PUBLIC ART IN VANCOUVER
AND THE CIVIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF REDRESS
Dylan Robinson and Keren Zaiontz

"First Nations design is so integrated into the fabric of the city. It feels like we’re really moving forward on a path to reconciliation." — audience interviewee for Vancouver Opera’s Coast Salish Magic Flute (2013).

This was not the first time that a settler Canadian colleague had pointed out the benefits of reconciliation for Canada without asking what this integration might mean for the urban Indigenous people who live and work in Vancouver. Why is integration so easily laminated onto reconciliation?

From the spindle whorl design on Vancouver’s storm-drain covers to the thunderbird motif on the hoods of Vancouver RCMP vehicles, what role does Coast Salish design play in naturalizing the alliance between integration and reconciliation? While many Canadians celebrate integration, and view it as a triumph of multiculturalism, national belonging possesses very different implications for First Peoples. As scholars including Glen Coulthard, Elizabeth Povinelli, and Eva Mackey have argued, the recognition of First Peoples within the integrationist frameworks of late capitalist democratic nation-states constitutes the erosion of First People’s sovereign rights.

Forms of constitutional recognition such as Canada’s official multiculturalism policy (first adopted in 1971) seek to co-opt First Peoples’ cultural traditions as enrichments to the identity of the nation-state. This photo essay examines how the strategies of Indigenous integration have shaped Vancouver’s built environment and public artworks. We question the degree to which such integration is at odds with what we call a civic infrastructure of redress. This is a form of redress that emphasizes Xwm’Əθəkwəm (Musqueam), Skwxw’�7mesh (Squamish), and Tsleil-Waututh history beyond the limits of basic acknowledgment. Moreover, such redress is concerned with what it means to formally recognize Vancouver’s location on unceded Coast Salish territories through signs, sculptures, and other artworks in the public realm. We will analyze how these material practices contribute to and resist self-congratulatory narratives about nation building that also support Vancouver’s claim to world-class city status. In the ongoing contest between integration and self-determination, such public art hails the viewer to take a position, spatially and ideologically, on national belonging. The viewer can recoil from this hail (as we sometimes did in our walks through the city), feel a sense of belonging, or further still a sense of solidarity with the assertion of Indigenous visibility in Vancouver.

In examining a cross-section of public art that integrates Coast Salish design and Salishan language, we are particularly drawn to works that position viewers as readers of Vancouver’s cityscape. At first glance, these works appear to illustrate Michel de Certeau’s celebrated argument that everyday practices such as reading can represent a tactical alternative to navigating the homogenizing effects of the neoliberal city.

But upon further scrutiny, such idealism does not hold. Reading the city is not hard-wired to leftist political intervention—it can be a dynamic path to redress, but it can also be a form of consumption. A viewer of text-based public artworks may read the signs but not be called upon to engage with what they represent, namely the more unsettling fact that such work (like the city itself) exists in place of the displaced Coast Salish communities that lived there for thousands of years before settlement. In some cases, the urban texts that viewers read actively disremember First Nations history by erasing it from the historical record. In the city’s newest neighborhood, the Olympic Village in southeast False Creek, public artworks reveal an industrial past and a utopian Olympic future. However, while First Nations design abounds, First Nations history is markedly absent. Artist Christos Dikeakos’s and architect Noel Best’s Lookout (1999), featuring text by poet Robin Blaser, is an installation that explicitly attempts to re-capture the material history of the place where the artwork stands today. A series of words on the supporting stainless steel walls—asphalt, lumber, CPR yards, salmon, elk, mudflats, Expo—reference the site’s natural history, its connection to the province’s resource economy, and reflect Vancouver’s history beyond the limits of basic acknowledgment.


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and its modern iteration as a World’s Fair. At the top of one of the support- ing walls, the words “Hole in Bottom / is Skwachays” disrupts the flow of recognizable English-language words. Skwachàys, or “hole in bottom,” is the Skwxwú7mesh name for the area of False Creek close to Science World; it refers to the part of the Creek that was historically a lagoon that emptied itself at low tide. The inclusion of the word “Skwachays” disrupts the tide of natural and industrial English words, but its inclusion also demonstrates the political limits of acknowledgement. Here, if the viewer takes the time to read through Lookout’s two walls of text, she might register this word as a gesture toward cultural difference. But without any reference to the larger history of place it names, “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” is a gesture toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names. “Skwachays” represents this word as a residue toward cultural difference, but without any reference to the larger history of place it names.
These nods to Vancouver’s industrial past prop up the working-class pioneer—drawing contemporary settlers in to identify with this labourer as hero—while obscuring the violence done to the land and people in the name of industry.

