, academic and activists communities that were analyzing and mobilizing to transform the racialized, gendered, and economic dimensions of self-representation in colonial conditions. Throughout the 1980s to the present, critical conversations have called attention to how the neoliberal ideology and policies of privatization, cut backs to resources in public institutions, and emphasis on individual achievement further intensify how people of colour and Indigenous peoples experience colonial conditions (Bagg and Jessup; Ferguson, Gever, Trinh, West, and González-Torres; Gómez-Peña *New World*; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*). Collaborative projects between Canadian institutions and Indigenous artists, curators, scholars, and community-based organizations have worked to identify key priorities, establish decision-making processes, and enact change in institutional collections acquisitions, exhibition methods, educational mandates, and repatriation of ceremonial objects and human remains to Indigenous nations (R.W. Hill *Meeting Ground*; LaDuke; Task Force on Museums and First Peoples). In the context of the Kanien'kehaka resistance at Kanehsatà:ke in 1990 (named "The Oka Crisis" by Canadian media) and the Columbus quincentenary in 1992, performances and exhibitions of contemporary artwork as well as catalogues with essays written by Indigenous and non-Indigenous curators and artists engaging with the five hundred year legacy of

colonialism, possibilities for enacting decolonization and ongoing Indigenous self-determination (Fusco and Gómez-Peña; Houle, Nemiroff, and Townsend-Gault; Martin and McMaster).

Further, from the 1970s to the present, in conditions of neoliberal funding cutbacks to public institutions such as public art museums and with the emergence of Indigenous, people of colour, feminist, and queer social movements' reclamations of self-representation, artist-run centres in Canada became a key site in processes of challenging social hierarchies and claiming autonomous spaces of community-building, work, and imagination. The specific visions articulated in individual contemporary artists' projects exhibited at artist-run centres sustained by collaborative networks have created new communities of knowledge production through artwork and about the role of artwork in Canadian society. Lee-Ann Martin has analyzed how the establishment of Indigenous artist-run centres in Canada in the 1980s emerged in relation with transformations in strategies of Indigenous political activism, engaging with transnational solidarity for Indigenous self-determination and creating autonomous community-based organizations (Martin, "Contemporary" 383 – 387). Communities facilitated by artist-run centres embody a shift in institutional accountability, emerging through the historical hierarchical dynamics of Canadian public arts institutions' relationships with many underrepresented communities, including colonial hierarchical relationships with Indigenous communities. In this way, Indigenous contemporary artists and curators' work, exhibition methods, and organizations of networks demonstrate how contemporary artwork imagines, articulates a vision of, and embodies communities of Indigenous self-determination that transgresses

colonial political categorizations and art museums' restrictive methods of ethnographic collection and exhibition.

In all of this work, Indigenous artists, curators, and scholars emphasize how struggles over self-representation through contemporary visual artwork in arts institutions are inextricable from self-determination struggles of Indigenous nations to maintain relationships with traditional lands and waterways. In Nancy Marie Mithlo's "Guest Editor Introduction: Curatorial Practice and Native North American Art" in the Spring 2012 edition of *Wicazo Sa Review*, she discusses the analytical framework of her inquiry into how Indigenous curators experience and transform systemic colonialism in arts institutions in relation with international political self-determination struggles. Mithlo states: "My analysis of 'post-Indian' curatorial themes seek to highlight the utility of American Indian Curatorial Practice as a means of reclaiming cultural traditions, asserting sovereignty, and embracing land-based philosophies" (9). In these ways, Indigenous artists' self-representation is an expression of self-determination that unsettles colonial capitalist social hierarchies, visual knowledge production, and modes of world ordering by territorial sovereignty. In *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-creation, Resurgence and a New Emergence* Leanne Simpson says:

"In the space of the modern empire, society is a culture of *absence* because consumer culture requires both absence and wanting things in order to perpetuate itself. Without wanting, consumer culture simply cannot exist. In terms of representation, modern society primarily *looks* for meaning (in books, computers, art), whereas Indigenous cultures understand and generate meaning through engagement, presence and process – storytelling, ceremony, singing, dancing, doing. The re-creation story of dancing on our turtle's back means that creation requires presence, innovation and emergence" (92 – 93).

Simpson's emphasis on the colonial capitalist dependency on absence and the role of Indigenous presence in cultural resurgences and land reclamations speaks to Jungen's methods of production and themes in recent projects such as the 2012 film installation *Modest Livelihood* made in collaboration with Duane Linklater for *dOCUMENTA (13)*.

According to the artists' statement for the 2014 screening of the film at the Art Gallery of Ontario, the title *Modest Livelihood* "alludes to a Canadian Supreme Court ruling in 1999, which validates First Nations hunting and fishing rights for a 'moderate livelihood' but not in order to accumulate wealth" (Jungen and Linklater). The silent fifty minute film follows Jungen and Linklater with Jungen's Uncle Jack Askoty, an elder of the Doig River First Nation, as they go hunting on Dane-zaa land in Treaty 8 territory in Northeastern British Columbia. At the *Meet the Artists: Brian Jungen and Duane Linklater* event at the Art Gallery of Ontario Linklater discussed how their naming of the film *Moderate Livelihood* engages with relationships between the Supreme Court of Canada *R. v Marshall* (1999) ruling on Aboriginal Rights to hunting, colonial capitalist processes of commodification and dispossession, and Indigenous peoples' relationships with land. Linklater says:

"The original Supreme Court Marshall ruling was a *moderate* livelihood. I thought this was a very interesting idea. I thought it was a very interesting choice of words buried within this, this ruling. I thought it was very interesting that it placed a sort of a *ceiling* on First Nations people, in terms of the amount of *wealth* one First Nations person can accumulate. I thought it was a very very interesting thing to um to *do*, for the state to do. Whereas of course within a system of capitalism wealth can be indefinitely accumulated by anybody *but* for First Nations there has to be some kind of ceiling. Some kind of limitation placed on the *amount* of wealth that one First Nations person can *produce* in relation to that person's, in relation to the *land* and the resources that are actually ours. I thought that this was obviously really super

problematic, right? ‘Moderate Livelihood’. So Brian and I thought that this is an interesting term for us and for the film. But we thought, ‘Well, I don’t know about moderate’. I think it was Brian that proposed the word modest. That *shift* from moderate to modest I think is important” (Linklater).

In these ways Jungen’s current work engages with the intersections of contemporary visual artwork, colonial capitalist global political economies of commodification and dispossession, and Indigenous peoples self-determination through lands and waterways reclamations. The work of Indigenous contemporary visual artists engaging with Canadian settler colonial sovereignty and Indigenous self-determination joins global struggles for social justice through decolonizing collective imaginations, reclaiming methods of self-representation, and creating communities of knowledge production through artwork. Recalling Anaya’s discussion of how Indigenous self-determination is about the creation of new communities, modes of governance, and processes of making political claims, in these ways the work of Indigenous contemporary visual artists, curators, scholars, arts administrators, community leaders and activists creates new ways of seeing, understanding, and imagining international relations.

Chapter Five. Remembering Traumas of Canadian Settler Colonialism in Rebecca Belmore's Performance Artwork Installation *The Named and the Unnamed*

“Performance is about presence, not about representation; it is not (as classical theories of theatre would suggest) a mirror, but the actual moment in which the mirror is shattered” Guillermo Gómez-Peña in *Dangerous Border Crossers: The Artist Talks Back* (9).

“*Robert Enright*: Are you optimistic that making art makes a difference?
Rebecca Belmore: That’s a tough question. I fluctuate between thinking it’s a good thing and thinking it’s useless. Or about people thinking it’s useless. In the end, our society is so full of barriers and borders that I think as an artist and as an Aboriginal person I have found a way to be as free as I can possibly be. For me, art is freedom: to speak and to think and to question”. Robert Enright and Rebecca Belmore in “The Poetics of History: An Interview with Rebecca Belmore” in *Border Crossings* (Enright 66)

Performance artwork foregrounds the social condition of embodiment by engaging with the artist’s body as the medium of creative self-expression. Performance artwork engaging with colonial conditions foregrounds the performing body as a key site of contestation in colonial encounters and as a site of articulating decolonial imaginaries. In social conditions of colonial power relations, embodiment is a crucial site of political struggle and making political claims. In this context, performance is understood as being practiced in everyday gestures and aesthetic strategies of self-expression in performance artwork. Drawing from Performance Studies methods, I focus on the material conditions of Rebecca Belmore’s performance artwork and how knowledge production about performance is a process of social reproduction through collective memory. The formation of Performance Studies as an academic discipline, as a process of strengthening collective analysis and scholarly engagement with performance artwork,

emerged in distinction from Theatre Studies textual methodologies of interpreting authorial meaning. Performance artist and theorist Guillermo Gómez-Peña vividly describes how performance artwork and Performance Studies methods disrupt the idea of art as representation by foregrounding artwork as embodied presence, in saying: “performance is about presence, not about representation; it is not (as classical theories of theatre would suggest) a mirror, but the actual moment in which the mirror is shattered” (*Dangerous* 9). In this way, performance artwork and Performance Studies disrupt academic knowledge production that privileges the objectification of artwork, artists, and audiences.

In this chapter I analyze Rebecca Belmore’s performance-installation *The Named and the Unnamed*. I analyze how Belmore’s project and work as a contemporary artist contributes to IR theories of power, violence, and agency by discussing how Belmore’s performance artwork and the exhibition of her filmed performance is a method of naming Canadian settler colonial violence as a political power relationship in world politics. I discuss how Performance Studies scholar Diana Taylor’s method of analyzing performance art as ‘scenarios’ of enacting archetypal human experiences offers a productive entry point to understanding how Belmore’s performance and exhibition name power and express agency in international relations. Taylor’s scenario method engages simultaneously with the material conditions of performance and embodied presence in creative self-expression (Taylor 53 – 78). I analyze how Belmore’s installation projection of a film of her performance *Vigil* in the exhibition *The Named and the Unnamed* is a scenario of naming sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women as an expression of Canadian settler colonial power and also shows how artwork can be a method of

stretching how we imagine agency in IR. Conventional IR methods of theorizing agency imagine an abstract individual subject as the agent of change in the international system of sovereign states. Further, the discipline of Political Science specializes in theorizing power. Analyzing Belmore's performance artwork as a scenario of naming Indigenous women and girls' systemic experiences of sexual violence as Canadian settler colonial power can be an entry point to understanding the conditions of the undertheorization of settler colonialism in IR, how IR theories circumscribe agency, and understanding how contemporary artwork is an enactment of agency in international politics.

Rebecca Belmore's The Named and the Unnamed at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery

The Named and the Unnamed exhibited Rebecca Belmore's artwork at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver from October 4 to December 1, 2002. The exhibition was co-curated by Charlotte Townsend-Gault and Scott Watson and featured the installations *Blood on the snow*, *The Great Water*, *The Named and the Unnamed* and *State of Grace*. I focus here on analyzing how Belmore's work as a contemporary artist is an enactment of agency in international politics by focusing on the aspects of the exhibition that engage with Indigenous peoples' experiences of the violence of settler colonialism and in particular Indigenous women's experiences of sexual violence in *The Named and the Unnamed* performance-installation. Townsend-Gault has said: "The Named and the Unnamed [exhibition] consists of a sequence of tableaux which picture violation" (Townsend-Gault, *Named* 9). In order to analyze how this work expresses insights to agency in international power relationships, I analyze how Belmore's exhibition and conversations about her performance artwork engage with the politics of naming and visualizing Indigenous peoples' experiences of

the violence, trauma, remembrance, and healing from historical and ongoing conditions of Canadian settler colonialism. I then analyze these dynamics as processes of international relations by focusing on Belmore's location of the exhibition, the reversal of archetypal visual coding of redness and whiteness in the Canadian settler colonial imaginary in *Blood on the snow*, and the projection of the visual documentation of Belmore's performance *Vigil* as the performance-installation *The Named and the Unnamed*. These aspects of the exhibition foreground how Belmore's artwork calls attention to the social condition of embodiment and the relational production of memory and subjectivities between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers as collective processes of international relations.

The exhibition of *The Named and the Unnamed* at The Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery is significant in the context of the gallery's location, the gallery's mandate, and the collaboration between Belmore and co-curators Townsend-Gault and Watson. The location of the gallery on the UBC campus is in close proximity to the Indigenous community-based organizations and women's community-based organizations where, for decades, communities have been calling for action on the disappearances and murders of women in downtown Eastside community. As I will discuss further, Belmore's performance *Vigil* in the downtown Eastside community is a powerful remembrance of the women who have been murdered and are missing from these communities and joins the communities' calls to action. Understanding the role of Belmore's collaboration with co-curators Townsend-Gault and Watson is crucial to situating Belmore's performance artwork and exhibitions in the context of international relations. Townsend-Gault is a Professor in Art History at UBC and curator of many exhibitions including co-curating

Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada with Robert Houle and Diana Nemiroff. Watson is currently Director/Curator of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, a Professor in the Department of Art History, Visual Art and Theory at UBC, and Director of the Critical Curatorial Studies Program at UBC. In an interview with Megan McIsaac in 2010 for *FUSE Magazine*, “Negotiating International Representation”, Watson discussed his work as Director/Curator of the Gallery:

“My attitude towards contemporary Aboriginal art is not to isolate it as a category. The mandate of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery is contemporary international art. So a contemporary Aboriginal artist is an international contemporary artist in my view” (32).

Townsend-Gault and Watson both have extensive experience and explicit commitments to unsettling colonial knowledge production about Indigenous artists’ work by foregrounding their curatorial work and scholarship in an international context (Townsend-Gault “Sea-Lion”; Townsend-Gault “World Art”; Townsend-Gault “Circulating”; Townsend-Gault “Kinds”; Watson “Whose”; Watson “Race”). Further, Belmore’s published conversations with curators, journalists, and scholars discussed throughout this chapter offer insights to understanding her performances and installations as scenarios of naming international power that engage many artistic, academic, and activist communities of knowledge production. In these ways, the location of the exhibitions at the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery on the UBC campus in Vancouver situates Belmore’s exhibition in relation with many communities of activism, scholarship, and artwork in an international context. The exhibition collaboration between Belmore, Townsend-Gault, and Watson in this location disrupts the conceptual division of communities and specialization of knowledge production by demonstrating how artistic practices, art theory, and the social conditions of political action are interconnected

communities of analyzing and transforming power relationships across university campuses, community-based organizations, and art gallery spaces.

In an interview with Lee-Ann Martin in Spring 2012 in *Canadian Art*, Belmore discusses how making artwork can be an act of naming the conditions of colonialism in the context of historical and ongoing silencing of Indigenous peoples' experiences of genocide and Indigenous women and girls' experiences of sexual violence in Canada:

“In *Blood on the snow*, a chair sits blanketed in the soft expanse of a white quilted cover that is slightly disturbed by a blood-coloured stain at the top of the chair's back. I was seeking to make a visual silence, imagining the snow that fell and gently covered the massacre at Wounded Knee. I made this sculpture the year that serial killer Robert Pickton was finally charged with murdering so many women. For me, it asks if it is finally possible to remove the blanket of snow and release the deafening silence” (Belmore quoted in L.A. Martin, “Out” 81).

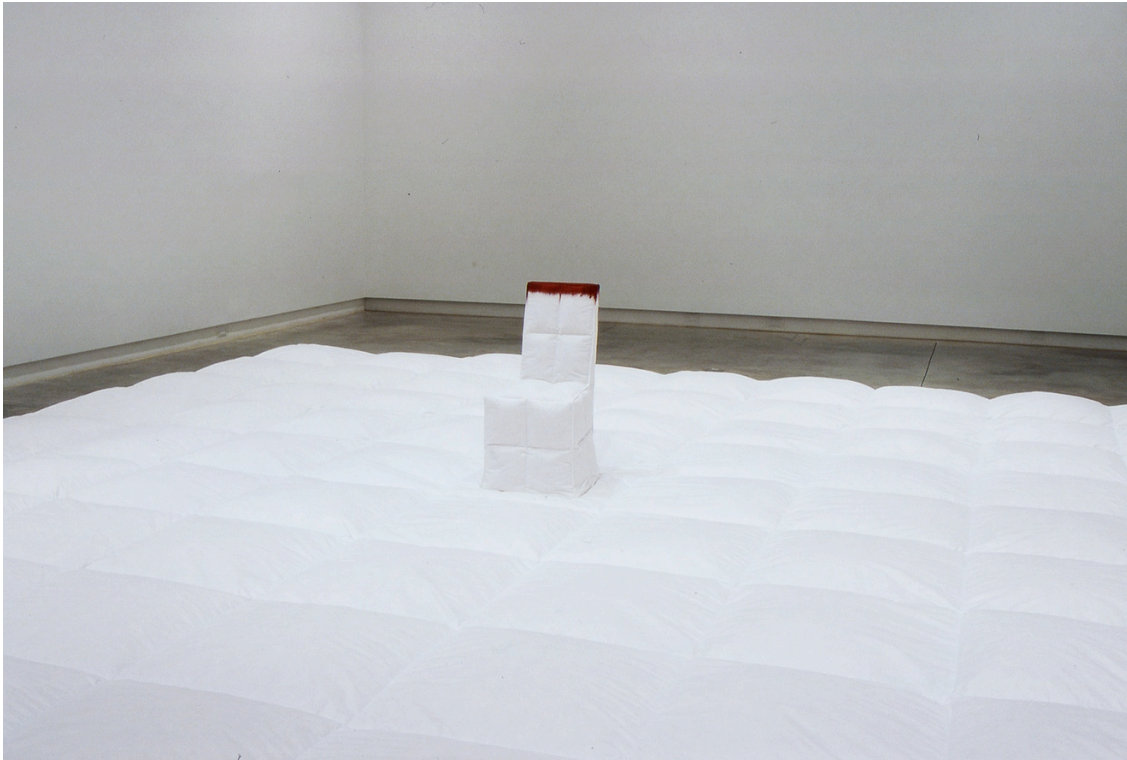


Fig. 16. Rebecca Belmore. *Blood on the snow*, 2002. Installation view, *Rebecca Belmore*, 4 October – 1 December 2002, Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia. Photo: James Luna.

Belmore's visual unsettling of the Canadian colonial imaginary of redness and whiteness is a powerful entry point to calling attention to the silencing surrounding the systemic conditions of murder, disappearance, and sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls as genocide. Redness and whiteness play distinct and interconnected roles in the Canadian national imaginary. The colour-coded iconography of the red maple leaf, the RCMP red serge (uniform jacket), pure white snow, barren white Arctic landscapes, along with the red and white National Flag of Canada are only a few examples of redness and whiteness engrained in the Canadian settler national imaginary. Whether codified in specific objects such as the single maple leaf on the nation's flag or open-ended ideas like 'The Great White North', redness and whiteness provide visual material for scenarios of settler imagination and identification with national values of goodness, moral purity, and innocence founded on 'empty lands' (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi; Mackey). Belmore's installation and conversations about *Blood on the snow* enacts a reversal of these common associations of whiteness with goodness, purity, and innocence and the active erasure of Indigenous peoples' presence and agency from Canadian history and the current Canadian national imaginary. Belmore's description of the white cover as a suffocating blanket of silence and placement of a blood-red stain at the centre of the piece enacts the presence of Indigenous peoples' experiences of genocide and anger about colonial silencing. Belmore's unsettling of colonial colour-coding in the installation, in the context of the other exhibition pieces and of her discussion of the historical act of genocide by the USA military against the Lakota people at Wounded Knee on December 29 1890 and the recent conviction of serial killer and rapist Robert Pickton, contests the erasure of colonial encounters in the historical

foundation of settler states in North America. Belmore's project calls attention to how this is not simply a passive process of forgetting but an active process of constituting Canadian nationalism and claims to territorial sovereignty on Indigenous lands and waterways. Belmore decolonizes myths of Canadian and USA histories and nationalisms by calling attention to how the genocide of Indigenous peoples was central to the historical formation of these states and the silencing of systemic violence experienced, resisted, and survived by Indigenous peoples continues to permeate present day relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples. Further, as Belmore says in the conversation quoted above, "*Blood on the snow*... asks if it is finally possible to remove the blanket of snow and release the deafening silence" (L.A. Martin, *Out* 81). As I discuss in my analysis of *Vigil* and *The Named and the Unnamed*, Belmore's performance artwork and installations engage with painful and disturbing histories, experiences, and ongoing social conditions in a way that invite audiences to engage and question the worlds around us and how we imagine ourselves in them. As the title of Townsend-Gault's essay for the exhibition catalogue asks: "Have We Ever Been Good?" (9).

