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THE POLITICS OF LOCAL CULTURE:

THE EVOLUTION OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

ARTS POLICY IN VANCOUVER

by

Susan Juliet Stevenson

B.A., McGill University 1985

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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of

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the development of government arts policy at the municipal level in the city of Vancouver. It addresses the following research question: "What factors have influenced the city government's ability to meet its stated goal of improving citizen access to the arts?" Access is discussed not only in terms of working in the arts or attending arts events, but also in terms of citizen participation in the civic arts policy-making process. The specific areas of cultural policy which are examined include ethnicity and the arts, women and the arts, and art in public places.

The thesis includes an overview of historical influences which have shaped cultural practices and policy in Canadian cities, and in Vancouver in particular. It traces the emergence of "cultural planning" and programs in the Vancouver city bureaucracy, along with the changes in policy discourse and priorities which have occurred from the early 1970s through to the early 1990s. This study examines policy goals of citizen access and democratic participation, in light of conflicting political, economic and social influences. The history and structure of municipal government is also considered, in order to determine how these structural influences limit or permit the development of arts policy at

the local level. The research methods include interviews with city officials and cultural workers, documentary and archival research, and an analysis of the discourse used in policy documents.

The city government in Vancouver has in recent years made attempts to broaden access to the arts among the diverse ethnic population of the city and to encourage improved race relations through cross-cultural programming in the arts. This study concludes, however, that the role of social class and gender has generally been overlooked in municipal arts policy in Vancouver. It also suggests that policy-makers will be under increasing pressure to redefine some of the central concepts which inform their work - such as "community," "culture," "art" and "policy" - as a result of shifting social values.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

According to political scientist Andrew Sancton, the study of local government is an academic ghetto (1983: p. 310). This assessment suggests that the arts and cultural policies of municipal government are even further marginalized. Research and analysis have concentrated on the cultural policies of the Canadian federal and provincial governments, without much reference to what occurs on the municipal level. There is, however, a strong link between the arts and the city. Cultural institutions are based in cities and, as has often been observed, cities have the resources and population to make it possible to bring artists and their audiences together.

While Canadian city governments have neither the constitutional power nor the tax base of their senior counterparts, some cultural analysts have suggested that local governments have the potential to take on a leading role in support of the arts (Chartrand, 1987; Schafer, 1986). According to Schafer:

> As bureaucratic structures harden and it becomes more and more difficult to develop new programs at the provincial, national and international level, the focus of attention shifts to the municipal level. As a result, it is possible to detect the same spirit of pioneering excitement and adventure that characterized provincial, national and international arts development two decades ago invading municipal arts development today...Here is where the innovative structures are going to be created, programs devised, and funding sources uncovered that are needed to carry the arts forward to higher and higher levels of accomplishment (1986: p. 6).

The arts policy documents produced by Canadian municipalities confirm the existence of this widespread enthusiasm for local cultural development. Arts policies at the local level usually articulate the ideal of "democratizing the arts" by providing access to the arts for all citizens. However, this goal has been limited and contradicted by a capitalist economy, a colonial history and continuing exclusions based on race, class and gender. In addition, the historical evolution of municipal governments in Canada has led to the formation of a political structure which has been traditionally more concerned with land use and property issues than social services.

This thesis examines the relationship between ideals of "community access" in municipal arts policy and the social and political structures which systemically limit their realization. Government policy may be considered a form of public communication which is complicated by conflicting mandates and values. These conflicts also inhibit public acceptance of official policy statements and make it difficult to implement policy goals effectively.

Apart from government documents, the existing literature on Canadian municipal arts policy is largely restricted to publications produced by arts advocacy groups and other professional associations (e.g., Canadian Conference of the Arts, 1987; Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1988).[1]

These materials generally show an understanding of some of the ways that local government could better serve the arts, but there is little attempt to link the subject of municipal arts policy with an understanding of the structure and operations of city governments. For instance, if the central power of municipal governance lies in the ability to create wealth through property regulation, how does this factor determine the constraints and possibilities of what local governments can do for the arts?

The first two chapters of this thesis provide a context for the discussion of municipal arts policy by defining the terms which will be used and also by describing historical precedents for the involvement of local governments in the arts. These chapters also serves to review the literature on Canadian cultural policy, the literature on city politics and government in Canada, and what little has been written on the cultural policies of local governments in Canada. The remainder of the thesis consists of an examination of the history and development of arts institutions, activities and municipal arts policy in Vancouver in particular. This work represents an original historical study of the evolution of the city's cultural planning and public consultation on the arts. The primary focus is on the body of local government which has been most directly concerned with arts policies and programs - Vancouver's City Council and its staff. However, the activities of other relevant structures of local

government such as the School Board and Board of Parks and Recreation are also considered.

In examining the overall growth of municipal arts policy in Vancouver, the following research question is addressed: "What factors have influenced the city government's ability to meet its stated goal of improving citizen access to the arts?" In this context, access to the arts means not only participating as an arts professional, audience member or "consumer" of the arts, but also access to government information and involvement in the policy-making process. The evolution of the city government's role in cultural policy will be explored with particular reference to the social, political and governmental influences which have both enhanced and inhibited the city's ability to realise its policy goals.

1. Methodology:

While early studies in public policy took an empirical approach and concentrated on government procedures, the contribution of critical theorist Jurgen Habermas and others has led to an increased interest in normative evaluations of both decision-making and discourse in policy (Dallmayr, 1986: p. 41). Since social justice issues have become central to questions of public policy, it is appropriate and necessary to use normative criteria to evaluate both the goals and the

means of government policy.

This thesis calls for an interdisciplinary approach since it encompasses several areas which are of interest to students of communication: culture, politics, political economy, organizational development and the processes and discourse of government policy. Therefore, I have not adopted a single theoretical and methodological approach, but have tried to look at the subject of local arts policy from a number of different perspectives.

Writing about the federal policy of multiculturalism, Gilles Paquet comments:

> Ill-structured problems pose great difficulties to policy research. Analysts must learn on the job about both the configuration of facts and the configuration of values, but they must also manage to learn from the stakeholders in the policy game and from the many groups at the periphery who are in possession of important local knowledge, for without their participation no policy can be implemented (1988: p. 19).

Local arts policy, which increasingly concerns issues of multiculturalism and race politics, is one such ill-structured policy problem. Since I am not part of the "arts community" or government of the city, it has been necessary to learn from the "stakeholders" or interest groups in the system, which include government representatives, members of the established arts organizations as well as groups which have been marginalized for reasons including social class, ethnicity, gender and artistic standards. While I needed to solicit factual information from interviewees, it was equally

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important for me to gain insight into their perspective on events and policies - their version of social reality. Apart from the decision-makers and experts on municipal arts policy, it was necessary to consult others who may have a critical perspective on issues precisely because they have not had access to resources and social networks of influence.

Those interviewed for this thesis include city staff, councillors, members of the citizen's advisory committees on the arts, members of arts organizations, and artists. My choice of interviewees was dictated to some degree by the need to talk to people who had been directly involved in the city's arts policy-making, but an effort was made to consult others as well (see Appendix 1). My approach to interviewing was influenced by Elliot Mishler's writing on the research interview as the joint construction of meaning between the interviewer and the respondent (1986: p. 117-135). Over the course of my study, I developed a base of knowledge in the field which meant that I could hold collaborative discussions with my interviewees. Therefore, during my interviews, I not only solicited information, but informally shared information which I had gathered through my research. Mishler points out that there is an inherent asymmetry of power which favours the interviewer because he or she is able to control the use, interpretation and dissemination of the research "findings" (ibid, p. 118). For that reason, it is important to at least offer interviewees the choice of whether or not they wish to

be directly quoted, particularly with individuals who may not be at liberty to express all of their personal opinions because of responsibilities to their employers.

When interviewing a heterogenous group, the power dynamics vary considerably from one interview to the next. People who are part of marginalized groups are sometimes wary of sharing their knowledge if they aren't sure about how the information will be used and whether it will contribute positively to their cause. I found that political and interpersonal sensitivity is required on the part of the interviewer and that it is often necessary to acknowledge the existence of issues of power and appropriation before any sort of trust can be established.

Attending local public forums, lectures, conferences and courses provided an invaluable source of information and ideas. As an observer, I also attended meetings of a citizen's advisory committee to the city on public art and a Board of Parks and Recreation "focus group" on arts policy in an effort to get a closer look at some of the practices which occur in municipal arts policy consultation, formulation and enactment.

The historical and descriptive material on Vancouver was gathered partially through documentary research using city annual reports, the city charter, minutes of city council meetings and advisory committees, staff reports, correspondence, newspaper articles and exhibition guides.

While reports which have gone to city council and committee minutes are generally accessible to the public, other internal city documents have varying degrees of confidentiality and public accessibility. City documents over ten years old are available in the Vancouver Archives, whereas more recent materials must be solicited from staff at City Hall.

My historical research was made difficult because the local history available in the archives and published works is heavily biased towards the history of European-Canadian people and their arts. In some cases, I have attempted to use alternate sources of information and cite examples from other ethnic groups whose history has only recently begun to be recovered.

2. Definition of Terms and Discussion of Concepts:

There have been numerous attempts to define the terms "culture," "arts," "policy" and "community." When writing about these concepts, it is essential to review some of these definitions and explain their usage. The case-study on Vancouver arts policy is intended to offer the reader further insight into how these concepts operate in practice.

(i) Culture:

According to Raymond Williams, "culture" is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. He found that "culture" acquired several new meanings during

the nineteenth century alone:

> Before this period (1800s), it had meant, primarily, the 'tending of natural growth,' and then, by analogy, a process of human training. But this latter use, which had usually been a culture of something, was changed, in the nineteenth century, to culture as such, a thing in itself. It came to mean, first, 'a general state or habit of the mind,' having close relations with the idea of human perfection. Second, it came to mean 'the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole.' Third, it came to mean the 'general body of the arts.' Fourth, later in the century, it came to mean 'a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual' (1967, p. xvi).

Williams found that the third meaning, "the general body of the arts," has become the most common contemporary usage of the word, although the social and anthropological connotation has recently been gaining ground (1988: p. 90, 92).

> UNESCO has adopted such a broader definition of the word:

> Culture means the sum of the material as well as the intellectual and spiritual distinctive features that characterize a society or group (cited in Edmonton, 1988: 2.6).

The Canadian Conference of the Arts has also embraced this definition of culture partly because "...it gets us away from the Western notion of culture as a commodity, to the more universal view of culture as a process" (1984: p. 22).

Culture stems from ethnic traditions, but also from class differences within a given ethnic group. The distinction between high culture and popular culture poses a challenge for policy-makers since the boundaries between these two categories are fluid and shifting.

Cultural studies theorist Stuart Hall has said that although the anthropological definition of popular culture is preferable to a market-based, commercial understanding of the term, it is still inadequate, because:

> ...it is based on an infinitely expanding inventory. Virtually anything which 'the people' have ever done can fall into the list. Pigeon-fancying and stamp-collecting, flying ducks on the wall and garden gnomes (1981: p. 234).

Hall argues that to understand culture, it is necessary to focus on relations of power which determine what is considered elite or popular culture, and to recognize that institutions such as the education system sustain these differences (ibid).

Government funding bodies and arts organizations are also institutions which play a powerful role in defining the privileged culture of a given society. Despite the shift towards an all-encompassing understanding of "culture," many government departments continue to use the term to mean particular artistic products and activities in order to rationalize their funding criteria. While government policy discourse may be evolving to accommodate a broader conception of "culture," it is has not moved very far towards the political interpretation of culture which Hall advocates. In Canada, government policy-makers have at times acknowledged that power relations define culture along the lines of race and gender, but have given little attention to the central role which social class distinctions play in determining cultural taste and practices.[2]

(ii)   The Arts:

One response to the complexity of meaning surrounding the term "culture" is to attempt to limit oneself, as George Woodcock has, to a narrower field, which can be called "the arts" (1985: p. 12). This term traditionally encompasses the art forms of music, drama, dance, visual art and literature. Despite its terminology, the city of Vancouver, through its Office of Cultural Affairs, cultural planners and cultural grants, is primarily supporting non-profit arts organizations. "The arts" may be a more accurate term than "culture" for the areas addressed in this thesis, partly because municipalities play a larger role in the non-profit arts than they do in the "cultural industries" (broadcasting, sound recording, film and publishing). It is true, however, that a focus on "the arts" can lead one to consider only traditional art forms, rather than popular culture and the arts of non-Western cultures. It may be more useful to consider art, not so much in terms of different established art disciplines, but as a creative and symbolic form of human communication which exists in every society and culture.

Although the purpose of this study is to examine municipal government involvement in the arts (rather than artistic expression and popular culture in general), it would be a mistake to limit my scope entirely by considering only what governments have chosen to sanction. In doing so, I would be using "the arts" in the manner which John Pick, for

one, finds objectionable - as a judgemental term which refers more to the subsidised arts rather than to the totality of creative experience (1988: p. 154, 155). For these reasons, it is also important to consider what kinds of cultural expression fall outside the parameters of government arts policy.

There are some areas of municipal policy which are arts-related but beyond the scope of this thesis, including architectural and urban design, heritage conservation and library policies.

(iii) Policy:

"Government arts policy" is often assumed to refer primarily to priorities on the use of public monies to fund the arts. Pick suggests, however, that rather than supporting the arts, governments have historically more often constrained them through licensing, censorship, education and taxation (1988: p. 73).[3] A broad conception of policy allows the researcher to consider the many different ways in which governments may support, regulate or constrain artistic activities. The French term for cultural policy, "la politique culturelle," may be a more descriptive one since politics is so influential in determining the role that a government plays in the arts, regardless of whether its values and practices have been clearly articulated into policy statements.

While many municipal governments in Canada have not yet produced comprehensive arts policy documents, their existing policies are revealed through their management of grants to arts organizations, civic buildings which house the arts, artwork in parks and other public places, and outdoor festivals. In this thesis, the concept of "municipal arts policy" refers not only to official policies, bylaws or resolutions on the arts adopted by a city council, but also to departmental practices and procedures which can affect artists, arts organizations and citizens. In addition, it is important to look at policies which may not appear to be directly relevant to the arts, but which may have an impact on artists and local culture. While policies concerning grant adjudication have an obvious impact on arts organizations, it may also be enlightening to examine how city planning policies in zoning and housing affect artists.

Schafer points out that the first step in developing a comprehensive arts policy is to make existing implicit or "invisible" arts policies explicit (1986: p.11). In the case of Vancouver, certainly, numerous implicit policies and practices have accumulated over the years and have not yet been compiled in document form. According to Schafer, a comprehensive municipal arts policy can be defined as:

> ...a holistic statement of ideals, principles, objectives, priorities, procedures and strategies governing municipal arts development (1986: p. 17).

(iv) Community:

John Pick contends that the word "community":

...denotes nothing except a furry construct in the writer's mind, but has all kinds of cosy and gentle connotations. The word is almost always used as an evasion, because the author does not want to be seriously challenged (1988, p. 158).

For instance, the statement "Members of the arts community in Vancouver generally have a good working relationship with city cultural planners" might imply that only arts organizations which "work with" government funders qualify as members of the arts community. To avoid such tautologies, I will refrain from speaking of "the arts community" as a whole, but will refer to more specific groups such as the Vancouver Cultural Alliance, an umbrella group which represents most of the professional arts organizations in the city, or the Artists' Coalition for Local Colour, an advocacy and lobbying group for artists of colour.

Benedict Anderson considers all but the smallest communities to be imaginary, and points out the dangers inherent in a concept which conveys a sense of "a deep, horizontal comradeship" that can mask inequality and exploitation (1989: p. 16). For this reason, policies which are presented as measures to serve the entire "community" have to be closely examined to determine which segments of the population are actually benefited.

Writing about community radio, Liora Salter states that "The only common characteristic of a 'community' is that its

members share, explicitly or implicitly, a common relationship to something outside themselves" (1976: p. 20). While arts organizations differ markedly in the nature of their organization and the art they produce, they generally share in a common experience of financial struggle and dependency on government funding for survival. Salter also notes that people come together as a unified group under external pressure (1976: p. 20). In the case of arts organizations in Vancouver, external pressure came in the form of Expo '86. Fearing that the world fair would draw away audiences and revenue, which would compound overall financial shortages during a period of economic stagnation, professional arts organizations came together to form a unified service, lobby and marketing group, the Vancouver Cultural Alliance. Despite differences among these groups, it has been strategically necessary, for marketing and government lobbying purposes, to present themselves as a community.

Salter distinguishes the concept of "community" from "constituency," which she describes as "a group (usually unorganized) of people sharing a common relationship to power...A constituency group does not necessarily share group consciousness, nor activity, nor face-to-face relationships" (1976: p. 21). According to this definition, artists and arts organizations in Vancouver can only be loosely called "a constituency" since the relationship to government (power) varies from those who have received government funding for

years to those who have never received a single grant.

Although "community" is a problematic word which can be criticized for semantic and political reasons, it is difficult to avoid the usage of it in the English language, perhaps because it represents an important social ideal. Barton Reid has defined community as "non-commoditized reciprocal relations" (1991: p. 26), a definition which at least attempts to limit the misuse of the word to some degree. For example, "development community" would be an oxymoron, since urban development involves turning land into a commodity.

The term "community arts" is often used to refer to the amateur arts. Government funding programs and representative bodies for professional artists frequently uphold the distinction between the professional and the amateur arts by excluding those who do not meet the criteria of professionalism.

(v) Cities and Municipalities:

In British Columbia, a city is defined as a municipality with a population exceeding 5,000 which has been incorporated under the provincial municipal act (Andrews, 1991, p. 5). Smaller areas which have been legally incorporated as municipalities in B.C. are classified as villages, towns or municipal districts, depending on the population size and density (ibid). The term "municipality" is at times also used to refer to metropolitan regions which encompass several

municipalities or electoral areas.

The case study in this thesis focuses on the city of Vancouver which, with a population of 471,844, is the eighth largest city in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1992, p. 9), and therefore the characteristics of its arts policies are not necessarily representative of municipalities of other sizes and in other regions.

Canada is becoming a highly urbanized country with over 46% of the population residing in nine major metropolitan areas (Canada Council, 1989: p. 1). The other 54% live in some 4,000 municipalities, most of which are in a hinterland relationship to major cities where the cultural resources are concentrated. Since Vancouver is the principal economic and cultural metropolis of British Columbia, its priorities in local arts policies are quite different from cities elsewhere in the province which might just be starting to develop their artistic resources and infrastructure.

It is important to note that the municipal acts governing cities and other municipalities vary with each province or territory. The structural characteristics and historic development of Canadian municipal government is discussed later in this thesis.

Notes:

1. However, two Canadian political scientists, Benoit Lafortune and Jacques Leveillee, have studied municipal cultural policy in Quebec and internationally (see, for example, Leveillee and Lafortune, 1989: p. 19-22)

2. Social class is determined by a number of interrelated factors including education, family background, occupation and income. For a review of the major theories of class analysis, see Giddens and Held (1982). French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has studied the relationship between class and cultural practices, demonstrating that taste (in art, clothing, food, etc.) functions as a marker of class (1984, 1991). He found a close link between cultural practices and education and social background (1984: p. 13). A recent survey of the Canadian audience for the performing arts found that frequent attenders were more highly educated and had a higher income than the overall population sampled (Decima Research and Les Consultants Cultur'Inc Inc., May 1992: p. 59).

3. An early and enduring example of a repressive cultural policy of the Canadian federal government was the law against the native Potlatch celebration which was in effect between 1918 and 1951.

CHAPTER II   CITIES AND THE ARTS: HISTORICAL INFLUENCES

> The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community.
> Lewis Mumford (1940:   p. 3)

1.   Influences from Western Civilization:

Public patronage of the arts originated in cities.   In Western civilization, this relationship has been traced back to the Athenian city state or "polis" of 5th century B.C. where debates cn the amount of public money which should be allocated to the arts occurred over 2,000 years ago. However, the concept of a distinct "arts policy" did not exist in the Athenian city state; participation in the arts was a legal requirement of full-fledged citizens (free males) and was closely linked with their political, religious and athletic customs (Pick, 1988:   p. 12).   According to Mumford, "participation in the arts was as much a part of the citizen's activities as service on the council or in the law courts..." (1961:   p. 167).   In addition, artists in classical civilizations were prized as leading citizens and diplomats.

The geographic layout of the cities of past civilizations reveals the central role arts and culture played in the lives of their inhabitants. The Greek "polis," Roman "civitas" and

medieval city were centred around institutions with political, religious and intellectual functions, whereas in the modern world, city centres are dominated by economic institutions (Burgoyne, 1985: p. 6). Mumford describes the important role of the church in the lives of medieval city-dwellers:

> One must think of the (medieval) church, indeed, as one would now think of a 'community centre': not too holy to serve as a dining hall for a great festival, as a theatre for a religious play, as a forum where the scholars in church schools might stage oratorical contests and learned disputes on a holiday...(1961: p. 306-307).

Although contemporary urban settlements provide many of the resources necessary for the arts to flourish, the evolution of the industrial mode of production in cities has contributed to a separation of workplace and home and a marginalization and commodification of the arts. The integration of the arts in daily life seems to exist today only in some developing, pre-industrial societies.

Widespread participation in the arts is also discouraged by the elitism with which some cultural institutions have been associated. Mumford found that the European Baroque court of the 15th Century "...had a direct influence upon the town in nearly every aspect of life: it is even the parent of many new institutions democracy later claimed for its own" (1961: p. 377). The greatest influence of the Baroque court, according to Mumford, was in the area of pleasure and recreation. Concert halls, orchestras, museums, parks, zoos and the "pleasure garden"[1] were all Baroque institutions:

> One by one, these palatial institutions registered their presence on the new city plan. Sometimes they came under private auspices; sometimes with royal or municipal support; always in the gilded image bearing the original stamp of the court and palace (1961: p. 381).

Zoological gardens originated as a showcase for the trophies of explorers and hunters, and museum collections likewise grew out of the acquisitive lifestyle of the baroque court and its foreign conquests (Mumford, 1961: p. 380).

In 1753, the British government began direct financial support for the arts when it received Sir Hans Sloane's collections of paintings and other articles, which led to the foundation of the British Museum. This acquisition is frequently cited as the beginning of state collections in the visual arts. According to Mumford, it was a landmark in popular culture; before this time, collections of art were kept by the wealthy for private enjoyment (1961: p. 381). This event heralded a gradual transition from patronage by royalty and other wealthy aristocrats to government patronage and control. It is debatable whether the class origins of these institutions are relevant today, given that they are now "democratized" and open to the public. However, museum collections continue to be housed in palatial buildings which are a physical embodiment of the elitism they have long been associated with.