Historically, the Olympic Village Plaza was a site of urban and industrial fabrication. From the late nineteenth century to the 1960s and ’70s, men (and during World War II, women) worked in plants as well as lumber, rail, and shipyards along False Creek—a site of industrial uses of the site, of what and who were unsettled. Engravings underfoot, signs beneath our feet, are not monuments but reminders that this was a site of labour and industry. Here beyond these words, that land once held what was most undesirable about the city—Vancouver, which once held what was most undesirable about the city—resources (lumber, coal, and steel) were shipped elsewhere. This corner of False Creek, City Infrastructure was made here (sewer covers and signs), but most resources were shipped in from elsewhere. Now, two men and a woman are walking along the polished sidewalks, where once plants and shipyards stood. The Xwm’kwə’wə’qə’swm and Skwxw’ú7mesh peoples’ title to and displacement from False Creek—as well as history of land use that preceded the plants and shipyards by many years—is not monumentalized in the Olympic Village Plaza. Both are erased in order to make it a place of nation building. The Xwm’kwə’wə’qə’swm and Skwxw’ú7mesh peoples’ title to and displacement from False Creek—a site of industrial uses of the site, of what and who were unsettled—is not memorialized in the Olympic Village Plaza. Both pre-contact histories of Indigenous trade and negotiation and post-contact Indigenous participation in industrial development are elided through these descriptors of place. These descriptions of place in strikingly site-generic terms—emphasizing the working class poor and the city’s industrial footprint—overshadow the violence done to the land and people in the name of industry.
Unlike the neighborhood developments that surrounded it, such as False Creek and Mount Pleasant, the Olympic Village was not formed by residents but created by the City of Vancouver. In an urban restructuring tale that embodies the shift from industrial port town to resort city, southeast False Creek was rezoned to accommodate global spectacle and land speculation: first for Expo '86 and then for the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, where it served as the Athletes’ Village. The City used public monies to finance the feckless Millennium Development Corporation to redevelop the site (issuing more than $690 million in loans (Lee)) in doing so it failed to meet its own development plan to create social housing units, to ensure the reckless Millennium Development Corporation to redevelop where it served as the Athletes’ Village. The City used public monies to finance the feckless Millennium Development Corporation to redevelop the site (issuing more than $690 million in loans (Lee)) in doing so it failed to meet its own development plan to create social housing units, to ensure the reckless Millennium Development Corporation to redevelop the site (issuing more than $690 million in loans (Lee)) in doing so it
This present day displacement of First Peoples makes the public art in the Olympic Village—the only remaining public property beyond the waterfront—is all the more damning for its integration of what historian Jean Barman has called “sanitized Indigeneity got from elsewhere” (4). Signifying local and global elsewheres, the Olympic art commissions

...imported as a permanent local art installation. For residents of the Olympic Plaza, the walls stand in the heart of the Olympic ideal of “building a better world through sport.” It is only later, blocks from the spectacle of the Village, when history is being made, that the奥运环顾展台的permanent art installation becomes an interpretive lens through which North West Coast First Nations art is reflected.
and raven used as props for global Olympic reconciliation? What are the political implications of locating an Olympic Truce by a Kwakwak'wakw/Tlingit artist on unceded Sto:lo/Skwxwú7mesh territory?

The emphasis on truce is even more disconcerting given the number of land-claim battles being fought across BC.

Here in southeast False Creek, after unsettling traditional lands and frittering away civic property to developers, what remains are market condo units and the borrowed signs of reconciliation. Around the corner from this newest stretch of "high-end, high-density, high rise urban living" (Lowry and McCann 189) is the work of collective echoes.

As a collaborative project involving emerging Indigenous and settler artists, collective echoes created the public artwork systems of sustenance in 2000. Situated beside the tourist site, Science World, systems of sustenance challenges the city's architectural sobriquet, "city of glass," through its aesthetic form. The simple, yet powerful message of reconciliation is clear on the wooden pieces that support the wharf and Science World, where salmon signs claim the space for a purpose other than tourism. ÅSísłax's salmon signs are painted on the pier that supports the what and why of salmon swimming (transnational and subsanctioned); near the Horn of the Whale, salmon (transnational and subsanctioned) near the Horn of the Whale. There once existed a wooden sculpture expressing salmon swimming. Further, the piece consisted of wooden sculptures by collective echoes in hip-hop visual culture. The piece was originally conceived by collective echoes as an Indigenously conceived piece in contrast to the erasure of indigenous presence in秒钟. salmon swimming in contrast to the erasure of indigenous presence.