As discussed in the Introduction, Smith characterizes contemporary art as an expression of the artist's view of how historical forces of colonization, decolonization, and globalization condition contemporaneity and how these expressions demonstrate the role of artwork and art history in understanding these social dynamics and our places within them. Belmore's reversal of archetypal visual coding of redness and whiteness calls attention to the violence of Canadian settler colonialism as a mode of world ordering, questions the pervasive public silence about sexual violence and genocide

experienced by Indigenous peoples, demonstrates how visibility plays a key role in settler colonial nationalism, and shows how contemporary artwork can be a transformative practice of decolonizing visibility. In the exhibition catalogue for *The World Upside Down*, Richard William Hill discusses artistic practices of inverting hegemonic visual binaries to problematize hierarchical modes of world ordering and everyday relationships. Discussing inversion in the context of *The World Upside Down* exhibit Hill says:

“As an artistic strategy, inversion has the potential to illuminate and challenge the visual conventions that police social hierarchies. When power relations are turned on their head we have the opportunity to suddenly see that some behaviours we take to be natural and necessary are merely conventional – and perhaps not in our interest. In short, they create the opportunity to imagine things as otherwise. Unlike many of their earlier counterparts, the contemporary artists in this exhibition often use a perceived inversion to call a particular distinction into question, suggest a notion of difference that is not absolute and antipodal. A Cree person is not the opposite of a European person any more than a man is the opposite of a woman. These works of art contain inversions designed so that as they flip they break apart rather than remain in their orbit” (56 – 57).

Hill demonstrates how contemporary artists’ strategies of inverting colonial visual binaries transgress collective imaginaries and practices of hierarchical world ordering when oppositional, hierarchical categorization itself is seen to be a method of oppression and the artwork strengthens our abilities to “imagine otherwise” (57). In this way, Belmore’s visual inversion of archetypal references to redness and whiteness in the Canadian settler imagination, with *Blood on the snow*, demonstrates how contemporary visual artwork can call attention to how the violences of settler colonialism are normalized through the silencing of Indigenous peoples’ experiences. The artist’s work expresses agency in this context by showing how contemporary artwork can possibly be a

method of decolonization that enacts transformations in international relations between non-Indigenous and Indigenous peoples.

Belmore's performances and her conversations about her artwork offer powerful interventions in the routine silencing, marginalization, and selective visibility of colonial framings of Indigenous peoples' experiences and political struggles in Canadian and global mass media. Reflecting on the making of her project *Ayum-ee-aa wach oomama-mowan: Speaking to Their Mother* in the context of the injustice of Canadian media representations of the Mohawk people during the events of 1990 known as "The Oka Crisis", Belmore reflects on how these international conditions shaped her political consciousness and artistic practice:

"This image of 'angry Indians' seemed to take hold of the imagination and saturate the minds of the Canadian public. I felt the sting of this anger and frustration. Now I can see myself as that younger artist who needed to temper the personal turmoil she felt because of what had gone down and to recognize that the political landscape in the country had shifted for Aboriginal people" (Augaitis and Belmore, 42)

Belmore's discussion of how mass media representations distort Indigenous peoples' experiences in conditions of Canadian settler colonialism affects many sites of political struggle and speaks directly to the priorities identified by communities and families seeking justice for missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls. Indigenous women's community based-organizations and the families of missing Indigenous women and girls have consistently stated that a key priority in their calls to action is for media and elected political officials to end the pervasive public silence, police and RCMP inaction, and under-reporting in the media on the cases of their missing loved ones. The Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC)'s "Voices of Our Sisters In Spirit: A Report to Families and Communities Report", "The Highway of Tears Symposium

Recommendation Report: A Collective Voice for the Victims Who Have Been Silenced” and the Amnesty International report “Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada”, all produced in collaboration with the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, each discuss the role the media needs to play in calling attention to how Indigenous women and girls disproportionately experience sexual violence and the need to discuss the everyday conditions that make Indigenous women and girls vulnerable to this systemic violence. The analysis of these documentations of families and communities’ concerns also demonstrate how police, media, and medical institutions’ criminalization and social stigmatization further marginalizes communities and individuals struggling with mental health and addiction and women involved in sex work. In this context, communities identify resource priorities including access to affordable housing, public transportation, child care, employment and health services that respect and affirm the specific needs of Indigenous women and girls (Amnesty International; Lheidli T’enneh First Nation, Carrier Sekani Family Services, Carrier Sekani Tribal Council, Prince George Native Friendship Center, Prince George Nechako Aboriginal Employment & Training Association; Native Women’s Association of Canada *Voices*). These priorities would transform the current media silence and selective reporting of violence as isolated or exceptional incidents, such as the media coverage of Robert Pickton as a lone serial killer, at the expense of examining decades of RCMP/Vancouver police inaction on family and community reports of missing women and girls in Vancouver as well as the colonial social conditions that make Indigenous women and girls particularly vulnerable to sexual violence. Academic, activist, and arts communities working in solidarity with

Vancouver's downtown Eastside community consistently emphasize the need to decolonize visual media representations that stigmatize the community's residents (England). While routine news media silence and selective representation work to reproduce the Canadian settler belief that state institutions uphold "peace, order and good government" as stated in the Canadian Constitution, Indigenous women's community-based organizations and scholarly analyses demonstrate how systemic sexual violence and murder of Indigenous women in Canada is a genocidal condition of colonial patriarchy and white supremacy.

The Great Water addresses the silenced and untold historical relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers through the contact of colonial encounters and the settlement of Canada. The installation features a canoe, resting on its side on the gallery floor, draped in a black canvas. Depending on where a person stands in the gallery in relation to the piece, it could appear to be a body covered in a black tarp. Townsend-Gault discusses how settler colonial appropriation of Indigenous peoples' knowledge and technologies was foundational to the Canadian settlement process and how *The Great Water* unsettles the Canadian colonial myth of settlers' survival in harsh environment simply through self-sufficiency or divine will. Rather, *The Named and the Unnamed* exhibition raises questions about how the foundation of the Canadian state and present day Canadian settler colonialism are dependent on the violence of dispossession of Indigenous peoples' from traditional lands and waters, the forced assimilation of Indigenous peoples and sexual violence against Indigenous women and girls. Discussing *The Great Water*, Townsend-Gault says:

“The idea of Canada is constructed, amongst a few other things, by the history and cultural illusions of the canoe. But it was constructed in a quite literal sense by the exploration, trade and settlement that this native innovation made possible. This was an invasion that swamped and capsized the canoe (35)... the historical and cultural allusions of this capsized black canoe are arrested and extended by the black integument of the canvas (Townsend-Gault, *Named* 40).



Fig. 17. Rebecca Belmore. *The Great Water*, 2002. Installation view, *Rebecca Belmore*, 4 October – 1 December 2002. Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia. Photo: James Luna.

Belmore’s artwork engages with historical relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers in Canada not to retrieve a pure, authentic version of past events. Rather Belmore’s artwork opens up conversations and imaginative spaces to work through the historical context of present conditions in order to transform unjust relationships and enact new communities that value social justice and affirm Indigenous peoples’ self-determination. Following Anaya’s analysis of the creation of new political processes, communities, and subjectivities through Indigenous self-determination

struggles, *The Great Water* and *Blood on the snow*, in relation with the other exhibition pieces, can be understood as interventions that raise unsettling questions about the conditions of Canadian society today that can facilitate the emergence of new relationships engaging with decolonization across existing arts, activist, and academic communities.

The Named and the Unnamed installation is a projection of a film of Belmore's performance *Vigil*. Belmore performed *Vigil* on June 23, 2002 at the intersection of Gore Street and Cordova Street in Vancouver (Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery). She began the performance by tossing her materials (buckets, scissors, soap, clothing, flowers) onto the sidewalk. Belmore put on a pair of yellow rubber gloves and, on her hands and knees, scrubbed the sidewalk with soapy water. Next, Belmore began lighting tea light candles that were sheltered by a board leaning against a nearby fence. She handed the lighter to audience members to continue lighting the candles as she then yelled out the names of murdered and missing women who had last been seen in the Downtown East Side community. Calling out the names written on her arms "Sarah! Helen! Andrea! Theresa! Brenda! Frances! Tanya!...", after each name Belmore pulled the thorny stem and flower of a red rose between her teeth, removing the leaves and shredding the petals. Later, Belmore put on a red dress over the jeans and white tank top she was wearing. She began nailing the dress fabric to a telephone pole, then struggling to pull her body free. As soon as she was able to pull herself away, she would nail another section of the fabric to a telephone pole. Belmore continued until there was no fabric of the dress left on her body, only tatters remaining nailed to the post. The performance ended with Belmore walking through the audience to a waiting pick-up

truck, with the radio playing “It’s a Man’s Man’s Man’s World” performed by James Brown (Belmore *Vigil*).

Belmore’s performance of *Vigil* was filmed and included in the exhibition *The Named and The Unnamed* as the title piece. The half hour film was projected onto a screen accented by 48 illuminated light bulbs and screened in a loop, playing the filmed performance over and over. *The Named and the Unnamed* was exhibited in Fall 2002, the same year that Robert Pickton was arrested. After he was arrested, Pickton had bragged to an undercover police officer that he had killed 49 women (The Canadian Press) and in December 2007 he was convicted for murdering six women: Serena Abotsway, Mona Wilson, Andrea Joesbury, Georgina Papin, Marnie Frey and Brenda Wolfe (CBC *Vancouver*). The British Columbia Missing Women Commission of Inquiry, established in 2010, after decades of community-based organization calling for government action, published a report in November 2012 by Commissioner The Honourable Wally T. Oppal. Discussing the intersections of colonialism, racism, and gender-based violence experienced by Indigenous women in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside (DTES) community, Oppal says:

“A disproportionate number of the missing and murdered women were Aboriginal: while three per cent of BC’s population consists of Aboriginal women, they comprise approximately 33 per cent of the missing and murdered women. Of the 33 women whose DNA was found on Pickton’s farm, 12 were Aboriginal. Aboriginal women experience higher levels of violence, both in terms of incidence and severity, and are disproportionately represented in the number of missing and murdered women across Canada. The over-representation of Aboriginal women within the women who disappeared from the DTES must be understood within the larger context of the legacy of colonialism in Canada” (14 and 15).

Oppal's report and the work of Indigenous women's organizations that emphasizes how Indigenous women and girls experience violence disproportionately is especially alarming given that the 2013 study by the World Health Organization (WHO) *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-partner Sexual Violence* reports that "violence against women is a global public health problem that effects approximately one third of women globally" (Bustreo, Piot, Karim and Chesnov 1).

In this context, the 49 light bulbs piercing the surface of the filmed performance screening speaks to the title of Belmore's piece and the exhibition – *The Named and the Unnamed*. While Belmore's performance and installation name many of the women from the Downtown Eastside community who were murdered and missing, there also remain many missing women who are unnamed and whose experiences are unknown to their loved ones. Reports by Indigenous women's community-based organizations emphasize how the pain and trauma experienced by families and communities of missing and murdered women and girls is a relentlessly haunting presence, in the absence of their beloved daughters, mothers, sisters, friends, aunts, nieces, wives, girlfriends and grandmothers. Belmore's performance artwork and visual exhibition of the filmed performance engages directly with the difficulty of how to create an embodied presence that honours the violent absence of Indigenous women and girls in the community. As Watson observes in his essay for the exhibition catalogue, the light bulbs on the screen:

"might be metaphorical extensions of the candles she lights in *Vigil*. They create an unusual optical effect, dividing a viewer's perception so that we can see simultaneously the depth of field *in* the space of the projection and also upon it's surface... disrupting our vision in the way the memory of these women ought to trouble our conscience" (Watson, "Foreword" 7 – 8).



Fig. 18. Rebecca Belmore. *The Named and the Unnamed*, 2002. Collection of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia. Purchased with the support of the Canada Council for the Arts Acquisition Assistance program and the Morris and Helen Belkin Foundation, 2005. Photo: Howard Ursuliak.

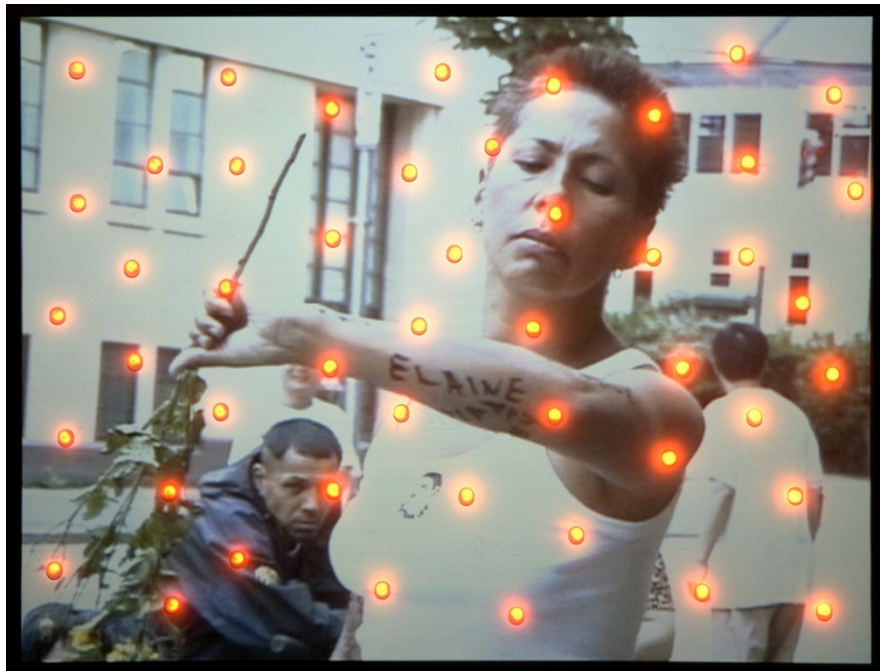


Fig. 19. Rebecca Belmore. *The Named and the Unnamed*, 2002. Collection of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia. Purchased with the support of the Canada Council for the Arts Acquisition Assistance program and the Morris and Helen Belkin Foundation, 2005. Photo: Howard Ursuliak.



Fig. 20. Rebecca Belmore. *The Named and the Unnamed*, 2002. Collection of the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery, The University of British Columbia. Purchased with the support of the Canada Council for the Arts Acquisition Assistance program and the Morris and Helen Belkin Foundation, 2005. Photo: Howard Ursuliak.

The illuminated light bulbs on the screen's surface interrupt the projection and call attention to the viewer's experience of the video documentation of Belmore's performance, not an immediate experience of the performance itself. Further, the half hour film played in a loop that repeated over and over. Townsend-Gault describes *The Named and the Unnamed* as an engagement with a haunting open secret:

“[Belmore] had tried to find a way of ‘speaking’ about the unspeakable, to declaim the secret that had been known but unspoken for an unconscionably long time... the continuous projection of the video, its looping repetitive re-enactment also the re-enactment which characterises trauma, was to become a kind of shrine or memorial to *The Named and the Unnamed*. The title fixes the secret, because the named were unnamed for so long, and because the unnamed remain unnamed. Everything else in the exhibition would grow out of it, she told us” (Townsend-Gault, “Have” 18 – 19)

The relationship between embodied experiences of time and space is a key site of analysis in trauma studies. In discussing Belmore's engagement with trauma in her

performance of *Vigil* and the exhibition of *The Named and the Unnamed*, relationships between the site of the performance in the streets of Vancouver's Downtown East Side community and the repetitive looping of the filmed performance for the duration of the screening in the gallery exhibition can provide productive insights into understanding performance artwork as a method of analyzing and possibly transforming power dynamics in world politics. By discussing *Vigil* and *The Named and the Unnamed* in conversation with Jenny Edkins' *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*, I argue that Belmore's performance scenario of naming the violence and trauma of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls as Canadian colonial power challenges calls attention to the limits of current IR methods of analyzing sovereign power, violence and agency. Belmore's performance and installation show how naming power is an embodied process. Recognizing that processes of producing and transmitting knowledge about international power dynamics are embodied processes calls attention to how most IR theories and methods of structure and agency are situated in a perspective that does not affirm Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles, yet nevertheless these particular IR perspectives claim a universal omniscient position. Belmore's performance artwork foregrounds the embodied experience and transmission of knowledge about how international power dynamics work. Further, Belmore's work demonstrates how contemporary artwork is a powerful method of engaging with the pervasive silence in settler culture about the unjust conditions of Canadian settler colonialism that make Indigenous women and girls vulnerable to systemic sexual violence.

In *Trauma and the Memory of Politics* Edkins discusses how, according to the dominant Western ontology, chronological time is understood as a natural and universal

mode of ordering social relations (15). Edkins questions the universality of this perspective by demonstrating how linear time is socially produced through everyday practices that normalize national imaginaries of citizens' bodies as sovereign autonomous subjects (13). In her analysis of state memorials to political violence, such as the World War I Cenotaph memorial in London, Edkins argues that understanding the lived experience of trauma of political violence disrupts official state memorials that desire a fantasy of containment, closure, and progress through linear time (12). Edkins joins critical IR theorists question how realist and liberal approaches to warfare as an exceptional event do not recognize the ongoing traumatic impacts of conflict zones, the militarization of everyday life, and systemic violences of sovereign power experienced by marginalized people. Edkins joins critical IR theory approaches that question how realist and liberal theorists imagine that static borders of territorial bodies and rational decision-making of autonomous individual bodies characterize sovereignty. As discussed in Chapter One in the context of power and IR methods, Chapter Two in the context of Waltz's three images method and the IR levels of analysis paradigm, and Chapter Three in the context of Canadian institutional visual methods of display of anarchy (as *terra nullis*) and hierarchy (as colonial settlement), IR critical perspectives question the organization of sovereign territorial spaces as exclusively inside/outside and social identifications characterized as an essentially different self/other dichotomy (Agathangelou and Ling; Blaney and Inayatullah; Campbell). By emphasizing how borders between assumed distinctions are not pre-constituted, but produced through social relationships, such approaches engage simultaneously with analyzing how international power dynamics are constituted in the normalization of conventional

understandings of sovereignty, borders and bodies as well as engaging with global social justice projects and Indigenous peoples self-determination struggles (Alexander; Chowdhry and Nair; Krishna; Tuhiwai-Smith). Such approaches to IR knowledge production and experiences of world politics affirm the importance of both critical analyses and transformative possibilities of decolonizing imaginaries and relationships of world politics (Agathangelou and Killian; Sajed; Spivak *Aesthetic Education*).

Edkins discusses how scholars and communities can become more engaged witnesses to survivors' experiences of trauma and can engage in collective remembrance of political violence through an analysis of how linear time and "trauma time" constitute the collective identities of political communities (1 -19). Edkins discusses how survivors and witnesses of traumatic events who communicate their experiences within a "trauma time" framework demonstrate how "events of the sort that we call traumatic are overwhelming but they are also a revelation. They strip away the commonly accepted meanings by which we lead our lives in our various communities. They reveal the contingency of the social order" (5). Edkins continues to say:

"linear time and trauma time do not exist independently; it is not a question of choosing one or the other. Rather, they define and constitute each other in a complex relationship, almost like opposite poles of a dichotomy. Like remembering and forgetting, each implies the other: they are inextricably entwined. Trauma time is inherent in and destabilizes any production of linearity. Trauma time has to be excluded for linearity to be convincing, but it cannot be completely forgotten... it is found when the political struggle between linear time and trauma time is resolved not by a forgetting of trauma and a return to linearity, nor by attempting the impossible opposite – speaking from within trauma – but by a recognition and *surrounding* of the trauma at the heart of any social or symbolic order" (15 – 16).

Edkins analysis of trauma time offers an entry point to affirming the strength and agency of survivors and witnesses of traumatic events as well as the power of collective remembrance of traumatic political violence in international relations.