Pick notes that licensing and censorship have been used by royalty and government in Britain as a powerful tool to restrict access to the arts, thereby reinforcing class

divisions. From the mid-1600s to the mid-1800s, people could not perform or gather in public without the approval of court or parliament officials, which meant that those living in towns or villages were generally forbidden to attend theatre productions (1988: p.20). Pick argues that this long period of repression has had a lasting influence on the popularity of live theatre in Britain. If so, it is a factor which could be extended to former British colonies such as Canada.

In European countries such as Sweden, France, Switzerland and Germany, where the total per capita government support for the performing arts is many times greater than in English-speaking countries (Montias, 1986: p. 306), an infrastructure for municipal arts funding was established centuries ago, often through religion. For example, by the 15th century it had become common practice for the aldermen of towns in Northern France to provide funds for mystery plays which were staged by church groups. German municipalities began to establish and support their own theatres and operas in the late 18th century (ibid: p. 288, 289).

According to Bernard Ostry, the ambivalent attitude toward the arts which is often said to exist in English-speaking countries may have been inherited from the British Puritans:

> The last British sovereign who was an effective patron of the arts was Charles I; his immediate successors were the Puritans, who not only chopped off his head but dispersed his collections. The visual arts, they believed, were tainted with popery, and the performing arts were sinful. Despite the revival of theatre at the Restoration, the

Puritans bequeathed their suspicion of the arts to the common people of Britain. This Puritan antagonism was imported into Canada and may still be one of the lingering obstacles to government support for the arts (1978: p. 28).

Ostry does not discuss all the historical influences which have led to a lack of support for arts and culture. Indeed, Williams said he could find no derisive references to "culture" prior to 1860, but that the hostility seemed to date from Matthew Arnold's defense of high culture in Culture and Anarchy, (published in 1869) and the class distinction associated with the term (1967: p. 126).

2. Early Canadian Influences:

(i) Private Patronage:

Government support for the arts in Canada and the United States began at least a century after such practices had become institutionalized in Western Europe. Before public funding for the arts was established, patrons of the arts who came from the affluent business class played a central role in the development of cultural institutions and activities in North American cities. This patronage was not without its rewards, as Ostry remarks:

> With the rise of cities and their bourgeoisie, it is the rich man who becomes the artist's patron, in return for art that affirms his taste and confers a kind of legitimacy on his wealth (Ostry: 1978, p. 38).

Canadian historian Maria Tippett agrees that wealthy

citizens who contributed to the arts were interested in legitimating and winning acceptance for the existing power relationships of society. While this self-interest is more evident in the case of corporate patronage, Tippett suggests that, with individual patrons, the same purpose was:

> ...masked behind a veneer of taste, style and discernment which suggested that cultural activity was being encouraged for its own sake and not in fulfilment of some business, commercial, or class purpose (1990: p. 119).

Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "cultural capital" is a useful concept to describe the prestige which urban elites were able to obtain through patronage and association with the arts (1991). Paul DiMaggio has applied this concept to American philanthropists who used their profits gained from industry to create museums and symphony orchestras (1986: p. 43). He argues that the "cultural capitalists" who created these organizations dedicated to high art helped to institutionalize the separation of high art from popular culture (ibid: p. 42).

American cities benefitted substantially from the cultural philanthropy of businessmen and the urban elite (Horowitz, 1976; DiMaggio, 1986), but their counterparts in Canada did not contribute as much to the arts. Tippett speculates that the reasons for this difference may have been that Canadians were more concerned with the acquisition of foreign art work, or that they were discouraged by less favourable tax laws relating to cultural philanthropy (1990: p. 92-95).

Those affluent citizens who considered it their duty to build an infrastructure for the arts were often inspired by a romantic idealism about art as a means to refine the city and its inhabitants (Horowitz, 1976: p. 78). Small businessmen and other ordinary people - many of them women - also volunteered their time to organize arts events and work for arts institutions. They may have been motivated by what Raymond Williams describes as the middle-class ethic of service to the community. Although Williams notes that this ethic, in counteracting an attitude of laissez-faire and self-service, has contributed to the peace and welfare of society, he also maintains that it has reinforced the status quo (1967: p. 328-329). The psychology of service, he argues, is inferior to the working class ethic of solidarity, or "active mutual responsibility" (1967: p. 330). In the area of cultural development, one can see how the middle-class ethic of service, while enabling arts institutions and facilities to grow, has rarely challenged the status quo by including members of the working class or ethnic minorities in the artistic life of the city.

(ii) The Massey Commission:

In 1951, the federal government of Canada conducted its first major cultural enquiry, The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (generally known as "the Massey Commission" after its Chairman Vincent Massey).

According to historian Paul Litt, this enquiry was inspired by a liberal-humanist belief in the improvement of the individual through educational and cultural enlightenment, yet it also revealed a somewhat contradictory preference for high art over mass culture:

> Although the Massey Commission was eighty years and an ocean away from the scene of (Mathew) Arnold's ruminations, it embraced his comforting conviction that elite culture and liberal democracy were reconcilable – indeed, that culture was necessary to the successful functioning of liberal democracy (1990: p. 25).

Litt also points out that post-war nationalism increased popular support for the development of Canadian cultural resources (ibid). While Canadian cultural nationalists continue to feel pride in the accomplishments of the Massey Commission, Litt offers a more complex and critical interpretation of this influential enquiry which shaped the country's cultural foundations:

> ...the Massey Commission's concern with traditional high culture was translated from a seemingly undemocratic elitism into a democratic and patriotic concern for the preservation and promotion of the Canadian liberal democratic state (1990: p. 26).

Since liberalism may conflict with state direction in culture, the Massey Commission recommended the formation of an arm's length funding body for the arts based on the model of the British Arts Council. This recommendation resulted in the formation of the Canada Council in 1957, which Litt describes as "the bureaucratic embodiment of the Massey Commission's balancing of liberalism and elitism" (1990: p. 29).

In her 1986 feminist analysis on arts funding in Canada, Ann Innis Dagg argues that the Canada Council may have had a detrimental effect on women artists. Dagg attributes a decline in the success of women writers after 1950 to a male-biased filtering process which characterized the Canada Council funding procedure, particularly in its early years (1986: p. 120).

The Canada Council fostered the growth of arts organizations and led to increased professionalism in the arts. Cultural institutions such as the Vancouver Playhouse Company, which was established in 1962 with support of the Canada Council's program to create regional theatres throughout Canada, eventually attracted support from other levels of government. While the Massey Commission was able to solidify social and political support for federal funding of the arts in Canada, it usually proved more difficult to place the arts on the agenda of provincial and municipal governments.[2]

(iii)   The Development of Arts Policy in Canadian Municipalities:

While the first Canadian art galleries and theatres were established with donations from wealthy citizens or small businessmen, and with the volunteer work of women in particular, municipal governments eventually assumed responsibility for operating these facilities. During the provincial and municipal centennial celebrations of the 1950s

and early 1960s, however, city governments took the initiative in building large theatre complexes. This "orgy of civic pride," as Woodcock calls it, resulted in capital investments which require ongoing subsidy:

> Since then these splendid but often largely redundant buildings have drained off a considerable portion of the funds municipalities regularly devote to the arts. In Greater Toronto, for example, about 40 per cent of the annual cultural budget goes to the upkeep of the O'Keefe and St. Lawrence centres (1985: p. 89).

Similarly, the Vancouver Art Gallery's move to a larger, more impressive building in the 1980s required that a large portion of its operating budget be absorbed in maintaining the building, rather than in expanding the collection, staff or public programs.

By the 1970s, coinciding with a reform movement in municipal politics, there was a growing awareness of the potential role for municipal government in promoting the quality of life of its inhabitants, which led to an increased interest in developing cultural amenities. This interest in arts funding and policy was partly brought about by the efforts of organized arts lobby groups. The Canadian Conference of the Arts, a national lobby and research group, began to hold conferences and commission studies on municipal arts funding (e.g., Bailey, 1978). The 1970s also saw a rapid increase in the number of arts organizations in cities; the federal Local Initiatives Program and Opportunity for Youth grants, sponsored by the Secretary of State, led to the creation of many new arts companies (e.g., Tamahnous Theatre

Company and the former City Stage in Vancouver). With a greater number of arts groups applying for grants, local governments were pressured to consider funding in an organized fashion.

The Federation of Canadian Municipalities passed a resolution on municipal support for the arts on June 17, 1976, which encouraged municipalities to study their long-term and short-term objectives in the provision of cultural requirements and show their support for their cultural institutions by establishing and increasing cultural grants with the goal of achieving a minimal annual expenditure of $1 per capita within three years. The resolution also called for municipalities to establish administrative departments to oversee cultural planning (Canadian Conference of the Arts, 1976: p. 30).

Surveys of various Canadian cities showed that municipal support for the arts increased dramatically between 1974 and 1977. A 1977 survey showed that Canadian cities had, on average, surpassed the Federation's call for a $1 per capita annual expenditure on the arts (Bailey, 1978: p. 7, 8). By the 1980s, municipal arts funding had become recognized as a legitimate and necessary public expenditure. In 1987, Jiri Zuzanek reported that:

> ...during the past decade, Canadian municipalities have increased their support for the arts at a faster rate than for most other municipal services and, apparently, at a faster rate than federal or provincial arts councils. However, the municipalities' overall share in the public support of the arts remains relatively small.

In most municipalities grants account for 5% to 6% of the arts organizations' operating expenditures, and only in Toronto does this figure approach the 10% mark (1987: p. 2).

Many municipalities had come to employ cultural planning staff, broaden the mandate of their parks and recreation departments to include the arts, and some had established committees to adjudicate grants "at arm's length" from government by this time. Cities became more interested in developing their own "home grown" municipal arts policies suited to each particular city and context. In 1986, an organization called Arts in the Cities was formed to bring municipal officials and representatives of the arts together. Also in 1986, the federal Task Force on Funding of the Arts called for municipalities to nearly triple their financial support for the arts by the turn of the century, and to establish long-term arts policies and administrative departments for arts and culture (Canada: 1986: p. 84). The following year, the Canadian Conference of the Arts held its annual conference on the theme of "Municipalities and the Arts."

A 1990 survey by the Federation of Canadian Municipalities found that 30% of the responding municipalities had developed a written cultural plan or set of policies on the arts, culture and heritage and only 25% had developed procedures, by-laws or regulations to deal with arts and culture (1991: p. 3). The survey also reported that the overall average per capita expenditure on arts, culture and

heritage by municipalities was $7.93, while the average in Quebec municipalities was $13.51 (ibid: p. 4). Vancouver's per capita expenditure on the arts was reported to be $13.16, while the municipal average for British Columbia was $7.38 (ibid: p. 8).

The decline in federal and provincial arts funding has led some cultural policy analysts to emphasize the potential importance of municipal support for the arts (eg., Schafer, 1986; Chartrand, 1987). Chartrand has identified four demographic changes which he sees as creating a significant growth in the arts audience, which would, in turn, increase the importance of the arts to the local economy: increasing urbanization, rising levels of education, the aging of the population and increasing participation of women in society at all levels (ibid).

While federal and provincial levels of government have been concerned with supporting artistic excellence and innovation, it has been suggested that the local government, being most familiar with the characteristics of particular communities, may be the level of government most suited to encouraging public participation in the arts (Bailey, 1978: p.3).

The enthusiasm for municipal arts policy should not be confused with the notion of the devolution of government responsibility for culture, which is part of the constitutional agenda of the federal Conservative regime in

the early 1990s. While artists and supporters generally
welcome increased government responsibility for culture at the
provincial and local levels, most fear the loss of the federal
support structures which have been established over the past
half-century.

(iv) Canadian Municipal Government:

In order to understand municipal arts policy, it is
necessary to know something about the structure and
development of Canadian local government. Historically, the
municipal level of government in Canada has been primarily
concerned with controlling and servicing property and
enhancing the value of urban land (Sancton, 1983: p. 296, 314;
Gutstein, 1975: p. 142-43). Canadian cities do not have the
broad administrative powers delegated to local governments in
other countries. British municipalities, for example, have
much more authority in education and housing. According to
Kent Gerecke, "From early colonial times Canadian cities have
been kept politically weak so that urban government has been
removed from active citizen involvement" (1991: p. 1).

The orientation of Canadian municipal governments towards
land use and property has meant that social and cultural
policy were not seen as fundamentally important issues in the
past. However, cities in Canada have funded parks, beaches,
recreation facilities and libraries more than their federal
and provincial counterparts. The dominance of property

concerns in Canadian local government could also mean that the arts policies of municipalities are particularly linked with such concerns as affordability of housing, gentrification of working class and artist's neighbourhoods, the relationship between public art and corporate developments, and perhaps even practices which threaten the private ownership of urban property such as graffiti and postering.

A common characteristic of municipal governments in Canada is their limited tax base which is determined by the tax sources which provincial governments allocate to them (primarily property taxes). However, the local revenue which cities generate by administering fees, permits, fines, user charges and developer charges are assuming an increasing proportion of the municipal budget. Canadian municipalities have also gradually become more dependent on transfer payments from senior levels of government, a factor which has hindered the autonomy of their decision-making. Unlike senior levels of government, municipalities are generally restricted to expenditures which are no greater than their total income in a given year.

Sancton sees the rise of the provincial state as a force "which has emerged at the expense of federal and local governments... (and has) helped lead to the breakdown of what was once an important country-wide 'municipal network'"[3] (1983: p. 312). Sancton also points out that the mass media which has helped bind people living in geographically

distanced areas in Canada, has not effectively exposed Canadians to common news in the area of local politics:

> While many of us might watch the same national news-cast dealing with major federal and provincial issues, the audience splinters when we turn to the 'local' news. In most such local newscasts there is little effort to link local issues of the day in one community to similar problems in other places. There is little serious analysis of local politics at all (1983: p. 311).

Because provinces were given responsibility for municipalities under the British North America Act, Canadian municipalities vary in jurisdiction, depending on their province or territory. However, since many cities existed prior to confederation, some general uniformities in governmental structure developed. Municipalities in British Columbia are governed by the Provincial Municipal Act, with the exception of Vancouver which has its own charter. A municipality's ability to implement policy is limited by its governing act or charter. For example, many municipalities, including Vancouver, have been given the authority to allocate grants to non-profit societies, but not to individuals. Therefore, in order to implement a policy of offering grants to individual artists, the city would have to successfully appeal to the provincial government to amend its charter.

By the turn of the century, Canadians were experimenting with reformist ideas concerning city planning and local government structure which were sweeping Britain, the United States and the rest of the industrialized world, as a reaction to the haphazard urban growth which had privileged expansion

and industry over aesthetics and quality of life. North America, however, did not experience the kind of "municipal socialism" which occurred in Europe prior to World War I and led many municipalities in France and other European countries to expand their social services (McQuillen, 1973). In North America, increased industrialization, immigration and the appearance of urban slums prompted people to adopt planning ideas known as the "city beautiful," "the city healthy," "the garden city," and "the city efficient." These notions provided an opportunity for culturalists to become more involved in local government on advisory committees such as town planning commissions and, much later in the century, as actual city staff members. The important role that women played in early urban reform efforts in Canadian cities - often through their involvement in charitable organizations - is only recently being recognized (Wolfe & Strachan, 1988).

Reform ideas about civic administration were a reaction to corruption which had become entrenched in North American cities, but which apparently was more pronounced in the United States. Businessmen, who were at the forefront of this particular area of reform, combined sentiments about growth and prosperity with a view that politics should somehow be removed from local government. An ideology of local government as business operation emerged, which has influenced the way municipal governments have developed and continue to operate. The powerful city manager system, similar to the

corporate model, was one American reform which was adopted by many Canadian municipalities. Vancouver's charter defines the mayor as "the chief executive officer of the city" (British Columbia, 1964: p. 50), which suggests that the city council plays the role of a board of directors, while the taxpayers could be considered as shareholders in "the corporate city." Organizations which use the resources offered by social and cultural planning staff at the city are sometimes referred to as "clients." This corporate paradigm does not set the stage for an atmosphere of citizen involvement in municipal planning.

One of the early reforms which continues to be controversial in Vancouver was a shift from elections by ward to at-large elections. This change served to limit the influence of voters of particular ethnic or working class neighbourhoods. Tindal and Tindal describe the legacy that the reform movement has left in municipalities:

> The net result of the reforms was a more complex, less accountable government, more responsibility to economy and efficiency than to the voters...The legacy of the reform era is evident in the continued existence of many of the structural reforms of the early 1900s and in the continued denial of the relevance of politics at the local level (1990: p. 57-58).

The corporate model of local government would eventually come under attack during the municipal reform movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Rapid urban growth caused people to worry about preserving the "livability" of their cities and led to neighbourhoods organizing to protect their interests.

Local governments were forced to limit urban development and
to allow for some degree of citizen participation in planning.
Barton Reid describes the influence on city government of the
new generation of professional middle class people:

> The new politics centred around the concept of the
> livable city. This was a new form of urbanity which
> fused the interests of the new middle class[4] with
> vanguard elements of the planning profession, a fusion
> which helped produce a powerful coalition between the
> planning bureaucracy and the urban middle class. When
> the new middle class took up this vision of the city as
> their own, planners became the gatekeepers of this
> vision. In numerous cities they rose to challenge
> corporate capital's control over the real estate market
> of the inner city (1991: p. 13).

Notes:

1. The modern pleasure garden takes the form of amusement parks and German beer gardens, for example.

2. The provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan are exceptions in that they began to develop organized funding in the arts in the 1940s (Ostry, 1978: p. 135).

3. According to Gerecke, the federal Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (1972-1976) generated some promising research on municipal issues (1991: p. 3).

4. It may be useful to consider the relevance of Reid's concept of "the new middle class" to arts and urban issues. According to Reid, the singles, arts/bohemian and gay sub-cultures which gravitate towards living in the inner city, signify a rejection of suburban family values and an attempt to "reconstitute the notion of community along different lines" (1991: p. 19). Despite the progressive politics of the new middle class, Reid notes that the demand for urban amenities as well as the growth of the boutique/cafe culture has contributed to the gentrification of the inner city and displacement of the poor (ibid: p. 13). See also Deutsche and Ryan, "The Fine Art of Gentrification" (1987: p.151-171).

CHAPTER III.   THE STRUCTURE AND HISTORY OF MUNICIPAL ARTS POLICY IN VANCOUVER

1.   Civic Politics and Economic Interests:

> It is impossible to discuss communication or culture in our society without in the end coming to discussing power.
> Raymond Williams (1989: p. 19)

Before looking at the growth of the arts in Vancouver and city government involvement, it may be useful to consider the context of political and economic forces in the city. Sancton has characterized Vancouver's political history as an example of "the aggressive pro-business boosterism found in western (Canadian) cities" (1983: p. 294). Donald Gutstein, who has done extensive research on real estate interests and the local government of Vancouver, states that the city council's unofficial mandate over the years has been to serve the interests of real estate developers:

> ...Vancouver has always been in the grip of promoters and speculators. Its history has been a succession of real estate booms and busts. The majority of its local politicians have always been associated with the real estate industry in some form or other (1975: p. 8)

Since Vancouver was originally a Canadian Pacific Railway company town, the city "fathers" usually included an official or unofficial representative of the CPR, while the CPR has, in turn, been continually undertaxed by city council (ibid: p. 15).   Gutstein notes that "within a few years of the

city's birth, a pattern of growth was established that was to prevail to the present - the working class on the east side, the middle class on the west side" (1983: p. 193). He describes how the so-called non-partisan tradition in municipal politics, and the at-large elections which replaced the ward system in 1936, have both tended to discourage the political involvement of citizens and their understanding of the system (ibid: p. 197).

Since its formation in 1937, the Non-Partisan Association (NPA) has most often been the civic political party in power. The NPA was formed by a group of affluent Liberal and Conservative politicians and businessmen to prevent the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) from gaining power. According to Gutstein:

> Many NPA executives were themselves developers, property insurance or real estate agents, developer's lawyers or directors of large corporations. Many were members of the Vancouver Club, whose self-appointed task was to run the city.[1] NPA members dominated the boards of governors of the universities, the civic boards, and the cultural institutions. In short, the NPA and its supporters ran Vancouver (1975: p. 140-141).

The 1967 protest over the proposed Strathcona freeway was one of the most important public protests in the city's history and it brought about the formation of new political parties to challenge the NPA's "vision of the city" (Gutstein, 1983: p. 202)

In 1972, the NPA was defeated by The Electors' Action Movement (TEAM), a party generally regarded as more moderate

than the NPA, but which also had close ties with the local corporate establishment. This change of government coincided with a greater concern in society for quality life and social planning issues. Reid suggests that the ability of middle class professionals to gain control of city hall in Vancouver in the 1970s through the election of a reform-minded council caused a transformation in the planning bureaucracy to occur. Even when the NPA was returned to power in 1976, Reid argues that the planning staff were able "to conserve and maintain the ideology of the Livable City in spite of attacks on this vision of the city by pro-development interests" (1991: p. 22).

The New Democratic Party entered civic politics in Vancouver in 1970, but has not done very well at the municipal level. The more successful Committee of Progressive Electors (founded in 1968) has been supported by the working class, unions, the Communist Party and left-wing professionals. COPE's platform includes a commitment to affordable housing, protection for tenants, neighbourhood planning, the establishment of a ward system, and the refusal of concessions for developers (Smith, 1985: p. 189). In 1980, a unity slate of COPE and the Civic Independents gained the majority of seats on council with Michael Harcourt as mayor, although by 1986 the NPA had regained its stronghold on the council.

Shifts in the economic base of the city have been felt in the arts as well as in other sectors. According to Vancouver

Art Gallery Director Willard Holmes, an evolution occurred in Vancouver's corporate culture during the 1970s which had a tangible impact on the arts (lecture, January 15, 1992). An influx of international capital and immigrants from elsewhere in North America and European countries brought business people to the city who were accustomed to corporate patronage for high culture. As their outlook began to dominate the boards of trustees of various arts organizations, Holmes noticed that the arts in Vancouver grew more conservative. At the Vancouver Art Gallery, this influence contributed to the gallery being moved to an imposing, neo-classical building as well as the hiring of a more conservative director of the gallery. The new gallery lacks a performing space, which Holmes interprets as a reaction to the proliferation of experimental performance art at the previous facility.

Since the 1980s, the city has attracted more immigration and investment from East-Asian countries, particularly Hong Kong. Some of these recent immigrants have become corporate patrons for the arts and have supported the arts and culture of Chinese-Canadians in particular. While the impact of Asian investment on Canadian real estate has been studied (Gutstein, 1990), there has been little analysis of its influence on arts and cultural institutions.

2. Structure of Vancouver Municipal Government:

There are three publicly elected local government bodies in Vancouver: the Vancouver City Council, The Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation and the Vancouver School Board. In addition, there is the metropolitan level of government, the Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD). This thesis focuses on the body which has historically been most directly concerned with arts policy in Vancouver - the city council and its staff in the Department of Social Planning.

