The Journey Home:  
An Examination of Hybridity and Place in the work of Brian Jungen  

by  

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Abstract

In the summer of 2011, an exhibition of new works by Canadian Aboriginal artist Brian Jungen, *Tomorrow, Repeated*, was featured in the Henry Moore Sculpture Centre at the Art Gallery of Ontario. The fender and hide sculptures displayed here employ a hybrid strategy that eludes the iconic markers of Aboriginal identity that have been associated with his work in the past. By analyzing the relationship between hybridity and place in Jungen’s works produced between 1998 and 2011, I consider how the sculptures displayed in *Tomorrow, Repeated* revisit the political vision engaged by *Prototypes for New Understanding*, the social and historical issues explored in his early site-specific practice, and the Indigenous epistemologies asserted in his later work. I argue that Jungen’s new works are expressions of the cultural hybridity and reterritorialization of his reserve.
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To Brennan
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Introduction

In the summer of 2011, an exhibition of new works by Canadian Aboriginal artist Brian Jungen, *Tomorrow, Repeated*, was featured in the Henry Moore Sculpture Centre at the Art Gallery of Ontario.¹ Dominating the space were three large sail-shaped sculptures mounted on metal armatures and placed on top of freezer chests serving as plinths. Composed of cured animal hides tied with rawhide to detached car fenders, they evoked both a violent collision and a gentle binding together of manufactured and natural forms. While some critics described these works as simple “mash-ups,” I posit that these assessments do not capture the complexity of their aesthetic strategy.² Rather, I view these fender and hide sculptures as responses to the contemporary culture and landscape of Jungen’s northeastern British Columbian reserve. I argue that these new works employ a hybrid strategy that eludes the iconic markers of Aboriginal identity that have been associated with his work in the past. By analyzing the relationship between hybridity and place in

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¹ The term “Aboriginal” is used in this paper to refer to the original peoples of North America and their descendants, including Indians, Métis and Inuit. The term “First Nation” refers to both Status and Non-Status Indigenous people of Canada, but does not include Inuit or Métis people. First Nation is used here in reference to “bands,” which is the Canadian equivalent for American “tribes.” A band is defined as a body of Indians for whose collective use and benefit lands have been set apart or money is held by the Crown, or declared to be a band for the purposes of the Indian Act. Brian Jungen is a Status Indian, but due to his father’s Swiss-Canadian heritage, his classification is “half status” according to the amended Indian Act of 1985. Although the legal term for all Indigenous people who are not Inuit or Métis is “Indian,” this term is avoided as it has fallen out of use since the seventies, considered by many First Nations people to be offensive.
Jungen’s works produced between 1998 and 2011, I argue that the focus of his practice has shifted from a critique of the stereotypes embedded in signs, to an expression of the lived experience of the reserve.

Jungen’s earliest works are hybrid forms that negotiated the arena of Aboriginal identity politics in Vancouver in the 1990s, after he left his home on the reserve. Subsequently, Jungen created a series of site-specific projects in the early 2000s that employed a hybrid strategy to address social and historical issues associated with place in his work. Jungen’s site-specific strategy evolved by the late 2000s to merge the signifiers of local and Aboriginal cultures in works that explored differing worldviews. By examining this trajectory of his practice, this paper considers how the sculptures displayed in Tomorrow, Repeated revisit the identity politics engaged by Prototypes for New Understanding, the social and historical issues explored in his early site specific practice, and the Indigenous epistemologies asserted in his later work. In so doing, I argue that Jungen’s new works are artistic expressions that relate directly to his experience of returning home to his reserve.

This study examines hybridity in Jungen’s work in two distinct ways. First, I examine his work as hybrid forms that incorporate a formal structure that Diana Taylor has described as “images of reproduction,”3 and second, I explore how Jungen’s work produces a third space by employing Homi Bhabha’s understanding of hybridity.