Edkins work speaks to transdisciplinary conversations about possibilities for visual artwork to generate forums for public engagement with traumatic events of political violence. In *Empathic Vision: Affect, Trauma and Contemporary Art* Jill Bennett argues that creative visual artistic practices of expressing trauma are not merely representational objects conveying individual experiences but visual artwork can be understood as a productive relational process whereby survivors and witnesses actively intervene in conventional social orderings of collective remembrances of trauma (27). Bennett argues that embodied experiences of viewing and analyzing visual art can facilitate “empathic vision” as a means of engaging with transnational experiences and collective remembrance that transgress conventional and hegemonic political communities. Belmore’s exhibition of *The Named and the Unnamed* as a projection that repeats the video documentation of her performance *Vigil*, speaks to Edkins and Bennett’s analyses of how witnessing the trauma of political violence can be an entry point to making political claims and transforming political communities.

Belmore’s *Vigil* performance creates an embodied presence of ongoing histories of traumas of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls and Belmore enacts a powerful expression of remembrance in *The Named and the Unnamed* exhibition of the visual documentation. Discussing the missing and murdered women in relation with Belmore’s performance of *Vigil* Marcia Crosby says:

“In contrast to a funeral oration, the performance does not place the women, their deaths and those who were left to mourn them in chronological time... There is no sense of closure in relation to the women’s deaths... at the conclusion of the performance the audience is left with the destabilizing force of traumatic memory, despite the desire or the need to restore balance” (Crosby, “Humble Materials” 81)

Crosby’s analysis indicates that, as a performance artist, Belmore’s work both joins and offers unique insights to ongoing collective actions to honour missing and murdered Indigenous women and transforming the colonial conditions that make this violence possible. Belmore’s performance repetition of gestures draws on established performance art methods of calling attention to how socially accepted situations become normalized through ritualistic repetition. Further, by exhibiting the visual documentation of her performance in a loop, the installation foregrounds women’s, families and communities’ traumatic reliving of this violence with little chance of relief in colonial conditions. Within Taylor’s scenario method, Belmore’s looped visual exhibition punctuated by 49 light bulbs expresses a “reactivation rather than duplication” (Taylor 32) by calling the viewer’s attention to the presence of the named and unnamed missing and murdered women and girls. Further, while the performance-installation is a method of naming violence, there is no indication that Belmore is claiming to speak for or directly access the experiences of these women and girls. Rather, by interrupting the projection, the light bulbs on the screen’s surface problematize the belief that visual representation can capture reality. This interruption of the artist’s visual documentation, communication and audience’s visual experience of the installation calls attention to the social role of the artist as a witness who demonstrates the disruptive and imaginative power of contemporary artwork in international relations.

In Gloria Anzaldúa's reflection on her work as an artist, in the wake of September 11, 2001 and intensifying USA militarization and racist patriotism, in the essay "Let us be the healing of the wound" she says:

"My job as an artist is to bear witness to what haunts us, to step back and attempt to see the pattern in these events (personal and societal), and how we can repair el daño (the damage) by using the imagination and its visions. I believe in the transformative power and medicine of art. As I see it, this country's real battle is with its shadow – its racism, propensity for violence, rapacity for consuming, neglect of its responsibility to global communities and the environment, and unjust treatment of dissenters and the disenfranchised, especially people of colour. As an artist I feel compelled to expose this shadow side which the mainstream media and government denies. In order to understand our complicity and responsibility we must look at the shadow." (304)

Belmore's performance of *Vigil* and exhibition of *The Named and the Unnamed* as a process of witnessing the colonial power dynamics of the sexual violence and murder experience by Indigenous women and girls joins ongoing community and scholarly work challenging the colonial erasure of Indigenous peoples' presence and self-expression. Just as in Belmore's performance she struggles to break free of the red dress binding her to the telephone pole, her performance and exhibition challenge the visual erasure and stereotypical confinement of Indigenous women's experiences. As a scenario of naming power this is a call to action that joins Indigenous women, families and community calls to action for missing and murdered Indigenous women, in an inter-national context (*Sisters in Spirit, Strong Women Stories, Walking With Our Sisters, Amnesty International references*). The methods of remembrance in community-based organizations' reports honour ceremonial protocols and storytelling methods of Indigenous women, families and communities' spiritual beliefs and cultural practices. The *Voices of Our Sisters in Spirit* report produced by Sisters in Spirit in collaboration

with the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls to tell their stories through the life cycles of their family members and to remember the women and girls who have been killed or are missing. The website for *Walking With Our Sisters* talks about how the projects honours the lives of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls through community artwork contributions:

“Sometimes called ‘vamps’, ‘tongues’, or ‘uppers’, the tops of moccasins are intentionally not sewn into moccasins, and represent the unfinished lives of murdered and missing Indigenous women, exhibited on a pathway to represent their path or journey that was ended prematurely”.

Further, Belmore’s performance-installation joins Andrea Smith’s analysis of sexual violence as a pervasive material condition of settler societies that disproportionately affects Indigenous women and Indigenous communities and privileges and privileges white patriarchal masculinity. Smith’s emphasis on how anti-racist anti-violence organizing centralizes the priorities identified by Indigenous women and women of colour, including addressing how the systemic colonialism and racism of settler policing, court processes and legal systems harm Indigenous communities and are often not the preferred route of justice and healing for Indigenous women, their families and communities. Smith demonstrates how this shift in anti-violence strategies if necessary for both addressing Indigenous women and women of colour’s immediate needs and also for affirming their analyses of the material conditions that have made them vulnerable to violence as well as facilitating their potential as community organizers, contesting the harmful stereotype of Indigenous people as passive victims. As I discuss in the next section, this analysis puts pressure on the current terms of the structure and agency debate in IR theories and methods.

Belmore's performance-installation joins this community-based and scholarly analysis of colonial power, violence and Indigenous peoples' agency. The specific qualities of her performance-installation artwork also make unique contributions to international collective reflections and actions to address the colonial conditions of sexual violence against Indigenous women and girls. Belmore's performance artwork foregrounds the social condition of embodiment and challenges colonial silence and claims to objective authority in news media and academic discourse about sexual violence, Canadian history and Indigenous peoples' self-determination. In this context, Belmore's *Vigil* draws on performance artwork methods that engage in ritualistic reenactments of scenarios through repetitive gestures and registers connections with specific performance artworks that engage with sexual violence against women of colour. Yoko Ono's *Cut Piece* (1964) performed in Kyoto emphasized the immanence of violation and the audience's participation in these conditions, while Ana Mendieta's *Untitled (Rape Scene)*, *Untitled (People Looking at Blood)* and *Untitled (Bloody Mattresses)* (1972) performed in Iowa City confronts the audience with the bloody brutality of violence. These performances by women of colour artists Ono and Mendieta have been influential in engaging audiences and arts communities in intersectional analyses of violence against women in the social context of white, male privilege. Patricia Hill Collins' black feminist analysis of how intersecting power relationships of racialization, gender, and class create conditions of oppression also emphasizes "the importance of self-definition" (124) and the "politics of empowerment" (292). In Collins' analysis, agency is not an individual capacity to exercise power over another person but rather empowering self-identity is formed through community-based relationships of

responsibility (124). In this way, Collins demonstrates how power is not a quantifiable possession but “circulates within a particular matrix of domination and to which individuals stand in varying relationships” (293). An intersectional approach to understanding violence against women demonstrates how the sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls is an international injustice. Belmore’s performed embodiment of distress and trauma engages with the need to break the pervasive inter-national silence about the distress of personal and collective traumas of families and communities who are grieving the loss of their loved ones. As I discuss in the final section of this chapter, Belmore’s performance scenario of naming power naming colonial gender-based violence as a foundational aspect of Canadian settler colonialism calls attention to the limits of IR theories and methods of structure and agency. In the context of IR, Political Science is an academic discipline that specializes in the scenario of naming power and, as theorists on the politics of knowledge production have demonstrated, academic institutions operate as structures that authorize who is and is not recognized as a subject with agency in the world. Belmore’s performance artwork method of foregrounding embodiment as a site of international struggle and making political claims as well as her visual exhibition of the traumatic impact of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls presents an opportunity to decolonize the frameworks of IR theories and methods of power, violence and agency in world politics. While Belmore’s *Vigil* and *The Named and the Unnamed* deal with painful experiences, memories and knowledge about how colonialism hurts Indigenous women, girls and communities, the exhibition is also an opportunity and invitation to reflect on, talk about, strategize, organize and decolonize. At the time of the exhibition opening in Fall 2002,

Belmore said: “There is a lot of sadness in this show... But I think there is a lot of hope as well” (Milroy, “Trauma” 1).

Performance Artwork and the Scenario of Naming Power

The Modernity-Coloniality Working Group of the Transnational Decolonial Institute discusses how decoloniality can transform present colonial conditions:

“This conceptual legacy [of Bandung] has been taken beyond the sphere of the state to understand creative forms of re-existence and autonomy in the borders of the modern/colonial world. The goal of decolonial thinking and doing is to continue re-inscribing, embodying and dignifying those ways of living, thinking and sensing that were violently devalued or demonized by colonial, imperial and interventionist agendas as well as by postmodern and altermodern internal critiques” (Modernity-Coloniality Working Group, 10)

In this context, decolonial theories and methods simultaneously name and transgress colonial conditions. This approach critically examines and unsettles the colonial power relationships that shape institutional structures and condition actors’ agency while simultaneously engaging in methods of imagination, self-expression and social relations that transgress colonial categorization and regulation. Following Anaya’s analysis of Indigenous self-determination discussed in Chapter One, as a process of enacting new relationships and possibilities, Indigenous artists’ engagement with decolonial aesthetics create possibilities for transforming international relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers and create new communities for Indigenous peoples’ self-expression. The specific qualities of decolonial performance artwork, especially the emphasis on embodied knowledge, offer distinct contributions to understanding and transforming how power, violence and agency are experienced in international politics and theorized in IR.

In *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*

Performance Studies scholar Diana Taylor engages with the difficulties and possibilities of how to write about performance artwork in the Americas, when historical relationships of colonial encounter and invasion emerged through writing as a mode of asserting colonial dominance over Indigenous peoples. Taylor discusses how Indigenous peoples have survived colonial genocide and subverted colonial archives of written documents through performance repertoires of transmitting collective memory (2009). Taylor suggests that engaging with how power relationships inform academic writing about performance involves engaging with the unresolvable tension between the authority of the colonial archive and the transgressive potential of performance repertoires of transmitting decolonial memory. She says:

“the rift, I submit, does not lie between the written and spoken word, but between the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials (i.e. texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (ie. spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)” (19)

In other words, archives are not inherently authoritative structures and performance is not a pure site of agency, but rather, Taylor calls attention to how historical and contemporary material conditions of power relations in the Americas privilege archival written documentation over embodied performance repertoires as sites of agency and authority in knowledge production. Taylor suggests that a methodological transformation is required in order for scholars to engage with contemporary transmissions of collective memory and decolonizing knowledge through performance repertoires in the Americas. She says:

“By shifting the focus from written to embodied culture, from the discursive to the performatic, we need to shift our methodologies. Instead of focusing on

patterns of cultural expression in terms of texts and narratives, we might think about them as scenarios that do not reduce gestures and embodied practices to narrative description. This shift necessarily alters what academic disciplines regard as appropriate canons, and might extend the traditional disciplinary boundaries to include practices previously outside their purview” (16 – 17).

In my analysis of Belmore’s performance-installation as enacting a scenario of naming power, I argue that this scenario method demonstrates how Belmore’s work as a contemporary artist both expresses agency and shows how to reimagine agency through contemporary artwork. Belmore’s project can be understood as both an expression of agency and an invitation to audiences to think about agency through artwork, demonstrating how IR scenarios of naming power enact hierarchical circumscriptions of authority in knowledge production about agency. Following Taylor’s analysis, in the context of IR this approach involves making a methodological shift away from narrative interpretations of naming how power is expressed discursively through sovereign institutions and subjects by instead engaging with the ongoing material conditions of embodiment that inform repertoires of academic knowledge production about what constitutes authoritative international political structures and who can express agency as an international subject. The material conditions of Indigenous women’s community-based organizations, Indigenous feminist scholars, and Indigenous women artists naming sexual violence as a central aspect of Canadian settler colonialism unsettles the conventional IR imaginary of state institutions and sovereign autonomous agency as the universal authoritative sites of structure and agency in international relations.

Belmore’s performance of the scenario of naming sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women as an expression of colonial power in international politics joins many ongoing calls to action by Indigenous communities and families of missing and murdered

Indigenous women and girls (Highway of Tears Symposium Recommendation Report; Native Women's Association of Canada *Sisters in Spirit*; Native Youth Sexual Health Network; Walking With Our Sisters). Further, Belmore's scenario of naming sexual violence as colonial power joins many Indigenous women's organizations and Indigenous feminist scholars who have demonstrated that the silence about this violence is not only due to a lack of public knowledge, but also, the active erasure of the power dynamics involved in the systemic sexual violence against Indigenous women as a foundational practice in historical and contemporary assertions of settler sovereignty on Indigenous lands (Baskin; Blaney; Million "Felt Theory"; A. Smith *Conquest*). In order to respond to this call to action and analysis of sexual violence as colonial power put forward by Indigenous communities, Indigenous women's organizations, and Indigenous feminist scholars, I will first outline Taylor's 'scenario' method and then analyze how Belmore's naming of power through the performance-installation *The Named and The Unnamed* is an enactment of agency that demonstrates how IR knowledge production circumscribes authority in world politics.

Taylor foregrounds her analysis of performance scenarios in the assertion that it is crucial for academic writing to attend to the material conditions of power that continue to locate authority in written documentation over embodied performance. She says that "the writing = memory/knowledge equation is central to Western epistemology" (24) and therefore "instead of privileging *texts* and *narratives*, we could also look to scenarios as meaning-making paradigms that structure social environments, behaviors, and potential outcomes" (28). Taylor argues that archetypal scenarios, such as the colonial scenario of 'discovery' in the Americas, are powerful sites of collective participation, transgression

and re-enactment of historical events, social behaviours and institutions that shape our present material conditions (29). Taylor identifies several characteristics of the scenario method that call attention to the material conditions that inform structures and agency, as she says “the ways that using *scenario* as a paradigm for understanding social structures and behaviors might allow us to draw from the repertoire as well as the archive” through foregrounding material conditions: “physical location” (29); “embodiment of the social actors” (29); “formulaic structures that predispose certain outcomes and yet allow for reversal, parody, and change” (31); “transmission reminds us of multiple systems at work” (31 – 32); “forces us to situate ourselves in relation to it” (32); and facilitates “reactivation rather than duplication” (32). By foregrounding the material conditions that inform both discursive and performative knowledges, Taylor’s scenario method disrupts the privileging of textual interpretations of colonial archives and offers an engaging method of writing about performance artwork as an embodied process of knowledge production, social reproduction, and political struggle.

Indigenous feminist scholars have long emphasized the importance of decolonizing the institutionalized material conditions of settler colonial academic knowledge production in order to affirm the agency and inherent self-determination of Indigenous women and nations. In this context, I focus on Dian Million’s analysis of the material conditions of Indigenous women naming gendered and sexual violence as Canadian colonial power in Million’s “Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History” in dialogue with Taylor’s analysis of writing about relationships between archival memory and performance repertoires of collective embodied memory. Million analyzes the social relationships and political events that have constrained and facilitated

Indigenous women speaking publicly about gender-based violence as Canadian colonial violence and how their self-expression of these experiences as embodied knowledge has challenged the dominant settler academic discourse of objectivity (54). Million also emphasizes how present social conditions in Canada are shaped by historical colonial power dynamics, as she says “An intimate realignment of Indian social relationships through the *Indian Act* was at the core of what colonization meant in practice” as Canadian settler colonial policies intervened in Indigenous peoples’ familial and intimate relationships through imposing the devastating policies of the residential school system and colonial heteropatriarchal Indian Status identification (56). Million asserts that “the impact of Canadian First Nation’s women’s first-person and experiential narratives on white, mostly male mainstream scholarship” has been that “First Nations women in Canada changed the actual conditions for what *could be* said about the poverty and discrimination that were their daily fare” (54). Focusing on key political struggles from the 1970s to today, Million demonstrates how Indigenous women’s participation in social justice movements, community healing organizations and in published writing have navigated intersecting social oppressions of sexism, racism and classism by centralizing their experiences of gendered violence as an embodied experience and resistance of Canadian colonial power in their everyday lives. Million discusses these interventions in the context of feminist activism in the 1970s that raised public discussion about women and girls’ experiences of the violence of systemic social power relationships between men and women as well as women’s community-based organizations’ collective actions to address domestic violence, rape and child abuse and yet at the same time “white Canadian Women’s Rights groups were slow to recognize double indemnity of racial and

sexual discrimination, much less necessity for solidarity with sovereignty and self-determination positions” (55). Further, Million argues that Indigenous women’s strategy of challenging the gender discrimination of the colonial *Indian Act* at the United Nations in the 1970s broke the silence about this gender discrimination as colonial violence through community mobilization and writing:

“Canada and the United States resisted the truth in the emotional content of this felt knowledge: colonialism as it is *felt* by those who experience it. Ending the silence in the communities was a significant political action. This would not be fully appreciated until the residential school narratives had explosively shook Canada by the late 1980s and early 1990s as the same communities began to narrate the larger systematic attack that had been perpetrated on both their minds and their bodies” (58).

Million demonstrates how Indigenous women transformed the social conditions of Canadian public and academic discourses by speaking about their lived experiences of gender-based colonial violence as embodied knowledge. This method of speaking about lived experience and of sharing intergenerational knowledge as embodied historical memory also demonstrates how claims to objectivity in academic discourse function to actively silence and marginalize analyses of systemic gendered violence against Indigenous peoples as foundational to the establishment of the Canadian state and as an ongoing power dynamic in settler colonial institutions and social relations. By engaging with “felt theory” as a method of knowledge production in both public and academic institutional contexts, Million foregrounds the importance of understanding knowledge production as embodied process. Million’s felt theory informs my understanding of Belmore’s *The Named and the Unnamed* as a scenario of naming power through performing embodied knowledge, my analysis of how IR theories and methods

circumscribe agency in the context of Canadian settler colonialism, and my argument that contemporary visual artwork can be an expression of agency in international politics.

Andrea Smith's analysis of sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women joins Taylor and Million's attention to knowledge production, colonial violence and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles in a hemispheric context. Drawing from her experience working in community-based anti-violence organizations facilitated by women of colour and Indigenous women in the United States, in *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* Smith demonstrates how present day systemic sexual violence against Indigenous women and girls is a process of genocide that traumatizes and displaces Indigenous women and girls from their communities and lands. Smith emphasizes the importance of situating survivors' experiences, analyses, strategies of resistance, and self-determination struggles in a historical context:

“the project of colonial sexual violence establishes the ideology that Native bodies are inherently violable – and by extension, that Native lands are also inherently violable... Native peoples' individual experiences of sexual violation echo 500 years of sexual colonization in which Native peoples' bodies have been deemed inherently impure” (12 – 13).

In this historical context, Smith analyzes how the sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women in the process of white European colonial settlement of the Americas and experienced by black women in slavery was a systematic and central aspect of asserting colonial power and white male dominance (16). Smith emphasizes that transforming the conditions that silence Indigenous women's experiences of sexual violence and trauma as genocide involves recognizing that “we cannot limit our conception of sexual violence to individual acts of rape – rather it encompasses a wide range of strategies designed to not only destroy peoples, but to destroy their sense of

being a people” (3). Smith’s analysis of Indigenous peoples’ historical and present day experiences of sexual violence and trauma as genocide involves the systemic violence and ongoing trauma of residential schools, environmental racism, reproductive health, medical experiments, settler appropriation of Indigenous spirituality, USA imperialism and militarism. As an activist and theorist, Smith’s method and analysis focuses on the relationship between decolonizing academic discourse on sexual violence and facilitating community-directed strategies for transforming the material conditions that Indigenous women experience in their daily lives. In her chapter on “Anticolonial Responses to Gender Violence” Smith discusses methods of community mobilization to engage in “Structural Change, Social Change” (160). One of the key priorities identified by the women of colour and Indigenous women who Smith has worked with is to “develop interventions that address state violence and interpersonal violence simultaneously”, especially concerning interventions by police, courts and children’s welfare organizations (161). Smith also emphasizes the importance of affirming survivors’ experiences and insights as vital in determining their survival and engaging with survivors as potential community organizers (162).