Although the Park Board and the GVRD have been fairly oblivious to arts policy issues in the past, they have recently begun to develop policies in the area and to work more closely with the relevant individuals and committees at Vancouver city hall. The School Board, on the other hand, has a long-standing tradition of involvement in arts education, but, in 1992 is cutting back on the administration of those programs because of financial constraints.

Although this thesis focuses primarily on cultural policy which has developed under the jurisdiction of Vancouver's city council, the function of other arts policy-making structures at the local level of government should also be taken into consideration. All of these bodies interact or overlap in jurisdiction to some degree with the city council's mandate, so a coordination of services and resources is essential for effective public policy development and enactment. The structure of each body of municipal government in terms of its

jurisdiction in the arts will be outlined.

(i) Vancouver City Council and Civic Bureaucracy:

Vancouver's city council has the authority to allocate grants to arts organizations under the following provisions of the Vancouver Charter:

> The Council may, by resolution passed by not less than two-thirds of all its members, provide for the making of money grants to
> (a) any charitable institution;
> ...(e)any society or association promoting the production of music, whether by bands, orchestras, or otherwise;
> ...(j)any organization deemed by the Council to be contributing to the culture, beautification, health or welfare of the city (British Columbia, 1964: c. 55, s. 206: p. 48).

This provision of the charter has been used to expand the numbers of non-profit arts organizations receiving funds considerably over the years (see Appendix 2). The total amount of money spent on cultural grants has also multiplied from around $1 million in the early 1970s to over $5 million by the early 1990s (see Appendix 3). However, the cultural grant allocations have remained at approximately 1.3% of the city's total expenditures since the mid-1980s (see Appendix 4). Appendix 5 shows the break-down of civic cultural grants for 1992 by art form, indicating that the literary arts are given very little funding by the city ($10,000), compared to the hundreds of thousands of dollars allocated to music, festivals, theatre and the visual arts. This discrepancy arises because the city's policies do not allow for the funding of book publishing or grants to individual artists.

However, the city government does pay for the operation of the public library system.

The Social Planning Department's cultural planning staff have been responsible for making recommendations to city council on cultural grants as well as developing other policies and programs in the arts. The department's mandate has been defined as follows:

> The Social Planning Department advises Council on policies and action plans for the social and cultural development of the city; gives advice and recommends to Council financial support to organizations which foster and/or provide quality cultural activity and community services; and, works to ensure equality of opportunity and outcome for all residents in the social, economic and cultural life of Vancouver (Social Planning Department, June 1990: p. 3).

Recommendations of a 1989 task force review of the Social Planning Department led to a slightly higher profile for the department's cultural planning division with a change of name to "The Office of Cultural Affairs." The division was also moved to a more publicly accessible office in an upscale shopping mall near city hall. However, cultural planning remained under the jurisdiction of the Social Planning Department. The historical evolution and function of cultural planning within this department is discussed in some detail later in the thesis.

The three major civic-owned theatres (the Orpheum, the Queen Elizabeth and the Playhouse) were managed by Social Planning staff between 1983 and 1989, when they were moved under the jurisdiction of a separate department. The

management of the theatres and their status as a separate department has been a point of controversy among arts organizations. The Vancouver Cultural Alliance has argued that the civic theatres:

> ...can or should be a tool for cultural policy in Vancouver and that its mandate should clearly reflect this position...the separation of the City's cultural facilities from its cultural planning professionals will have a negative long term impact on the development of the arts in Vancouver (May 11, 1990: p. 1).

Despite such protests, the Civic Theatres are run as a business with a mandate to serve a wider audience than that of the non-profit arts organizations[2] (interview with Rae Ackerman, July 28, 1992).

Vancouver City Council has also appointed citizen committees on the arts to advise it on arts policy issues, but the only one currently in existence is the Public Art Committee (which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). There is also a short-term task force called the Arts Initiative which was created in 1992 to conduct an inquiry into the arts in Vancouver. The jurisdiction of other civic departments such as Housing and Properties, Engineering, Permits and Licenses, Finance, Law and Economic Development are at times also of relevance in arts policy matters. An interdepartmental staff committee called "FEST" has been in existence since 1979 to coordinate some of these different functions as they relate to the administration of city festivals. Liaison and negotiation between these various

departments in the civic bureaucracy also occurs through other committee meetings as well as interdepartmental communications. The informal level of the policy process is quite difficult to research because it is generally not open to public scrutiny.

The Hastings Institute is a corporation wholly owned by the city which offers race-relations and employment equity training programs in which arts organizations in the city are encouraged to enroll. While the council's citizen advisory committee on Race-Relations has not focused on the arts in particular, it provides a resource function in this area. Other advisory committees and boards which have cultural or aesthetic relevance to the city but lie beyond the scope of this thesis include the Heritage Advisory Committee, the Heritage Foundation, the Urban Landscape Task Force, the Urban Design Panel and the Library Board. An organizational chart which shows the hierarchical relationship between these different municipal bodies is provided in Appendix 6.

(ii) The Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation:

Vancouver is the only municipality in Canada with a separately elected Board of Parks and Recreation. The mandate of Vancouver's Park Board, as outlined in the Vancouver Charter, is quite narrowly defined and primarily concerns maintaining parks and buildings on park land. However, there is a provision in the charter which states that

"The Board shall have power to provide for...entertainment
through musical, theatrical, and other activities in the
parks, and making a charge for admission thereto" (British
Columbia, 1964, c. 55, s. 489: p. 136).

As Alan Slater Duncan has pointed out, arts policy in
Vancouver is complicated by the split in municipal cultural
programming between the City Council's Social Planning
Department and the Board of Parks and Recreation, the former
being concerned with "high art" (mostly professional arts
organizations) and the latter overseeing the "lower" (often
amateur) art associated with city parks and community centres
(1990: p. 273). The city cultural grants criteria states
that "Cultural grants are not intended...for community centre
programs" (Office of Cultural Affairs, Spring 1992). By
contrast, in municipalities such as Burnaby, arts and cultural
policies have developed as an outgrowth of the parks and
recreation mandate. There is also a long-standing power
struggle between the Vancouver City Council and the Park
Board, which has included some rivalry with the city's Social
Planning Department over the arts and cultural jurisdiction
(interview with Ernie Fladell, July 8, 1992). Cooperation and
effective consultation on arts policy issues between the two
are just starting to occur in the 1990s, according to Parks
Board staff member Susan Gordon (interview, July 13, 1992).
The city cultural planner responsible for festivals acts as a
liaison person between the Park Board and festivals which use

park land and facilities.

In order to streamline bureaucracy and consolidate city cultural development, Duncan recommends that the Board of Parks and Recreation be disbanded, and that its various functions be distributed amongst civic departments, with the Office of Cultural Affairs acquiring the cultural programs of community centres (1990: p. 313). Although Duncan does not address the political ramifications of dissolving a long-standing publicly elected board, the strategy of fully using the potential of community centres for neighbourhood cultural development is an important point which some cities are only recently starting to explore. If city governments are serious about their commitment to broadening access to the arts, it would seem that they cannot overlook the potential use of facilities which already exist in people's neighbourhoods. The Seattle Arts Commission is using this strategy as part of its multicultural outreach plan. Vancouver's 22 community centres, which are run by community associations with a high degree of autonomy, have long been fitness and recreation centres which also happen to provide some classes in the arts and crafts. The Board of Parks and Recreation has only recently taken an interest in developing its own arts policies and enhancing arts programming in community centres, which is partly a result of the personal interest and initiative of some current Park Board Commissioners. In 1986, the Board formed an arts committee, composed of staff from community

50

centres, and has since formed a Cultural Task Force.

The Parks Board's consultation process for its arts policy began at the time this thesis was being completed, but appears to be following a process which in some ways resembles a smaller-scale version of the city of Vancouver's current Arts Initiative Task Force: distributing questionnaires which include some background information on the issues, and holding a series of "focus groups" discussions. However, there are some key differences which should be pointed out. First, the Park Board is relying on its staff to conduct the consultation process, whereas Vancouver city council has only marginally included its cultural planning staff in its task force. Secondly, the mayor's task force has started out by taking a "client-centred" approach in its consultation, meeting with representatives of the arts who are either funded by the city or would possibly be funded if changes in policy occurred. The Park Board, on the other hand, is holding focus groups which include not only professional artists and arts administrators but also community centre staff. The focus group which I attended as an observer[3] involved a discussion on the gulf between the amateur and the professional arts and potential strategies to include professional artists in community centre programs. Already, nine "artists in residence" from various disciplines have been hired by community centres to animate their neighbourhoods. This initiative is seen as an important one, since many artists are

not interested in being instructors at community centres, but are interested in working in other ways with the general public (interview with Susan Gordon, July 13, 1992).

The Park Board may have the potential to initiate the most important cultural development work to occur in the city in the 1990s, partly because it is at a pioneering stage, and also because it has the ability to bring the arts into almost every area of the city to people who might not otherwise be participating in the arts. It is unfortunate that this work was not initiated during better economic times in the 1970s when more funding would have been available. In the current economic climate, there is little funding to build cultural facilities and to pay for new programs. However, the community centres generate an increasing proportion of their own budget through charging public fees for their programs. A shift towards hiring community centre staff who have a background in the arts as well as recreation, and the implementation of an overall policy directing the centres to allocate more of their resources to the arts could have a tangible impact in terms of infiltrating the arts into the physical recreation mandate of most community centres. In 1995, the Roundhouse on the former Expo site will open as a cultural community centre with space dedicated to the arts (e.g., gallery space) as well as recreation.

(iii) Vancouver School Board:

Education policy is largely under the jurisdiction of provincial governments in Canada, although the trustees of the local school districts do have some control over curriculum and special programs. According to Crawford Kilian, under the long reign of the Social Credit Government, British Columbia became more concerned with training workers for a job market based on the dwindling resource-extraction economy, rather than producing critical thinkers and innovators for the growing information economy (1992: p. 141-142). Kilian has also pointed out that, in the past, B.C.'s education system has "actively discouraged arts education," with few students opting for arts courses in senior grades (ibid: p. 142).

Exposure to the arts at a young age has long been recognized as a crucial part of establishing an adult audience. Surveys indicate a strong correlation between recollection of attending arts performances at a young age and attendance as an adult (e.g., Decima Research, 1992: p. 114).

A change in provincial policy would be necessary to make arts education a high priority in the school curriculum. The district school board can also play a significant role by providing for school performances and special programs by artists and arts organizations in the area. The B.C. Cultural Services Branch and the Vancouver Foundation[4] (a private foundation) have offered some assistance to the school districts in funding these programs.

The Vancouver School Board has a history of involvement in arts education reaching back to Vancouver's early years before the turn of the century. The school board appointed a district supervisor in music shortly after its formation, and later added a supervisor of drawing. Over time, the music position became a performing arts position and the drawing position was expanded to cover the visual arts in general. These positions continued to exist throughout the century until June of 1992, when they were discontinued. As mentioned previously, the School Board supported arts lobbyists in 1925 by providing financial and administrative assistance for the foundation of the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts in the School Board's offices (Richardson, 1987: p. 11).

The social and cultural elite which controlled the city's arts institutions had a strong influence in education in the city until the Second World War. As with other levels and arms of the government, officially sanctioned racism became part of school board policies in the early part of the century. For example, in the 1909 annual report of the board, its chairman reports:

> The separation of Orientals from the white children, which commenced two years ago, has been continued, and I am glad to say all friction has ceased. The separation more particularly applies to the segregation of those desiring to enter the junior classes, and who are older than the average pupil of that class.
> Our schools are now in first-class condition, and will compare favourably with those of any other province in Canada (Board of School Trustees, 1909: p. 8).

In 1948, the federal act excluding Chinese from immigration

was repealed, which allowed people to send for their families in China. The same year, the Provincial Election Act in B.C. was amended to allow all Chinese-Canadians to vote and become citizens. Such reforms in the second half of the century contributed to a lessening of overt racism in the school system, and federal multicultural policies and programs since the 1970s have also had an impact on the school curriculum.

Arts education was a fairly minor part of the Vancouver School Board's work until the mid-1970s, when significant growth occurred as part of an general increase in arts activity in Vancouver. Although the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra had been performing in schools for some time, more extensive performing arts programs in schools began in 1975. By the early 1990s, shortage of funds in education has led to the discontinuation of the district principle positions responsible for the performing and visual arts. Although other administrators will attempt to carry on some of the work which the specialist principles in the arts established, their absence will probably adversely affect the function which those staff members provided as liaison persons with arts organizations, schools, universities, as well individuals and committees responsible for city cultural planning.

According to Dennis Tupman, who was the District Principal of the Performing Arts with the School Board during the growth period in arts education from 1971 to 1992, the School Board has met with some success in its First Nations

cultural programming (e.g., spirituality workshops), which it has found less complicated to integrate into the curriculum than some of the various immigrant cultures. However, according to Tupman, these developments have hardly been acknowledged in the "cultural palaces" of the city (interview, July 7, 1992).

(iv) Greater Vancouver Regional District:

The Greater Vancouver Regional District (GVRD) is a metropolitan level of government which was established by the provincial government in 1967. It currently comprises 18 municipalities and three electoral areas which fall within the boundaries of the district. The constituent municipalities and areas elect members of their councils to sit on the GVRD board to manage essential services such as water, pollution control and hospital planning on a regional basis. From a citizen's point of view, one of the greatest problems with the GVRD is that it is not directly elected and is thus a somewhat invisible level of government. However, its mandate has steadily grown in importance over the years and its emphasis on the livable region concept has increased its profile along with the growing awareness of environmental issues.

In 1991, the GVRD established an arts funding policy and allocated its first grants to two arts organizations, the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra and the Vancouver Opera. Its narrow definition of what constitutes an arts organization "of regional significance" (GVRD, October 11, 1989: p. 2) serves

to allow the GVRD to use its own discretion in severely limiting the amount of funds available for the arts. In 1991, the GVRD's arts budget amounted to $0.17 per capita, compared with $3.50 per capita in Metro Toronto and $3.68 per capita in the Urban Communities of Montreal (Vancouver Arts Initiative, April 1992: p. 4). The GVRD's late start in cultural funding and the economic climate in which it is initiating this program will probably cause the region to lag behind other comparable urban regional governments for some time. This discrepancy has meant that the city of Vancouver has had to compensate by adopting a disproportionate responsibility for supporting arts organizations whose performances and exhibitions are enjoyed by people from throughout the Lower Mainland. For example, arts organizations performing at the Queen Elizabeth and Playhouse Theatres have long observed that many of their subscribers reside in West and North Vancouver. Vancouver's city government has recognized the need for regional funding in the arts since at least the 1960s, although little progress has occurred in establishing an equitably funded arts policy on a regional basis.

The election of the provincial New Democratic Party in 1991 may lead to a significant restructuring of the GVRD. At the time of writing, however, it is premature to speculate on what new role the GVRD may take and how this could affect its fiduciary responsibility for the arts and culture of the region.

3. History of the Arts and City Government Involvement in Vancouver

> The actual history of artists and art is now frequently ignored, and an activity is thought to have begun only when bureaucratic activity and state intervention both focused on it.
>
> John Pick (1988: p. 49)

(i) Building the Infrastructure: 1886-1950

It is important to realize that what is known as the local "arts community" is not a recent phenomenon, although there has been significant growth in this area, particularly in the past twenty years. The art of the First Nations people existed in the region long before European colonization. However, that period of history is beyond the scope of this study, which is limited to the evolution of the arts and government policy in Vancouver since the city's incorporation in 1886.

In the absence of modern mass media entertainment, early immigrants to the city attended and participated in a surprising number of creative activities. Tippett's book, <u>Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts before the Massey Commission</u> (1990), documents the great variety of artistic activities, mostly amateur in nature, which English-Canadians pursued long before the government developed official cultural policies and consistent funding for the arts. Other useful sources on the early cultural

history of Vancouver include Alan Twigg's <u>Vancouver and its Writers</u> (1986), Letia Richardson's <u>First Class: Four Graduates from the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts, 1929 (1987)</u>, and a few graduate theses including William Wylie Thom's <u>The Fine Arts in Vancouver, 1886-1930</u> (1969) and Peter Guildford's <u>The Development of Professional Theatre in Vancouver</u> (1981). However, none of these studies attempts to cover the cultural activities of diverse ethnic groups in the city.

In 1885, Chinese settlers in Vancouver established an organization which was to have enduring social and cultural significance. Initially formed "...to unify the community, settle internal disputes, help the sick and poor, and defend the community against external threats" (Yee: 1988, p. 40), the Chinese Benevolent Association also played an important role in cultural preservation and development. Early Asian immigrants lacked the time for artistic pursuits since they had to struggle to survive in a hostile environment characterized by officially sanctioned racism. The city government appears to have supported the discriminatory immigration policies of the federal government. For example, in 1914 Mayor T.S. Baxter of Vancouver chaired an anti-South Asian immigration rally during the infamous Komagata Maru incident[5] (Buchignani et al, 1985: p. 56).

Founded in 1894, the Art, Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver (which established the Vancouver

Museum collection), regards itself as "Vancouver's first cultural association" (Robinson: 1944). As the first major cultural association founded by European settlers in the city, the history of this organization illustrates the municipal government's early practices in funding arts and culture. Shortly after the association was formed, the city council offered it $100 a year, which its treasurer, a Miss M. Fraser, declined because she said the grant was not necessary. Her actions were later "indignantly repudiated" by other members of the committee (ibid: p. 12). This incident suggests that the role of the city as patron of culture was yet to be established. A century later, although public acceptance for government subsidy of arts and culture is far from universal, it would be rare for a trustee of any cultural organization to decline a government grant.

Subsequently, the Arts, Historical and Scientific Association entered into lengthy negotiations with the city council over the housing of the association's rapidly growing collection. In 1898, an agreement was reached which established that:

> ...the city retains possession of the Association's collections as long as suitable accommodation is provided, with the Association as custodians and guardians of same (ibid: 1944: p. 13).[6]

Although this agreement established a precedent for municipal responsibility for cultural institutions in Vancouver, later efforts by cultural lobbyists were thwarted by the apathy of politicians.

In 1920, a group of teachers, patrons and artists formed the British Columbia Art League to lobby the municipal and provincial governments for funds to establish an art school and gallery. In 1922, the League received a grant of $1,000 from the city for the art school, but its request to the province was not even considered in the legislature (Richardson, 1987: p. 11). Despite inadequate finances, the B.C. Art League managed to open the Vancouver School of Decorative and Applied Arts (which later became the Emily Carr School of Art) in a Vancouver School Board facility.

Other major institutions dedicated to high-art which have endured over time, including the Vancouver Art Gallery and the Vancouver Symphony Orchestra, were established largely as a result of the philanthropy of local "cultural capitalists," to use DiMaggio's term (1986: p. 43). The Vancouver Symphony was founded in 1919 by Mary Isabella Rogers, the widow of Benjamin Tingley Rogers, who had made his fortune with a B.C. sugar refinery. Despite the support of Rogers and other patrons, financial strains led to the demise of the symphony after only two seasons (Becker, 1989, p. 5). Rogers revived the symphony in 1930 and paid off its annual deficit for the next twenty years (Tippett: 1990, p. 97). The symphony society did not receive city funding until 1945, and had to wait even longer to secure the support of the federal and provincial governments.[7]

Tippett reports that when the city council defeated two

proposed bylaws to build an art gallery, Harry A. Stone, a local businessman, donated $50,000 to the B.C. Art League for the establishment of the gallery. Other contributions from business increased the fund to over $130,000, which prompted the city to allocate city-owned land for the gallery in 1931 (Tippett: 1990, p. 98).

In 1925, the city government established the Town Planning Commission (later renamed the City Planning Commission) to advise the municipal government on the physical planning of the city. One of the four committees established by the Commission shortly after its formation was the Public Recreation and Civic Art Committee, although the "civic art" in question was mostly of an architectural nature.

Founded in 1931, The Junior League of Vancouver is a women's charitable organization which has been concerned with social welfare issues as well as arts and culture. In 1944, the Junior League commissioned Virginia Lee Comer, a consultant on community arts for the Association of Junior Leagues of America, to prepare a preliminary plan for a survey on arts and cultural resources in the city. The survey was directed and compiled between 1945 and 1946 by L.E. Norrie of the council of the American YMCA, who was already directing a survey on "Group Work and Recreation" for the Welfare Council of Greater Vancouver.

The 200 page report, entitled The Arts in Our Town (The Junior League of Vancouver, n.d.) in some ways reflects a

broader understanding of arts and culture than one might expect in a similar undertaking today. Apart from arts institutions, associations and clubs, organizations as diverse as churches, labour unions, neighbourhood houses and schools were surveyed in this compilation of cultural resources. The report also included such demographic information as census statistics indicating the birthplace and racial origin of city residents.[8] But despite the broad scope of the study, there is no mention of the Chinese Benevolent Association, or for that matter any other association of ethnic minority groups which existed at the time.

Scott Watson points to the report's emphasis on juvenile delinquency and "problem areas" of the city, suggesting that "The juxtaposition of these two surveys, one of arts groups, the other of delinquency, was surely meant to imply an inverse correlation between the two" (1983: p. 77).

The Junior League report contained 14 recommendations which included a call for improvements in arts education, the construction of large and medium sized public theatres as well as a larger museum, and encouraging community centres to add arts to their recreation and athletic programs. Several of the recommendations are still outstanding almost a half a century later, but one suggestion which was soon acted upon was the establishment of a community arts council to coordinate arts activities in the city.

According to Frank Appelbe:

The survey made an immediate and widespread impression in arts and political circles in the city. Mayor Jack Cornett attended a crowded public meeting on May 31, 1946 in the Hotel Vancouver to be presented with a copy. At the conclusion of the meeting, the mayor appointed a committee to draw up a constitution and bylaws for an arts council. The mayor established the arts council in October 1946 (n.d.: Introduction, p. 2).

The Vancouver Community Arts Council, a non-governmental organization, was the first community arts council to be established in Canada and one of the first in North America. It has played an important role in initiating cultural programs and lobbying governments at all levels for arts support. Since the development of cultural planning by city staff during the 1970s, the city government no longer relies on the Community Arts Council for research and information. Because the arts council's mandate concerns a combination of amateur and professional art, organizations dedicated solely to the professional, such as the Vancouver Cultural Alliance, have since come to overshadow the political influence of the Arts Council somewhat. In many smaller municipalities in British Columbia, community arts councils continue to play a central role in local arts development and policy.

According to the City Planning Commission:

...the hegemony of purely British cultural expression broke down after World War II as a wave of northern and southern Europeans immigrated to Vancouver and as Canadians themselves travelled more abroad (1989: p. 6).

Vancouver in the 1940s and 1950s may have been a kind of golden age for wealthy arts patrons in the European tradition to make their influence felt in the city. Some of the better

known of these families are the Koerners and the Clynes.