In this sense, Salmon System is a counter-narrative to the city's architectural sobriquet, "city of glass."
Embedded in the interlocking brick pathway are the words "huyechxwa, huyechexw-a, həyčxwa, the Skwxwú7mesh, X̱w̱məθkwəy̓əm, and Tsleil-Waututh dialects for saying "thank you." As described by the collective, these words of thanks honour the salmon and the streams that once covered several acres of land where the CPR railway was eventually built. In the 2006 exhibition catalogue for this piece they write: "Each year, over 500,000 people walk through this area and although they may not understand the meaning of the words inscribed beneath their feet, through reading, they too will be uttering thanks. Like the salmon, so too does the Coast Salish language return." (36). The fact that the many visitors that pass through Creekside Park can neither pronounce nor understand these words is not, we believe, what is at stake in this public artwork. What matters is the very attempt to read. This act points toward an important recuperation of sovereign visual epistemology. The sense of sight in itself functions as a form of doing, of asserting sovereignty, of expressing thanks. Like the sight of welcome poles or ceremonial objects, these works have the power to call the viewer to participate in a recognition of sovereign visual dimensions. The words of thanks are the very attempt to read. This act points to the fact that we do not view the public artwork, the words that assert their own space, but find ourselves" (36). The Land We Are
Reading public art and, by extension, interpreting the built urban environment takes many forms. In contrast with systems of sustenance, Sheila Hall’s *To Connect* (2008) engages viewers in an act of reading that publicly affirms, and contributes to, narratives of neoliberal multiculturalism in Canada. Located in Gastown, a tourist district in Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, Hall’s work covers the Columbia Street Pump Station, the front windows (that represent past, present, and future), a courtyard, and the surrounding sidewalk. At the foot of this two-storey brick building are a number of sandblasted paving stones inscribed with the words “to connect” in twenty-two (of the many) languages spoken in Vancouver. Amongst them is the word lheqto:lestexw (additionally translated as “joining together”), which is drawn from the Halq’eméylem language spoken by the Stó:lō peoples who traveled within the area. While Hall’s piece acknowledges that Vancouver is a multilingual place composed of many voices, this display of different languages in a civic space does not encourage viewers to read beyond equivalency. Like an international marketplace, the words circulate, supporting the nation-state through a multicultural linguistic ornamentation of the street. Indigenous language competes in this market as one culture among many. *To Connect* thus affirms that Vancouver is today a place of many cultures, of which First Peoples are to be recognized as one part, as such the piece reifies a multicultural habitus of the city, a product of the neoliberal state’s own institution. Hall’s work participates in a process of integration that abrogates First Peoples’ sui generis claims to this territory through the equalization of cultures. Hall’s
The creation of Concord Pacific Place in Yaletown is "one of the largest property developments" occupied by Olympic Village on West Hastings Street. The early-stage developer Concord Pacific (the very same developer whose extensive mixed-use development of the False Creek neighbourhood byForgot explicitly stated intention is "to encourage the viewer to rethink what a city is, how its history has been constructed and continues in its meta-amorphous [sic]." This aim, however, is at odds with the work's re-inscription of multicultural values and histories that in recognizing First Peoples along with other immigrants to Canada as having the same right to belong to place, subsequently disinvests them from their inalienable ancestral rights to their territories.

Located on the north-facing side of False Creek, Henry Tsang's Welcome to the Land of Light also works dynamically with translation, but not in ways that support narratives of multicultural citizenship through a profusion of languages. Instead, Welcome to the Land of Light misuses translation, rendering the language of settlement unintelligible. The 100-metre-long artwork, made of aluminum and fiber-optic cable wire and installed along the seawall handrail, is composed of two parallel texts. The sentences running along the top are Chinook Jargon, which Tsang describes as "an intercultural pidgin used extensively along the [North] West Coast during the 19th century." The sentences along the bottom re-translate that Jargon back into English. The texts we read are borrowed from early 1990s marketing advertisements for the condominiums that line False Creek, and like other advertising they illuminate the city at night. The '90s was a period of extensive upmarket development of the Yaletown neighborhood by Hong Kong-owned developer Concord Pacific. (The very same developer whose property was occupied by Olympic Village on West Hastings Street.)
The artwork includes statements like: “Here you begin like chief” and “You have same like electric eye and heart mind and talk sound.”