Community-based organizations engaging with survivors as active participants in their survival and healing transforms the routine treatment and stereotype of intimate partner violence and rape as situations where women and children are passive victims in need of police and legal intervention to ‘save’ them and for these state institutional processes to determine the best steps for their safety and recovery. As Indigenous communities and scholarly analyses of colonialism have demonstrated, colonial interventions are often made in the name of protecting Indigenous women; as Gayatri

Chakravorty Spivak famously says in “Can the Subaltern Speak?” this dynamic can be analyzed as a colonial claim of “white men saving brown women from brown men” (297). This colonial claim is infused throughout Canadian public discussions of international relations, including the foreign policy decisions of the current Government of Canada. When speaking about current military interventions and occupations, such as the Canadian Forces in Afghanistan, political leaders prominently declare that the protection of women and girls from the Taliban as well as the promotion of women’s human rights and education opportunities for girls is a primary reason for their support of this military action. In contrast, community-based organizations facilitated by women of colour and Indigenous women that address violence against women emphasize an intersectional analysis of power and agency, including understanding connections between imperialist militarization and colonial policing interventions. The programs, services and publications of organizations such as INCITE! Women of Colour Against Violence in the USA emphasize how racism, colonialism and economic marginalization create conditions of vulnerability to violence for Indigenous women and women of colour that impacts their health, safety and sense of security. In addressing how state institutions intervene in women’s lives to produce these conditions, for example through the criminalization and policing of addiction, mental health, and sex work, these organizations see their role as a community resource to facilitate the self-identified priorities and needs of women and girls accessing their services. As a co-founder of INCITE!, Smith’s analysis of colonial conditions and community-based collective action to transform women’s experiences of violence foregrounds the importance of transforming the perception and treatment of Indigenous peoples and people of colour as

passive victims by affirming survivors' self-determined strategies for navigating the systemic power relations in which Indigenous women and girls experience sexual violence as genocide.

Feminist IR analyses of systemic gender-based violence and social marginalization call attention to the social conditions and the pervasive silence in IR on how gender is experienced as a social relationship of power in world politics. Feminist IR analyses show how gendered power dynamics: inform the imagination and social division of state institutional actors as masculine protectors and civilians as the feminized protected; contest the IR realist and liberal imagination of war as an exceptional crisis through critical analyses of the gendered dimensions of militarism in everyday life; and demonstrate the power of transnational mobilizations for peace and social justice that contest IR methods that contend only 'top-down' state institutional power dynamics are at play in world politics (Agathangelou *Global*; Agathangelou and Killian; Cockburn; Enloe; Peterson and Runyan; Shepherd; Sylvester *Feminist*; Whitworth *Feminism*). In this context Indigenous feminist analyses of Canadian settler colonialism, demonstrating how sexual violence is experienced and resisted as a colonial power relationship of international politics, call attention to the limitations of the terms of the current IR scholarship on structure and agency. The next section of this chapter engages with the IR structure and agency debate by analyzing how present day Canadian settler colonial power is dependent on violence against indigenous peoples, how Belmore's performance installation engages with sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women, and how Indigenous peoples' self-expression of their experiences as embodied knowledge

challenges colonial academic knowledge production about power, violence and agency that privileges abstraction and objectivity as universal knowledge.

As discussed in the previous chapters, conventional theories, methods and pedagogical approaches in IR are based on colonial understandings of how power and violence are experienced in world politics. While dominant realist and liberal approaches focus on interactions between sovereign subjects in the inter-state system, critical theory approaches often focus on how neoliberalism produces global conditions of exploitation and do not examine the conditions of settler colonialism that inform the levels of analysis approach. Realist and liberal understandings of power as military and economic dominance or co-operation do analyze key dynamics of contemporary world politics, yet they also regenerate the status quo silence about Canadian settler colonialism and do not affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to self-determination and cultural resurgence movements as powerful forces in world politics. As I have been discussing throughout the previous chapters, Indigenous nations, scholars, artists, curators and activists have demonstrated that five hundred years of systemic colonial violence experienced by Indigenous peoples in the Americas has imposed a colonial social and legal order that privileges settlers. These interventions emphasize the importance of decolonizing relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers as international relationships. In my transnational feminist analysis of Belmore's artwork in the context of IR, I have focused on the work Indigenous women's community-based organizations and Indigenous feminist scholars have demonstrated that sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls is foundational to how colonial power is expressed as genocide and in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from traditional lands and

waterways. Belmore's agency as an artist in naming of this process as a hierarchical international power relationship demonstrates how agency to enact change in international politics cannot be contained within the colonial logic and structures of Westphalian sovereign territoriality and subjectivity. In this context, Belmore's artwork is a powerful act of self-expression and decolonizing international relations by unsettling dominant IR theories of power, violence and agency.

Unsettling the Structure and Agency Debate in IR

Political Science is a discipline that specializes in the scenario of naming of power. In the field of IR, realist and liberal theories and methods of analyzing how power is expressed through structures and agency focus on Westphalian sovereignty as the framework of the international system, the state as the highest authority, and the individual as the agent of change in international relations. While realist approaches explain power as the capacity to exert military and economic dominance over another state, liberalism understands power networks to operate through co-operation in international institutions such as the United Nations, International Financial Institutions and corporations. Critical approaches such as IPE, feminist, poststructural and postcolonial theories of IR focus on the relationship between how dominant realist and liberal IR analyses normalize sovereign power as well as demonstrating how their critical approach engages with possibilities to transform everyday social relationships and institutions in international relations. As feminist IR scholars have demonstrated, the undertheorization of gender in IR is an expression of social relationships that shape institutional knowledge production. Feminist IR scholars have opened up space for academic conversations that problematize abstract terms of realist, liberal and critical

theory approaches which privilege men's experiences as a universal explanation of world politics. Indigenous women scholars and community-based organization's naming of sexual violence as an experience of colonial genocide calls attention to the limits of current feminist IR analyses of gender and IR theories of analyzing structures and agency in international relations.

In my transnational feminist analysis of agency in IR, I engage with contemporary artwork as an expression of agency and Indigenous women's analyses of sexual violence as foundational to Canadian sovereignty. There are many feminist IR approaches to analyzing gender in world politics, with each approach contributing important insights to how global power relationships are gendered and why this matters in relation to the IR structure and agency debate. Feminist IPE approaches problematize how in realist, liberal and orthodox IPE theories, methods and pedagogies assume the universal actor in the global economic system is understood to be a man performing paid labour outside the household. Feminist IPE approaches demonstrate how the undertheorization of women's unpaid labour of social reproduction and waged labour normalizes the systemic gendered division of labour in which women's work sustains capitalist modes of production (Tickner "Fringes"; Peterson and Runyan). Queer feminist IR analyses problematize both dominant IR approaches and feminist analyses to demonstrate how heteronormativity is foundational to the militarization of foreign policy and capitalist divisions of labour between men and women (Weber *Faking It*). Feminist critical security studies deconstructs the gendered dynamics of international security regimes that position the state and state actors such as soldiers as masculine protectors and women as vulnerable and in need of protection (Enloe; Whitworth *Feminism*). Feminist critical security studies

analyses demonstrate how these circumstances are not exceptional wartime measures but rather are systemic conditions of international politics that emerge through and shape women's experiences of state intervention and violence in their everyday lives, often in the name of national security. Postcolonial and transnational feminist IR foregrounds historical and present day conditions of colonialism and imperialism as international power relationships through which academic knowledge production and lived experiences of gender politics emerge (Agathangelou and Turcotte). Postcolonial and transnational feminist IR scholars emphasize the embodied intersectionality of gender with racialization, sexuality, class, spirituality, ability, age and citizenship status and in this way problematize liberal feminist IR approaches that view gender as an additive category of analysis.

I bring a transnational feminist approach to analyzing power in the context of the IR structure and agency because from this perspective I can engage with the gendered power dynamics of Canadian settler colonialism and the power of artwork as a method of transformative social change in the context of international relations. The interventions of Indigenous women's community-based organizations and Indigenous feminist scholars demonstrate the urgent need to address the colonial conditions of sexual violence, trauma and murder that Indigenous women and girls experience. These interventions emphasize the importance of decolonizing present day understandings of Canadian history and creating new methods of sharing collective memories that affirm the experiences and agency of Indigenous women and girls and Indigenous peoples in an international context. These calls to action to stop violence against women and girls involve participating in processes of reconciliation that recognize how the foundation of the

Canadian state was based upon genocide, dispossession, and assimilation of Indigenous peoples. In this context, understanding Belmore's performance artwork as an expression of Indigenous self-determination that foregrounds the inter-related dynamics of embodied knowledge, sexual violence and lands and waters reclamations presents an opportunity to reflect on the limits of the current IR structure and agency debate.

Two foundational texts that inform the current IR disciplinary terms of the structure and agency debate in IR are Alexander E. Wendt's "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory" and Roxanne Doty's "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations Theory". Wendt's constructivist analysis of realism and world systems epistemological and ontological approaches to structure and agency in international relations importantly demonstrates the shared worldview of the levels of analysis across theoretical positions, where realism and world systems share the international level of analysis and differ in understandings of agency (340). Wendt's constructivist analysis of the epistemological and ontological conceptualizations of structures and agency problematizes how mainstream positivist theories and methods of IR claim that their analyses of power are objective and universal. According to IR realism, power is understood as a finite resource that sovereign states compete for to gain an absolute advantage over other states and where autonomous subjects prioritize rational self-interest to maximize individual gain. Liberal approaches also assume a universal, objective position that understands power as the capacity to cooperate to achieve desired outcomes through international institutions.

Roxanne Doty's intervention in IR debates on structure and agency in "Aporia: A Critical Exploration of the Agent-Structure Problematique in International Relations

Theory” discusses the limits of how relationships between structure and agency are conceptualized in realist, liberal, and constructivist approaches. Doty argues that most IR scholarship seeks to resolve the analytical tensions between institutional and individual capacities and constraints as competing forces. She argues that, instead, IR scholarship ought to practice critical self-reflexive examinations of these oppositional, essentialist terms of debate in order to recognize that the current framing “forecloses alternative ways of understanding the agent-structure relationship and alternative ways of analyzing particular cases” (375). Doty asserts that engaging with relationships between structures and agency as mutually constituted ongoing processes is a more productive way of understanding how agency and structures operate in world politics in ways that continuously generate further complexities, rather than resolving them (379). In this way, Doty calls attention to how the assumption of sovereign subjectivity forecloses analytic possibilities for IR scholarship on “the issue of identity and its relationship to the possibility of agency” and “the relationship between truth, meaning and power” (383).

Indigenous, postcolonial, and transnational feminist scholars have demonstrated how settler colonial academic institutions are structures of knowledge production that systematically normalize the dispossession of Indigenous peoples and deny the agency of Indigenous peoples’ self-determination struggles through framing colonial knowledge as objective expertise that is universally applicable (Alfred; Brayboy and McCarty; Grovogui *Beyond*; Morgensen *Spaces*; Regan; A. Simpson “Settlement’s”; A. Smith *Native*). These interventions emphasize how all knowledge production is an embodied process and emerges from the intersections of the particular social conditions of institutions, subjectivities and the moment of expression. In “Postcolonial Theories As

say:

“Mainstream IR constructions of global violence are explained through static constructions of geography that territorialize where violence is and who are the victims, perpetrators and protectors (44)... we argue that the frameworks of geopolitics within the mainstreams of IR, including feminist IR, rely on geographical separations of land, people and knowledge. This process of *geopolitical segregation* is presented and naturalized, even when violence is foundational to its consolidation” (45).

Agathangelou and Turcott’s analysis of “geographical segregation” in IR knowledge production calls attention to global conditions of colonial power and affirms the agency people and communities transgressing colonial world ordering. In this way, their analysis shows how the undertheorization of colonialism in IR theory is not an oversight but an active process of institutionalizing these unjust power dynamics. Postcolonial IR analyses of how colonial power is expressed through the direct force of military occupation and exploitative political economies have not just added new subjects to the collective IR research agenda but have also engaged in decolonizing the role of academic knowledge production in international politics and affirming the agency of people marginalized by IR’s disciplinary frameworks (Agathangelou and Ling; Chowdhry and Nair; Gruffydd Jones; Krishna).

Indigenous feminist interventions in the colonial politics of knowledge production challenge the privileging of academic knowledge production over Indigenous peoples’ community-based processes of analyzing conditions, identifying priorities, and mobilizing collective action. Colonization has always been resisted by Indigenous peoples and Indigenous women’s community-based organizations have been working publicly for decades now demonstrating leadership, publishing reports, and organizing

campaigns to address the systemic gender-based violence that Indigenous women and girls experience in Canada. Organizational services and reports consistently emphasize Indigenous cosmologies, land-based philosophies, and cultures in this work, from ceremonial protocols for gatherings to methods of storytelling in written reports. In these ways, Indigenous self-determination is enacted through institutional practices of knowledge production and community-based organizing. These processes put pressure on conventional IR frames of reference, sites of inquiry and methods of engagement in the structure and agency debate. The material conditions and methods of knowledge production expressed by Indigenous women's community organizations and Indigenous feminist scholarship demonstrate that transforming IR theories of power involves not simply expanding current structure or agency categories but unsettling these categories themselves, to affirm the historical and ongoing presence of Indigenous women's experiences of settler sexual violence as central to settler colonial assertions of territorial sovereignty and resistance through Indigenous self-determination struggles.

Belmore's performance-installation artwork, in emphasizing embodied knowledge about Canadian colonial power and sexual violence against Indigenous women and girls, demonstrates how creative self-expression through contemporary artwork is a powerful force in international politics. Belmore's projects consistently focuses on Indigenous peoples' experiences of colonial violence and Indigenous women's knowledge as embodied knowledge, including engaging with police violence in *The Indian Factory* about the Saskatoon police "starlight tours" that have killed and traumatized Indigenous men, settler colonial genocide by the USA military at Wounded Knee in *Bury My Heart* (Laurence 2001), and the commodification of Indigenous women's bodies in exhibiting

Fringe as a billboard above the office building of the Grand Council of the Crees in Montréal. Belmore's analysis of power and embodied knowledge in her artwork joins Indigenous women's community-based work in international relations. In "Felt Theory: An Indigenous Feminist Approach to Affect and History" Dian Million discusses how, in political struggles to decolonize the patriarchal heteronormative *Indian Act* and transform community conditions, Indigenous women strategically mobilized their self-determination struggles in the United Nations (UN) forum through the *Lovelace* case and prioritized the transformation of gender-based discrimination, violence and impoverished community conditions. Million says:

"the discussions on gender abuses that the women successfully linked to community stress, change in gender roles, and responsibilities revealed the high rates of discrimination and, until them, unnamed gender violence in their communities. In doing this, they portrayed for the first time just exactly how much deeper colonization went than any standing law or even the Indian Act itself" (58).

Further, Indigenous feminist scholarly analyses of violence, power and agency have opened up space within settler academic institutions for decolonizing methods of writing, research and pedagogies. These interventions emphasize that this work is not simply about addressing a lack of correct content but engaging with possibilities for transforming colonial social relationships in the process of naming sexual violence as Canadian colonial power. This process also engages with need to reformulate IR structure and agency debates to affirm ongoing work of Indigenous feminist scholars and Indigenous women, families and communities mobilizing calls to action for missing and murdered Indigenous women.

In this way, Indigenous women's arts communities, academic work, and community-based organizations demonstrate the need to decolonize the current terms of

IR theories and methods of analyzing international relationships of structures and agency. Scenarios of naming violence can be powerful interventions in transforming colonial conditions of genocide and in acts of solidarity in decolonizing international power dynamics. As Julia V. Emberley says:

“Alternative narratives... do not necessarily create justice. Rather justice would seem to lie elsewhere, in articulating what counts *as violence* and not something that is seemingly inevitable in people’s lives” (Emberley “Spirit”, 236 – 237).

Solidarity work involves transforming relationships between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous settlers through ongoing projects and organizations such as #INM, UNDRIP and the TRC. The ongoing work of Indigenous women’s community-based organizations, Indigenous feminist scholarship and Indigenous women artists must be central to the strategies, analyses and policies of this emerging work. As I discuss in the next chapter, Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences engage in transnational decolonization by not only challenging colonial dispossession and Canadian claims to exclusive sovereignty but by demonstrating how community reclamations and land defenders are acting in responsibility to sacred laws that have emerged historically through Indigenous peoples relationships with lands and waterways in their traditional homelands. While the Canadian settler colonial imaginary and political rhetoric assumes that Canada is a nation founded on ‘empty lands’ and unlimited theft, commodification and exploitation of natural resources counts as economic ‘progress’, these present day processes have emerged through unjust historical relationships and continue to harmfully impact Indigenous peoples. In this context, the systemic sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls is an urgent priority identified by Indigenous women’s community-based organizations. In the next section I analyze how

Belmore's performance and exhibition are an enactment of agency through contemporary artwork and through the naming of sexual violence as foundational to Canadian sovereignty.

Chapter Six. International Art World and Transnational Artwork: Creative Presence in Rebecca Belmore's *Fountain* at the Venice Biennale

“Rebecca’s art is about us. It is about our history, language, land, pain, hope and right to be ourselves. She creates interiority by pushing the boundaries, by using her body as a paintbrush to create the corporeal from an inner drive, form from memory. Her preference to work *en plein air*, outside, giving the elements a chance to play a part in her performance, is what makes Rebecca a truly compassionate performance artist.” Robert Houle in “Interiority as Allegory” in *Rebecca Belmore: Rising to the Occasion* (19)

“Belmore seeks to shatter long-held myths embedded in our common history in order that her *Fountain* can become a symbolic oasis in the arid environment of colonial relations. Great fountains help to memorialize people and places, and memory is important to Belmore. The city of Venice is also emblematic of the 500-year history of European colonization of the Americas. Located in the country of Christopher Columbus, it is a part of the colonial story. A shipping port, an island city built on water, it has been a conduit for European world views” Lee-Ann Martin in “The Waters of Venice: Rebecca Belmore at the 51st Biennale” in *Canadian Art* (50).

“I hope that a transformative connection is made as the viewer and I face each other across this screen, where water changes into blood, blood into water and history into art.” Rebecca Belmore in conversation with curator Scott Watson in *Rebecca Belmore: Fountain* (28)

In this chapter I analyze Rebecca Belmore’s 2005 Venice Biennale performance-based video installation *Fountain* as an enactment of creative presence at an intersection of international and transnational politics. I discuss how Belmore’s aesthetic method of engaging with water as a visual interface between the artist and viewer, by projecting the film of her performance onto a stream of falling water in the Canadian Pavilion exhibition space, offers a productive method of understanding and potentially

transforming colonial power relations in world politics. I argue that Belmore's *Fountain* in Venice is an expression of Indigenous self-determination by discussing the international art world dynamics of the Venice Biennale, Belmore's engagement with water as a performing material and medium in *Fountain*, and how *Fountain* is situated in relation with contemporary Indigenous land and water reclamations and cultural resurgences. I discuss how IR theories, methods and pedagogies reproduce colonial power dynamics in world politics through the normalization of Westphalian sovereignty in relation with the pervasive silence about and marginalization of analyses of the conditions of settler colonialism and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles. Contextualizing the undertheorization of settler colonialism in IR involves examining the relational normalization of Westphalian sovereignty as the universal system of international politics and the erasure of the transnational politics of Indigenous peoples' self-determination through land/water reclamations and cultural resurgences. Indigenous nations and scholars emphasize how reclamations are not only acts of resistance against colonial claims to sovereignty; rather, Indigenous peoples' reclamations of traditional relationships with lands and waters that have been violently dispossessed through settler colonialism are enactments of responsibilities to sacred laws that have emerged through Indigenous communities' traditional relationships with lands and waters. Further, since the colonial assimilation of Indigenous peoples is a systematic process in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples, Indigenous communities and scholars emphasize how lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences are interconnected processes. In this chapter I engage with how Belmore's performance-based video installation *Fountain* at the Venice Biennale in 2005 is a powerful expression of Indigenous self-

determination that enacts a creative presence in international relations by engaging with transnational contemporary Indigenous land/water reclamations and cultural resurgence movements.