(ii)   The Need for Municipal Arts Policy: 1951-1970

At mid-century, the Massey Commission reported that Vancouver was steadily losing its best musicians to Montreal and Toronto where there were greater professional opportunities (Canada, 1951:   p. 190).   Then, as now, the centre-hinterland dichotomy was also a factor in the migration of musicians and theatrical artists to the United States.   The Royal Commission noted:

> We have been repeatedly told that this exodus would reach catastrophic proportions were it not for the CBC which, it is apparent, is doing whatever is possible within its limited resources for Canadian music and for the Canadian musician (ibid).

The establishment of the Canada Council helped to alleviate this problem somewhat, but despite the growth in the city's arts following the influx of federal funding, Vancouver's city council, dominated by the Non-Partisan Association, continued its tradition of a laissez-faire attitude towards the arts, focusing instead on commercial and industrial growth in the city.   Even the Vancouver Art Gallery, the most obvious candidate for civic support, did not receive regular funding from the city until 1963.   For over thirty years, the city provided financial support "on a sporadic basis in response to intermittent requests from the Gallery" (City Manager's Report, Dec. 1, 1977).

In 1964, however, the municipal government began to show some interest in cultural policy when it asked the Community Arts Council to undertake a review of civic grants to cultural organizations during the preceding five-year period and to make recommendations regarding the allocation of future grants. At the time, no social or cultural planners were employed by the municipal government to undertake such a study.

The Community Arts Council report shows that the only arts organizations which received civic grants between 1959 and 1963 were the Vancouver Symphony, the Vancouver Art Gallery, the International Festival (which existed between 1958 and 1967), the Kiwanis B.C. Music Competition, the Canadian Folk Society (not to be confused with the later Vancouver International Folk Festival) and the Metropolitan Co-operative Theatre. This list includes only a small number of the arts organizations in the city at the time, which indicates that civic support for the arts was meagre and that there was no funding for the arts of diverse ethnic groups. Given continuing racism and the rumoured pro-Communist leanings of the cultural associations formed by Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver in the 1950s - Hai Fung, a literary, sports and arts club and the Chinese Youth League, which staged shows of amateur drama, dance and choir - it is doubtful that these groups would have applied for or received municipal grants. There were also arts groups working in the

European classical tradition which received no funding from the city, including the Bach Choir, the Ballet Society and the Vancouver Opera (the Vancouver Playhouse was then in its infancy). Since its inception in 1959, the Opera had been financially and critically successful, although dependent on the Canada Council for support. That the city did not previously fund the Opera shows a certain confusion among levels of government, since the Canada Council expected the local government to provide it with some support. The Art Council's report notes that some organizations were unable to plan their activities far in advance because of inadequate finances: "The uncertainty of civic grants is a serious handicap to major organizations such as the (International) Festival and Art Gallery" (1964: p. 2).

The report also pointed out that the process of awarding grants had become increasingly complicated: "...more and more the decision must be based on professional quality which requires specialized knowledge" (ibid). This lack of expertise may have contributed to the city's emphasis on supporting organizations which were traditional or conservative by nature, rather than following the Canada Council's lead in fostering innovation. The central recommendation of the Arts Council's report was that the city council appoint a Cultural Advisory Committee composed of citizens who were knowledgable about the needs of the "cultural community." The committee would not only award

grants but also advise the Council on the "total cultural betterment of the community."

In its research, the Arts Council uncovered statistics which showed that grants for cultural activities had been decreasing since 1959, while the municipal budget had increased with the growth in population and the education budget had increased sharply.

Historian Norbert MacDonald points out that in the decades following World War II, public apathy had allowed civic bureaucracy to grow steadily in Vancouver:

> Theoretically, Vancouver's city council established policy and various civic officials carried it out, but during the 1950s and 1960s, the council largely rubber-stamped the programs sent to them by city staff (1987: p. 169).

Before the defeat of the Non-Partisan Association by The Electors' Action Movement (TEAM) in 1972, grants to arts organizations were apparently handled quite poorly. In an interview with The Province in 1974, Jonathan Baker, then a social planner for the city, described the former process:

> In NPA days there wasn't any formulated cultural policy. Each applicant had his session with the finance committee and that's how decisions were made. What was done was granting entirely by precedent, which meant that the large groups got grants but the new, smaller groups were frozen out (Allen, May 16, 1974: p.55).

In 1967, the B.C. provincial government expanded its funding for arts and culture by establishing the Centennial Cultural Assistance Fund with an initial endowment of $5

million dollars, the annual interest of which would be used to "stimulate the cultural development of the people of the Province" (British Columbia, 1967, Chapter 7: p. 23). Shortly thereafter, an advisory committee to administer the fund was established which implemented a policy requiring municipalities to form incorporated community arts councils in order to receive their share of cultural funding for the amateur arts. This government initiative explains the proliferation of community arts councils in British Columbia, compared with the rest of the country.

(iii) Cultural Planning in the 1970s: "Community Development"

In 1968, Vancouver City Council established a Department of Social Planning and Community Development, bringing social welfare concerns to the city planning bureaucracy. Social planning was introduced to the civic government partly because "changing public attitudes were accompanied by much greater concern about the social consequences of government decisions and policies" (Social Planning Department, 1977: p. i). Donald Gutstein explains how community development was later dropped from the department's mandate (and name):

> ...the Department of Social Planning...was to work with councils of local residents and community workers in the city's twenty-two neighbourhoods to establish social development programs. Many of these local area councils were set up, but in some cases worked too well, becoming foci for community opposition to the plans that the city and the developers were making for some areas. Social workers and planners attached to the local councils

provided crucial assistance in helping citizen groups to organize. This ran counter to the bureaucratic vision that the local councils should deal with technical problems and not become political. Several years later council abandoned the local area approach and dismantled the city's community development unit... (1983: p. 204).

Although the initial terms of reference for the department make no mention of arts or culture (cited in Social Planning Department, 1977: p. i), by the early 1970s, the Social Planning staff, partly through personal interest and effort, had become significantly involved in arts development. Among the objectives of the department's Cultural Programs Planning were:

To stimulate the City's economy through increased tourism and general patronage of local business,

To provide more cultural opportunities for all residents, participants, persons on fixed incomes, families on social assistance and children (ibid: p. 12).

These goals indicate that the city had a mandate of serving both its local residents as well as business interests and tourists through its arts policies and programs. There is no indication of any potential conflict which might exist between these goals.

Jonathan Baker, the first social planner to become involved in the arts, recalls setting up concerts with as little as one month's preparation and little bureaucratic involvement during a time when the buzz-word was "community development" (interview, January 16, 1990). One of Baker's first efforts in cultural planning was a program to

provide work for local unemployed artists. Using federal Local Initiatives Program (LIP) funding, social planners established the Odyssey Gallery in 1971, which became the Greater Vancouver Artists Gallery in 1973, and is now called the Contemporary Art Gallery (Contemporary Art Gallery, 1986: p. 4). The gallery purchased the work of local artists to create a 3,000-piece city-owned collection. By today's standards, the collection is considered of uneven quality and the Contemporary Art Gallery would like to deaccession many of the works. This project has been called the first Canadian "art bank," (Social Planning Department, 1980: p. 6), predating and perhaps even influencing those established by the Canada Council and by the first NDP administration in British Columbia.[9] This innovative project allowed the city to put artists on the payroll, despite the charter restrictions preventing the allocation of grants to individual artists. Initially, the Artist's Gallery supported musicians as well, by sponsoring free public concerts in parks, schools, theatres and senior citizens' homes (ibid).

A Local Initiatives Program grant was also used by the city to publish a magazine called the Urban Reader, which helped keep people in the city informed about social and cultural issues and civic programs. Another of the more innovative programs which the Social Planning staff implemented was the Neighbourhood Entertainment Program which toured performing arts groups through the city's community

centres. Efforts were made to translate flyers into Chinese and to advertise the events on Chinese-language radio (interview with Frances Fitzgibbon, August 2, 1992). The department also played a role in the early plans for the establishment of a children's arts and science centre (Social Planning Department, 1980: p. 6).[10]

During the 1970s, the department established a number festivals which were inspired by an arts festival held in 1976 in conjunction with the United Nations conference on human settlements called Habitat. According to Ernie Fladell, who was the city's senior social planner responsible for culture at the time:

> ...for Vancouver perhaps the single most important result of the Habitat Conference was that it put the city in the culture business and more specifically in the festival business...It was Festival Habitat that begot the Vancouver Heritage Festival and that which begot the Vancouver Folk Music Festival and the Vancouver Children's Festival. The Vancouver Children's Festival begot Children's festivals all over North America and far away as Edinburgh (1990: p. 8-9).

Unexpected circumstances led Fladell to take unilateral control over the Festival Habitat after its board resigned. He recalls that the problems stemmed from the city's security fears over threats from the Palestinian Liberation Organization to send a delegation to the international conference (ibid). The city inherited a surplus of $40,000 from the festival and Fladell subsequently convinced the federal and provincial governments to contribute matching funds towards staging other festivals. While he apparently

relished playing the influential role of "cultural czar" for the city, Fladell has admitted that "It was all very strange for a civil servant to be in that position..." (ibid, p. 11-13).

This period was clearly one of direct cultural development work by city staff who played the role of arts entrepreneurs on the city's behalf. Their direct involvement in programming decisions indicates that at the time an arm's length relationship was seen as less relevant than cultural growth. But the Social Planning Department has a general policy of relinquishing control over most government-initiated projects (Social Planning Department, 1980: p. 3), and so the arts organizations that it created subsequently became independent, non-profit societies.[11] By contrast, after the city came to employ several cultural planners in the 1980s, their role generally became one of "facilitating" the operations of arts organizations, rather than initiating particular events.[12]

Much of the city's arts program development which occurred in the 1970s can be attributed to a favourable economy and government funds becoming available at opportune times. This availability of funds allowed city staff to initiate events which helped fill the cultural voids which had existed in the city. Apart from the influence of a shift to a more liberal, reform-minded city council in 1972 and a growing awareness of quality of life issues, it also appears

that the personalities and approaches of the social planning staff had a noticeable impact on cultural planning. Social Planning Department documents reveal that cultural planning emerged as one of the three priority areas in the department (e.g., 1977: p. 12), which, according to Fladell, was largely a result of his own intensive lobbying in the department and with the city council (interview, July 8, 1992).

A departmental review indicates that the Social Planning Department was more concerned with immediate results than long term planning in the 1970s (1977: p. i). For instance, the Children's Festival was created because there had been a lack of arts events for young audiences. Although developing comprehensive arts policy was not a primary concern for early maverick social planners Jonathan Baker and Ernie Fladell, informal and formal policies emerged out of their ideas and practices. For instance, Fladell recalls making an effort to give as many new organizations as possible token grants of $500, so that they would become legitimized in the eyes of the senior governments' funding bodies (interview, July 8, 1992). The annual allocation of money from the council's finance committee to the arts seems to have been somewhat dependent on the skill of the staff in persuading the politicians of the importance and need for the money. Although a limit on civic grants was not established, the total civic grants (social as well arts/cultural) had never exceeded 2% of the total city operating budget (City Manager's Report, February 2, 1978).

A 1977 report from a citizen's advisory committee to council on the arts pointed out the problems of the cultural grant program, characterizing it as -

> ...a somewhat arbitrary grant to roughly 20 large and small performing arts organizations at first glance based primarily on size of budget. Further study might result in a set of guidelines. i.e. What is the city's role in relation to other granting agencies? (Special Council Committee on the Arts, minutes, January 4, 1978).

The city was quite active in securing facilities to house its burgeoning arts activity in the 1970s. The city purchased the Orpheum Theatre with a federal grant and a public fundraising campaign to preserved it as a concert hall for the symphony orchestra. The Firehall No. 2 in Gastown was "recycled" into an arts facility. Bailey describes the city's purchase of the former Grandview United Church and its conversion into the Vancouver East Cultural Centre as "a major success," since it increased in property value and attracted a quarter of a million dollars from senior government and the private sector (1978: p. 21). The role of the municipality in housing the arts is perhaps one of its greatest contributions to local cultural policy, considering that its direct grants to arts organizations are usually smaller than the allocations from the provincial and federal governments.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Vancouver became known as a center for artists interested in experimenting with performance and interdisciplinary art. Informative social histories of the arts in Vancouver are offered in <u>Vancouver</u>

Art and Artists: 1931-1983 (Vancouver Art Gallery: 1983), Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art (Douglas, ed., 1991) and the 1992 publication, Vancouver Forum 1 (Wyman, ed.). In the latter, Alvin Balkind recalls the influential role that a project called Intermedia played in bringing artists together to collaborate in experimental art forms and the use of new media such as video. Their efforts, according to Balkind, led to the proliferation of artist-run spaces across the country (1992: p. 72, 78). The city appears to have reached a critical stage where its inhabitants are increasingly interested in recording the cultural history of that period.

As has been mentioned earlier, federal funds in the form of Opportunity for Youth grants and Local Initiative Programs provided the means for arts organizations to form in the 1970s, and for young artists to gain experience. By the mid to late-1970s, however, there was a reaction against the funding of what was perceived to be a counter-cultural movement involving avant-garde artists.[13]

The decline in the Canadian economy since the late 1970s has had a major impact on the arts and other social programs in every city, including Vancouver. A lack of growth in the annual grants from the Canada Council and other funding bodies has left arts organizations financially vulnerable. Guildford notes that a freeze in government grants in 1977 led to a decrease in artistic risk-taking amongst local theatres and a

concentration on marketing strategies to build audiences to accommodate the increase in theatre activity (1981: p. 8).

A report commissioned by the Community Arts Council for presentation to the Vancouver Board of Trade in 1976, (The Arts in Vancouver: A Multi-Million-Dollar Industry by Nini Baird) was an early sign of the growing interest in emphasizing the economic value of the arts, which was to became more formalized by the 1980s. The report estimated that the opera, symphony and Playhouse alone generate more than $1.5 million for local businesses such as restaurants, bars and parking lots.

(iv) Cultural Planning in the 1980s: The Economics of "The Cultural Industry"

A 1980 review of the Social Planning Department announced that "the arts have emerged economically and politically. They are recognized as having value to the City" (1980: p. 5). Municipal efforts in the development of the arts during the 1970s had apparently contributed to the success of the city's artistic assets:

> The Cultural Program Planning area of the Department seems to be paying handsome dividends in helping to develop the City's image as a centre of significant national and international cultural activities. The International Festival for Young People is growing in recognition and this year is being staged throughout British Columbia and Alberta. The City, through the Social Planning Department, has established valuable links to the vast network of arts institutions and personalities, locally, across the country and in other parts of the world. Vancouver, in the view of some, is literally experiencing an "arts quake" (1980: p. 1).

Since the last departmental review in 1977, the department's emphasis appears to have shifted somewhat from the development of the arts and a concern about access to the arts for the disadvantaged, to one of building national and international connections and prestige for the city. The growth in the city's arts sector also meant an increasing workload for the cultural planners who were handling almost $3/4 million in grants to some 65 arts organizations, although no new staff had been added to the department since 1973 (ibid: p. 2).

In 1982, the provincial government announced drastic cutbacks in its revenue-sharing contribution to municipal incomes, which impinged directly on community services and cultural organizations. While the Social Credit government was publicly couching its policies under the euphemism of "restraint," plans were going ahead for the construction of B.C. Place and a tourism extravaganza, Expo '86. After provincial government funding for the arts was slashed, the municipal government increased its arts grants by an average of 10 to 12% in 1981-82. The economic recession put the city in a position of trying to help the existing arts organizations survive provincial cutbacks and a shrinking Canada Council fund, although little money was left over to foster growth in the local arts.

During the height of an economic recession and a decline in government funding for social programs, dramatic measures

were considered necessary in order to gain legitimacy for the
arts and to attract funding. Becoming aware that Vancouver
lagged behind other cities in corporate funding for the arts,
the city government, with the new Senior Cultural Planner,
Stuart Backerman, began to take on an increasing role in
lobbying for private sector contributions. A 1983 report
entitled <u>Arts Mean Business: An Economic Impact Survey of
Vancouver's Non-Profit Cultural Industry</u>, produced by the
cultural planning staff, was an effort to promote the arts on
the strength of their "economic spin-off benefits," in order
to attract the support of corporate funders and politicians.
The study showed that Vancouver's non-profit arts groups had
relied less on government funding than their counterparts in
other cities, earning approximately 50% of their revenue,
while 35.5% was made up of government subsidy and $14.5 from
private and corporate donations. The report estimated that
Vancouver's non-profit arts organizations contributed
approximately $43.5 million to the overall economy of the
Vancouver area through direct spending and indirect
expenditures, but acknowledged that "To substitute the
economic value of the arts for their aesthetic value is to
deny their true social purpose" (1983: p. 1, 2).

The document reflects an economic and business-oriented
rationale for funding the arts manifested in an economic
discourse which had permeated the language of arts
administration and cultural policy by the 1980s. The new

cultural planning staff, responding to a widespread effort to fit the arts into an economic analysis paradigm, stressed the following material benefits of the "cultural industry": it is labour-intensive and non-polluting; it has the capacity to act as a catalyst in generating business development; it assists in maintaining markets for other city businesses; it attracts private investment and tourism. The election of the Conservative government in 1984 ushered in a number of shifts in national cultural policy which reinforced the economic paradigm. Schafer and Fortier summarize the new priorities which replaced the Liberal Party's agenda of culture as a nation-building enterprise:

> ...more emphasis has been placed on the private sector, market forces, and the marketing techniques used by arts and cultural organizations. More attention has been paid to the role of municipalities in the development of the arts and the decentralization of arts-related activities, while the federal government has given priority to the cultural industries (broadcasting, film and video, publishing, and sound recording) where trade relations with the United States are especially important (1989: p. 56).

The economic rationale for funding the arts encourages an understanding of culture as one of many commodities in the marketplace. As David Mitchell has pointed out, the disadvantage of adopting an economic rationale is that it forces cultural lobbies to "...relinquish control of their terms of reference into the hands of those who do wield power in the sphere of political discourse: economists, politicians and bureaucrats" (1988: p. 162). One outcome of the

development of cultural economics is the emergence of analysts such as Steven Globerman who evaluate the effectiveness of government arts funding in financial, economic terms, while obscuring the aesthetic and social value of the arts (see Globerman, 1983, 1987).

In an effort to encourage corporate sponsorship for the arts in Vancouver, a Mayor's Task Force on Public-Private Partnerships was formed in 1984 which, with the assistance of corporate funding from American Express Canada, led to the foundation of the Vancouver Partnership for Business and the Arts. The Partnership offered a "skills bank" which matched arts organizations with business volunteers who had such skills as marketing, fundraising, and accounting.

There was also a greater effort during this period to develop international political and economic connections for the city through cultural exchanges with "sister cities." Patrick Smith, a political scientist, has found that under Mayor Michael Harcourt (1980-1986), greater attempts were made to establish international links for Vancouver and that these sister-city relationships became more economically oriented (1991: p. 5). The arts were increasingly used as a lubricant for diplomacy and the movement of international capital. In addition, governments at all levels became more interested in using the arts as what Pick has called "tourist bait" (1988: p. 6). Following Expo '86, the municipal, provincial and federal governments collaborated on a pilot project to market

the arts to American tourists.

The increasing Pacific Rim emphasis led to a tri-level government initiative to promote Vancouver as an international attraction for trade, travel and commerce by establishing the Asia Pacific Centre Advisory Committee in 1986. The senior cultural planner of the day complemented this effort by helping to organize a short-lived Asia-Pacific Festival, which incurred a huge deficit in its second and last year of operation in 1987.

The International World's Fair, Expo '86, caused some performing arts companies which were not part of the on-site Expo programming to suffer audience losses during that season (City of Vancouver, Social Planning Department, September 30, 1986; Horizon Pacific Consultants Ltd., May 1987). Since Expo had fewer attractions in the visual arts than in the performing arts, the Vancouver Art Gallery and the Museum of Anthropology benefited from the tourists who found time to see their exhibitions while in town. But many performing arts organizations could not compete with the "world class" arts and entertainment offered at the Expo site. The disruption prompted a number of established arts groups to overcome their traditionally competitive relationship with one another in order to form a joint lobbying and marketing group, the Vancouver Cultural Alliance.

The provincial and municipal governments established the "Arts Challenge Fund" in 1987 to help reduce the deficits

which arts organizations had accumulated by this point. Apart from any losses because of Expo, Vancouver arts groups were already at a disadvantage compared to those in other provinces. The Canadian System of Government Financial Management calculated that British Columbia had spent less per capita on the arts from 1971 to 1983 than any other province and, since the federal government's programs are often designed to match provincial contributions, federal funding was also the lowest per capita in the country (cited by Godfrey, Apr. 4, 1987: p. C1).

In 1987, the municipal government was able to offer some assistance to individual artists at virtually no cost to the city with a new zoning initiative. Amendments to zoning and building by-laws allowed artists to legally occupy live/work studios in industrially or commercially-zoned areas and thereby find affordable work space and living accommodations.

During the 1980s, "bonus amenity" arrangements between the city and private developers became an increasingly popular way of securing facilities for the arts, both in Vancouver and other North American cities. This system allows the zoning restrictions in building size to be relaxed in exchange for the development of facilities to house the arts. For example, the Community Arts Council and the Pacific Cine Centre both acquired facilities through the bonus amenity system. These facilities are not an entirely cost-free contribution to the city and its taxpayers; increases in building density can put

added pressure on sewer, road, public transportation and other public services provided by the city (Sinclair, The Vancouver Sun, Nov. 23, 1988: p. D16).

In 1987, the cultural planning staff produced a strategic planning document (Cultural Direction for Vancouver: A Policy Guide for the 1990s), which reported that approximately 75 per cent of the City's cultural budget went to supporting the large-sized arts organizations in the city: the Vancouver Art Gallery, the symphony, the opera, the Playhouse, the Vancouver Museums and Planetariums and the Children's Festival (1987: p. 16). Some of these heavily subsidized organizations incurred particularly large deficits and experienced a decline in audience in the 1980s. The report recommended doubling the city's cash grants budget in the following five years and increasing grants to smaller organizations. However, political and administrative problems led this report to be rejected by the city council. The report had been developed in the mid-1980s under the reign of Michael Harcourt's left-leaning coalition council, but, by the time it went to a council committee in 1987, a new mayor, Gordon Campbell, presided over a right-of-center, NPA-dominated council. Campbell dismissed the document as "a bureaucratic report" which did not "provide any focus for action" (Cox, Oct 30, 1987: p. B2).

The draft policy actually contained many recommendations which the municipal government has since followed. The city

council may have been unwilling to endorse the report because it recommended a commitment to doubling cash grants. In addition, the failure to pass the report may have had more to do with personality conflicts and controversy surrounding both the Senior Social Planner and the Senior Cultural Planner of the day than with the recommendations contained in the report.