Bhabha has asserted that hybridity is a cultural process “through which questions of

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difference and discrimination are being negotiated." In Bhabha's description, the struggle to negotiate cultural differences produces a third space, a generative site where new cultural forms and cultures may emerge. I discuss this notion of the third space in relation to Jungen's description of "the uncertain path of hybrid unions."

This paper also employs the concepts of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. For these concepts, I draw on Néstor García Canclini’s definition of them. Canclini describes “two processes: the loss of the ‘natural’ relation of culture to geographical and social territories” and “certain relative, partial territorial relocalizations of old and new symbolic productions.” I use the term “deterritorialized” to describe artwork that has been imposed from elsewhere and that is not a “natural” form of the place, whereas I use “reterritorialized” to describe artwork that responds to a place where culture has been transformed through the process of hybridization.

Chapter one explores how Jungen’s strategy of hybridity and place is related to his cultural heritage and how Jungen engages cultural and theoretical discussions in Vancouver to produce the Prototypes for New Understanding in the 1990s. This chapter opens with an examination of Jungen’s perceptions of cultural hybridity derived from his upbringing, and his dislocation from his reserve. The second

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5 Ibid., 12.
section analyzes the Prototypes for New Understanding in relation to the Aboriginal identity politics of Vancouver. Through the filter of Homi Bhabha’s assertion that hybridity has to be understood as a process, I discuss how Jungen’s “mask” sculptures address differing perspectives. The third section examines the Prototypes for New Understanding in relation to the discourses of postmodernism in Vancouver. Overall, chapter one lays the theoretical and cultural framework for understanding Jungen’s hybrid strategy and its relationship to place that will be related to all subsequent works discussed in this paper.

Chapter two examines the relationship of hybridity and place in two series of Jungen’s site-specific works. In the first series of projects (2001-2004), Jungen reconfigures commodities to resemble local monuments or signifiers, and to resonate with social and historical issues related to place. Jungen’s second series of works (2008-2009) were created after Jungen became reacquainted with the stories of his elders. These site-specific works examine differing worldviews through the merging of local signifiers with animal forms associated with Aboriginal epistemologies. In the final section I discuss Jungen’s return home, and how the processes of hybridization have played a role in transforming contemporary culture on his reserve. In chapter three I analyze the sculptures exhibited in the AGO’s Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition, and discuss how Jungen’s earlier works have influenced the relationship between hybridity and place in these new works. This section locates the car and fender sculptures in the reterritorialized space of
Jungen's British Columbian reserve.
Chapter 1: Hybridity and Place in the *Prototypes for New Understanding*

I am not interested in connecting my work with specific claims to my ancestral history: I am more fascinated by the uncertain path of hybrid unions.8

- Brian Jungen, 2003

At the height of the fur trade in the late 1800's, a French voyageur, full of fireside wit, nicknamed a Dane-zaa First Nation elder “pouce-coupe” upon noticing his missing “cut thumb.” Its original reference lost in translation, *Pouce-Coupe* was passed down as the surname of Brian Jungen’s maternal family.9 Such absurd colonial legacies, and their resilience as markers of identity among Aboriginal people have inspired Jungen’s art practice as one that is engaged with but also skeptical of signs, designations and categorizations. Avoiding personal anecdotes or historical references to his reservation home, Jungen has preferred to appropriate iconic symbols of Aboriginality such as masks, totem poles, and teepees. His *Prototypes for New Understanding* (figs. 4-10, pg. 67-69) mimic the appearance of Northwest Coast ceremonial regalia, but question their denotative status as markers of contemporary Aboriginal identity. Mixing a consumer aesthetic with appropriated iconography, these works engaged in dialogue with Aboriginal identity politics, and postmodern discourses of the Vancouver art world of the mid 1990s. By examining how the *Prototypes for New Understanding* open a space for negotiation within these

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9 Craig Burnett, “Brian Jungen: Owls, Inuit and cultural collision; museums, marketing and clichés,” from *Frieze*, April, 2006, 142.
discursive arenas, I demonstrate how the relationship of place to hybridity in Jungen’s early practice critiques Aboriginal stereotypes.