Rebecca Belmore's Fountain at the Venice Biennale

In 2004 the Canada Council for the Arts selected Rebecca Belmore to represent Canada at the 51st Biennale in Venice, Italy in June 2005. Belmore was the first Indigenous woman to represent Canada at the Venice Biennale, which is widely considered to be one of the most prestigious festivals in the international art world. Serendipitously, one of Belmore's mentors, Luiseno performance artist James Luna, was selected to represent the United States of America that same year. Luna's performance/installation *James Luna: Emendatio* was curated by Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche) and Truman Lowe (Ho-Chunk) with the NMAI as the organizing institution (Lowe and Smith 2008). With fifty-five national pavilions and several collateral events, the 51st Venice Biennale was co-directed by Spanish curators Maria de Corral, who also organized the exhibition "The Experience of Art" (de Corral), and Rosa Martínez, who also organized the exhibition "Always a Little Further" (Martínez). In the catalogue statements discussing their vision of the exhibition they each organized, de Corral says "In entitling the exhibition *The Experience of Art* I wanted to make the visitors participants in some of the themes the artists deal with every day in their works" (de Corral) and Martínez says:

"The biennale model offers a wonderful chance to analyse the new concept of internationality and to redraw topographies of alterity. However, the illusion of creating a temporary global *agora* cannot hide the existence of a new

cultural and technological apartheid in which the poor are rendered ever more dependent” (Martínez 2005).

de Corral and Martínez’s co-directorship marked the first time the Venice Biennale was organized by two women (Croff). The participation of Belmore, Luna, de Corral and Martínez, whose performance and curating work consistently engages with the international conditions of experiencing contemporary artwork and possibilities for transformative social change through artwork, marked a noticeable departure from the historical foundation and privileging of almost exclusively white male directors, national representatives and curators exhibiting paintings and sculptures at the Venice Biennale.

The Venice Biennale’s inaugural exhibition was held in 1895, at the height of popularity of European world fair exhibitions displaying national pride through the achievements and promises of scientific discoveries, technological innovations, economic progress and cultural achievements. The “City of Water” was well situated to be a site for a global gathering of artistic exchange and commerce, as Venice had already been a site of global relations for centuries. From its strategic military position as a naval power and its colonial trade route location, Venice provided a gathering place for generations of artistic communities to engage in cultural exchange and trade. In *The Venice Biennale 1895 – 1968: From Salon to Goldfish Bowl*, curator and art critic Lawrence Alloway described the historical events that led to the foundation of the Venice Biennale:

“The silver anniversary of the marriage of King Umberto I and Queen Margherita of Savoy was the occasion for celebrations all over a newly-united Italy. On April 19th, 1893, the Municipality of Venice decided that their city’s contributions should be humanitarian and cultural. Funds were set aside for an orphanage intended for the sons of shipwrecked sailors and Venetian workmen and for ‘a national biennale exhibition of art’... Their majesties attended the opening of the exhibition on April 30th, 1895, thus celebrating their silver wedding anniversary in retrospect” (Alloway 31).

The Municipality of Venice established a Commission of thirteen distinguished male residents and artists to organize the first exhibition. They decided the exhibition would take place in the public garden on the Grand Canal and artwork would be requested by invitation, with further submissions being reviewed and selected by a jury appointed by the Commission (Alloway 31). The 1895 Venice Biennale catalogue emphasizes the Commission's vision that an international art exhibition will "e arricchira il patrimonio intellettuale dei giovani artisti" (4) [English translation: enrich the intellectual heritage of the young artists] and will be an occasion for international cultural exchange "ad unire la parte più eletta dei popoli in un vincolo di fraternità spiritual" (5) [English translation: to unite the most chosen of the people in a bond of spiritual brotherhood] (Catalogue of the Venice Biennale). As the title of Alloway's book suggests, the Venice Biennale was established in the tradition of the European salon exhibition of paintings and sculptures for public viewings that were curated by fellow artists without institutional censorship by the church or monarchy (Alloway 35). Speaking about the requirements for curators to undertake the organization of nineteenth-century international European world fair exhibitions and major art exhibitions, Alloway says:

"to deal organizationally with such abundance requires the well-organized setting of goals and schedules and logistic efficiency on an international scale. That is to say, the exhibition has to work like an industrial or military operation" (Alloway 38).

Alloway's analysis points to how the exhibition of artworks (whether canonical or avant-garde) on a platform such as the Venice Biennale required the institutionalization of ongoing international power dynamics. In this context, the foundation of the Venice Biennale as an institution situated within the historical emergence of European capitalist industrialization, militarization and colonization continues to inform its present day

operation as a dominant hub in the international art world network. As demonstrated in the 2005 Biennale, with de Corral and Martínez's essays quoted above and Belmore and Luna's performance/installations which I will discuss below, many present day Biennale participants engage with the tensions between the historically specific conditions of the foundation of the Venice Biennale, the current conditions of the elite international art world, and possibilities for socially transformative artwork that transgresses conventional cataloguing, programming and exhibition methods.

Canada was first represented at the Venice Biennale in 1952 by a group of artists, which was common practice at the time. Canada was represented at the 26th Venice Biennale by Emily Carr, David Milne, Goodridge Roberts and Alfred Pellan, curated by H.O. McCurry of the National Gallery of Canada (National Gallery of Canada). The exhibition of twenty-two paintings took place in the newly constructed Canadian pavilion (XXII Biennale Di Venezia Catalogo 198 – 200). The exhibition took place alongside other national exhibitions of canonical artworks and avant-garde contemporaries such as Henry Moore and Georges Seurat representing Great Britain, Umberto Boccioni and Gaetano Previati representing Italy and Alexander Calder and Edward Hopper representing the United States of America (XXII Biennale Di Venezia Catalogo). The catalogue essay discusses the role of The Group of Seven in establishing the movement of Canadian “<<paesaggio nazionale>>” [English translation: national landscape] painting (XXII Biennale Di Venezia Catalogo 198). The essay also focuses on the role of the National Gallery of Canada in establishing a Canadian national identity and diplomatic international relations through visual art exhibitions of Canadian artwork in the Americas, Europe and the Commonwealth (XXII Biennale Di Venezia Catalogo 197).

In this way, the catalogue essay and artwork exhibition expressed the Canadian settler imagination and practice of institutional visual methods discussed in Chapters Three, Four and Five. Canada's participation in the Venice Biennale beginning in 1952 followed the 1951 RCNDALS conducted by Vincent Massey. Massey's recommendations led to the establishment of institutions such as the National Film Board and National Archives of Canada as well as funding bodies such as the Canada Council for the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences (Library and Archives Canada). Canadian state investment in exhibiting artwork at the Venice Biennale joined a growing number of states seeking to participate in and capitalize on the international art world. While the inaugural 1895 Biennale displayed 516 artworks with 186 pieces sold, by 1952 there were 3,439 artworks exhibited and 562 pieces sold (Alloway 193).

Métis artist Edward Poitras was the first Indigenous artist to represent Canada in 1995 with an exhibition curated by Gerald McMaster and the Canadian Museum of Civilization as the organizing institution (National Gallery of Canada). In the year of the Biennale Centenary, Jean Clair curated the retrospective exhibition *Identità e Alterità* which reflected on the Venice Biennale's 100 year history from the perspective of contemporary artists, curators and scholars' renewed attention to, and self-reflection on, the Eurocentric art canon and art history and the commodification of artwork in the international art market in the 1990s. In the exhibition catalogue Clair says:

“whilst all other beliefs crumble, one remains intact – as if no one dare to attack it: the belief in the ‘avant-garde’ in art. The decade which has formulated a critique of all political, philosophical and technological avant-gardes seems to have steered clear of attacking the *doxa* of the avant-garde itself” (Clair).

Gerald McMaster curated the exhibition of Edward Poitras' photographs and sculptures. In the exhibition catalogue McMaster describes Poitras' preparation of the work and his engagement with gold as a material and medium of a visual storytelling through the trickster figure Coyote, in this process creating an Indigenous presence in the international art world in Venice:

“During a recent trip to Venice, Poitras was struck by the quantity of gold used for religious and lay objects, gold which mainly came from the conquest of North America. Had he found out that beneath the layers of these objects lay the true story of ‘America’?... Poitras wants us to understand that there still exist connections between Europe and (aboriginal) America, that America is longer so far away, or, as the title of one of his works suggests, *At the Edge of the World*” (McMaster, “Canada” 96).

Poitras' artwork and McMaster's curatorial work demonstrate how historical colonial encounters and present day conditions of power in international relations between Indigenous peoples and European peoples profoundly affect all peoples involved. Indigenous artists at the Venice Biennale engaging with the materials and stories that make up shared and contested experiences of colonialism create possibilities for new modes of international relations. In 2006, to celebrate and discuss Belmore and Luna's participation in the Venice Biennale, The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian hosted the international art symposium *Vision, Space, Desire: Global Perspectives and Cultural Hybridity*. In facilitating the event proceedings, McMaster reflected on how the symposium title describes the work of Indigenous artists, curators and scholars engaging with and transforming the conditions the contemporary international art world:

“‘Vision’ is about looking back, looking sideways and looking forward. Looking back concerns where we have come from and what each of us gives our identity; looking sideways tells us what is happening elsewhere by revealing other discourses, issues, ideas and strategies; and looking forward is about moving into the future together, sharing ideas and issues, and

exchanging strategies. ‘Space’ is not only about looking at the global and the local but also the relations between the two – how are we influenced by local discourses and how we translate them to larger audiences and platforms. ‘Desire’ refers to our wish to expand our frames of reference as we move toward new forms and terms of participation in the rapidly evolving international contemporary art world” (McMaster, “New Art” 21).

Such interventions demonstrate how colonial power as an international relationship emerges through and informs the organization of spaces of exhibiting artistic expression in relation to ongoing histories of national militarization and capitalist commodification. In this way, Indigenous artists, curators and scholars at the Venice Biennale analyzing the current conditions of colonial power that inform the international art world create possibilities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants to engage in transnational artwork. The work of Indigenous arts communities at the Biennale enacts transnational agency by calling attention to the colonial methods of national representation, by creating spaces for Indigenous artists’ self-expression within these conditions and by creating possibilities for decolonizing audience engagements with Indigenous artists’ work as an international experience in Venice.

Jann LM Bailey of the Kamloops Art Gallery in Kamloops, British Columbia and Scott Watson of The Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery in Vancouver, British Columbia were the co-commissioners who prepared the successful proposal for Belmore to represent Canada and they co-curated the exhibition of *Fountain* (Belmore *Rebecca Belmore*). The Canada Council for the Arts and Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade contributed \$240 000, approximately half of the estimated \$500 000 - \$600 000 that Watson estimated would be needed for the project (S. Martin). The remaining funds were raised through the contributions of various government funds such as the Government of British Columbia, political organizations such as The Assembly of

First Nations, art institutions such as the National Gallery of Canada, arts foundations such as the Morris and Helen Belkin Foundation and many private donors (Belmore, *Rebecca Belmore* 106). In her acceptance speech for the Governor General's Award in Visual Media and Arts in 2013 Belmore discussed how many communities support her artistic work, including peer review funding grants from Canadian state programs, networks of artist-run centres and support from family and friends (ARCA). Belmore has also discussed her experience of being selected as the first Indigenous woman to represent Canada at the Venice Biennale. In conversation with Watson for the exhibition catalogue, Belmore says:

“It makes me think of the Olympics. I have to admit a strange pride when an athlete from Canada excels, but at the same time these forms of identification conceal as much as they reveal about the complexity of our experience. Some aboriginal people will identify only with their aboriginal nation. While there is an aspect of resistance to this, I want to be careful not to limit my identity or to be disingenuous about the complexity of those social or political structures that, for better or worse, have framed my experience. My work is really happening at the intersection of many identities. It is seeing how these sit together, often through my own body and the power relations that affect it, and that is what my work is about. This makes me think about my particular situation. I am being described as the first aboriginal woman of North America to represent a country at Venice. Well, I cannot ignore that North America was cut into three pieces and not very gently. Is that not a long, wide, load of history to bear? I hope to do it justice” (Belmore and Watson 28).

These passages, where Belmore discusses the many communities that support her work and she talks about her position as the first Indigenous woman to represent Canada at this event, foreground the tension between the *international* art world facilitating the Venice Biennale and Belmore's *transnational* performance-based video installation artwork. As discussed in Chapter Four, artists, curators, and scholars have demonstrated that Canadian art galleries, museums and academic programmes have historically

institutionalized power relations between settlers and Indigenous peoples through colonial visual knowledge production about artwork (Crosby “Imaginary”; Francis; Houle, Nemiroff, and Townsend-Gault; Medina; Nanibush). These critical interventions have demonstrated how the institutionalized privileging of Canadian settler colonial knowledge production continues to shape the distribution of resources within arts communities and marginalize methods of self-representation by Indigenous artists, curators and arts communities (Enright “Tortoise”; R.W. Hill *Meeting*, Hopkins and Lalonde; Mansour; Maracle “Postcolonial”; Martin and McMaster; P. C. Smith *Everything*; Townsend-Gault “Circulating”). In conversation with Sandra Martin for the *Globe and Mail*, Belmore discussed her reaction to being selected as the first Indigenous woman to represent Canada at the Venice Biennale:

“How it registers with me is, wow, it has taken this long. I don’t see it as a coup for me, it basically reflects the reality of the society we live in, in this country called Canada. It is surprising that it has taken this long, but I am glad it has happened finally” (R1).

As discussed in Chapter Four, many artists, scholars, and curators identify the role of collectives organized by Indigenous curators as being crucial in the mobilization of Indigenous arts communities and non-Indigenous allies, envisioning and enacting transformative policies and practices of exhibiting work by Indigenous artists in Canadian galleries and performance spaces (ACC/CAA; ANDPVA; Bagg and Jessup; Claxton and Willard; IPAA; McIsaac).

Further, as discussed in previous chapters, Indigenous contemporary performance artists’ work that directly engages with the social conditions of colonial representations in art institutions demonstrate how their artwork takes place at intersections of international

and transnational relationships (Fusco and Gómez-Peña; Luna; Monkman; Stimson). Belmore's 1988 performance *Artifact 671B* explicitly engaged with the social conditions of present day institutional visual methods that exhibit Indigenous artists' work as artifacts. In 1988 the Lubicon Lake Cree nation called for a boycott of the Winter Olympics being hosted in Calgary, Alberta, due to treaty violations by the Canadian government and the Shell Oil Company securing federal government contracts to drill on the Lubicon Lake Cree nation's land without their consent. The Lubicon Lake Cree nation also called for a boycott of the Shell sponsored ethnographic exhibition of Indigenous artwork as artifacts in *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples*. Many galleries around the world supported the boycott of the Shell sponsored exhibition by refusing to loan items from their collections for *The Spirit Sings* exhibition at the Glenbow Museum during the Calgary Winter Olympic Games in February 1988 (L.A. Martin, *Out* 80; J.G.E. Smith). Belmore performed *Artifact 671B* outside the Thunder Bay Art Gallery on 12 January, 1988, choosing a location along the Olympic Flame relay path and selecting a gallery that had a collection of First Nations and Inuit artwork (L.A. Martin *Out*, 80). Drawing on James Luna's 1987 performance *The Artifact Piece* discussed in Chapter Four, for the duration of the two hour performance in -22C weather Belmore presented a mock exhibition of herself, seated on the ground out front of the art gallery, as a tagged 'artifact' on display (L.A. Martin, *Out* 80). Belmore recalls that a small group of Indigenous students stood behind her during the performance holding the banner stating "Share the Shame" and many Thunder Bay residents joined in protests at the City Hall (L.A. Martin, "Out" 80). Art historian and curator Charlotte Townsend-Gault notes the significance of the 671B tagging: "her number, one of those

inscrutable museum codes, was in fact the Liquor Control Board of Ontario's code for cheap red wine" (Townsend-Gault, *Rebecca Belmore* 724). Tuscarora artist, scholar and curator Jolene Rickard also notes that Belmore's clothing was tagged with the Shell logo: "marking corporate incursion on First Nations space" (Rickard "Performing").

Discussing her participation in the boycott through a performance that negotiated contending stereotypes of Indigenous peoples and artists in the Canadian settler national imagination, museum exhibitions and hosting of international events such as the 1988 Calgary Winter Olympic Games, Belmore has said:

"The call issued by the Lubicon Cree Nation to encourage people to respond to the hypocrisy of this supposedly celebratory exhibition and its relationship to the Olympics screamed at me. Asking people to protest this exhibition in the presence of the Olympic flame was a brilliant idea... This call to action was a significant moment for me. I could not ignore the reality that objects made by our ancestors were vastly more desirable to the world than dealing with our present day existence" (L.A. Martin, "Out" 80).

Belmore's performance and the global boycott action called attention to how colonial visual knowledge produced about Indigenous peoples, for the leisure and pleasure of settler audiences in exhibitions such as *The Spirit Sings*, fortifies Canadian settler corporate-state partnerships in the dispossession of Indigenous peoples, commodification of land and waters and exploitation of collective resources. In performing *Artifact 671B* in solidarity with the Lubicon Cree Lake nation, Belmore's performance enacted an Indigenous creative presence of transnational agency in the context of the colonial international power relations of art exhibitions, sporting events and oil production.

Belmore's engagement with the colonial political conditions of Canadian institutional exhibitions of artwork by Indigenous artists through her performance artwork *Artifact 671B* in 1988 took place in the context of the hemispheric shift in

decolonizing work in scholarship, curatorial work and arts communities in the Americas surrounding the Columbus quincentenary. Belmore's decolonial performance artwork practice continues to consistently foreground the embodied international political struggles and transnational agency of Indigenous artists navigating the historical and ongoing exhibition policies and practices of Canadian art institutions. Belmore's performances call attention to how these colonial conditions marginalize Indigenous artists' methods of self-representation in tandem with the systemic distribution of art institutions' resources that privilege non-Indigenous settler artists. These historical and contemporary material conditions shaped the intersection between the international art world that facilitated the 51st Venice Biennale and the transnational artwork *Fountain* that Belmore produced for the event. Discussing Belmore and Luna's Venice Biennale exhibitions, Townsend-Gault says:

“To experience their work together in an international location is to get a sense of how their trajectories through local communities and increasingly transnational art worlds have done much to shape the direction and discussion around Native art of the past twenty years in both Canada and the United States. This should not be taken as career progress from the local to the global – both artists have always insisted that their first allegiance is to their own communities as both source and audience” (Townsend-Gault, *Rebecca Belmore* 722).

The location of the Biennale in Venice is significant to both Belmore's creation of *Fountain* and to the functioning of this event in the contemporary international art world.

Speaking about the location of the event in Venice, sociologist and journalist Sarah

Thorton says:

“A biennale is not just a show that takes place every two years; it is a goliath exhibition that is meant to capture the global artistic moment. Although institutions like the Whitney and the Tate hold national surveys that they call

biennials and triennials, a true biennale is international in outlook and hosted by a city rather than a museum” (Thorton 225)

Thorton’s characterization of the Biennale emphasizes the defining features of this event as the location in Venice with an international perspective on contemporary artwork. Belmore’s conceptualization and creation of *Fountain* engages with these circumstances as key dynamics both in producing the performance and in viewing of the installation. As discussed in the previous chapter, performance artwork and performance studies foreground embodiment as a site of political struggle and making political claims. By foregrounding embodied presence as the medium of artistic creation, performance artwork disrupts the popular idea of art as an object of representation. In the remainder of this section I describe and analyze Belmore’s performance-installation *Fountain* in the context of Diana Taylor’s scenario method of engaging with performance artwork. I discuss how Belmore’s filming of the performance on Iona Beach, naming of the performance-installation as *Fountain* and projection of the video onto a falling stream of water in the Canadian pavilion in Venice enact an Indigenous creative presence in the international art world that engages with global Indigenous land/water reclamations and cultural resurgences.

Belmore’s performance of *Fountain* was filmed in collaboration with Winnipeg-based director Noam Gonick and a production crew of eighteen members on Iona Beach in Richmond, British Columbia, where the waters of the Strait of Georgia and Pacific Ocean meet the shores of Coast Salish territories. This beach location is a threshold of many overlapping natural elements and human activities. At Iona Beach, where water meets land, the film focuses on the international dynamics at play through the sight of sewage from a nearby filtration plant flowing from a pipe into the water and the sound of

airplanes at the nearby Vancouver international airport. Discussing the decision to film the performance at Iona Beach, Belmore sites the sewage pollution and the airport as well the driftwood scattered across the beach, “renegade logs from the logging industry”, and the location of the beach in the Musqueam peoples’ traditional territories (Enright, *Poetics* 65). The filming location on Iona Beach and the exhibition location at the Venice Biennale, where the filmed performance was projected onto a stream of falling water in the Canadian pavilion, are both international sites that Belmore engages with through this transnational artwork.