A 1989 task force on Social Planning found that, after twenty-two years in existence, the department was in critical need of redefinition and significant change. Among the problem areas covered was that of grant adjudication:

> ...the Task Force believes that the developmental and community-oriented role that should be increased is in basic conflict with the grant-giving role. It is felt that Social Planning staff often do not receive accurate or comprehensive community information because of their perceived "power" to decrease or eliminate grants given to the community groups. Second, the grants review process is ...also a major factor in diminishing staff capacity to undertake developmental work (June 1, 1989: p. 13).

Although the task force recommended the institution of arm's-length funding in the community or social services grants category, there was only a mention of somehow "involving the community in the decision-making" in the cultural grants category (ibid). Also in 1989, the Vancouver City Planning Commission recommended that peer review funding for the arts be instituted through the establishment of a high-profile arts commission (1989: p. 7).

Curiously, there has been very little lobbying for arm's length funding or peer review at the city level in Vancouver.

Representatives of established arts organizations tend to be particularly opposed to the idea, since they probably do not want to risk losing their present levels of funding. Because the cultural planning staff who adjudicate grants are perceived to be professional and fair, there is a lack of confidence about whether arm's length funding would be an improvement over the current system. Of course, arts organizations which are not funded or receive very small grants from the city (many receive annual grants under $5,000) have the least to lose in an experimentation with the arm's length model.

Notes:

1. The Vancouver Club continues its policy of restricting its membership to men only (at the time of writing).

2. However, local non-profit arts organizations are eligible to receive "grants equal to rent" from the city to cover the cost of renting the civic theatres.

3. The mayor's Arts Initiative Task force, on the other hand, was closed to the general public during the first phase of its consultation work (January-July, 1992), and therefore I was not able to attend any of its meetings as an observer.

4. The Vancouver Foundation also offers substantial grants to B.C. arts organizations. In 1991, the foundation gave a grant of $1,005,000 to the Fraser Institute (Vancouver Foundation, 1991: p. 21), a conservative "think-tank" which has published a book by Stephen Globerman (1987) arguing against the current system of government subsidy of the arts in Canada.

5. The Komagata Maru arrived in Vancouver in May 1914 carrying 354 hopeful immigrants from South Asia. The passengers were not allowed to disembark, and after prolonged controversy and two months at anchor in Burrard Inlet, the ship was expelled (Buchignani, 1985: p. 53-58).

6. Melodie Corrigall has written on the history of the Vancouver Museum's relationship with the city government, and its struggle for suitable accommodation for its collection (1979: p. 2-12).

7. The city council gave the symphony a grant of $2,000 in 1945, which was increased to $5,000 the next year. In 1958, the newly formed Canada Council began funding the symphony on an annual basis, starting with a grant of $20,000. It was not until 1963 that the provincial government offered its support with a grant of $5,000 (Becker, 1989: p. 172, 173).

8. Although the 1944 Census statistics cited in the study indicate that there were 7,000 people of Japanese heritage in the city, almost all Japanese-Canadians would have been moved out of the city and sequestered during World War II.

9. The British Columbia provincial government's art bank stagnated when the Social Credit government returned to power in 1975.

10. A 1980 department publication states that "Unlike similar learning centres, the Vancouver facility will give equal time and space to the arts and sciences" (Social Planning Department, 1980: p. 7). However, the Arts and Sciences Centre eventually became Science World, a facility which gives far greater priority to the sciences than to the arts.

11. One exception to this policy was the Heritage Festival Society, which ran the International Children's Festival, and continued to be staffed by city employees for a number of years.

12. One exception to this trend was the city's direct involvement in the short-lived Asia-Pacific Festival from 1985 to 1987.

13. Other economic influences may have contributed to the decline in performing art. For instance, the capitalist art market requires commodities for sale, rather than a proliferation of transitory productions.

**CHAPTER IV. CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN VANCOUVER ARTS POLICY:
EQUITY, DIVERSITY AND ACCESS**

1.   **Cultural Planning in the 1990s: Social Justice for the
     Fragmented Community:**

By the late 1980s, the economic paradigm began to lose
some of its popularity in arts policy.   Lobbyists and
bureaucrats, possibly jaded by an excess of economic jargon,
began looking for a slightly different discourse to justify
the subsidy of the non-profit arts.   As long as there is a
lack of public funds, the economic importance of the arts will
continue to be stressed, but social justice issues in the arts
(as well as in other areas of public policy) have since come
to dominate the area to some degree.   Access for artists and
audiences from marginalized ethnic groups has taken on a
greater urgency than notions of "multiculturalism" elicited in
the past.

The civic government's concern about race-relations led
to the creation of a "Cross-Cultural Initiatives" fund in
1990.   In 1992, to commemorate the Bi-Centennial of Captain
George Vancouver's arrival to this region,   free multi-
cultural festivals were staged throughout the city, which was
a departure from the staid civic celebrations of the past.
The events were planned to demonstrate a respect for both
First Nations and immigrant cultures.

The need for opportunities for children in the arts was

recognized early on by the city's cultural planning staff in the 1970s, and continue to be a concern. However, the provincial government and the Vancouver School Board have not yet managed to adequately incorporate the arts into education. Social and economic class discrepancies are particularly important in determining the kind of cultural opportunities available to children and more work could certainly be done to bring the arts to children, rather than leaving it up to the parents to take them to arts classes or performances. Some individual organizations have developed important programs in this area. For instance, the Children's Festival has distributed free tickets through shelters for battered women.

The concerns of women continue to hold some political currency, although they have not become a major priority in municipal arts policy. The rights of smaller minority groups may be gaining ground, however. The city government has come to recognize that 13% of its residents are disabled and has established the first municipal advisory committee on disability issues in the province (Special Advisory Committee on Disability Issues: April 1992). Homosexual issues have traditionally found more expression and acceptance in the arts than in other spheres of society. Gay and lesbian rights are becoming more recognized in the legal sphere, and may gradually attain more legitimacy from government arts funders.

As mentioned, social class distinctions – perhaps the greatest determinant of what kind of cultural practices people

participate in - continue to be something of a myopic spot for most governments in a capitalist economy. In the early 1970s, the Social Planning Department identified access to the arts for people on low or fixed incomes as priority. Not a great deal of progress has been made in this area, probably because the issues of poverty and class are too large for the municipal government to cope with on its own. However, an interest in bridging the gap between the amateur and the professional is emerging on the part of artists working in neighbourhoods, and this initiative is starting to come from the Board of Parks and Recreation in particular. This development could prove to be an important effort towards overcoming social class barriers and improving access to the arts.

The establishment of the mayor's short-term task force on the arts in 1992 (the Arts Initiative) signals a possible turning point in the city's arts policy. The social/cultural planning staff, who have traditionally influenced the politicians in arts programs and funding, have now been temporarily relegated to a resource function as city council members and professionals from business, arts and education on the task force take on the role of policy development. It is possible that Vancouver may establish new structures in arts funding, including an arm's length body or bodies to adjudicate grants. Certainly, there is a climate for change and a sense that the municipal bureaucracy should be

restructured.

Social pressures have also influenced individual civic arts institutions. According to Willard Holmes, the Director of the Vancouver Art Gallery, the social climate is more politicized now more than at any time except for 1960s, but this politicization has had quite a different impact on institutions such as the art gallery (lecture, January 15, 1992). While the Vancouver Art Gallery of the 1960s and 1970s could be seen as part of the counter-cultural movement, in the early 1990s, it finds itself the subject of criticism from socially marginalized ethnic groups. These conflicts with the art gallery in particular led to the formation of an advocacy group called "Artists Coalition for Local Colour" to lobby for access to arts institutions. The efforts of this coalition have helped bring issues of race politics in the arts into both the mainstream and alternative media and have created more pressure for change. Access to information and knowledge becomes a necessary part of achieving equitable participation in the arts. Arts organizations and funding bodies will be increasingly pressured to make information available and improve their communications in the 1990s. Some of the key demands of the Artists Coalition for Local Colour involve accessing information about decision-making at the Vancouver Art Gallery. Similarly, a review of the city's Social Planning Department in 1989 found that there had been an erosion in the community-base of the department over the

years as well as a lack of communication in terms of keeping citizens informed about the department's activities and receiving feedback (Task Force on Social Planning, June 1, 1989: p. 4). The Vancouver Arts Initiative task force has heard many requests from artists for more information about the city's programs as well as better information systems about arts activities in the city in general (July 1992: p. 16).

2. Citizen Participation in the Arts Policy Process:

Although the need for a comprehensive municipal arts policy in Vancouver has been acknowledged in passing by the city government since at least the early 1970s, political and procedural obstacles have prevented this goal from being realized. In addition, the policy-setting processes which have occurred in the past have been lacking in public involvement.

Since the 1970s when artists were first invited into city hall for informal lunches and to sit on committees (interview with Ernie Fladell, July 8, 1992), arts professionals have become an interest group which is consulted regularly on a formal and informal basis about policies which affect them. While this is a positive development, the general public continues to be excluded from the policy process to some degree. Although the public is able to sit in as observers at

certain committee meetings (eg, Public Art Committee), most people in the city are unaware of the existence of such bodies.

One structure which the city government has made use of to help it develop policies with public input is the citizen advisory committee. According to politicians and bureaucrats, the Special Council Committee on the arts was not a particularly influential part of the arts-policy process at city hall (e.g., interview with Jonathan Baker, January 16, 1990). However, it is useful to trace the efforts which have existed in this area, in order to determine the experience and extent of citizen involvement in city arts policy.

Following the Community Arts Council's 1964 report which recommended that a citizen's committee on the arts be struck to advise council on cultural grants, much discussion and delay by the NPA council ensued throughout the next eight years. Sub-committees of council produced reports recommending that interested organizations be consulted before implementing the advisory committee. This recommendation, although endorsed by city council, was subsequently forgotten or even purposely buried. A circular bureaucratic paper-flow between the politicians, the commissioner who was then the equivalent of the city manager and the City Clerk's office can be traced in the files of Vancouver Archives, most tellingly in one memo from the clerk to the commissioner, which reads:

> I spoke with Alderman Adams today and he directed me to "bury it" (the report from the previous council regarding

cultural grants) until someone else raises the matter. Based on his reply, I am of the opinion that this is the answer that has been given the matter each time it was brought to his attention (City Clerk, June 11, 1968).

As a result of such obstructionism, it wasn't until after the new reform-oriented TEAM council was elected in 1972 that any action was taken on the issue. A memo from Mayor Art Phillips to city council describes the problems as he saw it:

> In the past, rather than being awarded pursuant to a rational cultural policy, grants have been almost entirely on precedent...Council has in the past received little or no professional or independent advice. Also, since grants have not been made according to an overall policy, City Council has not been influencing in positive ways, the development and co-ordination of the arts (January 15, 1973).

A seven-member citizen's cultural advisory committee was finally appointed in 1973 to adjudicate grants and advise the council on cultural policy. A year later, however, the committee resigned in protest over city council's indecisiveness on arts funding. The committee members had been given ambitious terms of reference which included:

> ...making the arts available to as many as possible, encouraging co-ordination of artistic activities in the city, reducing administrative costs by encouraging the pooling of resources, assuring the grants were responsive to contemporary community needs and permitting long term cultural planning by the city and cultural organizations.
> Also included was a review of all applications for cultural grants and advice to council regarding such reviews; review of all city policies that impinge on the arts to assure that city planning would be consistent with cultural policy, removal of barriers that divide social and cultural services, promoting the co-ordination of planning, policy making, budgeting and programming of cultural organizations and establishment and recommendation of cultural goals for the city (Allen, The Province, March 2, 1974).

Grant adjudication was the only one of these tasks which the committee actually undertook, and even that was not accomplished, apparently because of a lack of commitment from council on a budget for grants. According to one committee member who was quoted in a <u>Vancouver Sun</u> article:

> I don't think the cultural committee was a serious attempt on the part of council in the first place - it was just another of those political platforms. They didn't have a clue how to use us - and our presence also meant, they discovered, that they were going to have to relinquish power, grant-giving power, if we were to do our job properly (Wyman, March 2, 1974).

Public criticism of the city government may have prompted the city council to demonstrate its commitment to the arts, because a month later city council unexpectedly approved a large increase in its cultural grants.

The cultural advisory committee was not re-established until 1977, when the new NPA mayor Jack Volrich followed up on a campaign promise to create such a committee. An interim cultural advisory committee established objectives for the permanent body, which included developing a comprehensive civic policy for the arts. The committee would also consider:

> ...ways and means by which the arts can be brought closer to the many disadvantaged people in our community and how opportunities can be afforded them for participation (Interim Cultural Advisory Committee, May 19, 1977: p. 2).

The interim committee recommended that the permanent committee be composed of three councillors and ten private citizens, appointed by council on the recommendation of the mayor. Its status as a committee of council, chaired by one

of the councillors, was apparently unique in Canada at the time. Since the city's grants to arts organizations still appeared to be fairly arbitrary, the committee set out to establish guidelines and priorities on grants, and worked with the social planners on the specific grant recommendations (Bailey 1978, p. 10).

The citizen's advisory committees continued to function over the years using the same terms of reference established in 1977, but in 1985 there were some organizational changes which reduced the number of councillors on the committee from three to one, made the mayor an ex-officio member, and made the chair a member of the general public (Minutes of the Vancouver City Council, February 12, 1985). While these changes increased the autonomy of the committee, they may have also reduced its political profile. The committee never played a significant role in grant adjudication. Perhaps the committee's most important achievement was the work of its sub-committee on art in public places which helped lay the groundwork for the public arts policy, eventually passed by city council in 1990.

In the Spring of 1991, the Special Council Committee on the Arts which had existed (with rotating membership) since 1977 was abruptly discontinued by the city council while the sub-committee on art in public places was given full-fledged committee status. Members of the Special Council Committee were surprised and disappointed that their work was put to an

end. At one of their final meetings, they described the value of their role as advisors to council:

> Members of the committee stressed the importance and need for an ongoing Arts Committee, as a vehicle to provide City Council timely advice on matters which impact (sic) the arts community. The Committee felt its mandate should not be too focused in order to provide flexibility to respond to issues as they arise (Special Council Committee on the Arts, April 8, 1991: p. 2).

Later that year, the mayor announced that he would chair a 15-member task force, called the "Vancouver Arts Initiative," which would examine the fiscal health of arts organizations, federal and provincial funding imbalances and recommend ways to increase community participation in the arts.

The task force, which began work in January 1992 may ultimately lead to a long-awaited comprehensive policy on the arts for Vancouver, but there appears to be more interest in implementing short-term practical measures to benefit arts organizations. Since the mayor has taken control of this process, and included Councillor Libby Davies from the COPE opposition party in the task force, there is far greater potential for a political commitment to the outcome than has been the case in the past.

In a previous attempt to develop an overall policy document in 1987, quite a different process was followed. A former senior cultural planner wrote the report in consultation with the citizen's advisory committee on the

arts. Representatives of the arts were consulted informally and the resulting recommendations were generally well-received by members of arts organizations in the city, although the report was rejected by city council. A few meetings for the general public were also held, although they focused on such topics as "Tourism and the Arts" and "Business and the Arts." Unlike the current Arts Initiative task force, politicians were not involved in the development of the policy draft, and then may have felt manipulated when they had to vote on the report with local arts supporters and lobbyists in attendance.

The Arts Initiative task force is the city's widest-ranging public consultation process in arts policy-making to date. A survey providing some background information has been circulated to approximately 600 organizations and individuals, focus groups were held with "stakeholders," a draft document called a "Work Book" is being circulated for public feedback (at the time of writing), and public forums are planned. The potential problem with the model which has been followed to date is that the public is less able to provide informed and meaningful input when it is unable to attend meetings where the agenda is implicitly or explicitly set. The public should, at the very least, be allowed to attend task force meetings as non-participating observers, in order to learn about the operations of the government and its appointed advisors. The increasing demand for access to government, particularly at the local level must be taken into account at

all stages in the process. The corporate concept of consulting "stakeholders," which has invaded the arts policy and administration field, may lead to an exclusion of those sectors of the public which are not perceived to have a vested interest in the arts.

Other municipalities have managed to produce and adopt cultural policy plans which were the result of greater participatory public consultation processes. It would perhaps be beneficial to compare the process used in Vancouver with their experience. The public process which was embarked on by the city of Edmonton to produce its report Edmonton: City for the 21st Century/Report of the Cultural Futures Project (1988) was one model which involved extensive public outreach through a series of open houses and newspaper advertisements inviting people to apply to be project participants on an ongoing basis. This approach resulted in some innovative policy recommendations and a type of discourse which distinguishes it from the average policy document. Concepts like "nurturing neighbourhoods," "caring communities" and "empowering citizens" are introduced. This discourse stands in contrast to the economic jargon which one frequently sees in cultural policy documents.

To produce an arts policy in 1990, the municipality of Burnaby used a seven-member steering committee plus 36 representatives from labour, education, business, the arts and the general public, working in sub-committees to develop

different elements of the policy. Denis Nokony, Burnaby's

Arts Development Office, explained the reason for involving so

many different people:

> The premise was, if you're creating an arts policy and
> you're engaging in an honest public process the
> commitment has to be evident at the outset that you
> understand that the arts are everybody's business, not
> just the business of those with a vested interest. In
> other words you don't just put artists and arts
> supporters on your arts policy committee...(Assembly of
> B.C. Arts Councils, January 1991, p. 2).

The manner in which Vancouver's municipal government has

appointed the volunteer members of its advisory committees and

task forces is another factor in the policy process which

could be questioned. These appointments are made "in camera"

at council meetings, sometimes following the recommendations

of city staff who are working in the particular area in

question. Political patronage results in political allies of

the party in power appearing on boards and task forces. [1]

Schafer has emphasized the importance of "methodically and

persistently soliciting representation from all sectors of

society" for the administrative entity chosen to produce a

municipal arts policy (1986: p 10). Although there is a

variety of different interests represented on the Arts

Initiative task force, it is lacking somewhat in ethnic

diversity - a point which has not escaped public criticism

and could hurt its credibility.

3. Ethnicity and the Arts:

> A cultural democracy provides for the acceptance of one's historical, ethnic and racial identity just as a political democracy respects the individual's legal and economic rights.
>
> Harvey S. Perloff (1979: p. 32)

(i) Multiculturalism:

Canada's original policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" proclaimed by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971 resulted from the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism of the 1960s. The policy was an attempt to address the concerns of citizens from diverse ethnic backgrounds who felt excluded from discussions which concentrated solely on the French and English cultural/linguistic distinction. Multiculturalism has since been defined by the federal government as "the recognition of the cultural and racial diversity of Canada and of the equality of Canadians of all origins" (Canada, 1989: p. 1). The policy was enshrined in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988.

After more than twenty years as official federal policy, multiculturalism has come to be seen as a policy which has encouraged segregation and containment of ethnic minority groups, rather than promoting their interaction and mutual understanding. People have increasingly rejected the multicultural paradigm, which has led to efforts to establish new models to overcome racism in the arts and other areas. According to the Advisory Committee to the Canada Council for

Racial Equality in the Arts:

> We found it impossible to work within the constraining
> definition and blurred vision that the connotation of
> 'multiculturalism' lends to most discussions.
> The policies of multiculturalism have failed to address
> the issues of racial equity in the arts, resulting in
> anger and frustration throughout the system (1992: p.
> 1).

Despite the rejection of multicultural policies as
ineffectual, or even a form of "repressive tolerance," there
is the possibility that they have been more influential than
is commonly assumed. Gilles Paquet suggests that efforts to
enhance the social status of ethnic groups has laid the ground
work for greater mainstream acceptance of the growing demand
for cultural expression from the margins: "...the slow
process of status-enhancing of ethnic minorities in Canada has
acquired a logic of its own which has blown away the
containment of the 1970s" (1988: p. 24).

(ii) Cross-Culturalism in Vancouver:

The city of Vancouver has made cross-cultural relations
a priority issue for all departments, with the Social Planning
Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Program taking
most responsibility in the area (Social Planning Department,
June 20, 1990: p. 9). Policies and programs concerning
ethnicity and the arts have been developed by the Social
Planning Department's Office of Cultural Affairs, with some
involvement from the former Special Council Committee on the
Arts. The city's Hastings Institute employment equity

training program has also played a role in raising awareness about racism among arts organizations in the city. However, much of this work has only been undertaken in an organized fashion since the late 1980s.

In the spring of 1989, the "Sub-Committee on Multicultural and Cross-Cultural Development within the Arts Community" was established as an off-shoot of Vancouver's former Special Council Committee on the Arts. This sub-committee met to discuss ethnic diversity and discrimination in the arts in Vancouver until it was disbanded, along with its parent committee, in 1991. According to Diane Kadota, a former member, the group was perhaps more successful in educating one another about racism than in the area of policy formulation (interview May 17, 1991).

The sub-committee members suggested that multiculturalism "may but does not necessarily promote tolerance" (1989: p. 3). They saw "cross-culturalism", on the other hand, as a way to encourage ethnically diverse cultures to engage with one another, either by bringing together artists of different ethnic backgrounds, or by encouraging culturally diverse programming to create new "trans-cultural" products. To this end, City Council created a special fund of $50,000 annually for "Cross Cultural Initiatives" in the arts, a step which the former sub-committee praised as "an act of extraordinary commitment and visionary foresight" (Sub-Committee on Cultural Diversity, 1991: p. 1). The program came into effect in

early 1990 and grants were available later in the year through

the Office of Cultural Affairs. One of the objectives of the

Cross Cultural Initiatives Program is:

> To encourage and enable cultural institutions and arts
> organizations to be more responsive to Vancouver's multi-
> cultural reality through organizational change, including
> employment equity, board membership, cross-cultural
> training for staff and volunteers, and innovative cross-
> cultural audience development strategies and outreach
> programs (Office of Cultural Affairs, 1990: p. 1).[2]

The city's focus on cross-culturalism, which carries a

more overt race-relations imperative than multiculturalism, is

an experiment which apparently has attracted the interest of

cultural policy makers from senior levels of government. The

cross-cultural concept may not be the ideal solution to all

problems of ethnic bias in the arts, however. The city's sub-

committee changed its name in the summer of 1990 to the Sub-

Committee on Cultural Diversity, because:

> There was a concern that the term 'cross-culturalism'
> applied only to activity within the cultural community
> which was 'cross-cultural' or dealt with issues of
> cultural hybridization. It did not encompass broader,
> complex interactions between Vancouver's diverse cultural
> communities" (June, 1991: p. 1-2).

Although imprecise, this statement suggests a possible

inadequacy in the "cross-cultural" strategy.

A race-relations focus in city policy could mean that

culturally diverse organizations might come to be favoured

over those which are "ethno-specific" or organized around one

cultural or ethnic group. For instance, a collaboration

between different native bands would probably not qualify as

a cross-cultural initiative. In their consultations with arts

professionals, the Arts Initiative task force found that:

> The current cross-cultural grant program was alternately praised for attempting to build bridges among communities and criticized as an attempt to create greater audiences for established arts organizations rather than developing ethno-cultural artists (July 1992: p. 17).