Jungen’s Prototypes for New Understanding, or Prototypes as he refers to them, became an instant popular and critical success when they were first exhibited in 1998. But they also sparked criticism from within the Aboriginal community at a moment when the Aboriginal political landscape was transforming, and a growing body of scholarship condemned anthropological assessments of culture. Jungen’s Prototypes were thus positioned in the centre of a vast and complex struggle to assert an Aboriginal voice in the contemporary art world. These sculptures are deterritorialized objects created in response to the place where they were made, in Vancouver, and to Jungen’s own sense of dislocation from his reserve. To contextualize the source of Jungen’s hybrid strategies, this chapter begins by examining how his youth was spent straddling two distinct cultures in Northeastern British Columbia.

Perceptions of Hybridity Emerging from Place

Jungen’s mixed cultural heritage provided the foundation for the hybrid strategies employed in his work. His father, a Swiss Canadian immigrant, was uprooted from family and cultural traditions as a child, and relocated to a small farming community in Northeastern British Columbia. His mother was born and raised in the Dane-zaa

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10 Jungen has referred to his Prototypes for New Understanding as both “Prototypes” and as “Protos.” This paper will use the first two terms interchangeably.
First Nation, and had survived drastic transformations that had forever altered nomadic life. She was of the first generation to attend government schools, finding herself caught between the demands of tradition and government sanctioned assimilation policies. A further clash of cultures resulted from her decision to marry Jungen’s father, which Jungen has described:

When my parents married in the ‘60s, the government of Canada took away my mom’s Indian Status and treaty rights because she married a white guy. At the same time, leaders in our Indian band felt jilted by members renouncing (as they saw it) their culture by marrying outside the community. I think the erasing of her identity had a deep affect on her, and the family. She took steps to assimilate us kids into white Canadian society.11

The implications of this cultural collision shaped Jungen’s attitudes towards and perceptions of cultural hybridity. For Jungen’s mother, certain questions of difference were not negotiated, but condemned. Neither her band, nor the Canadian government would tolerate a position somewhere between full Indian status and citizen. As well, her loss of official status as an Aboriginal indicates the prevalence of binary thinking with regards to Aboriginal identity in Canada that has not been erased with changes to the Indian Act. For example, in 1985 Bill C-31 restored treaty rights to women who had married non-Aboriginal men, and established a new official category of Status Aboriginals for offspring of such unions, like Jungen.12

Jungen’s formative years provided a unique grounding in the experience of negotiating between distinct cultural backgrounds. Born in Fort St. John, he grew up

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12 The 1985 Amendment to the Indian Act allowed First Nations women the right to keep or regain their status even after “marrying out” and to grant status to the children (but not grandchildren) of such a marriage.
in the Peace River area of Northeastern British Columbia, where both his father’s family and mother’s reserve were located. Despite losing both his parents to a fire when he was only eight, he was profoundly influenced by his mother’s habit of repurposing everyday objects. This practice is still engaged by band members today, as Jungen notes:

My mother’s family is historically nomadic. They had very few settlements and they would use whatever they could get; whatever would come into their lives, they would just find a use for it. And that’s carried down to the contemporary way my family exists.

This mode of thinking about objects clearly influenced Jungen’s practice of recomposing manufactured products into new forms. However, Jungen credits his mother’s efforts to ensure his assimilation into Western society, through attending public schools, for developing his inclination towards the visual arts.