The film begins with a panoramic view of a cloudy sky. The frame then moves slowly and steadily downwards to the water and the land. The frame careens across the shore scattered with logs. As the pace of the frame moving across the beach speeds up, an airplane can be heard flying high above in the sky. The frame comes to rest on a pile of wood that spontaneously bursts into a fire that glows brilliantly against the grey sky and bleak landscape. As the flames roar and the burning wood crackles, the frame gradually shifts upwards towards the sky again.

The second sequence shows Belmore struggling in shallow waters. Belmore is sitting waist-deep in the water, drenched and she shakes her head. Her gestures, moving her hands and arms across the surface of the water and moving her body erratically through the water, suggests that she is struggling to break away from a force that is not visible to the camera lens. She breathes heavily as she crawls through the water and tries to gain her footing. Belmore grunts as she fishes a well-worn bucket out of the water. The film alternates between slow motion and standard speed as she thrashes around in the water, grunting from the effort of trying to fill the bucket with water.

The third sequence begins with Belmore resting waist-deep in the same shallow, placid waters. Belmore is kneeling in meditative stillness. Eventually she inhales deeply and rises. The frame, from below, looks upwards to show only Belmore, moving, against the sky. She is breathing heavily, walking slowly and steadily forward.

The fourth sequence is a panoramic view from the land, with the beach filling the bottom half the screen and the ocean and sky across the top half. From afar on the shore, Belmore is approaching. The only sound is her footsteps in the distance. As she comes closer it is clear she is carrying the bucket in her left hand. From her gestures, the bucket appears to be full and heavy to carry. Once she is near, suddenly Belmore stops walking. With a deep groan she throws the contents of the buckets at the camera. Shockingly, it is blood red.

The field of view is entirely flooded in an opaque bloody redness. The redness coating the lens in the film production appeared to be blood flowing in the Canadian pavilion at the Venice Biennale. In the exhibition, where the film was projected onto a stream of falling water that acted as the 'screen', at this point the flowing water as the visual interface through which the audience experienced *Fountain* suddenly appeared to turn into blood and the room was bathed in red light. As the performance-installation continues, Belmore's laboured breathing can be heard clearly but the image of her body is heavily distorted through the thickness of the bloody redness between the viewer and the artist.



Fig. 21. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Installation View, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 22. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 23. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 24. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 25. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 26. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 27. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 28. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 29. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 30. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Production Still, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.



Fig. 31. Rebecca Belmore. *Fountain*. 2005. Installation View, Canadian Pavillion, 51st Venice Biennale, June – November 2005. Curated by the Morris and Helen Belkin Art Gallery and Kamloops Art Gallery. Photo: Jose Ramon Gonzalez.

Belmore discussed *Fountain* in conversation with Watson for the exhibition catalogue:

“the piece moves from fire to water to blood. My intent is to link our bodies to the essential elements necessary to life. To embrace a moment where we can acknowledge how we are all connected and implicated in history and in the world... In creating this simple action with universal elements as artistic material, I’m hoping to be able to speak to an audience that is beyond my own boundaries. I come from a very specific place, as we all do. My place is that of a North American aboriginal woman who found her way and is bringing her version of a ‘fountain’ to the floating city of Venice” (Watson and Belmore 27).

Belmore’s naming of the project *Fountain* speaks to an international art world audience from an Indigenous perspective about her engagement with how the power of water and artwork are expressed in Western cultural archetypes. In this context, Belmore’s naming of her performance-installation as *Fountain* registers connections with European architectural designs of plaza fountains, with Western art history images of women and

water and with the art project that is often cited as one of the first works of contemporary modern art: Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* (1917). Drawing on Taylor's scenario method, analyzing Belmore's *Fountain* in the context of European architecture, Western art history and Duchamp's *Fountain* demonstrates how Belmore's artwork enacts reversals of Eurocentric art history and speaks in conversations with the international art world from an Indigenous perspective.

Historically, as architectural features in European city-centres, fountains have been commissioned, designed and constructed as expressions of wealth and status of established religious, state and social elites. Since the prominent display of monuments in common spaces has been a systematic way that European colonists throughout the world historically sought to assert sovereign claims to settlements, fountains are common features in city centres in many settler colonial societies. Discussing how Belmore's *Fountain* engages with the present day significance of the colonial history of European fountains, Martin notes that the construction of grandiose fountains in city centres that have been commissioned by wealthy private investors is an expression of global political economic relationships, as such projects deflect attention from how state-corporate partnerships profit from undermining communities' well-being. Further, Martin says: "These fountains dramatically and effectively equate nature with the economic stability that such institutions promise to provide to communities" (L.A. Martin, "Waters" 48). Her analysis points to how historical and contemporary colonial and corporate power dynamics are dependent not only on the commodification of water in ways that produce massive social inequalities and hardship for communities but also require the normalization of these conditions by instilling the belief in the collective imagination that

this is natural and beneficial to all. In this context, the fountain as a public display of human relationships with water expresses not only the aesthetic pleasure of viewing the movement of water and a desire to control the movement of water but also functions to normalize how social inequalities between peoples are understood. While such fountains commemorate the prestige and wealth of elite people, Belmore's *Fountain* is a performance-installation that treats water itself as inherently powerful and demonstrates how artwork can be an expression of transnational agency. In the final section of this chapter I discuss how Belmore's *Fountain* not only resists the current global colonial commodification of water but also engages with the conditions of Indigenous land/water reclamations and Indigenous cultural resurgences.

Belmore's naming of *Fountain* and her bodily gestures in the performance call attention to restrictive archetypes of the Eurocentric art canon and art history scholarship about the work of women artists. Two common figures in Western classical oil paintings are the images of a nude European woman bathing and the image of an anonymous woman or girl performing the labour of fetching water to care for or serve another person or group. Feminist art historians, curators and artists have shown how the dominance of such images in the Eurocentric art canon works to normalize the privileging of the heteronormative white male gaze and marginalizes both the lived experiences of women and artwork by women artists that engages with a broader ranges of social relationships and power dynamics, including relationships and inequalities that women experience with other women. As feminist art historians Griselda Pollock and Deborah Cherry have demonstrated, art exhibitions and art history scholarship play a crucial role in entrenching social hierarchies by normalizing socially produced gender inequalities that are

experienced through sexuality, economic status and racialization. In *Vision and Difference: Feminism, Femininity and the Histories of Art*, Pollock reflects on her collaboration with Cherry in reviewing the 1984 Tate Gallery exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites* and their argument that by:

“High Culture plays a specifiable part in the reproduction of women’s oppression, in the circulation of relative values and meanings for the ideological constructs of masculinity and femininity. Representing creativity as masculine and circulating Woman as the beautiful image for the desiring masculine gaze, High Culture systematically denies knowledge of women as producers of culture and meaning... The knowledges and significations produced by such events as *The Pre-Raphaelites* are intimately connected with the workings of patriarchal power in our society” (Cherry and Pollack 494)

In Belmore’s *Fountain* performance-installation, her presence in the water at Iona Beach and her labour of gathering and carrying water do not conform to conventional representations of women in the Eurocentric art history canon that objectify women in a passive position for the viewer’s pleasure or portray women as anonymous servants. Historically, conventional art historians and art critics’ treatment of women artists who do not conform to the status quo often dismiss their artwork, doubt the ability of their work to speak to an audience that does not share their positionality, and even call into question their status as an artist. While Belmore’s artwork is consistently highly praised in international art magazines, academic journals, newspaper reviews, online blogs, and among arts communities, the language of some reviewers fits another systemic gendered pattern identified by Lucy Lippard in conventional art history and art criticism publications. Lippard argues that in the conditions of the Western art canon, where women’s bodies are often presented as sex objects for the pleasure of the heteronormative male gaze, when a woman artist creates work with her body it is often assumed that she

views her body as representative of the feminine ideal and she is therefore narcissistic (Lippard 75). Trevor Mahovsky's review in *Artform* of the 2008 Vancouver Art Gallery Exhibition *Rebecca Belmore*, which included *Fountain*, is favourable overall and yet the final sentences of his review also express the assumption Lippard identifies. Discussing *Vigil*, Mahovsky says:

“Belmore's symbolic wounding, entrapment, and exposure of her body in attempted solidarity with those whose bodies have been destroyed make poignant a chasm that cannot be bridged. Her alternately narcissistic and self-abusive performances thus operate in critical dialogue not only with the demands upon artists of aboriginal backgrounds to somehow be representative of 'aboriginal artists' but also with the polemics of the presentation of the female body” (Mahovsky 361).

Mahovsky's characterization of Belmore's *Vigil* performance as “narcissistic and self-abusive” demonstrates the systemic pattern identified by Lippard. Mahovsky's review also does not address the way in which Belmore's approach to her artwork engages with well-established performance art methods, by artists such as Marina Abramović and Chris Burden, that foreground the strain and strength of bodily endurance through acting out repetitive gestures and putting the artist's performing body in dangerous circumstances (Abramović *Rhythm O*; Abramović *Rhythm 10*; Burden *Shoot*; Burden *Trans-Fixed*).

In this way, Belmore's *Fountain* not only problematizes the status quo gendered dynamics of the Western art canon and art criticism, her work speaks to the contemporary international art world community from an Indigenous woman artist's perspective.

According to curators, art history scholars, and critics, some of the defining characteristics of contemporary artwork in the international art world involve: how artists engage self-reflexively with institutional methods of representation; how artists engage

with relationships between audiences and the artist; and the artist's identity and/or celebrity status being an explicit aspect of their work (Bankowsky, Gingeras and Wood; Gompertz; Thorton). Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain* (1917) expresses these qualities and is often cited as a pivotal work in the emergence of contemporary modern art. Duchamp's *Fountain* (1917) came to public attention as an anonymous submission, under the name "R. Mutt", to the 1917 *Independents Exhibition* in New York City. According to art historian and art critic William Gompertz, Duchamp was a director and member of the organization facilitating the exhibition, the Society of Independent Artists, which was established to create an alternative art community in contrast with the conservative National Academy of Design. He wanted to test the Society's official policy to accept any submissions; a rule that was intended to challenge elitist gatekeeping of the art establishment. Duchamp chose a commercially available porcelain urinal, signed it "R. Mutt 1917" and named the piece "Fountain". Duchamp resigned when *Fountain* was rejected by the committee that believed, as Gompertz puts it, "that Mr. Mutt was taking the piss, which of course he was" (Gompertz 7). Duchamp later called *Fountain* a "readymade" sculpture and, as Gompertz argues, *Fountain* (1917) marked a turning point in global art history in the emergence of contemporary art by demonstrating that the artist's intellectual labour and process of materializing the expression of their vision doesn't always involve creating an object from scratch. This problematized the established belief that artistic creation mainly involved an individual's exceptional vision to transform pure materials, such as a block of marble or oil paints on a blank canvas, to create unique objects for viewing in art museums (Gompertz 6). In conversation with Calvin Thompkins, Duchamp stated that with his "readymade" sculptures he wanted to

emphasize the role of imagination in artwork, to disengage with what he called “retinal” art that was made to appeal to what was aesthetically pleasing according to the status quo and also to: “get out of the exchangeability, I mean the monetization, one might say, of the work of art. I never intended to sell my readymades” (Tompkins 2013, 13 and 26). Duchamp’s *Fountain* showed how artistic creation is the expression of an idea that can be done with ordinary objects and materials, establishing a more equitable relationship between artists and audiences by challenging gatekeepers of arts communities that want to cultivate an elite membership. In this context of contemporary artwork, Eurocentric art history and colonial architecture, Belmore’s treatment of water in her *Fountain* performance-installation transformed this elemental material into the visual medium through which the artist and audience encountered one another in the Canadian pavilion in Venice.

Belmore’s decision to engage with water as a visual interface to screen her performance in the Canadian pavilion enacts transnational agency in the international art world. Discussing contending experiences of the power of water and the power of artwork in the contexts of European architecture, international political economy and Anishinaabe cosmology, Belmore says:

“Look at how fountains function in architectural space and how we live with water. I was in Milano at the train station and saw a fountain where the water comes out of a lion’s mouth and it’s so majestic and so powerful. So the power of water is something that we understand. Think of electricity. The United States wants our capability of generating that power for them. So I think water is power and I’m hoping that people will in some way think about this because of the work. I’ve used water a lot and I understand, respect and am fearful of it. Our mythology is one in which we come from water. And the planet is mostly water. I’m trying to deal with myself as a performance artist and as an Aboriginal woman and with my understanding of water. I grew up where I could dip my cup while I was canoeing and fishing, and now I’m here

in Venice where everyone is drinking bottled water” (Belmore quoted in Enright, “Poetics” 65 – 66).

Belmore’s decision to create a waterfall screening of *Fountain* expresses her experience and analysis of the power of water as aesthetically moving, as a commodified resource in international economies, as a force of nature and as a significant element in Anishnaabe cosmology. Belmore’s treatment of water as an artistic material engages with Earthwork methods of creating large scale sculptures in outdoor settings using organic materials found at the location, such as grass, flowers and rocks. Since Earthworks are exposed to the elements, this form of sculpture, like performance artwork, is ephemeral and therefore is experienced by most people through visual documentation that is later shown in an exhibition. Belmore’s work with water as a performance artist draws from methods established by Ana Mendieta in her performance earthwork *Siluetas Series* (1973 – 1980), which Mendieta called earth-body sculptures. Mendieta was born in Havana, Cuba in 1948. Due to the turmoil of the 1961 Revolution Mendieta’s parents sent her and her sister Raquel to live in the United States through “Operation Pedro Pan” which was organized by the CIA and Catholic Church and funded by oil corporations Esso and Shell, who were seeking to destabilize the Castro government and re-privatize the Cuban economy (Blocker 52). Mendieta’s experiences of being forced to leave her family, surviving the US foster care system and growing up in exile in a predominantly white English-speaking community in Iowa, USA instilled a commitment to expressing the embodiment of knowledge, memory, violence, pain and trauma in her performance artwork. Throughout Mendieta’s *Siluetas Series* she combined elements of earthwork practices with performance art methods that foreground the embodied presence of marginalized subjects and knowledges through repetitive gestures. Mendieta’s *Siluetas*

Series earth-body sculptures included: sculpting an outline of her silhouette with flowers on a beach at Salina Cruz, Mexico (1976); making an impression of her body on the shoreline of the beach at Salina Cruz and documenting its erosion as the tide moved inland (1976); making an impression of her silhouette in an Iowa snow bank and documenting its transformation as the snow melted (1977); and sculpting an impression of her body in the earth at a site near Iowa City, lining the impression with gunpowder and lighting it on fire to burn the shape of her body into the earth (1980). Jane Blocker discusses how Mendieta's innovative earth-body sculptures engage with the hierarchical social construction of racialization, gender and sexuality and in this process problematized dominant analyses and practices of earthwork that viewed organic materials such as grass, flowers, earth, ice and rocks as abstract raw material. Blocker argues that Mendieta's earth-body sculptures engage with colonization, racism and white supremacy in the Americas by documenting how the earth's elements interact with Mendieta's bodily presence on the land in Iowa as a woman of colour. In discussing Mendieta's 1977 earth-body sculpture in the Iowa snow, Blocker says this piece demonstrates how: "Despite its momentary possession by the white snow, the earth has an undying bond with the 'colored' peoples who once inhabited it" (Blocker 66). In this way, Mendieta's earth-body sculptures performed and documented the displacement and erasure of bodily presence through colonization as well as the endurance of political struggles and creative methods of making political claims through embodied artwork practices.

As a performance-installation that focuses on water, Belmore's *Fountain* unsettles the colonial idea of Indigenous peoples' exceptional closeness with the earth as evidence

of being ‘primitive’ in relation with ‘civilized’ European peoples, by instead demonstrating how Indigenous peoples’ relations with lands and waterways in their traditional territories call into question claims to exclusive sovereignty by states such as Canada. Belmore has discussed how her process of working with water as an artistic material in the performance at Iona Beach and her decision to engage with water as a performing medium in the installation in Venice is informed by her experience of being an Indigenous woman artist representing Canada in the international art world at the Biennale:

“I think my choice of projecting onto water itself is to acknowledge its power and our relationship to it. We are approaching a time when water could be an issue more serious than oil. I hope that day never comes. I’ve been living on Canada’s West Coast and I realize how foreign, vast and mysterious the ocean is to me. When I was making the video, I deliberately and repeatedly immersed my body into the icy cold water. The physical intensity of this meant that by the fourth time my connection to the power and mystery of the ocean was almost entirely visceral. It was a way of soliciting the sublime vitality of the spiritual forces within the water and creating a bodily process of transformation. At the same time, at the end of this process, I am returned to myself through the familiar labour of carrying a bucket of water. To me, this refers both to women’s labour and simultaneously to my own task in this project of bringing a ‘fountain’ back to Venice, the city where the idea of the fountain originated. This ‘gift’ – the contents of the bucket – carries the weight of colonial history and I am able, through art, to wash it from my body and splash it on the screen where it becomes an object for reflection. It is my way of painting this history, of rendering this invisible visible” (Watson and Belmore 27 - 28).

Rather than treating water as a material to be acted upon in her performance and rather than projecting the video onto a static wall or screen made of synthetic material, Belmore works with the performative power of water in the performance and to create a space of international encounter between the artist and the audience in the Canadian pavilion. In conversation with Robert Enright, Belmore discussed the significance of the final

sequence of the *Fountain* from her position as an Indigenous person representing Canada at the Venice Biennale:

“when I’m throwing the blood on the screen in this formal shape of a fountain and I’m bringing back the fountain to Venice – it’s like saying ‘colonization is a killer.’ And it’s still doing the same thing in Canadian contemporary culture. My question is, when will it stop? It’s very complex figuring out what is my role as an artist and what do I have to say. I’m trying to do the best I can. I’m just here to mark things down, to make history” (Belmore quoted in Enright, “Poetics” 69).

Further, in conversation with Watson, Belmore discussed the visual significance of the final sequence of *Fountain* in the performance-installation:

“I hope that a transformative connection is made as the viewer and I face each other across this screen, where water changes into blood, blood into water and history into art” (Belmore and Watson 28).

Belmore’s statements provide a method of tracing the international political claims made in her performance and exhibition of *Fountain* in Venice. Belmore’s labour as an artist and the audience’s labour of experiencing the exhibition of *Fountain* in the Canadian pavilion, together, enact an international encounter that confronts the violence of colonialism. Belmore’s labour in her performance in the icy water at Iona Beach and her gesture of throwing back the bloody consequences of colonialism are met by the viewer’s labour of returning this visual exchange in international art forum. Speaking of the international location of *Fountain* in the context of Belmore’s labour as an Indigenous woman representing Canada in Venice, Townsend-Gault said “the location helped the work to work” (Townsend-Gault, *Rebecca Belmore* 724). Further, Richard William Hill has discussed how Belmore’s performance-film installation projected onto the stream of flowing water engages “the embodied physicality of the audience” (R.W. Hill, “Built” 50) and foregrounds the role of contemporary artwork in the mutual subject formation of

the audience and the artist (R.W. Hill, “Built” 51). Where computer, television and projection screens are ubiquitous static surfaces that facilitate one-way spectatorship, *Fountain*’s water screen offers a fluid medium of visual exchange between the artist and the audience. Belmore’s method of communicating her artistic vision and performance with an audience in the Canadian pavilion at Venice opens up a space for audiences to reflect on the historical and ongoing devastating impacts of colonialism and the potential for artwork to create new modes of international relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. In this current global era of reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, Indigenous communities are renewing calls for non-Indigenous settlers to engage in decolonization and focusing on Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences within Indigenous communities. In the next section I discuss how IR theories of sovereignty and Canadian settler colonialism are contested by Indigenous scholars and nations’ analyses of Indigenous self-determination as an international relationship. In the final section I return to an analysis of labour in the performance and viewing of *Fountain*, when I discuss how Belmore’s performance installation in Venice enacts a creative presence in relation with global Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences.