At worst, some cross-cultural projects have been criticized as a form of cultural appropriation. The concept of appropriation is a highly contested issue in the arts which is best understood when it is situated within a context of unequal power relations. First Nations people, in particular, have asserted their right to reclaim their own culture, undiluted by cross-cultural collaboration or interference ("Telling Our Own Story: Appropriation and Indigenous Writers and Performing Artists," 1990). For example, the Vancouver-based Karen Jamieson Dance troupe, although critically acclaimed in the media for its cross-cultural collaboration with Gitskan people, has been heavily criticized by some native artists. While Jamieson has worked with native leaders and artists and has employed native performers, there have been objections made on the grounds that her company is not run by First Nations people and therefore should not be receiving large grants from such sources as the Native Arts Foundation, which is a national organization (interviews with Wayne LaRiviere, July 27, 1992 and Viola Thomas, August 17, 1992).

Despite differences in philosophy and terminology, something of a consensus may be emerging in terms of

identifying the ways that racism excludes people from cultural institutions. Vancouver's former sub-committee identified a number of problem areas, including: cultural prejudice and lack of cultural understanding among members of juries and funding bodies, the boards and staff of cultural organizations, members of the media who report on the arts, and educational institutions. These problems are also articulated in a report from a forum of First Nations people:

> ...the Canadian public funding bodies, art institutions and the general public have a lack of understanding about what Native art and literature is all about. They do not even understand the consciousness, meaning and purpose behind the art, let alone the forms it takes on. ("Telling Our Own Story: Appropriation and Indigenous Writers and Performing Artists," 1990: p. 12).

Even in experimental art forms, the notion of what constitutes and defines "contemporary," "experimental," and "performance art" has been largely determined by the white, Western art world (Okano, 1992).

In an effort to address problems of cultural bias and other forms of prejudice, in 1989 the city of Vancouver established the Hastings Institute, a private city-owned corporation which offers training programs in employment equity and race relations. The Hastings Institute is currently seeking input from groups which have experienced discrimination to design a special program for people working in the arts. The city's cultural planners, who have had the responsibility for adjudicating grant applications, themselves attend such programs and make an effort to attend public

forums on the subject of ethnicity and the arts.

A 1987 study found that only 2.8% of theatre roles across Canada had been filled by visible or audible minority performers (ACTRA, 1987: p. 23). Artistic and technical training for groups which have been traditionally under-represented in the arts is one important way to increase access to the field. For instance, organizations such as Spirit Song in Vancouver provide a valuable service in training First Nations youths in performance as well as other aspects of theatre such as technical direction and stage managing. It seems that a two-pronged approach is necessary for change to occur: outreach to attract, fund and train artists from marginalized groups as well as simultaneously raising awareness among the arts institutions whose practices are partly responsible for the dearth of opportunities.

The steadily increasing emphasis on cross-cultural issues which the Vancouver cultural planning staff have implemented since around 1988 is an example of how unofficial departmental practices can have a tangible policy impact. Before the city council approved funding to establish a cross-cultural fund, the planning staff had already attempted to raise awareness in the city's professional arts circles by simply adding a question to the grant application form the organizations are required to successfully complete in order to receive funding. The question asked what the organizations were doing to address non-European cultures. While the official grants

criteria did not disqualify art forms and organizations which were solely European-Canadian from receiving funding, the presence of the question on the form was in some cases enough to make arts organizations at least realize that ethnic diversity would enhance their social relevance and status in the eyes of arts funding bodies.

The federal government's Employment and Immigration Department also has a role to play in encouraging cultural diversity through their "UI top-up" or "Section 25" jobs, which involve hiring people receiving unemployment insurance benefits to work in the non-profit sector for a limited term. Employment and Immigration's policies encourage non-profit organizations to hire women, people from ethnic minorities and the disabled. The program also allows non-profit organizations to hire an employee to work on "board development," which involves recruiting more people from the above categories to sit on the boards of these organizations. These limited term jobs are crucial to arts organizations, many of which have inadequate funds to hire enough permanent staff. Generally, arts organizations are willing to meet the criteria of ethnic or other diversity in order to have access to more workers and funding. However, since these staff positions are entry-level positions with no security of tenure, their overall impact may not be highly significant.

While all of these programs are effective in increasing awareness and diversity to some degree, it could be argued

that they may also be effective in maintaining power and controlling public debate. According to Sherazad Jamal, a Vancouver artist:

> ...the power relationships between present-day arts institutions and artists of colour has remained essentially the same as in the past. In the past, euro-centric arts institutions controlled the manner and context in which the art of the "Other" was categorized and displayed. In the present, art institutions are more interested in controlling the discourse of difference. What post-modernism has made euro-centric curators/scholars/critics and other formers-of-art-opinion aware of is that as successive paradigms of analysis come into vogue, they have to appropriate the prevailing paradigm if they are to maintain control and ownership over the power that "art" has within our lives. If there is no control, there can be no power (1992, p. 21).

Given such a complex and circular problem, it is a challenge for policy-makers to create programs which are acceptable and effective ways of overcoming racial discrimination. In the areas of the arts over which the city has jurisdiction, extensive outreach work would be required to achieve diversity in the arts which would reflect the cultural and ethnic diversity of the city's population. Outreach work is needed to contact the wide variety of arts organizations in the city affiliated with particular ethnic groups which don't apply for government funding. For example, the Jin Wah Sing is an amateur opera society in Chinatown which has existed since the 1930s but does not receive any government funding. Alan Loui, the Vice-Chairman of the association, said they would be interested in receiving government grants but they don't know how to apply (conversation, July 10, 1992).

Traditional societies in marginalized ethnic groups such as Jin Wah Sing exist on donations from social support groups such as the Chinese Benevolent Society as well as individual friends and supporters within the particular ethnic community. Systemic racism and ghettoization has led to the establishment of alternate networks of support, which shouldn't be taken to indicate that such organizations don't need or deserve the tax-payer subsidy that more privileged institutions enjoy.

Artists from ethnic minority groups who are second or third generation Canadians are perhaps more likely to apply for government funding, since they have a facility in the English language. But despite their skills, these artists continue to experience discrimination and have found it necessary or desirable to form "parallel" arts groups (e.g., The Sepia Players, a black performing arts group; The Rungh Cultural Society, for South-Asian art), as well as a specific lobby group called the Artists' Coalition for Local Colour. Yasmin Jiwani, a communications theorist and cultural worker, has described the value of such parallel or alternative organizations:

> Aside from articulating a critique and initiating dialogue around the issues of exclusion, systemic racism and lack of accountability, arts organizations and coalitions within the margins fulfill another, critical function. They provide avenues by which to express and advance alternative definitions of social reality and to rework and reclaim existing definitions (1992, p. 14).

The city of Seattle's Arts Commission appears to have in place a more coherent and long-range multicultural outreach

plan for the arts than Vancouver has yet adopted. The outreach plan involves developing a greatly expanded database in order to disseminate publications and program information to marginalized groups, holding meetings in diverse neighbourhoods, translating some materials into different languages and ensuring ethnic diversity on the commission, staff and adjudicating panels (Seattle Arts Commission, April 1990; December 1990). These efforts led to a major increase in the numbers of grant applications received by the Commission. Vancouver's Office of Cultural Affairs, on the other hand, has lacked the staff and resources for such an extensive undertaking and has only recently begun to produce pamphlets fully outlining grant programs and criteria in English, let alone any other language. Increases in grant applications would also mean more work for cultural planners who have been responsible for adjudicating grants.

If the city were to implement grant adjudication by arm's length bodies of citizens from different ethnic backgrounds, there might be not only a shifting in grant allocations, but also a greater opportunity for networks to form among the artists from these ethnic groups which could counter-balance the social and professional networks which exist in the "arts establishment."

The City of Vancouver is a latecomer in addressing issues of ethnicity and the arts through policy, although it is an area in which there appears to be some political commitment.

However, targeting racism in isolation from other factors such as social class could lead to some oversights by policy-makers. As the city comes to fund a greater proportion of arts organizations representing diverse ethnic groups, it is likely that the social elite from these groups will be the beneficiaries, mirroring the historical development of European-Canadian arts organizations and audiences. The tendency for issues of class to become subsumed by issues of race, and for a collusion to take place between similar classes from different ethnic groups could continue to prevent the achievement of access to the arts for the full spectrum of society.

4. Women and the Arts:

In her research on the Vancouver School of Art in the early part of the century, Letia Richardson has found that women students at the school outnumbered men by seven to one in the years preceding World War II, whereas after the war there were almost twice as many male students as female at the school (1987: p. 22-23). This shift can be partly attributed to federal government policy, according to Richardson. Government reconstruction policies afforded veterans grants to men returning from the war which encouraged them to enroll in the school. This example serves to illustrate that although little in the way of government cultural policy may have

existed at the time, government policies indirectly influenced the opportunities which existed for women and men in the arts.

The socialization of women has led them to participate heavily in the arts as students, workers, volunteers, artists and patrons. For example, Peter Guildford credits women theatre directors - Dorothy Somerset, Yvonne Firkins, Dorothy Davies, Phoebe Smith, Jesse Richardson and Daphne Goldrick - for developing Vancouver theatre from the 1920s through to the 1940s (1981: p. 19).

According to Chartrand:

While women in North America have traditionally been considered the carriers or guardians of culture...the increasing role of women in the economy and politics will, in and of itself, lead to increasing political and economic recognition of arts and culture (1987: p. 5-6).

Chartrand bases this assertion on a number of different statistical factors which suggest that the arts are particularly relevant to women. In North America, women patronize the performing arts more than men. Studies have shown that the arts "consumer" has a tendency to be older, female and have some post-secondary education (McCaughey, 1984; Decima Research, 1992). It is also the case that on average, women live longer than men, and since older people have a higher rate of attendance in the arts (McCaughey, 1984: p. 6), women form an even greater proportion of the arts audience. Also, because women have more economic independence than they used to, a greater proportion of their disposable income may increasingly go towards supporting the arts.

In addition, women have always worked in the arts in greater numbers than in most other sectors (Chartrand, 1987: p. 6). A study of the Vancouver arts labour force confirmed that there are 20% more women than men employed by non-profit arts organizations in the city (Lok, 1992: p. 38). As is the case with other employment sectors dominated by women, the work is financially devalued:

> ...the "typical" not-for-profit arts organization employee is a 35 year old, single individual who earns around $8,800 per annum, plus $4,170 from additional sources. This person has a university degree, works an average 41 hour a week (12.5 more hours than paid to work for), spends 15 hours per week on leisure activities, receives 10 vacation days per year (ibid: Executive Summary).

Government funding for the arts and government employment programs have allowed women, who have traditionally served as unpaid workers in the field, to continue to subsidize the arts and the economy by working at a low wage and often with little job security.

Since women work in large numbers in the arts administration field, they are, in effect, often working behind the scenes to promote and present the work of a disproportionate number of male artists. Canada Council statistics confirm that individual male artists request and receive grants in greater numbers than female artists in every category except dance (February 1990: p. 44). It has also been observed that while women frequently participate as dancers, actors and singers in the "interpretive arts," men have more often been the creators as writers, playwrights,

choreographers, composers. The more traditional art forms are often more likely to be male-dominated (e.g., symphony conductors). While classical ballet is usually choreographed by men, there are many women choreographers in contemporary, experimental dance.

The federal government has initiated cultural funding for national women's programs such as the National Film Board's Studio D, but these sorts of special programs on a local scale have been generated by artists themselves, rather than the municipal government or the B.C. provincial government. Women artists have come to form enduring "parallel" arts societies in Vancouver such as Women in View for the performing arts and Women in Focus for the visual arts. Carol Williams has produced a chronology of significant events and activities involving women artists in Vancouver over the past 20 years (1991: p. 171-205).

In terms of the composition of city council and its staff, women have been vastly outnumbered, particularly in positions of power. Frances Fitzgibbon, a former city cultural planner, recalls that when presenting grant recommendations to city council in the 1970s, she would down-play the fact that some were for women-only events, to avoid that aspect of the project becoming a point of controversy with the aldermen (interview August 2, 1992).

Most of the cultural planners employed by the city have been male, which may partly explain why women's issues in the

arts have not been given a high priority. However, women have served on the former Special Council Committee on the Arts, the Public Art Committee and the Arts Initiative in significant numbers. The participation of women in this unpaid capacity has been an improvement over a period of time in the early 1970s, when cultural planners Jonathan Baker and Ernie Fladell relied on an informal network of male professionals to help them adjudicate arts grants (e.g., Max Wyman, Jack Shadboldt, Arthur Erickson and Christopher Dafoe). These individuals were reluctant to have it known that they were passing judgement on the applicants, who, in many cases must have been personal acquaintances (interview with Jonathan Baker, January 1990).

The city of Vancouver has yet to identify ways in which the role of women in the arts could or should be addressed through its arts policies. Almost every other conceivable disadvantaged group was highlighted as requiring access to the arts in the 1989 Social Planning task force review – "children, persons with disabilities, seniors, low-income people and ethnic communities" (June 1, 1989: p. 6). Women's issues in general have been identified as a priority area by the Social Planning Department, but the work has been primarily oriented to emergency needs such as transition houses for battered women (Social Planning Department, June 1990: p. 14). However, the city's Equal Employment Opportunity Program and Hastings Institute training program

may contribute towards greater equity for women both within the municipal government bureaucracy as well as in local non-profit arts organizations.

Women from minority ethnic groups are increasingly recognized as a doubly disadvantaged group in the arts (Jiwani, 1992). These women have found opportunities for collaboration with feminist arts societies, but have at times also experienced exclusion and discrimination even there. In the recent past, the city has more often chosen women from diverse ethnic groups than their male counterparts to sit on its arts advisory committees and task forces.

The Arts Initiative task force is currently considering some of the barriers which women experience and has identified the following problems in the background research to its questionnaire:

> Although women are participants in all aspects of the arts, they are not represented in senior levels of management or artistic direction. Some funders and suppliers not accustomed to dealing with organizations managed by women, reflect sexist attitudes which negatively affect the bottom line (1992: p. 2).

Addressing such inequities through structural and policy influences will require a commitment to more research in women's issues in the local context in order to more clearly identify the problems. Because women work in the arts in such large numbers, the problems are not always as evident as might be the case in a male dominated field such as engineering, for example.

It is a frequent complaint that there are fewer roles

for women in theatre than men (and a dearth of roles for older women in particular). A statistical study might help to confirm the seriousness of this problem, and perhaps provide some basis for justifying the establishment of a program to encourage women playwrights. Of course, statistical studies do not address the insidious problem of sex-role stereotyping and sexist representation in general, which is expressed through art - whether it be in the performing arts, visual arts or in literature.

Although the greater focus in the city is currently on policies to overcome racism in the arts, it would be a mistake to assume that this issue is entirely separate from women's issues. Women of colour are forming the new wave of leadership in the arts in Vancouver through their involvement in such activities as the 1989 In Visible Colours Film Festival and the Artists Coalition for Local Colour. These women, who have recently started to have some input into the city policy-making process by sitting on advisory committees, often bring feminist values with them, as well as an interest in racial justice, and their impact will continue to be felt in the coming years.

Notes:

1. For example, Roberta Beiser has been appointed to the Library Board and Elizabeth Ball to the Civic Theatres Board and the Arts Initiative task force. Both were unsuccessful NPA candidates in the 1990 municipal election.

2. The other objectives of the Cross-Cultural Initiatives Program are:
    - To develop awareness and understanding of Vancouver's cultural diversity among artists, cultural organizations, members of the media and the community at large.
    - To assist in the development of the information and human resources necessary to promote a cross-cultural approach to the arts in Vancouver.
    - To encourage the creation and production of innovative artistic works which, by their form or content, sensitize the community to emerging inter-cultural relations and issues, and explore new approaches to cross-cultural collaboration (Office of Cultural Affairs, 1990: p. 1).

**CHAPTER V. VANCOUVER'S ART IN PUBLIC PLACES POLICY:
CORPORATE ART FOR COMMUNITY ENRICHMENT**

1. Curators of the Urban:

The increasing presence of art in public places has been interpreted as a sign that some artists are rejecting the institutional limitations associated with museums and art galleries. Art historian and critic Nena Dimitrijevic provides a typical justification for appropriating new public spaces for art:

> ...the gallery/museum has played out its historical function and today this temple of "useful and pleasant recreation" has come to deaden the critical power and social function of living art...Most of these buildings are just self-indulgent monuments which architects erect to themselves and where art is best reduced to no more than decoration for architecture (1987: p. 44).

While publicly situated art may be an attempt to escape the confines of the museum, the management of public art by civic authorities has led the city itself to come to be regarded as a museum. Like museum curators, civic art officials oversee commissions and donations, develop policies on the conservation and de-accessioning of works, and, increasingly, coordinate temporary exhibitions.

These practices differ markedly from the past, when public art pieces which were donated by citizen's groups were typically accepted by cities regardless of quality, suitability to the site, or the cost of maintaining these works in perpetuity. While bronze statuary and commemorative

monuments, often showing an affiliation with the British empire, are the legacy of early efforts in civic public art in Canadian cities, modernism led to the accumulation of other types of public art in urban spaces. The least successful of these works are known in public art-speak as "plop art" because they appear to have been plunked down in an obligatory manner in front of skyscrapers.

As critic Ingrid Jenkner has noted, urban public art has, to a large degree, become conflated with private development. Because we so frequently encounter publicly sited works of art in corporate spaces, they "have become associated with mass-address, to be inattentively consumed as if they were advertising messages" (Jenkner, 1992: p. 17).

In an effort to improve upon ill-conceived public art works, cities have adopted public art policies that encourage a kind of integrated or site-specific art which often involves having artists work collaboratively with architects. This process has occurred earlier and much more often in American cities than in Canadian cities. Seattle, which introduced public art policies in 1973 and now has a collection of over 2,000 public art works, has become something of a model for other North American cities in this area.

In terms of public art, Canada would appear to be a less progressive society than the United States. One factor which may have led Canadian cities to lag far behind some American cities in public art programs is that while the production of

public art came to a standstill during the depression in Canada, the Works Progress Administration in the U.S. (part of Roosevelt's New Deal) initiated make-work projects which often included artists working in the public realm.

For the most part, public art falls under the jurisdiction of the municipal government. Apart from allocating public funds for art, cities can use their power to allow the creation of wealth through property zoning in an effort to entice or enforce the participation of private developers in public art programs. In 1990, Vancouver's City Council adopted a comprehensive public art program for civic and private development. The policy requires private developers that benefit from the rezoning of large areas of land to incorporate some form of public art at a rate of $1 per square foot of development. The city doesn't have the constitutional power to make this policy into a by-law, which means that its $1-per-square-foot levy could be legally challenged by a developer at some point. So far this policy has only been applied to major projects such as the redevelopment of the former Expo site and Coal Harbour. Because these "mega-projects" are in the planning stage, the city's public art policy has yet to be tested on a large scale.

2. The Discourse and the Reality of Public Art Policy:

Art in public places is the area of municipal arts policy to receive the most interest and commentary in recent years. Rosalyn Deutsche has provided a critical analysis of this topic in her work, in part by exploring the use of discourse in government policy documents governing public art. According to Deutsche:

> ...the simplifications that pervade mainstream aesthetic discourse about public space...reside in the twin assumptions that space has objective uses and that 'the public' is unified by fundamental values and interests (1992: p. 7-8).

Deutsche is critical of the definition of "public places" as an empirical entity, such as the definition used in the City of Vancouver public art policy:

> ...publicly seen or accessible structures or areas of private developments which are visually prominent during daylight hours or open and freely accessible to the public for 12 or more hours daily; and publicly seen or accessible structures which fall under City jurisdiction (City of Vancouver, October 4, 1990: p. 3).

She argues that the concept of "the public" is de-politicized when the role of social relations in determining the use of space is denied, and that the "acceptance of a neutralized definition of public lays the groundwork for exclusion..." (Lecture, Vancouver Art Gallery, June 13, 1991). Deutsche has been particularly concerned about how discussions of the public realm exclude the growing number of homeless people who have been displaced by redevelopment in American cities.

One of the stated goals of Vancouver's public art program is to "enrich the community by means of public art" (Oct. 4, 1990: p. 3). The use of the word "community," which is ubiquitous in arts policy vocabulary, should also be critically questioned here. It may serve a social/psychological need for citizens to believe that their city is a "community," but doing so may also contribute to a failure to recognize social inequalities (see Anderson, 1989: p. 16). While the municipal government in Vancouver gives the impression that its policies will bring art to the entire city, the focus so far is on persuading the private sector to provide art for new residential developments which will be predominantly occupied by affluent people.

When one looks beyond the rhetoric of democratic access and civic boosterism which surround public art, the flaws in Vancouver's public art heritage become quite readily apparent. For instance, there has been a geographical bias towards placing public art in the west side of the city (Duncan, 1990: p. 380) - in particular, there is a concentration of public works in Stanley Park and on the UBC campus. This inequity has not yet been addressed by the city's public arts policies.

Based on a partial inventory of permanent public art which was conducted for the city by its Art in Public Places Sub-committee in 1987, it would appear that close to 90% of the documented works were created by male artists. Although women have traditionally been quite active in the arts, the

great majority of developers and architects who have been in a position to commission artists for their sites are male, which is just one of numerous factors contributing to the selection of male artists.[1] There is no mention of this obvious imbalance in the city's public art policies or published background research material; there is, however, an attempt to encourage juried selections of work, which could lead to some improvements as long as the juries are representative of a broad range of interests in society. Over half of the artists who created public art works chosen by the juried process at the Seattle Arts Commission have been women, and the commission is attempting to increase the number of artists of diverse ethnic backgrounds (interview with Diane Shamas, April 7, 1992).

3. Developing a Public Art Policy for Private Development:

The process of developing the public art policy in Vancouver involved consulting not only the usual arts interest groups, but also interest groups representing architecture, urban design and the development industry. Since private developers are largely responsible for funding the program, much of the consultation and negotiation was directed towards them. One such group, the Urban Development Institute, lobbied unsuccessfully for a program in which participation by developers would be voluntary rather than mandatory. The

institute argued that the program would increase the cost of housing by $500-$2,000, which "appears to be in conflict with the city's objective for the provision of affordable housing" (letter to the mayor and council, Oct. 1, 1990, p. 2). This is an example of the lobbying which may have contributed to the delay in developing and adopting a public art policy for private developments in Vancouver. The City Planning Commission had advocated a "per cent for art" formula as early as 1980 (1980: p. 37) and the Special Council Committee on the Arts had examined public art policies since 1986.

The city council's ability to prevail over opposition to a privately-funded public art policy, could be taken to indicate that Vancouver city government is no longer completely in the grips of the development industry, which it has been traditionally (see Gutstein, 1975, 1983). However, it should also be pointed out that to date it is only developers that have been granted "major re-zonings" of land that are required to provide $1 per-square-foot of development towards public art. These developers are receiving benefits in the re-zoning process, which greatly increase their land value and yield substantial profits regardless of the $1 per-square-foot levy. Investment in this art will likely make the development more attractive to potential renters or buyers and enhance the property value of the land. As Deutsche has pointed out:

...the presence of 'the aesthetic' - whether embodied in

artworks, architectural style, urban design or museums -
helps give redevelopment democratic legitimacy since,
like 'the public,' art also connotes universality and
openness (1992: p. 6).