Because when we are reading belong to a historical demoic, we fail to comment, we fail to write here. Displayed along the handrails, we fall to comment to what is written here. The second irreconcilable language is its mimesis: English. "The urban settlement is divorced here from its grammatical and rhetorical logic. The artwork includes statements like: “Here you begin like chief” and “You have same like electric eye and heart mind and talk sound.”

Lowry and McCann (182) observe that the marketing jargon that facilitated the success of this urban settlement is divorced here from its grammatical and rhetorical logic. The artwork includes statements like: “Here you begin like chief” and “You have same like electric eye and heart mind and talk sound.”
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Chinook Jargon is used to "translate" the English marketing jargon. The English language we read possesses the organizational structure of a historical worldview that proves to be untranslatable. This act of defamiliarization eschews the key principle of neoliberal multiculturalism: that other languages and cultures can be known, related to, and therefore consumed. Finally, real estate marketing jargon is also a language of trade, and like Chinook Jargon it brings with it a culturally specific set of perspectives and values. When colonized by Chinook Jargon, the rhetoric of marketing copy (its fantasy scenarios of a wealthy cosmopolitan lifestyle) must bend, or reconcile itself to, an insupportable worldview. How, for example, might we "live like chief" in Vancouver today? Tsang's piece stretches the history of investor traffic and capital accumulation back, beyond the origins of the glass towers in Yaletown, to a time of intercultural trade and colonial land expropriation. His installation makes the transnational history of place visible in a city that continually imagines itself as new—a "teenage" city. This outlook is inscrutable with the historical and material facts of place visible in a city that continuously invents itself as new—history of place visible in a city that continually invents itself as new. The installation makes the transnational and colonial land expropriation that is the foundation of the English language evident.
Burrard Street bridge currently occupies. This included making visible the violent unsettlement that unfolded on the site: “In 1913, all traces of the original village were burned to the ground…” In other cases, statements dealt with present day injustices. Most prominently, Edgar Heap of Birds’s message took issue with the hypocrisy between the simultaneous affirmation of Indigenous culture and amnesia around Indigenous history that prevailed during the 2010 Olympic Games: “IMPERIAL CANADA AWARDED SEX ABUSE TO NATIVE YOUTH BY THE BLACK ROBES NOW PROUDLY BESTOWS BRONZE SILVER GOLD MEDALS WITH INDIAN IMAGE” (uppercase in original). Despite the fact that Heap of Birds’s message was censored by Astral Media (the owners of the billboard), Digital Natives placed this and other censored statements as temporary lawn signs upon a City-owned piece of land in front of the bridge. This unannounced intervention occurred without the knowledge or approval of the City of Vancouver. In April 2011, an electronic billboard broadcast text-based messages, in Indigenous languages and English, lasting 10 seconds between commercial advertisements. The 140-character long messages were generated by a range of Indigenous and settler artists, poets, and curators (sixty in total) and ran for four weeks. The project coincided with Vancouver’s 125th anniversary as an incorporated municipality. Messages took the form of social media tweets, some of which named the Coast Salish history of the site and referred to unceded territory. Raincoast’s executive director, Michelle Gwartney, writes: “In 1913, all traces of the original village were burned to the ground…” In other cases, messages dealt with present day injustices. Hester’s poem, “Sender of Shells,” is an example of this. It reads: “In 1913, all traces of the original village were burned to the ground…” In 1913, all traces of the original village were burned to the ground…”
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...on the day of the Vancouver Marathon, when 10,000 runners crossed the bridge as part of the marathon route. Pointedly, Heap of Birds's message refused to participate in the "truce" established by the Olympic narrative and displayed in the Olympic Village Plaza. Instead, he named Canada's long history of Indian Residential Schools run by priests and nuns, "the black robes." His text addressed the contradiction between the Canadian government's public acknowledgement of First Peoples' artistic contributions against their continued abdication of responsibility to publicly make restitution for the more than hundred-year history of prohibition and eradication of cultural practices that the Residential Schools attempted to effect. As an interruption of the city billboard's regular commercial programming, Digital Natives explicitly destabilized narratives of Canada's benevolent origins through messages that announced: "It's all unceded land, is it not?"