Transnational Artwork and Indigenous Lands and Waters Reclamations

In “The New Cultural Politics of Difference” Cornel West discusses the intellectual, existential, and political dynamics of marginalized cultures as sites of resistance and transformation in global social justice struggles at the end of the twentieth century. West says:

“We have now reached a new stage in the perennial struggle for freedom and dignity. And while much of the First World intelligentsia adopts retrospective and conservative outlooks that defend the crisis-ridden present, we promote a prospective and prophetic vision with a sense of possibility and potential, especially for those who bear the social costs of the present. We look to the past for strength, not solace; we look to the present and see people perishing, not profits mounting; we look toward the future and vow to make it different and better” (36).

West underscores how marginalized cultures in conditions of global political struggles can be generative sites of collective self-reflection and renewal. In this way, West demonstrates how marginalization is not only a position from which to counter dominant systems of oppression; marginalization in the context of political contestations can also be sites for collective internal transformations. Global Indigenous self-determination struggles do counter the dominant Westphalian philosophy and practice of sovereignty in world politics. Further, present day Indigenous self-determination struggles are also increasingly prioritizing collective resources, energy, and attention to Indigenous reclamations of traditional lands and waters (for example through reclaiming Indigenous place names and ceremonial practices at particular sites) and cultural resurgences (for example through learning and teaching Indigenous languages). In this section I discuss how, in the context of the contemporary international art world Venice Biennale event, where artists represent internationally recognized sovereign states, Belmore’s participation as an Indigenous representative of Canada can be understood as a process of transnational artwork that engages with global Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences. To make this argument I discuss the contemporary conditions of transnational artwork and of Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences. I conclude by returning to an analysis of Belmore’s artistic labour in the performance and the audience’s labour in viewing *Fountain* in the Canadian pavilion at the Venice

Biennale. I engage with this particular site as a non-Indigenous Canadian settler bringing a transnational feminist analysis to the power of creative self-expression in world politics and possibilities for transforming IR theories and methods of power.

As discussed in the first section of this chapter, the contemporary international art world is structured through historically established relationships and institutions that privilege the sovereign state system. I discussed how, in these circumstances, Belmore's *Fountain* at the Venice Biennale unsettles colonial understandings of Canadian subjectivity, history and artwork in an international context. In this section I focus on how Belmore's *Fountain* also engages with Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences. In this way, Belmore's artwork is engaging in both international decolonization and transnational Indigenous reclamation and resurgence. Understanding the broader context of transnational artwork in the international art world is crucial to situating this analysis of Belmore's intervention in the Canadian pavilion in Venice in 2005.

Transnational artwork within the international art world challenges the assumed universality of sovereignty as the site of international politics and also transgresses modes of colonial dominance and capitalist commodification. Okwui Enwezor's work as Artistic Director for Documenta 11 precipitated a watershed moment for arts communities engaging with tensions between the international art world and transnational artwork. Documenta is an international art event that began in 1955 and is hosted every five years in Kassel, Germany. Along with the Venice Biennale, Documenta is one of the most prestigious events in the international art world. Enwezor was born in Calabar, Nigeria and moved to the United States in 1982 to study Political Science at Jersey City State

College. In an interview with *The New York Times* during the preparations for Documenta11, Enwezor discussed how his art criticism and academic writing about the social and political dimensions of artwork led to curating work: “I was never interested in curating, but I was interested in visual arts, and I saw an opportunity to make an intervention where there were gaps” (Bohlen). Enwezor was the first non-European Artistic Director for Documenta and his methods of curating, art criticism and teaching art history consistently engage with the material conditions of international colonial power relations. He is a founding editor of *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* and his work addresses the underrepresentation and marginalization of African and black diaspora artists and art communities in knowledge production about artwork. As Artistic Director of Documenta11, Enwezor discussed the organization of five ‘Platform’ events in the Short Guide catalogue:

“The constitutive conceptual dimension of Documenta11 is grounded in the formulation of a series of five Platforms of public discussions, conferences, workshops, books, and film and video programs that seek to mark the location of culture today and the spaces in which culture intersects with the domains of complex global knowledge circuits” (Enwezor, *Documenta 11_Platform 5 6*)

In this way, Enwezor foregrounds an analysis of how artwork is intertwined with multiple contending power systems and methods of knowledge production in world politics. The five ‘Platform’ events organized for *Documenta11* were: “*Platform 1, Democracy Unrealized*” in Vienna, Austria from 25 March – 20 April, 2001; “*Platform 2, Experiments With Truth: Transitional Justice and The Process of Truth and Reconciliation*” in New Delhi, India from 7 May – 21 May, 2001; “*Platform 3, Créolité and Creolization*” in St. Lucia from 12 January to 16 January 2002; “*Platform 4, Under Siege: Four African Cities, Freetown, Johannesburg, Kinshasa, Lagos*” in Lagos, Nigeria

from 15 March – 21 March 2002; and “*Platform 5*, Exhibition Documenta11” in Kassel, Germany from 8 June – 15 September, 2002 (Enwezor, *Documenta11* 6). Describing the interdisciplinary collaboration among the Platform organizers, Enwezor says:

“The interdisciplinary dimension that forms part of our common association is also a manifestation of a central concern of Documenta11 from the very beginning, namely the idea that the space of contemporary art, and the mechanisms that bring it to a wider public domain, require radical rethinking and enlargement” (Enwezor, “Preface” 10).

Enwezor’s direction of Documenta11 generated unprecedented opportunities for international arts communities’ collective reflection on how historical and contemporary conditions of colonialism, capitalism, slavery, genocide and reconciliation are expressed and contested through artwork. In organizing Documenta11, Enwezor reflected on “the historical biography of the field and the historical field in which the exhibition itself is embedded” with the entry point of focusing on the 1955 founding of Documenta in Kassel, Germany in tandem with the Bandung Conference in Bandung, Indonesia. Enwezor described his approach to decolonizing international artwork as a transnational project of engaging with “the entanglement of our different cultural archives, *not* this very narrow demarcation between them” (Enwezor “Revisiting”). As a process of transnational artwork in the international art world, Documenta11 created opportunities for renewed attention to how the Eurocentric imagination and material foundation of international relations has been constituted through colonial encounters. Further, in staging three Platforms in the Global South (in New Delhi, St. Lucia and Lagos) and two Platforms in Europe (Vienna and Kassel) Documenta11 demonstrated how the ongoing work of global arts communities transgresses the Eurocentrism of the international art world. When it was announced that Enwezor is curating the Venice Biennale as the

Director of the Visual Arts Sector for the 56th International Art Exhibition, May 9 – November 22 2015, he stated his interest in examining these dynamics of political struggle, community, and imagination through art history and artwork at the Venice Biennale:

“No event or exhibition of contemporary art has continuously existed at the confluence of so many historical changes across the fields of art, politics, technology, and economics, like la Biennale di Venezia. La Biennale is the ideal place to explore all these dialectical fields of reference, and the institution of la Biennale itself will be a source of inspiration in planning the Exhibition (Enwezor quoted in la Biennale).

These multidisciplinary conversations among international arts and academic communities also engage with the specific circumstances of Indigenous self-determination struggles in world politics that challenge colonial claims to exclusive sovereignty and transgress these restrictive conditions through reclamations and cultural resurgences. In *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* Anishinaabe scholar, poet and fiction writer Gerald Vizenor demonstrates how Indigenous peoples’ active presence not only unsettles colonialism but also creates relationships of Indigenous self-determination that cannot be reduced to settler categories of description or political institutions (Vizenor 1998). Vizenor demonstrates how settler colonialism is dependent on asserting the absence of Indigenous peoples, in order to claim entitlement to territorial sovereignty, through imagining and depicting the colonial figure of ‘the Indian’ (Vizenor 1998, 152). In these conditions of settler colonial claims to territorial sovereignty and Indigenous peoples’ absence, Vizenor describes the power of Indigenous peoples’ active, creative presence:

“Survivance, in the sense of native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active

presence. The Indian has no native ancestors; the original crease of that simulation is Columbian. The native stories of survivance are successive and natural estates; survivance is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy and victimry... the connotations of transmotion are creation stories, totemic visions, reincarnations, and sovereignty; transmotion, that sense of native motion and an active presence, is *sui generes* sovereignty. Native transmotion is survivance, a reciprocal use of nature, not a monotheistic, territorial sovereignty” (Vizenor 15).

Vizenor’s analysis of Indigenous peoples’ active, creative presence in contesting colonialism and enacting self-determination is influential in contemporary academic theorizations of Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences.

Drawing from Vizenor’s emphasis on Indigenous “Creation as presence” (L. Simpson, *Dancing* 43) Leanne Simpson demonstrates how conventional academic theories of social movements cannot comprehensively analyze the power dynamics of Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences because social movement theory is based upon a Western approach that focuses on how groups’ political claims are made to sovereign state representatives or through state institutions (L. Simpson, *Dancing* 16). Simpson situates her analysis of Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgence within a context of Indigenous resistance to 400 years of colonial settlement on Anishnaabe lands and waterways. Simpson says:

“Transforming ourselves, our communities and our nations is ultimately the first step in transforming our relationship with the state. Building diverse, nation-culture-based resurgences means significantly re-investing in our own ways of being: regenerating our political and intellectual traditions; articulating and living our legal systems; language learning; ceremonial and spiritual pursuits; creating and using our artistic and performance-based traditions” (L. Simpson, *Dancing* 17 – 18)

Simpson’s analysis speaks to global Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences that contest colonial sovereignty through methods of enacting an Indigenous creative presence in ways that transcend colonial understandings of power

and territory. The colonial IR understanding of Westphalian sovereignty outlined in section two is problematized through Indigenous reclamations of waterways and cultural resurgences that foreground the centrality of water in Indigenous cosmologies, demarcations of traditional territories and as a vital element in everyday life that is often made inaccessible and non-potable due to colonial state-corporate dispossession, environmental racism and commodification.

Present day global Indigenous self-determination struggles to maintain and reclaim relationships with traditional lands and waterways that are threatened by colonial dispossession are intimately connected with Indigenous cultural resurgences that emerge through conditions of genocide and forced assimilation into the settler colonial societies. Indigenous scholars and arts communities engaging with reclamations and cultural resurgences discuss how their methods of producing knowledge from their position as an Indigenous person involves both decolonizing settler institutions and engaging with Indigenous cosmologies, laws, languages, ceremonies, and land-based philosophies (Alfred; Borrows; Corntassel; Lawrence; L. Simpson *Dancing*). Belmore has discussed her approach to working with water as an artistic material in *Fountain* was informed by her experience of how the power of water in Anishinabe cosmology emerges from Anishinabe peoples' relationships with lands and waters in their traditional territories. She says:

“I drove across the prairie and into Saskatoon to visit a good friend. I observed that the land for me is full, never empty and the water touches every place. Our bodies are of water. It became clear to me that I wanted the piece for Venice to be about water. I am perhaps a little fearful of water. I was taught not to take water for granted and to respect its power. As an adult, I realize that this probably came from my mother's grounding in traditional Anishinabe beliefs about the power of the underwater world. Traditionally,

the world it thought to rest on water and the underwater world is full of spiritual powers that need to be respected. It is an idea that makes sense in terms of the Ontario landscape, which is filled with lakes and, also, ironically, Venice, a city built on water” (Belmore, *Fountain* 26).

In many discussions of her work Belmore has talked about the impact of Canadian colonial policies of assimilation she experienced in her youth (such as leaving her family to be billeted with a non-Indigenous family to attend high school) and her mother’s strategies of negotiating the family’s survival in these colonial conditions (such as encouraging her children to only speak English). In the same discussion quoted above, Belmore continued on to discuss how her experience of surviving colonial assimilation has impacted her creative self-expression through artwork:

“I often think of my experience as being on the periphery of Anishinabe knowledge, but it is through the practice of art that I sometimes do find connections to these ideas [about water in Anishinabe culture]. At the same time, art allows me to give them visibility in the wider world” (Belmore, *Fountain* 26).

In this context, Belmore’s treatment of water as an artistic material engages with the power of water in both colonial international relations and transnational Indigenous self-determination struggles. Belmore’s performance-installation artwork with water as a scenario of Indigenous reclamation speaks to global practices by Indigenous artists, scholars, and communities engaging in waterways reclamations through enacting a creative presence of Indigeneity (Lawrence; L. Simpson “Elsipogtog”; Somerville; Third World Water Forum; World Commission on Dams).

Indigenous water reclamations and cultural resurgences unsettle the conventional IR imagination, theorization and methods of knowledge production that normalize Westphalian territorial sovereignty as a universal political system. The centrality of water in Indigenous cosmologies, laws, political systems, and everyday life practices

problematize Canadian settler colonial claims to exclusive sovereignty and enacts Indigenous self-determination through transnational practices (Borrows; Sherman; Lawrence). Bonita Lawrence's *Fractured Homeland: Federal Recognition and Algonquin Identity in Ontario* calls attention to how land claims processes try to compel Indigenous peoples to assimilate their political struggles to the Canadian settler colonial legal and political systems. Lawrence's analysis of Algonquin peoples' historical and present day self-determination struggles focuses on how the settler colonial creation of Indian Status through the *Indian Act* was a method of dispossessing Algonquin peoples. She discusses how the Algonquin peoples' experience of the colonial imposition of Indian Status and settler political borders have had devastating impacts on their relationship with the *Kiji Sibi* (Ottawa River) watershed, which historically has been the main source of food, trade and travel routes and is central to Algonquin cosmology and identity experienced through ceremony and storytelling. Lawrence discusses how the colonial settlement and establishing the border between Upper and Lower Canada along the *Kiji Sibi* (Ottawa River) continues to impact experiences of present day Algonquin national identity and relationships with traditional lands and waterways:

“Algonquin systems of land tenure (like those of most Indigenous people) are organized around watersheds rather than the rivers that run through them. In this way of thinking, the natural divisions between territories are the high grounds that divide watersheds. For Europeans, where rivers are merely lines on a map, the river itself becomes the boundary between territories. Thus, when the British chose the Ottawa River as the border between Upper and Lower Canada, they drew an artificial line through the territories of those whose lands had been situated on both sides of the Ottawa River, with the result that the boundary ruptured family and band territories. Communities were forced to adapt as the people settled on one side of the river or the other and began dealing with two different provincial administrations – and were treated as different communities” (Lawrence 46).

Lawrence also accounts for how Status and non-Status Algonquin communities pursue diverse strategies of land claims, reclamations and cultural resurgences in order to fulfill their particular understanding of their responsibilities to their traditional lands and waterways.

Lawrence's analysis speaks to the present moment of Indigenous self-determination struggles expressed by land defenders across Canada, from protests against shale gas fracking at Elsipogtog on the East Coast to mobilization against the Northern Gateway pipeline on the West Coast (L. Simpson "Elsipogtog"; *The Current*). In this context, Indigenous community leaders, journalists and scholars emphasize how lands and waters reclamations are not only a community protest method, direct action against corporate injustice or civil disobedience seeking redress from the Canadian state. Rather, land defenders consistently emphasize that they are acting as Indigenous peoples out of responsibility to sacred laws that have emerged through their nations' relationships with lands and waters in their traditional territories. In *Canada's Indigenous Constitution* John Borrows analyzes the power dynamics that shape intersections between Indigenous legal traditions and the Canadian legal system. Borrows discusses the central role of sacred law in both Canadian and Indigenous legal traditions:

"While Canada's legal traditions are becoming increasingly secularized, one cannot deny the role of the metaphysical in our law's formation... Within Indigenous legal traditions, creation stories are often one source of sacred law. These accounts contain rules and norms that give guidance about how to live with the world and overcome conflict. Their reach can be quite expansive because they contain instructions about how all beings should relate to specific territories" (Borrows 24 – 25)

Through his discussion of Mi'kmaq, Haudenosaunee, Anishinabek, Cree, Métis, Carrier, Nisga'a and Inuit legal traditions Borrows shows how Indigenous laws, political systems,

diplomatic protocols, languages and ceremonies emerge through Indigenous peoples' relationships of responsibility to their traditional lands and waters (Borrows 59 – 106). In this context, the intensifying global commodification of water impacts Indigenous peoples in particular ways and Indigenous peoples' legal traditions shape how their communities mobilize to maintain and reclaim their relationships with traditional waterways and lands. The commodification of water, privatization of water services and construction of mega-projects such as dams that displace communities are an expression of ongoing colonial-capitalist international power dynamics that privilege the interests of sovereign states, corporations and international financial institutions. Transnational networks organizing resistance to these projects and the exploitative worldview that informs them involve many diverse actors including Indigenous communities, low-income communities, farmers, unions, student organizations, academics and environmental advocacy NGOs (Barlow and Clarke; LaDuke; Roy *Power*; Shiva). Understanding the particular circumstances of how Indigenous communities' lands and waterways reclamations are part of ongoing self-determination struggles can also strengthen non-Indigenous allies' analyses of how colonial-corporate power relationships are reconfiguring and entrenching escalating inequalities through colonial theft and neoliberal commodification and privatization of lands and water. Indigenous peoples' reclamations and cultural resurgences demonstrate the need to decolonize settler imaginations and settler state regulations of Indigenous identification, education and health services in order for global social justice struggles to create consultation and decision-making processes that sustainably address the priorities of all communities (Hall and Fenelon). In this context, while Indigenous communities' lands and waterways

reclamations prioritize their responsibilities to sacred laws and work to protect the peoples' survival through resisting colonial dispossession and assimilation, Indigenous self-determination struggles also decolonize international relationships and create possibilities for new transnational relationships.

Indigenous scholars and communities' analyses of international relations emphasize that a key priority in decolonizing settler cultures and establishing sustainable transformations in colonial conditions is the affirmation of Indigenous peoples' lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgence as interconnected processes. As Coulthard has demonstrated 'the politics of recognition' approach by settler state institutions focuses on rights-based approaches and land claims processes that seek to compel Indigenous peoples' to assimilate political struggles to a system established by the Canadian settler government (Coulthard "Beyond"). In "Re-envisioning resurgence: Indigenous pathways to decolonization and sustainable self-determination" Jeff Corntassel discusses how rights-based approaches assume the primacy of settler state political institutions, philosophies and legal systems and do not affirm Indigenous peoples' inherent rights to self-determination that emerge through historical relationships with traditional lands and waterways. Corntassel says:

"Being Indigenous today means struggling to reclaim and regenerate one's relational, place-based existence by challenging the ongoing, destructive forces of colonization. Whether through ceremony or through other ways that Indigenous peoples (re)connect to the natural world, processes of resurgence are often contentious and reflect the spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political scope of the struggle (88)... Rights are derived from state-centric forums while Indigenous nations' responsibilities to the natural world originate from their long-standing relationships with their homelands – relationships that have existed long before the development of the state system" (92).

In this way, Indigenous peoples' lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences transgress IR theories and methods of understanding exclusive territorial sovereignty as the ultimate expression of international power by demonstrating the centrality of water in Indigenous peoples' practices of creative presence in world politics. Simpson's analysis of the interconnection between Indigenous lands and waters reclamations and cultural resurgences characterizes this process of collectively transgressing colonial assimilation and erasure of Indigenous presence through the creation of a Nishnaabeg "society of presence" (L. Simpson, *Dancing* 2012, 85). Within this context of understanding how Indigenous lands and waters reclamations are interconnected with cultural resurgences, I argue that Belmore's performance-installation *Fountain* at the Canadian pavilion in Venice enacts an Indigenous creative presence that both decolonizes the conditions of the international art world and expresses Indigenous self-determination through transnational artwork.

While Belmore's practice as an artist is a form of self-expression with qualities that are distinct to performance art, video installation and sculptural methods, as a method of creative communication and knowledge production Belmore's artwork enacts Indigenous creative presence in the international art world through her transnational artwork.

Belmore's artwork shares qualities of Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgences as analyzed by Vizenor, L. Simpson, Lawrence and Corntassel, in particular through the embodied performance of knowledge, memories and creation as Indigenous presence. In this context, Belmore's artwork enacts Indigenous self-determination through creative self-expression engaging with water as an artistic material and performing medium.

Many curators who have collaborated with her and reviewers of her work have discussed

how Belmore's artwork engages with Indigenous self-determination struggles.