In addition, the "public" art which developers provide may
actually be privately-owned art on privately-owned land. The
public will have limited access to the art but the activities
it is able to hold in these areas are generally more
restricted than those allowed on publicly owned land (e.g.,
public protests).

Although the proposed policy was circulated to every
visual arts organization in the city, the general public was
not adequately consulted in the development of Vancouver's
arts policy, which was pointed out by the Community Arts
Council in its submission to the city. This omission was
largely the fault of the city council, which directed its
staff to circulate draft policies to "interested groups", but
made no provision for public forums to discuss the proposals.

4. Putting the Public Art Policy into Practice:

Part of Vancouver's policy involved the setting up of an
independent[2] Public Art Committee to advise city council and
consider proposals for public art on city property as well as
proposals from private developers who must comply with the
city's $1-per-square-foot policy. By looking at how the
committee considers a particular project for approval and

negotiates with those making the submission, municipal arts policy can be examined at the micro-level. The example discussed below does not involve private development, because, at the time of writing, no artwork has yet been chosen by the developers under that provision of the city's policy.[3]

In 1991 and 1992, the committee was charged with approving temporarily-sited public art works which became part of The Design Vancouver events in February and March 2, 1992. The most controversial proposal for art on city-owned land was the one chosen by Design Vancouver for the Jericho meadows, entitled "Gathering Place" by Michael Dennis. The controversy arose partly because the Jericho Meadows are considered a sacred and healing place by the Musqueam people. Since the group of sculptures may be interpreted to suggest native themes and since Dennis is not a First Nations person, issues of cultural mis-representation and appropriation arose. The work includes three large drumming figures carved from wood, but the drumming was criticized as an inaccurate portrayal of way Musqueam people beat drums. The initial proposal for this piece, which involved some detailed carving using a Salish fish motif, was criticized by one member of the committee as being an example of "pan-Indianism" or a homogenized view of First Nations culture since the artist was not attempting to represent the Musqueam culture in particular but native art in general. For artistic reasons, the artist eventually decided to alter his plan and not include the carving in the work

(interview with Michael Dennis, July 19, 1992).

The city's Public Art committee approved the piece with the stipulation that the organizers would have to obtain the Musqueam Band's approval before the project went ahead. The committee recommended to Design Vancouver that in the future, there be more advance notice and public debate, particularly where issues of cultural diversity or political implications might arise. The artist agreed that the exhibition organizers should have "done their homework," and ideally a member of the Musqueam band should have been involved in the decision-making (ibid).

The Jericho Meadows example illustrates that art objects in the public realm are potentially even more controversial than those in museums and galleries, since more people usually see them,[4] and because they may be perceived as officially sanctioned public symbols. As a result, rather than a curator or a city staff member making a decision about an installation, there is now a time-consuming, bureaucratic process which often occurs before public art is installed. Those serving on the public art committees see themselves as charged with a public duty which involves sensitivity to particular communities or groups - in this case the Musqueam people and perhaps other native people in general - and therefore influence can be exerted on curators or artists to at least consult the groups which could potentially voice objections to the work. Committee members are put in the

delicate position of anticipating and diffusing potential conflicts, while at the same time trying to avoid the perception that they function as censors who dictate public taste and values. Since the committee members are a diverse group of citizens with varying philosophies about art and the public, it is often difficult to reach a consensus on such issues. While members who are arts professionals may hold some views in common, there are other interests represented on the committee, such as representatives of the development industry, who might take a more conservative stance on some issues.

One element of Vancouver's public art policy which may conflict with its stated goal of "community enrichment" is the process whereby the artists or artwork is chosen. Private developers are encouraged but not required to have an independent jury choose the work; they are free to hire an art consultant who could make the choice him or herself. If developers decide that the use of consultants is most expeditious, two problems may arise. A small network of people could come to make the decisions about public art in the city. Secondly, the art might be of a less diverse nature than that in cities where juries are used. A series of pieces could appear which are similar because they are chosen by the same people - much like a museum collection.

The city of Seattle has found that a crucial part of their multicultural outreach program is having people on

juries who are of diverse ethnic backgrounds and can encourage artists from their ethnic groups to enter competitions for public art commissions (interview with Stephen Guy, April 7, 1992). This opportunity may be lost if juries are not used.

Vancouver should be able to democratize the process by using juries for its public art projects on city-owned developments, such as the new central library which will be embellished by one million dollars worth of public art. However, for the time being, city officials seem willing to make compromises in the private development arena in exchange for the large sums of money which the private sector can allocate to art in public places during the present construction boom.[5]

5. Art Without the Benefit of Public Art Policy:

Some of the most interesting art to appear in public places in Vancouver and other cities are often temporarily-sited works which could be described as "oppositional," "socially engaged" or "socially conscious." These works respond not only to the physical context of the site, but also to the social context and they often tend to reflect on the history of the region and government policies such as those involving land use and property. Some other popular themes are advertising and mass communication as well as issues of gender and ethnic representation.

One of the most provocative pieces of permanent public art is a textual work of brass letters placed on the front of the building housing the Del-Mar Hotel and the Contemporary Art Gallery, which reads: **"UNLIMITED GROWTH INCREASES THE DIVIDE."** This piece is worth special attention because it illustrates that public art which is not a direct product of the government public art policy process is sometimes better able to communicate a critique of government policies to the public.[6] The piece was created by Kathryn Walter and was installed in July 1990 as a cooperative project between the artist, the gallery and the owners of the building. The statement, **"UNLIMITED GROWTH INCREASES THE DIVIDE,"** refers to the encroaching development occurring in that city block which has seen all of the old buildings housing hotels torn down, with the exception of the Del-Mar Hotel. B.C. Hydro acquired the rest of the property on the block to build its new headquarters, but the family which owns the Del-Mar refused to sell the hotel. The drilling and construction completely encircling the hotel caused extensive cracking in the concrete floor of the Contemporary Art Gallery, which rents a part of the building from the hotel.

The issue of affordable housing which run-down hotels like this one provide in the down-town area should not be overlooked. As these buildings are torn down to make room for new developments, people are turned out on the streets. As curator Bill Jeffries says of the piece:

It is directed at those who operate our free-market economy in their own interests, while excluding those interests that would be "responsive to the needs of the community." (1990, p. 2)

Ironically, the development occurring around this hotel is just the sort of "mega project" which could provide work for artists and artwork for the public. Matthew Kangas suggests that the very same construction and development which created work for Seattle artists, also reduced the low-income housing from 60,000 to 6,000 units in less than a decade. Kangas states: "It could be openly argued that while artists were benefitting from the bonanza, some people, mostly anonymous, were actually being hurt" (1989: p. 320). It should be considered, however, that Seattle's public art program has been publicly funded; there are no requirements that private developers install public art works. In that regard, Kangas's argument may have stronger implications for Vancouver than Seattle, since Vancouver's public art policies involve a considerable amount of private funding for public art. In the future, Vancouver artists may find themselves in a compromising position if they are working for developers who are seen to be contributing to urban problems such as increased density and lack of affordable housing.

Policies and practices concerning privately funded "public" art provide a complex interdisciplinary topic for students of communication. What is needed in this field is a greater exploration of the links between public arts policy

and the larger social context of other policy concerns including land use and urban development. When such links are made it will be possible to determine which communities are actually being served by Vancouver's public arts policies. The role of the city government in public art is evolving rapidly in Canadian cities and it is an area which should not be overlooked by those interested in the way government policy shapes local culture and the urban environment.

Notes:

1. The selection of an artist for public commissions is a self-perpetuating process which usually leads to more work for the artist. In the past, certain artists such as Jack Harmon and George Norris came to dominate the field in Vancouver, producing numerous works and therefore increasing the preponderance of pieces by male artists. According to art historian Letia Richardson, the work of the one successful female sculptor and muralist earlier in the century, Beatrice Lennie, has been critically neglected compared to some of her male contemporaries (1987).

2. The committee is called "independent" in city literature. It is a group of representatives from the arts, architecture, the development industry and education who are chosen at an "in camera" meeting of city council. They serve on a limited-term and unpaid basis. The city's Public Art Program Manager participates in the committee, but there are no council members involved.

3. Contrary to popular misconception, the city's committee does not generally involve itself in actually choosing the artwork for private or public projects. It is more concerned with approving the process of selection, but it will discuss potential problems with the actual artwork which a private or public body has chosen for installation.

4. In the case of "Gathering Place," however, the sculpture was located in a hidden area in a parkland, where not many people would be likely to see the work, relative to a piece located in the downtown, for instance.

5. For example, Concord Pacific will allocate approximately $6 million dollars worth of public art to the redevelopment of the former Expo lands ($8 million, including maintenance and administration costs).

6. The Contemporary Art Gallery, which installed the work, is funded by all three levels of government.

CHAPTER VI. CONCLUSIONS

> It is on the purely instrumental physical services that we must practice the most stringent economy, even parsimony; it is on the political and educational services that we must spend with a lavish hand. This means a new order of design and a different type of designer: it means that the emphasis will shift progressively from the stage-set to the drama, and that the handling of the social activities and relationships will engage the fuller attention of the planner. In time, this will have the effect of reducing the instrumental arts of town planning to fairly stable routine, while a greater amount of energy and economic support will be set free for the expressive arts: painting and sculpture, drama and music, will again have greater importance than sanitation and sewage and the studious habits of antisepsis.
> Lewis Mumford (1940: p. 484)

Mumford's extensive research into the history of cities and their planning afforded him with the knowledge to make such a visionary statement over 50 years ago. It is an ideal which has yet to be realised, but certainly city governments in North America have come to value the arts more highly over the past few decades than was the case in the past. This thesis is intended to be a contribution towards the public knowledge of the city of Vancouver's historical involvement in the arts so that its inhabitants may be better informed when they address the social and policy challenges of the future.

The historical overview provided in this thesis offers a portrait of a city which is attempting to overcome its past as a colonial, racially biased society where cultural and arts institutions functioned both to preserve a European high-

cultural tradition, as well as to exclude people on the basis of their ethnic or social background. Throughout the century, immigrants to the city and their descendants gradually built up an infrastructure in the arts which is now being called into question. As patrons of the arts and unpaid volunteers, middle and upper-class women played an important role in the cultural preservation of their European heritage. While feminist researchers should continue to emphasize the work that women have done in the arts throughout the century, it also must be acknowledged that as those who were largely responsible for cultural preservation, women at times also served to uphold the elitist and exclusionary function of the institutional arts. The city government, while lagging behind the cultural initiatives of its citizens through much of the century, has in the past two decades attempted to take a leading, proactive role in social and cultural planning. The influence of the "corporate city" model and the municipal focus on the servicing of property have prevented the city from fully realising its potential in cultural development. During this time, however, the municipal government has steadily broadened both its mandate in the arts and its cultural grant allocations in response to the changing social, political and economic trends affecting the city. Two factors which have enhanced the local development of the arts include the availability of federal funding for special projects in the 1970s (through Local Initiatives Programs and Opportunity

for Youth Projects) and the creativity and commitment of the social/cultural planning staff.

The necessary expansion of municipal arts funding over the years - partly to compensate for a lack of regional, provincial and federal funding (see Appendix 7) - has put the city government in a fairly respectable position compared to what other Canadian cities contribute to the arts and culture (see Appendix 8). However, the distribution of cultural funds is still heavily weighted towards the maintenance of the city's major arts organizations. Economic pressures have also led to an interest in economies of scale and the consolidation of services, rather than "community development" through the arts.

The programs which were initiated by city cultural planners in the 1970s, such as the Children's Festival and the Folk Festival, continue to meet a social demand in the city. From the first cultural development work of the 1970s, to an emphasis on the arts as economic commodity in the 1980s, there is now a greater recognition of social justice issues in the arts in terms of access to the arts as well as more fairly distributing scarce resources. "The community" is starting to be recognized as a fragmented entity, and a cross-cultural paradigm is currently being used in an effort to bring about greater interaction between ethnic groups and improved race-relations. More culturally diverse arts organizations and programs are coming to be recognized through the allocation of

public funds; however, the mainstream institutions which receive the bulk of the funding from the city continue to lack social and ethnic diversity in terms of employment, membership on the board of directors and opportunities for artists. The most highly paid and prestigious positions frequently go to men in a labour force which is predominantly female. These demographic imbalances indicate an institutional resistance to pressures for change which are coming both from government, in the form of policy and less formal measures, as well as from the grassroots, in the form of advocacy and protest. A key decision for government funders at all levels will be whether to continue an approach of offering incentives for reform, or whether to force change in the arts sector by placing more conditions on grant allocations.

While the city has attempted to demonstrate to arts organizations that their staff and boards should be more representative of society as a whole, to some extent issues of social class have been overlooked. Nor has the position of women in the arts been seriously considered by the city to date.

It has long been realized that it is most important to reach people while they are still in the school system. But unless the arts are valued to a greater degree throughout society, it seems unlikely that they will become a high priority in the local educational system. Scarcity of provincial funding for education since the 1980s has made it

particularly difficult to advance arts programming in the local schools.

Vancouver's unique structure of a separately elected Board of Parks and Recreation, with its history of a lack of cooperation and coordination of policies between the city council and the Park Board, has in some ways put the city at a disadvantage. The Park Board/community centre infrastructure could come to be an effective new force in community development through the arts if the Park Board is able to enact policies which steer the community centres towards the intelligent use of their funds and resources in the arts. The city council and its staff should make every effort to assist the Park Board in realising this goal, in order to fulfill its own responsibility for neighbourhood development and its commitment to improving access to the arts, which has always been presented as a fundamental goal in Vancouver municipal arts policy.

The goal of increasing access to the arts means that citizens should be involved as more than passive consumers of education and the arts. Research for this thesis has lead me to conclude that citizens are not fully welcomed into the planning process. The City of Vancouver must make a political commitment to authentic public involvement in its planning process. Ideally, this goal could be achieved through neighbourhood planning councils. The current centralized structure could also be improved by using a system of

interlocking committees and public outreach, such as Burnaby and Edmonton implemented in drafting their arts policy plans.

When experts are consulted, a field of knowledge is delimited to some degree by the nature of those experts. For the most part, arts professionals have an expertise in their particular discipline or arts administration but not necessarily in community development through arts and culture, which is needed in Vancouver and most other North American urban centres. Fortunately, the arts have not been as male-dominated as other fields of human endeavour and there have also been some small changes in terms of increased ethnic diversity at the level of citizen's advisory committees on the arts.

The arts have come to achieve a far higher profile in municipal government than was once the case. Based on the experience of other cities, Vancouver's government is starting to accept the concept of integrating arts policies into an overall city plan which covers land use, environment, transit and other major municipal concerns. Although there was no mention of the arts in Vancouver's "Central Area Plan" (Planning Department, May 1991) covering land-use in the down-town (apart from design and heritage issues), the arts will undoubtably be part of the overall City Plan which is just being undertaken at the time of writing. As others have stressed, comprehensive policies are needed which enshrine the importance of aesthetic and cultural issues in the municipal

government's mandate in order for the arts to be fully incorporated into the disparate functions of the civic bureaucracy (e.g, Duncan, 1990).

As with other areas of public policy, arts policy-makers increasingly recognize that the normative nature of their work is perhaps its most important feature. New priorities in policy may call for redefinitions of some of the conceptual underpinnings of this field which were discussed at the beginning of this thesis: art, culture, community and policy. The people who are most resistant to redefining and adapting these concepts to suit changing social priorities are often those who believe in maintaining a strong distinction between amateur and professional art and who believe that art is somehow removed from politics and larger social issues. As mentioned in the first part of the thesis, beliefs in the elite role of art and artists have been inherited partly from such British cultural influences as the ideas of Matthew Arnold. The Massey Commission and subsequent arts policy documents at all levels of government in Canada have attempted to reconcile the contradictions and tensions between a belief in liberal-democratic values and fondness for the elite culture of European society (Litt, 1990: p. 25). While these efforts have contained dissent for several decades, increasing pressure for change is leading to a re-evaluation of some of the traditional philosophies upon which Canada has built its cultural policies.

Although this thesis has stressed the importance of local politics and history in the evolution of municipal policy, it must be acknowledged that, despite its geographic isolation from the rest of the country, the city of Vancouver is not a self-contained world. Larger political and social influences will continually determine the direction that local activists and policy-makers take. Some of the political changes which Canada is undergoing in the 1990s have the potential to radically alter the role of the municipality in cultural planning and development. Apart from the increasing participation of women and ethnic minority groups in positions of power, these changes include the impending federal constitutional realignment and native self-government. Whether increased responsibility might be thrust upon municipalities by a devolution of cultural funding to the provinces, or whether municipalities will continue to gradually strengthen the local arts infrastructure at their own pace, the role of the city in local culture will continue to take on increasing prominence. Advances in native self-government will also bring a new dimension to local cultural policy in Canada, particularly in British Columbia whose native population is the most culturally diverse of any province, with 27 different nations.

This thesis has suggested that it is not only government policy processes and programs which are of importance; the values and discourse of policy documents must also be assessed

in light of the policy results and the sectors of the city which are served and those which remain excluded. In a truly democratic society, one of the chief objectives of public policy is always the democratization of resources and services. Policy-makers and cultural critics alike must continually assess whether government policies and practices meet this goal. In 1992, Vancouver's civic government is working towards making its implicit policies more explicit, while reevaluating structures and policies in an effort to make them more effective and equitable.

Regardless of the various permutations in discourse, practice and resource allocation which make up arts policy, social changes will continue to find expression through art in both a positive and negative sense. Artists are not the romanticised figures of Western cultural traditions; they reflect the imperfect surroundings and power imbalances which exist elsewhere in society. But in spite of a growth in government policy and bureaucracy, it is not possible to fully contain or control the arts. Important art will continuously challenge the prescribed definitions and discourse imposed by policy.

APPENDIX 1: PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

Rae Ackerman Director, Civic Theatres Department City of Vancouver	July 28, 1992
Ingrid Alderson Executive Director Community Arts Council of Vancouver	March 4, 1992 July 23, 1992
Stuart Backerman former Senior Cultural Planner City of Vancouver	July 29, 1992
Jonathan Baker, former Social Planner and Alderman, City of Vancouver.	Jan 18, 1990
William Bruneau, Trustee Vancouver School Board	July 18, 1992 (by phone)
Margot Butler Association for Non-Commercial Culture	Feb 18, 1992
Libby Davies, Vancouver City Councillor	Feb 12, 1992
Michael Dennis, sculptor	July 19, 1992 (by phone)
Frances Fitzgibbon Former Social Planner	Aug. 2, 1992 (by phone)
Ernie Fladdell, former Social Planner, City of Vancouver Former Executive Producer and President, Vancouver Children's Festival	July 8, 1992
Susan Gordon Recreation Program Consultant Vancouver Board of Parks and Recreation	July 13, 1992
Stephen Guy Assistant Director Seattle Arts Commission	April 7, 1992
Sherazad Jamal, artist, member of the Artists' Coalition for Local Colour	July 14, 1992
Diane Kadota Member of the former Special Council Committee on the Arts	May 17, 1991

Wayne LaRiviere   July 27, 1992
Administrator and Artistic Director
Spirit Song

Richard Lemaire, Former Executive   Feb 8, 1991
Director, Vancouver Cultural Alliance   Jan. 13, 1992

Catherine Murray, member of the Arts   July 9, 1992
Initiative Task Force and Associate
Professor, Dept. of Communication, SFU.

Brian Newson   Nov 21, 1991
Public Art Program Manager, City of Vancouver

Alice Niwinski   Nov 6, 1989
Cultural Planner, City of Vancouver   June 16, 1992

Dennis Nokony   Aug 7, 1990
Arts Development Officer
Burnaby Parks and Recreation

Haruko Okano, Artist and writer   July 29, 1992
Member, Artists' Coalition for Local Colour   (by phone)

Alix Sales, Cultural Planning Analyst,   July 2, 1992
City of Vancouver

Diane Shamash   April 7, 1992
Public Art Program Manager
Seattle Arts Commission

Donna Spencer   Nov 14, 1989
Managing & Artistic Director,
Firehall Arts Centre and Chair of the
former Special Council Committee on the Arts

Viola Thomas, Independent Producer   August 19, 1992

Dennis Tupman, former District Principal   July 7, 1992
of the Performing Arts,   (by phone)
Vancouver School Board

Burke Taylor   July 29, 1991
Senior Cultural Planner   Dec 4, 1991
City of Vancouver   (group mtg.)

Andrew Todd   March 4, 1992
Vice-President, Cultural Policy
Community Arts Council of Vancouver

Lorenz Von Fersen   July 4, 1990
Cultural Planner, City of Vancouver   (group mtg.)

APPENDIX 2 Number of Organizations Receiving City of Vancouver Cultural Grants
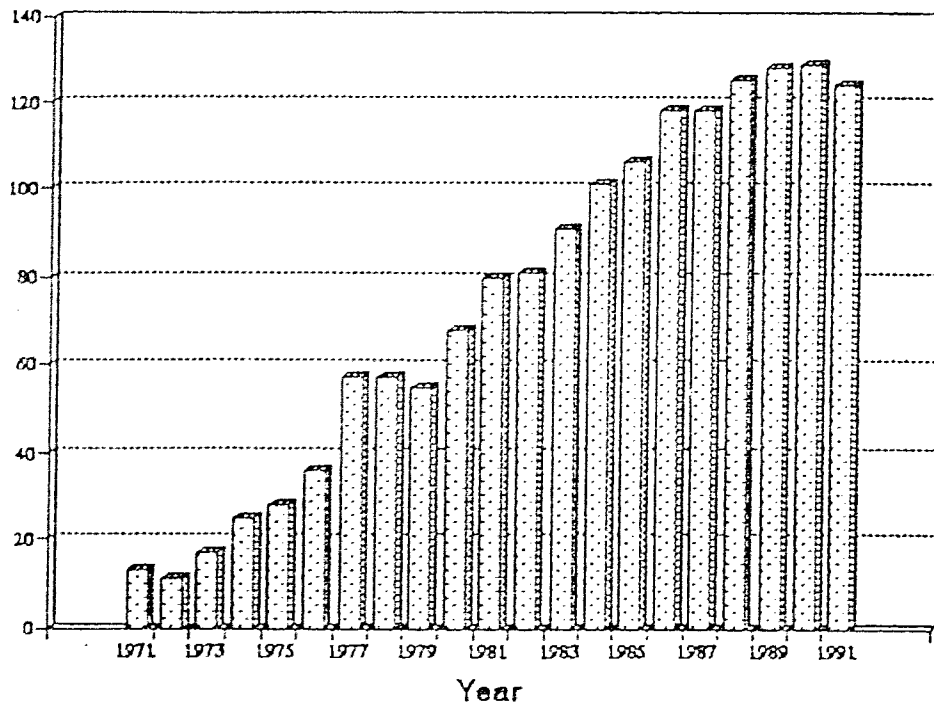
Note : These numbers do not equal numbers cited in text as historical data excludes organizations receiving grants < 1000 after 1978 and < 500 from 1973-77 . (Source: City of Vancouver, Financial Statements).