After losing his parents, Jungen was raised by his father’s sister and her husband. Eventually he settled on the remote and isolated Doig River reserve, where he was taught to trap and hunt. This practice involved building temporary shelters from repurposed materials, which Jungen fondly recalls:

When I was a kid, especially when I was a teenager ... I’d hang around with my cousins and we’d hang around in the bush with my aunties and uncles who

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would build these amazing summer shacks, and they were fantastic. I wish I
took pictures of them back then. Not many people do it anymore, but it was
basically these camp-outs in the bush, and people used old car seats and
whatever was available. I've always really loved that.18

Hunting shelters were prepared from readily available materials in a continuation of
Dane-zaa bricolage practices dating back to early trade with Europeans. Since the
late 1700's, many of the objects that the Dane-zaa obtained were derived from
exchange with fur traders. Industrial wares, like snare wire and buttons, assumed
new and unconventional purposes as an expression of creativity, out of the demands
of necessity, and in defiance to the cultural ideology that defined their purpose.19

This cultural practice would find expression in Jungen’s investigations of Northwest
Coast regalia when he began his studies as an artist.

Upon moving to Vancouver and entering the Emily Carr Institute of Art and Design
in 1988, Jungen was exposed to an environment that placed enormous stock in his
mixed cultural heritage. He encountered contemporary urban Indians who grappled
with both inherited notions of Aboriginal identity and the ways in which these were
woven into popular assumptions about their culture.20 Aboriginal issues rose to the
forefront of the national conscience in 1990 when Elijah Harper played a crucial role
in defeating the Meech Lake Accord, and the events of the Oka Crisis unfolded.21 It

21 Elijah Harper was the First Treaty “Indian” to be elected as a provincial politician. He refused the Meech Lake
Accord on account of Aboriginal peoples not being consulted in the process of determining its terms. The Oka Crisis
was a highly publicized dispute between the town of Oka and the Mohawk community of Kanesatake, in Quebec, over
was during this period that Aboriginal rights, the repatriation of artifacts from museums, and land claims in British Columbia were officially recognized with the inauguration of the BC Treaty Process. All this occurred as the twenty-year-old Jungen became immersed in his own self-discovery through his engagement with queer politics, conceptual art, and what it meant to be an Aboriginal artist in the urban centre of Vancouver. Above all, the pressures of Aboriginal identity politics influenced Jungen’s perspective:

I often felt like I was being recruited into a PC [politically correct] gang...there was this doctrine I wasn’t interested in – this carbon copy of identity politics. I was interested in my identity, but I was also interested in how it can be diffused and embraced by pop culture; especially in British Columbia, where very specific ceremonial practices of Indians have become generic. And can I, and the fact that I’m First Nations, cross-culturally appropriate that?

Appropriation was Jungen’s reaction to the omnipresence of Aboriginal signifiers in Vancouver, as well as his response to this perceived PC recruitment. Generalized notions of Aboriginal identity glossed over the differences between Northwest Coast cultures, and did not even recognize Jungen’s Athabaskan heritage. First Nations’ assertions of identity and popular culture’s embrace of all things construed as

plans to expand a golf course into traditional burial grounds. The Canadian Armed Forces were called in to settle the crisis, which did not end until the protesters relented after their two-month ordeal.

22 The BC Treaty Commission was officially launched in 1993, in a delayed response to Frank Calder and the Nisga’a Nation Tribal Council’s successful legal action twenty years prior that had resulted in a 1973 Supreme Court ruling that Aboriginal title to land existed prior to colonization of the continent. In 1990, the provincial government entered the negotiations already underway between the Nisga’a Tribal Council and the federal government. The parties reached an Agreement in Principle (AIP) in 1996 and a final agreement in 1998, followed by an effective Treaty Agreement in May 2000. This groundwork established the basic formula for treaty negotiations in BC, the only province to not have fully participated in the numbered treaties of the nineteenth century. The BC Treaty Commission currently handles 60 First Nations claims. These treaties will establish agreements over land rights and usage for Aboriginal people, and determine their ability to control their own future. Such negotiations were not possible in the early nineties when Jungen was in college, and are currently redefining the British Columbian landscape and political arena.