Discussing how *Fountain* connects with Belmore's body of work, Townsend-Gault analyzes how Belmore's earlier works such as *Temple* (1996) at The Power Plant gallery in Toronto situated human interactions with water (in commodified plastic packages, through a public water fountain and viewing Lake Ontario through a telescope) in the colonial conditions of Indigenous peoples' dispossession from lands and waters and economic inequalities:

“Earlier works have dealt with the politics of water in Canada, where the normalized apartheid of the reservation system has maintained another public secret: the total absence of clean water on more than a few reservations, as well as in other communities that are not reservations” (Townsend-Gault, *Rebecca Belmore* 736)

Jessica Bradley is an independent curator who collaborated with Belmore in the performance-installation *Wild* (2001) at The Grange in Toronto. In “Rebecca Belmore: Art and the Object of Performance” Bradley discusses how Belmore's performances engage with, and transform, materials and mediums of expressing political claims through creating visual artwork. Bradley says:

“the narrative that runs through her performances often honours women, their work and their role in maintaining cultural legacies, but always in the context of the historical displacements and contemporary cultural self-determination of First Nations people... she represents First Nations' self-determination, and the impediments to its realization, by casting these into memorable images of the will to overcome. She produces those images tirelessly, through a repertoire of actions that are given material presence in objects” (Bradley 48).

Townsend-Gault and Bradley emphasize how Belmore's ongoing artwork methods engage with creative self-expression as a process of enacting Indigenous self-determination through creating new spaces that foreground processes of Indigenous reclamations and cultural resurgence.

Belmore's labour in the performance and exhibition installation of *Fountain* enacts an Indigenous creative presence at the intersection of the Venice Biennale international art world and Belmore's transnational artwork methods. This creative presence is most evident in Belmore's treatment of water, fire and blood as artistic materials in her performance at Iona Beach and as performing elements in the installation at the Canadian pavilion in Venice. Belmore has discussed how her decision to project the filmed performance onto water in the exhibition meant: "the water in the space becomes the performer and brings performance back into the edited video version, which makes me happy" (Enright, "Poetics" 67). Treating water as a performing material that makes the projecting and viewing of the performance possible in this way creates a visual interface between Belmore as an Indigenous artist and the audience in the Canadian pavilion in Venice that calls attention to colonial conditions and Indigenous perspectives on the elemental role of water and blood in world politics. Belmore's gesture of throwing the bucket of Pacific ocean water that turns to blood in the performance act of throwing and in the installation projection onto the stream of falling water. This gesture foregrounds the bloodshed of colonialism, the role of water in international relations, and Belmore's perspective on the centrality of water in Anishinabe cosmology as dynamics that mediate the encounter between the artist and the viewer. As the sequence continues, Belmore's figure is present and distorted through the opaque redness. She is visually inaccessible but her presence, breathing heavily from the performative labour of gathering, carrying and throwing, and the editing of the performance to maintain the frame on this exchange between the artist and the audience created a possibility for decolonizing encounters in the Canadian pavilion in Venice. Belmore's performance gesture that transforms water to

blood and the visual encounter between the artist and audience through the water/blood screen creates both a space for the international art world audience to reflect on the violence of colonialism and enacts an Indigenous creative presence that affirms the elemental role of water as “the lifeblood of the earth” (Belmore, *Fountain* 27).

Belmore’s *Fountain* at the Canadian Pavilion at the Venice Biennale shows how contemporary artwork can trouble the understanding of modernity as a progressive force in world history and problematize the imagination of Westphalian sovereignty as a universal mode of world ordering of communities. Reclaiming water as a visual interface for confronting the violence of colonial genocide in Canada experienced by Indigenous peoples, Belmore invites viewers to decolonize the imagination of hierarchical world ordering as a natural inevitability. By foregrounding water as a performing and performative presence in this work of contemporary art, Belmore’s vision of international relations expressed in statements about the project emphasize Indigenous self-determination through creative presence. These specific qualities of creative presence in Belmore’s transnational artwork connect with Indigenous peoples’ struggles in decolonizing international relations with non-Indigenous settlers, Indigenous lands and waters reclamations, and Indigenous cultural resurgences enacting self-determination in world politics today.

Conclusion

Through my analysis of decolonial contemporary artwork and IR knowledge production, I argue that the discipline of IR participates in the normalization of the violences of colonial modernity by framing state formation and world ordering through Westphalian territorial sovereignty as providing stability and security within and among political communities. By narrowly focusing on the social contract between citizens and sovereign states as the universal form of political community, IR knowledge production systematically erases the violences of Canadian settler colonialism and the agency of Indigenous artists and Indigenous peoples as self-determining communities in world politics. Indigenous communities have historically and systematically contested settler colonial political claims and Eurocentric knowledge production that asserts that international political communities are universally expressed within the framework of Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity. Decolonial contestations of the violences of settler colonial sovereignty and affirming Indigenous peoples' self-determination in world politics call attention to the relationship between the historical settler colonial imagination of the Americas as empty lands and the simultaneous material social conditions of violences of genocide, dispossession, and slavery of over five hundred years of colonial encounters in the Americas between Indigenous peoples and European settlers. The discipline of IR emerges historically through the relationship between this colonial imaginary and these material social conditions. Contemporary IR continues to systematically reassert the colonial modernist worldview and normalize this violent mode of world ordering. Postcolonial interventions in IR challenge the Eurocentrism of knowledge production that asserts that capitalism, sovereign subjectivity, and sovereignty territoriality historically emerged in Europe then expanding

globally by demonstrating the colonial relationality of subject formation between settlers and Indigenous peoples in the Americas.

Current movements to implement the UNDRIP, the TRC mandate for and public conversations about reconciliation, and events organized through #INM express transnational agency within international conditions of Canadian settler colonialism. These political struggles demonstrate the continuity of historical resistances to colonial violence in present. As these struggles to confront colonial violences are articulating reformulations of decolonial imagination, these processes bring renewed attention to transforming the unjust international conditions of Canadian settler colonialism. The transnational feminist analysis that I bring to these aspects of international politics, academic knowledge production, and contemporary artwork argues that conventional IR theories of power, violence, and agency have not merely overlooked settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination struggles. Drawing on the work of Indigenous artists, curators, scholars, and communities I have analyzed how the systematic undertheorization of Canadian settler colonialism in IR problematically undertheorizes the relationships between many international political communities. I have argued that conventional IR knowledge production about sovereignty evades confronting how settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination are at the heart of international political processes of imagining and enacting sovereign power, world ordering, hierarchy, anarchy, commodification, violence, and visibility.

My analysis of contemporary artwork by Brian Jungen and Rebecca Belmore at the moment of these current transnational movements calls attention to how IR knowledge production about sovereignty and visual artwork in world politics participates in the

everyday normalization of the historical and ongoing violences of Canadian settler colonialism. My method of analyzing the international dimensions of these processes demonstrates a way to decolonize the violence of this knowledge production. The focus of my critique has been to understand how the undertheorization of Canadian settler colonialism in IR knowledge production systematically silences these violent effects of the colonial mode of world ordering through Westphalian sovereignty and the dispossession of Indigenous peoples as self-determining political communities in international politics. My reading of Jungen and Belmore's artwork together at this moment speaks in response to calls for solidarity by transnational Indigenous self-determination struggles and also joins IR postcolonial, feminist, and international political economy approaches to analyzing the racialized, gendered, economic effects of colonial capitalism. I argue that the violences of colonial capitalism are not exceptional crises but are foundational to the historical emergence and ongoing reformulation of unjust hierarchical social power dynamics. My reading of decolonial contemporary visual artwork by Jungen and Belmore in the context of these global movements and critical approaches within IR demonstrates how historical systemic violences and modes of contestation become reformulated in current conditions of global neoliberal colonial capitalism. Within these conditions, artwork is a material expression of the transformative power of subject formation through imagination.

My analysis of the transformative power of decolonial contemporary artwork by Indigenous artists, curators, scholars, and arts communities offers an entry point to unsettling the systemic erasure of these violences in IR knowledge production and to enact decolonial imagination in international politics. By reading Jungen and Belmore's

work together I am demonstrating that I am not arguing for the addition of a new empirical site of study, expanding theoretical diversity, or methodological innovation in IR. Rather, I have analyzed how visual artwork is a process of subject formation in world politics and how worldviews about artwork emerge through historically situated hierarchical social dynamics. The aesthetic turn in IR has crucially, once again, brought the global dynamics of imagination and creativity to the forefront of academic understandings of world politics. However, the aesthetic turn in IR has emerged through debates between *positivist explanation and post-positivist interpretation about world politics* and has not systematically addressed decolonization. In this project I have analyzed how Jungen and Belmore's decolonial contemporary artwork enacts *creative presence in world politics*. My analysis of the work of these decolonial contemporary artists has allowed me to produce an analytical framework within IR to understand the historical and contemporary role of visual artwork and art history as contested sites of multiple power relationships in the context of Canadian settler colonialism and Indigenous self-determination struggles.

Deciding to analyze Jungen and Belmore's artwork was based on my focus on understanding the ways in which their work unsettles how Westphalian territorial sovereignty and sovereign subjectivity is imagined to be the universal way that political communities relate to one another in global politics. I chose to focus on how Jungen and Belmore's framings of their projects through their analysis of the social conditions within which they live and work make interventions that express transnational agency through contemporary artwork. My selections of the particular projects were made in response to how the qualities of the work furthered my theoretical framework in response to guiding

my research question: how does the conventional IR imagination of state formation and world ordering through Westphalian territorial sovereignty displace the violences of Canadian settler colonialism? In my reading of Jungen's exhibition methods of *Prototype for New Understanding* I focused on how his work intervenes to decolonize historical Canadian settler arts institutions' visual methods of colonial ethnographic knowledge production and how this institutional visual knowledge production participates in the normalization of the relational dispossession of Indigenous peoples from traditional lands and waterways and settler colonial claims to exclusive territorial sovereignty. I also analyzed how Jungen's sculptural methods intervene in debates about ongoing colonial commodification and dispossession by demonstrating a vision of social justice that links together critiques of neoliberal global political economies and Indigenous peoples' self-determination struggles. Belmore's performance artwork foregrounds the social condition of embodiment and my reading of her visual methods in exhibiting the performance *Vigil as The Named and the Unnamed* focused on how Belmore's naming of sexual violence unsettles the IR structure and agency debate and the authority to name violence in world politics. My analysis of *Fountain* shows how Belmore's creative presence in the context of the international artworld enacts transnational agency in her treatment of water as a performing material and visual interface and also connects with Indigenous peoples' global lands and waters reclamations.

In Chapter One "Canadian Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Self-determination, and Visual Artwork as International Relations" I analyzed how power, embodiment, and visibility are expressed in these international political relationships. I argued that power relationships of violence, social hierarchies, and transformative subject formation are at

work in the production of sovereignty, visual artwork, and academic knowledge production about artwork. Understanding colonialism, decolonization, and Indigenous self-determination as expressions of multiple contending power dynamics in international relations calls into question the assumed universality of the conventional IR imagination of world ordering and state formation through Westphalian territorial sovereignty. My transnational feminist analysis and methodology in this project is focused on understanding the relationship between the erasure of the violences of settler colonialism and agency of Indigenous peoples in academic knowledge production and the Canadian settler colonial imaginary. My analysis of visual expressions of these systemic power dynamics in international politics and IR knowledge production joins IR postcolonial, feminist, and international political economy contestations of hierarchical injustices as exceptional moments, to understand how these systemic power dynamics emerge through and reproduce modes of world ordering. My analysis of these power relationships begins with the understanding that all knowledge production is an embodied process and the creative self-expression of Indigenous artists through contemporary artwork is an enactment of transnational agency.

In Chapter Two “Kenneth N. Waltz’s ‘The Three Images’: Imagination, Settler Colonialism, and IR Theorizations of Sovereign Power” I discussed how Waltz’s text importantly asserts the role of imagination in IR knowledge production about sovereign power and violence in the international system. I analyzed how Waltz, Greenberg, and Massey’s work expressed abstract visuality and a reassertion of settler colonial imagination of world ordering through territorial sovereignty in an era of global decolonization movements. In this way, I am not criticizing Waltz, Greenberg, and

Massey as individuals but rather I analyzed their enduring discursive authority in expressing an abstract visuality in imagination (Waltz), how modern subjects come to know themselves and their place in the world through visual artwork (Greenberg), and the role of artwork and knowledge production about artwork in the formation of Canadian nationalism, subjectivity, and international diplomacy (Massey). I argued that the IR ‘levels of analysis’ paradigm demonstrates the endurance of the assertion of an imagination of settler colonial sovereignty and erasure of Indigenous self-determination in IR knowledge production and how this is not limited to any one theoretical approach but is engrained in the disciplinary boundaries of the field of IR. In these ways, the ‘three images’ and ‘levels of analysis’ problematically circumscribes IR understandings of international political communities and further obscures the ongoing violences of settler colonialism.

In Chapter Three “Decolonizing Canadian Institutional Visual Methods: Brian Jungen’s Methods of Exhibiting *Prototype for New Understanding*” I argued that Jungen’s work as a contemporary artist demonstrates how arts institutions’ visual methods of exhibition are a historically situated site of subject formation and international political struggle. I argued that the distinct qualities of contemporary artwork contribute a more nuanced understanding of art history and subject formation through artwork to the IR aesthetic turn by problematizing the assumed progressive universality of modern art. Jungen’s sculptures and exhibition methods show how historical colonial institutional visual methods of ethnography continue to inform how Indigenous peoples and settler subjectivity are understood in the Canadian settler national imaginary. Indigenous artists, curators, scholars, and arts communities engaged in

decolonization struggles prioritize a key site of contestation as the relationship between the violences of dispossession and the assimilation of colonial ethnographic methods of collecting and exhibiting Indigenous artists' work as historical artifacts and objects of cultural authenticity. In my reading of historical colonial visual ethnography along side the visual expression of colonial anarchy as *terra nullius* in Group of Seven paintings and their continued celebration in Canadian art history and institutional exhibitions, I argue that these visual methods of knowledge production work together to obscure the settler colonial conditions these artworks were produced within and normalizes world ordering through Westphalian sovereignty. My focus on how the tension between the settler colonial imaginary of anarchy and international political conditions of colonial hierarchy are materialized through these sites of artwork in the early twentieth demonstrates how the changing visual expression of Canadian settler sovereignty is a contested and ongoing project of asserting international political claims.

In Chapter Four "Materializing Indigenous Self-Determination: Brian Jungen's Methods of sculpting *Prototype for New Understanding*" I analyzed how Jungen's selection of materials, sculptural methods, exhibition methods, statements, and interviews about the project offer a critique of colonial capitalism in conditions of contemporary neoliberal globalization. I argued that this work contributes to IR IPE analyses of commodification, primitive accumulation, and dispossession by linking together analyses of Indigenous self-determination struggles and neoliberal commodification through artwork. I discussed how Jungen's production of this project emerged in the context of Indigenous curators, scholars, and artists' collective action to transform neoliberal colonial institutional methods from 1980s to the present by reclaiming methods of self-

representation through artwork, establishing art community networks, and artist-run centres. I concluded by showing how Jungen's current work continues to speak to conditions of colonial capitalist commodification and dispossession through Indigenous peoples' cultural resurgences through lands and waterway reclamations.

In Chapter Five "Remembering Traumas of Canadian Settler Colonialism in Rebecca Belmore's performance artwork installation *The Named and the Unnamed*" I argued that Belmore's performance-installation is an expression of agency in international politics in naming the systemic sexual violence experienced by Indigenous women and girls as a condition of Canadian settler colonial power. I analyzed how Indigenous women's community-based organizations and Indigenous feminist scholars' work have shown how sexual violence is foundational to settler colonial sovereignty. I discussed how Belmore's performance artwork foregrounds knowledge as an embodied process and shows that IR knowledge production circumscribes agency of who is imagined to be an agent of change in international politics. My reading of this exhibition emphasizes that, by inviting audiences to transform conventional ideas about agency, power, and violence, Belmore's contemporary artwork expresses a decolonial imagination of political communities that shifts terms of accountability that currently solely focus on individual subjects' social contract with the state and pursuit of justice through the settler legal system in order to envision and enact collective processes of decolonization and transformations to the settler colonial conditions that normalize sexual violence.

In Chapter Six "International Art World and Transnational Artwork: Creative Presence in Rebecca Belmore's *Fountain* at the Venice Biennale" I analyzed Belmore's

performance-film engagement with water as a performing and performative medium at the Canadian Pavilion of the Venice Biennale. Through my reading of *Fountain* I argued that this project unsettles the assumed universality of world ordering by Westphalian territorial sovereignty and shows how contemporary artwork can problematize the idea of colonial modernity as a progressive force. Belmore's performance-installation *Fountain* confronts the viewer with the violences of dispossession and genocide that Indigenous peoples experience through colonial sovereign state formation and ongoing assertions of sovereign territorial boundaries. Through Belmore's performance foregrounding embodiment, projecting the filmed performance onto the stream of falling water, and creating an encounter between the artist and audience through the blood red streaming water screen as a visual interface, *Fountain* demonstrates how decolonial imagination and subject formation are enacted through confronting the historical and ongoing violences of colonialism and creating transformative forms of decolonial relationality in world politics through contemporary visual artwork.

Appendix A

As discussed in Chapter Three, the following table outlines the courses offered in Aboriginal and Indigenous Politics in Political Science Departments in forty-two universities in Canada according to the 2014 – 2015 Undergraduate Course Calendars posted on their websites. The web sources of this information are documented in the Works Cited.

University	Course in Aboriginal or Indigenous Politics in the field of International Relations	Course in Aboriginal or Indigenous Politics in the field of Canadian, Comparative or Political Theory	No course offered in Aboriginal or Indigenous Politics in Political Science in Fall 2014 – Winter 2015 Academic Calendar
Athabasca University		POLI 311 Aboriginal Politics and Governments	
Brandon University			No course offered
Brock University		POLI 3P14 Aboriginal Politics in Canada	
Cape Breton University		POLS 2112 Mi'kmaq Government POLS 3110 Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in the Canadian Constitution	
Carleton University			No course offered
Dalhousie University			No course offered
Lakehead University		PS 3351 WA Aboriginal Peoples and the Law	
Laurentian University			No course offered
McGill University		POLI 372 Aboriginal Politics in Canada	
McMaster University		3C03 Govt & Politics of Indigenous Peoples	
Memorial University of Newfoundland		3830 Aboriginal Government and Politics in Canada	
Mount Allison University			No course offered
Mount Royal University			No course offered

Mount Saint Vincent		No course offered
Nipissing University		No course offered
Queen's University		POLS 320: First Nations Politics
Ryerson University		POG 440 Indigenous Governance and Justice
Saint Mary's University		No course offered
Simon Fraser University		No course offered
St. Francis Xavier University		No course offered
The University of Western Ontario		No course offered
The University of Winnipeg		POL-3400-050 Aboriginal Politics in Canada POL-4440-001 Seminar in Aboriginal Politics POL-3411-050 Aboriginal People & the Law
Trent University		No course offered
Université Concordia University		No course offered
University of Alberta		POLS S 327 Aboriginal Politics and Peoples in Canada
University of British Columbia	POLI 316A Global Indigenous Politics	POLI 449B Topics in Political Theory – Theorizing Indigenous Politics
University of Calgary		No course offered
University of Guelph		No course offered
University of Lethbridge		No course offered
University of Manitoba		POLS 4150 – Indigenous Governance
University of New Brunswick		No course offered

University of Northern British Columbia		No course offered
University of Ottawa	POL3159 Indigenous Politics in Canada	
University of Prince Edward Island		No course offered
University of Regina	PSCI 338 – Aboriginal People and Politics	
University of Saskatchewan	POLS 222.3 Aboriginal Governance and Politics	
	POLS 322.2 Aboriginal Management and Administrative Systems	
	POLS 323.3 Aboriginal Policies and Programs	
	POLS 384.3 Aboriginal Administrative Internship	
	POLS 422.3 Aboriginal Development Strategies	
University of Toronto		No course offered
University of Victoria	POLI 263: Politics of Indigenous Peoples	
University of Waterloo		No course offered
Vancouver Island		No course offered
Wilfred Laurier University		No course offered
York University	AP/POLS 3102 3.0: Aboriginal Politics in Canada	
	AP/POLS 4102 3.0: Aboriginal Politics	

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