Source: Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Vancouver, 1992

APPENDIX 3: **City of Vancouver
Spending On the Arts**
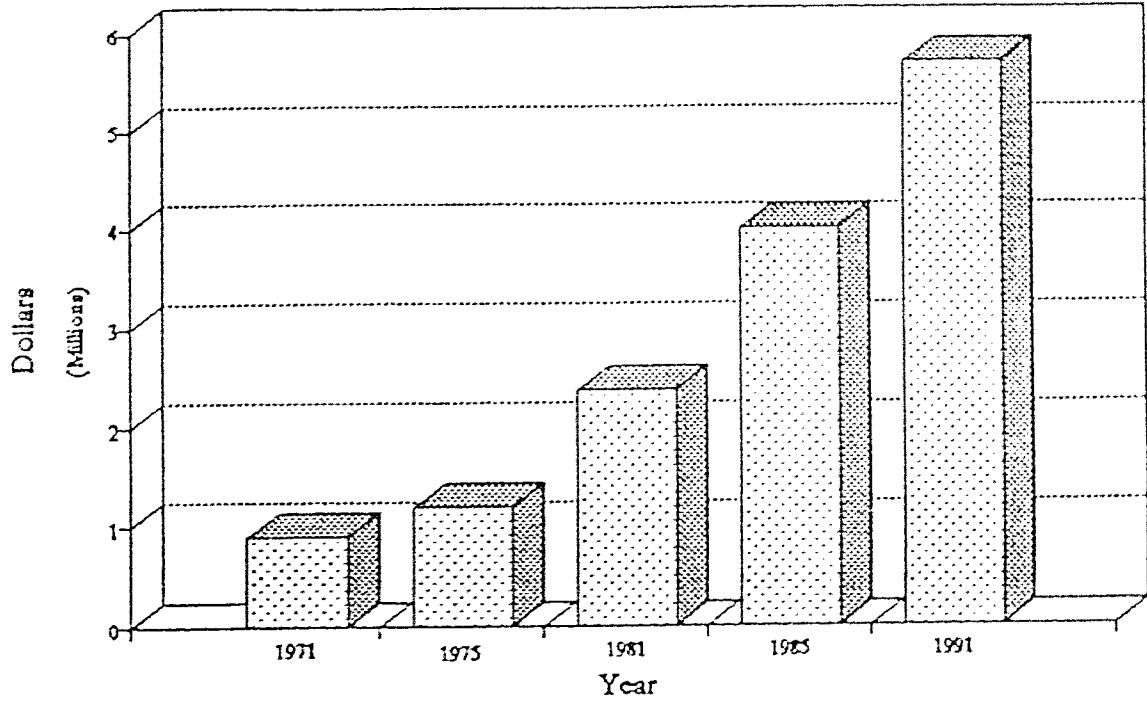
Note: These figures are primarily grants monies. Capital and indirect spending on the arts are excluded.
Source: City of Vancouver, Financial Statements.

Source: Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Vancouver,
         1992

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APPENDIX 4: **Cultural Grants as a Percent of City of Vancouver Expenditures**
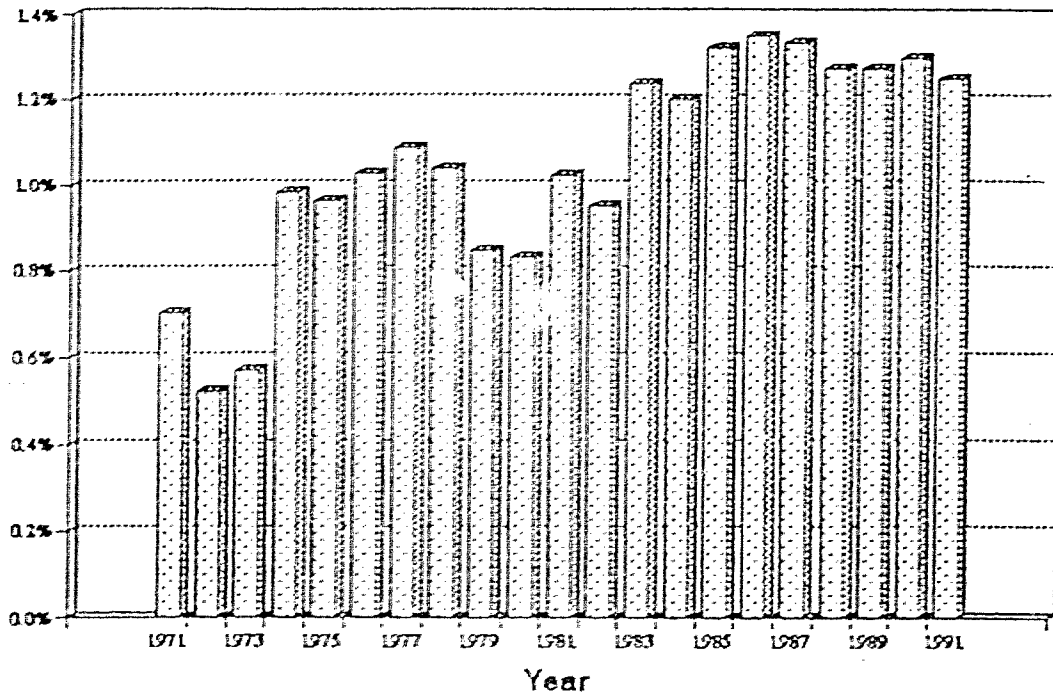
Note: Capital and indirect spending on the arts are excluded.
Source: City of Vancouver Financial Statements.

Source: Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Vancouver, 1992

APPENDIX 5:   CIVIC CULTURAL GRANTS BY ART FORM 1992

Type of Activity	No. of Groups	Grants Todate	% of Total Grants
Festivals & Special Events	17	$373,000	14.2%
Theatre	24	238,500	9.1%
Visual & Exhibition	15	523,150	20.0%
Dance	13	212,350	8.1%
Cultural Facilites	5	139,500	5.3%
Music	27	966,500	36.9%
Multidisciplinary	8	60,500	2.3%
Media Arts	6	56,000	2.1%
Service	5	42,000	1.6%
Literary Arts	4	10,000	0.4%
TOTALS	124	$2,621,500	100.0%

Source: Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Vancouver

It should be noted that these grants do not reflect the City's overall spending on culture. The Cross-Cultural Initiatives Fund ($50,000) and other civic programs are excluded.

APPENDIX 6: CITY OF VANCOUVER ORGANIZATIONAL CHART 1992

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┌──────────────────────┐              ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Vancouver School Board│─────┐       │  Vancouver  Electors │
└──────────────────────┘     │        └──────────────────────┘
        ┌──────────────┐     │                    │
        │  Park Board  │─────┘        ┌──────────────────────────┐
        └──────────────┘               │ Vancouver City Council  │──────────────┐
                                        └──────────────────────────┘    ┌──────────────────┐
                                                                          │   Library Board  │
   ┌──────────────────┐                                                  └──────────────────┘
   │ Hastings Institute│-----------------┐                              ┌────────────────────┐
   └──────────────────┘                                                │ Public Art Committee│
                                                                        └────────────────────┘
                                                                        ┌──────────────────┐
   ┌──────────────────┐                                                │  Arts Initiative │
   │ Vancouver Heritage│------------┐                                   │    Task Force    │
   │    Foundation    │                                                 └──────────────────┘
   └──────────────────┘                                                 ┌──────────────────┐
                                                                        │ Heritage Advisory│
   ┌──────────────────┐              ┌──────────────┐                  │    Committee     │
   │ Equal Employment │──────────────│ City Manager │                  └──────────────────┘
   │      Office      │              └──────────────┘                  ┌──────────────────┐
   └──────────────────┘                                                │ Race Relations   │
                                                                        │Advisory Committee│
                                                                        └──────────────────┘

   ┌──────────────────┐       ┌──────────────────┐        ┌──────────────────┐
   │ Social Planning  │       │  Civic Theatres  │        │    Planning      │
   │   Department     │       │   Department     │        │   Department     │
   └──────────────────┘       └──────────────────┘        └──────────────────┘
   ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐                              ┌──────────────────┐
   │Office of │ │Community │                              │    Heritage      │
   │Cultural  │ │ Services │                              │   and Design     │
   │Affairs   │ │          │                              └──────────────────┘
   └──────────┘ └──────────┘
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Note: Only bodies which are directly relevant to municipal jurisdiction
      in arts/cultural policy are shown

APPENDIX 7:

Federal and Provincial Arts Expenditure
1989-90
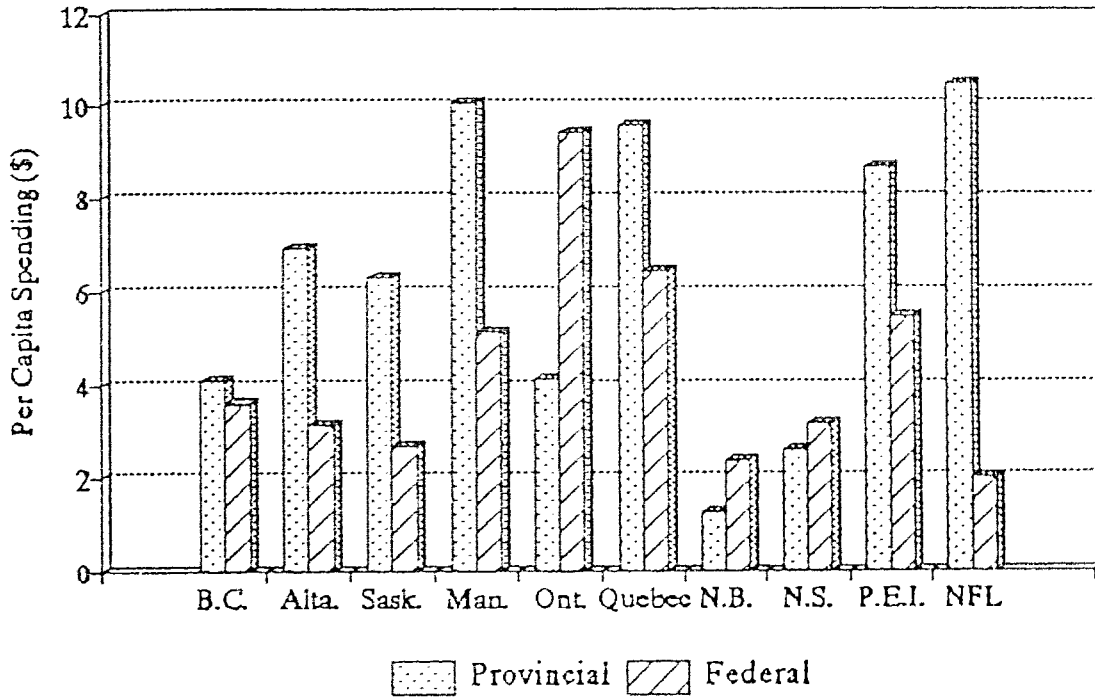
Note: Arts includes Literary Arts, Performing Arts and Visual Arts and Crafts.
Source: Statistics Canada, 87-206, Tables on Total Expenditures on Culture By Function and Province.

Source: Office of Cultural Affairs, City of Vancouver,
          1992

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APPENDIX 8: THE PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES OF SELECTED CANADIAN MUNICIPALITIES ON THE ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE

	Per Capita
Chilliwack, B.C.	$ 4.54
Delta, B.C.	$ 1.25
Edmonton	$ 9.62
Halifax	$11.21
Hamilton	$11.47
Hope, B.C.	$23.51
Kamloops, B.C.	$ 8.65
Kelowna, B.C.	$ 4.91
Kingston	$18.32
Lethbridge, Alta	$12.31
Nanaimo, B.C.	$ 4.01
North Vancouver	$11.40
Montreal	$37.85
Moose Jaw, Sask	$ 4.97
Nepean, Ontario	$20.17
Portage La Prarie, Man	$ 2.04
Prince Rupert	$47.10
Saint John	$ 9.53
St. Albert, Alta	$19.73
Surrey, B.C.	$ 7.20
Moncton	$14.56
Ottawa	$10.68
Toronto	$ 7.92
Trois-Rivieres	$19.03
Vancouver	**$13.16**
Victoria	$ 6.91
West Vancouver	$ 9.53
Vernon	$ 6.91
Whitehorse	$ 1.01
Yellowknife	$14.38

Source: Federation of Canadian Municipalities, <u>Survey of Municipal Expenditures on Arts, Culture and Heritage</u>, February 1991.

APPENDIX 9:   CHRONOLOGY: ARTS AND GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THE CITY OF VANCOUVER[1]

1885   Chinese Benevolent Association formed.

1886   City of Vancouver incorporated.

1894   Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association formed.

1903   Agreement reached between Vancouver Art, Historical and Scientific Association and city government regarding housing museum collection in Carnegie Library.

1919   Vancouver Symphony Society incorporated under the Benevolent Societies Act (Becker, 1989: p. 5).

1925   Vancouver School of Applied and Decorative Art opened (later to become the Emily Carr College of Art).

            Town Planning Commission established.

1930   Vancouver Symphony Orchestra resurrected.

1931   Vancouver Art Gallery built with private donations on city-owned land.

1936   Vancouver's 50 year Jubilee Celebration. The City Government purchased several public art works that year including some Kwaikutal totem poles for Stanley Park and a statue of Captain George Vancouver at City Hall. Outdoor concerts and theatre productions were staged at Malkin Bowl in Stanley Park and elsewhere in the city.

1937   Non-Partisan Association (formed to defeat Co-operative Commonwealth Federation) won majority of seats on council and continues to hold power of city government until 1972.

1940   First Theatre Under the Stars production at Malkin Bowl in Stanley Park.

1945   City council gave the VSO its first grant, $2,000,
            which was increased the following year to $5,000.
            (Becker, 1989, p. 172).

1945-46   Junior League's commissioned study, The Arts in
            Our Town, recommended the formation of an arts
            council. Mayor Cornett appointed an interim
            committee to write constitution and by-laws for
            the Community Arts Council of Vancouver - the
            first one in Canada.

1951   Massey Commission reported.

1957   Canada Council established.

1958   B.C. Centennial Year. City built the
            Maritime Museum as a Centennial project.

            Vancouver began its artist-designed street banner
            program in honor of the B.C. centenary.

1958   The Vancouver International Festival was launched
            at the new Queen Elizabeth Theatre, and was the
            first local project to receive a Canada Council
            grant. A fund-raising drive headed by Mary Roaf,
            Thea Koerner and Mrs. Reginald Arkell had also
            raised $250,000 for the event.

1959   Vancouver Chinese Chamber of Commerce sponsored a
            four-day festival for the Chinese New Year, which
            was the first large-scale celebration of the event
            in Vancouver.

1959   Vancouver Opera Association established.

1962   Canada Council approached city of Vancouver with
            an offer of funding to establish a regional
            theatre company. Vancouver City council struck a
            committee to conduct a search for a resident
            professional theatre company, which led to the
            establishment of the Vancouver Playhouse Theatre
            company (Chess and Groberman, 1987).

1963   Vancouver Art Gallery started to receive regular
            funding from the municipal government (City
            Manager's Report, Dec. 1, 1977).

            Theatre Under the Stars folded in 1963, but was
            revived in 1969.

1964   City commissioned Vancouver Community Arts Council
            to study the city government's cultural grants.

1965-66   Professor Ian McNairn conducted a survey of arts support in Vancouver which concluded that the city bore a disproportionate cost for drama, music and dance for the province, which could be corrected by a provincial fund for the arts (Applebe, n.d.: p. 2).

1967   B.C. government established the British Columbia Centennial Cultural Assistance Fund by an act of parliament, transferring $5 million to the Provincial Treasury, the annual interest of which would be used for "stimulating the cultural development of the people of the Province." (British Columbia, 1967: Chapter 7, p. 23)

Provincial government appointed a Centennial Cultural Fund Advisory Committee to administer the Cultural Fund and make recommendations directly to the minister of Finance for disbursement of grants. The committee established policies to develop community arts councils, which were required to form themselves into non-profit societies in order to receive funding.

Greater Vancouver Regional District established.

1968   Vancouver city government established a Department of Social Planning and Community Development (the latter half of the title is later dropped).

Vancouver Centennial Museum opened.

First "Intermedia" workshop staged (a multi-media experiment involving music, dance, film, painting and sculpture).

1971   Social Planners began cultural planning work. Federal Local Initiatives Program funding used to open the Odyssey Gallery (which later became the Greater Vancouver Artists Gallery, and then the Contemporary Art Gallery). The original purpose of the program was to provide work for local artists and to acquire a city-owned collection of local works (Contemporary Art Gallery, 1986: p. 4). The public collection is said to be the first such program in Canada, predating the Canada Council Art Bank by 18 months (Vancouver Art Gallery, 1983, p. 338).

1972	Vancouver Museums and Planetarium Association reached an agreement with city government over returning control of the museums to the Association.
1972	TEAM elected to city council, breaking decades of NPA control on city council.

Ernie Fladell hired by the city as the Senior Social Planner responsible for cultural services

(January) D. Paul Schafer submitted his report, <u>A Cultural Survey of British Columbia</u> (commissioned by the British Columbia Centennial Cultural Fund in June, 1971). Schafer concluded that "...cultural development lags well behind economic, social, educational, recreational, touristic and athletic development in most, if not all, corners of the Province" (ibid: p. 73). Among his recommendations were:
- that the government appoint an arts panel to the B.C. Centennial Fund composed of representatives of the cultural community to advise the government and the Fund on future cultural directions, and to evaluate grant applications (ibid: p. 76);
- that the cultural community establish a federation of B.C. community arts councils (ibid: p. 77)

New Democratic Party elected to provincial government.

1973	City Council appointed a seven-member citizen's cultural advisory committee which resigned a year later in protest over City Council's indecisiveness on funds for cultural grants.
1974	Provincial Secretary Ernie Hall announced plans for a new cultural policy for the province. Nini Baird, who was appointed by the provincial government as "consultant animateur" submitted a report calling for the establishment of regional arts boards and the formation of central Arts Board to replace the grants advisory committee for the B.C. Cultural Fund (Baird: June 30, 1974).
1975	Starting in 1975, The B.C. Cultural Assistance Fund, which had been added to over the years, was to be further augmented with revenue from the B.C. Lottery Fund.

B.C. Cultural Programme established.

Social Credit Government elected to provincial legislature.

1976   City organizes Festival Habitat.
B.C. Cultural Programme renamed "Cultural Services Branch."

1977   City Council approved the establishment of an Interim Cultural Advisory Committee to recommend on the structure, purview and terms of reference for a permanent committee on the arts, including "a general outline of what elements should be considered in the development of an overall civic policy towards the arts" (Interim Cultural Advisory Committee, May 19, 1977, p. 1.)

(May) B.C. Cultural Services Branch sent a questionnaire to all clerks and mayors of B.C. municipalities to solicit responses concerning the attitudes of municipal officials toward municipal aid to the arts. (British Columbia, July 1977: p. 3.) The report was never published.

First Powell Street Festival held in Oppenheimer Park.

1978   City Social Planning Department established the Children's Festival.

Assembly of B.C. arts councils established

1980   Ernie Fladell left employment with the city. Frances Fitzgibbon ran cultural planning for the year until Stuart Backerman hired as Senior Cultural Planner.

Unity slate of COPE and Civic Independents elected to city council with Michael Harcourt as mayor.

1983   Arts Mean Business: An Economic Impact Survey of Vancouver's Non-Profit Cultural Industry written by city cultural planners to attract corporate and political support for the arts.

1984   Conservative party elected to federal government.

Vancouver Partnership for Business and the Arts established (1984-1989).

1985   B.C. Provincial Secretary Jim Chabot announced a
         $10,000 grant, to be matched by the city and the
         Centennial Commission, in order to co-ordinate a
         marketing strategy to help Vancouver arts groups
         survive competition from Expo '86.

1986   (March) Provincial Secretary Grace McCarthy
         announced a $1.8 million "Arts Challenge Fund" to
         help major arts groups with deficits. The
         funding, obtained from B.C. Lottery revenues,
         would provide $2 for every $1 provided by local
         governments. The city negotiated a portion of the
         funds for groups which did not have deficits.

         Expo '86 held in Vancouver, causing a loss of
         revenue for some local arts organizations.

         (October) B.C. Ministry of Tourism, Recreation and
         Culture announced $2 million Cultural Tourism
         Pilot Project, one of five across Canada which
         were initiated by the federal government.
         Participants in the project to promote Vancouver
         arts as a tourist attraction in the U.S. were the
         municipal government, Tourism B.C., Tourism
         Vancouver and the Vancouver Partnership for
         Business and the Arts. This was the first time
         the provincial government had highlighted
         professional arts in tourism advertising.

         NPA regained control of city council with Gordon
         Campbell as mayor.

1987   Senior Cultural Planner Stuart Backerman resigned.
         Cultural Direction for Vancouver: A Policy Guide
         for the 1990s, written by Backerman and Social
         Planning staff, rejected by city council.

1988   Mayor Gordon Campbell appointed a 12-member task
         force to revive the VSO (Becker, 1989, p. 175).

         New Senior Cultural Planner appointed (Burke
         Taylor).

1989   In Visible Colours Film Festival.

1990   City Council creates a fund of $50,000 for "Cross
         Cultural Initiatives" in the arts.

1990   City adopts a Public Art Program for Civic and
            Private Development, requiring private developers
            of large rezoned areas of land to donate $1 per
            square foot of development towards public art.

            Cultural Planning Division of the Social Planning
            Department renamed "The Office of Cultural
            Affairs" to give it a higher profile.

1991   Special Council Committee on the Arts (in
            existence since 1977) discontinued by city
            council.

            New Democratic Party elected to provincial
            government.

1991/92   Artists' Coalition for Local Colour formed to
            protest Vancouver Art Gallery policies and lobby
            for access for artists of colour in the arts.

1992   (January) Mayor Gordon Campbell established a 15-
            member Arts Initiative task force to "look at the
            state of the arts" in Vancouver. The task force
            is due to report to council in October 1992.

Note:

1.   For a more detailed chronology of arts events in Vancouver
     see the Vancouver Art Gallery publication, <u>Vancouver Art and
     Artists 1931-1983</u> (October, 1983). See also, Carol
     Williams, "A working chronology of feminist cultural
     activities and events in Vancouver 1970-1990," <u>Vancouver
     Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art</u>, Stan Douglas,
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