Conclusion

Without massive restitution made to Indigenous peoples, collectively and as individuals… reconciliation will permanently absolve colonial injustices and is itself a further injustice. — taiaiake alfred, "restitution," 181.

As we write this, the City of Vancouver has made two near simultaneous announcements: on June 17th, 2014, it tabled a motion to become "the world's first city of reconciliation"; days later, on June 25th, City Council unanimously acknowledged that Vancouver is located on unceded Coast Salish territories. This motion cannot influence land claims currently under dispute, rather its purpose is "to invite representatives from the Musqueam, Squamish and Tsleil-Waututh First Nations to work with the Mayor to develop appropriate protocols for the City of Vancouver to use in conducting City business that respect the traditions of welcome, blessing, and acknowledgement of the territory" (Motion 6). This important step on the municipal level toward historical redress returns us to the question of who benefits from governmental recognition. What tangible benefits will First Nations secure from the subsequent development of protocols with the City of Vancouver? How much will the municipal level's recognition influence the negotiation of commercial development of protocols with the individual First Nations?

As Alfred makes clear in the statement above, reconciliation should not mollify or absolve the nation-state of its wrongs. For reconciliation to result in restitution, the acknowledgement of historical and ongoing injustices against First Peoples must first have a place in the collective memory. The integrationist framework that weaves First Nations culture into the fabric of official multiculturalism must be dismantled and replaced by a discourse of historical restitution. As Alfred notes, "This motion cannot influence and claims customary and inherent rights, the title and interest of Aboriginal peoples in lands and resources and in self-government. It is the law of the land, not the law of the land, is not the law of the land, is not the law of the land."
window has a historic aerial photograph of Gastown. The “present” window has
like walking can temporarily suspend an urban dweller’s “proper” relationship to
represent a different time period: the past, the present and the future. The “past
(91-110) for Tom Eyre’s introduction to the compilation of essays. Following
particular process: see the catalogue exhibition of this four-year project edited by two of the project lead
of these negotiation processes, see the Treaty Commissionbreadcrumbs
the use of older storm drain covers. The Vancouver Police thunderbird design
her daughter Kelly Cannell, represent the lifecycle of frogs (from egg to tadpole to frog).
both of these designs are by artist Susan Point. The storm drain covers, designed with
and滑雪 род -а в свете ряда наград, оставшихся в памяти.
чтобы провести этот процесс, требуется создать систему поддержки, которая
междисциплинарных подходов к разработке политик, которые бы акцентировали
способность городов к непрерывному саморазвитию.

3. De Certeau devotes a section within Part 3 of The Practice of Everyday Life (1984) to the topic of

corresponding model for urban planning that acknowledges Vancouver’s
can be witnessed (along with the histories of First
diagrammatic and Cartographic

NOTES

First Nations participating in the
Treaty Commission website.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the riotous artistic and cultural

changes in Canada’s national
imagination have been

The Vancouver Police acknowledge the traditional ownership of this land and

have come and built their homes and businesses on this land. This was

other Western tastes that deemed it the most aesthetically

the modern city, Haida and Kwakwaka’wakw peoples’ artwork has often been placed

of the Olympic commissions that

homeless community, a severe “undercount” (Howell).

make up thirty percent of the homeless population, yet only two percent of the overall

of Redress. To develop a civic infrastructure of redress means to develop a

of a public memory around the Indian Residential Schools. However,

at the Olympic Truce piece, the Olympic Village is host to a

The Vancouver Police thunderbird design

This display is a statement of mutual respect and friend

In the context of the Olympic Games, and the discussions of Toronto 2011

of Post-Olympic care and community engagement in the City, see: Permanent

in Canada’s North Star,

in British Columbia. These accounts are a place in our
can be developed on the corresponding model for urban planning, in which the
can proceed to develop a civic infrastructure of redress, which

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has identified the

The Vancouver Police acknowledge the traditional ownership of this land and

of Post-Olympic care and community engagement in the City, see: Permanent

in British Columbia. These accounts are a place in our

can be developed on the corresponding model for urban planning, in which the

can proceed to develop a civic infrastructure of redress, which
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12. While the interior design of the building is minimal, its exterior facade features a large display of liquid crystal display (LCD) windows that show a live video feed of Burrard Inlet from cameras mounted on the top of the building. The "future" window displays a story written by children about water as a resource. It is partly obscured since we don't know what the future will hold. (Metro Vancouver media release)

13. While Halq'eméylem-speaking Stó:lo peoples have always maintained a presence in Vancouver, it is strange that Sheila Hall does not use a Hun'qumi'num dialect spoken by those whose territories are directly within the area now occupied by the city. According to Hun'qumi'num language specialist, Patricia Shaw, the availability of Halq'eméylem language materials preceded Hun'qumi'num resources, which may have led to their more frequent use. However, such earlier availability of Halq'eméylem resources may also have led to the mistaken assumption that Halq'eméylem was the parent language of Hun'qumi'num. According to Shaw, while Hun'qumi'num-speaking Xwteməthkwəyəm peoples may recognize the Halq'eméylem word lheqto:lewtexw as "to connect," they may equally recognize the misplacement of another nation's dialect upon their territory (Conversation with Patricia Shaw, May 22, 2014, ubc).

14. In "Asia in the Mix: Hong Kong, Vancouver, Dubai," Glen Lowry and Eugene McCann show how Tsang's fiber-optic piece in Concord Pacific Place is indicative of Vancouver's bonds to multiple elsewheres that include Hong Kong, China, and Dubai. The authors provide a fulsome definition of Chinook Jargon and note that it was the lingua franca up and down the coast from Oregon to Alaska. Chinook Jargon … was a pidgin of indigenous Wawashan dialects mixed with English and French, as well as other sources. Named after the Chinookan (Chinuk or Tsinuk) people of the lower and middle Columbia River basin, but based loosely on the aboriginal language, it was structured on the principle of inserting words and phrases from different linguistic sources into basic syntactic or grammatical units. Chinook Jargon was readily adaptable and portable, capable of facilitating exchanges among diverse cultural-linguistic groups and accommodating disparate regional demographics … Chinook lexicon reflects the use of Kannaksis (from Hawaii), Chinese, and Norwegian, in addition to Chinook, Nootkan, English, and French. In some regions, it became a creole and was spoken as a first language. (187-88)

15. Glen Lowry and Eugene McCann explain that: "In the wake of Tiananmen and in the lead-up to 1997 [handover of sovereignty from the UK to China], Vancouver became a safe haven for affluent, middle-class investors from Hong Kong who were looking for a place to which to move their families and business interests" (183).

16. While it faced censorship on Astral Media's billboards, Heap of Birds's message was displayed indoors as part of the Vancouver Art Gallery's we: Vancouver (2011) exhibit, which was held concurrently with the Digital Natives project. For more information about the project see Brown and Burnham's exhibition catalogue, Digital Natives.

17. Public art played a pivotal role in materializing (and openly questioning) the City's reconciliatory status through the display of publicly commissioned temporary artworks on bus shelters, the Vancouver Public Library central branch, video screens, and other sites. For more information see City of Vancouver, "Platforms: Art Marking Vancouver's Year of Reconciliation."
In 2014, four drawings by us, The New BC Indian Art and Welfare Society Collective (NBCIAWSC), were selected by the City of Vancouver to be exhibited in bus shelters across the city as part of the “Year of Reconciliation” public art program. Entitled *Underlying States*, the series was made in the style of the exquisite corpse, or *cadavre exquis*, a method made popular by the Surrealists in the 1920s. André Breton describes the exquisite corpse in the *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*: “A game with folded paper. Every participant makes a drawing without knowing what his predecessor did. Every participant makes a drawing without knowing what his predecessor did. The following maneuver is similarly written in the style of the exquisite corpse: the drawer on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together, then drew on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together, then drew on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together, then drew on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together. The following maneuver is similarly written in the style of the exquisite corpse: the drawer on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together, then drew on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together. The following maneuver is similarly written in the style of the exquisite corpse: the drawer on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together, then drew on the paper and mailed their piece back to be taped together. One of the reasons this technique appealed to us is our understanding of the formative impact Indigenous arts and artists from Turtle Island had on Breton, Max Ernst, and other members of the Surrealist movement. NBCIAWSC’s version of the exquisite corpse involves cut-and-paste techniques, incorporating cut-and-paste techniques, incorporating cut-and-paste techniques, incorporating cut-and-paste techniques, incorporating cut-and-paste techniques. The following manifesto is similarly written in the style of the exquisite corpse, showing clearly the places where our thoughts coincide as well as the places where our thoughts collide.