Aboriginal created a unique opportunity for Jungen to create art that satirized, critiqued and played with these oppositional positions simultaneously.

When *Prototypes for New Understanding* launched Brian Jungen’s career in 1998, six years after his graduation, the Canadian art establishment was newly receptive to contemporary Aboriginal art, and the Doig River First Nation was fortuitously positioned to financially support him. The former circumstance resulted from a sustained effort by a generation of Aboriginal artists who had fought for a voice in the contemporary art establishment, and had at last been acknowledged in the first major survey exhibitions the year Jungen graduated.\(^{25}\) The latter circumstance was made possible by a financial settlement, after the Dane-zaa successfully asserted their rights within the dominant culture’s legal system.\(^{26}\) In the summer of 1998, the Doig River reserve funded Jungen’s residency at the Banff Centre, where the first of his *Prototypes for New Understanding* took shape.

Over the course of the next seven years, Jungen produced 22 more *Prototypes* in his Vancouver studio. These works brought attention to the rigid categorizations associated with Aboriginal identity and responded to the specific politics of the cultures of the Northwest Coast.\(^{27}\) Jungen’s experience of deterritorialization,

\[^{25}\text{Two major exhibitions in 1992 represented a shift in the Canadian art establishment’s consideration for Aboriginal art. Prior to the *Land, Spirit, Power: First Nations at the National Gallery of Canada* and *Indigena: Perspectives of Indigenous People on Five Hundred Years* at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Aboriginal art had been enmeshed with notions of tradition, authenticity and a pre-colonial past. These showcases represented the first moment in which Aboriginal artists were considered for their responsiveness to contemporary issues within national institutions.}\]


\[^{27}\text{Nancy Tousley, “Cool, Cooler, Coolest,” *Canadian Art*, Summer 2003, 40.}\]
resulting from his relocation to Vancouver after growing up on the reserve, and his sense of dislocation as a self-identified “urban Indian,” were significant inspirations behind these important works.28

Prototypes for Negotiating Aboriginal Identity Politics

The Prototypes for New Understanding are composed of new Nike Air Jordan running shoes that have been dissected and stitched back together into anthropomorphic forms resembling the carved masks of Northwest Coast cultures. The red, black and white colouring of these shoes are reminiscent of Haida art forms, and their curvaceous lines and shapes resemble the ovoids and u-forms of formline design. Mounted on metal armatures within glass vitrines, these masks are presented as museum artifacts. Gaping mouths and haunting expressions evoked the ceremonial regalia objects collected by anthropologists in the nineteenth century, but the shiny patent leather finish in Jungen’s work belied any sense of age. In merging the signifiers of artifacts with those of contemporary craft, the Prototypes are hybrid objects that mobilize debates concerning Aboriginal politics of cultural identity in Vancouver in the 1990s. The Prototypes’ hybrid strategies are related to the issues of place emerging from anthropology, cultural reclamation, a primitivist art market and a tourist trade in commodified Aboriginal forms in Vancouver.

Jungen’s Prototypes addressed certain discourses that critiqued the anthropological categorizations of First Nations artifacts. In 1991, The Vancouver Anthology featured

28 Ibid., 40.
Haida/Tsimpsian scholar Marcia Crosby's influential essay, “Construction of the Imaginary Indian” in which she launched a systematic attack on the stereotypes propagated by anthropology and other Western academic disciplines. She decried the positioning of Aboriginals “as victims contaminated by European culture and dying rather than changing.” Condemning museum collections as reflecting principles of the “salvage paradigm,” she critiqued the presumption of authority over how those objects should be interpreted. Jungen reveals his alliance with her critique:

The institutionalization of First Nations “artifacts” by the anthropologists in the nineteenth and early twentieth century had the effect of dictating what was to be constituted as authentic. This generally meant that the oldest examples of whatever anthropologists or sociologists could scavenge would become the foundation for theories and be used to identify lineage. This lineage did not include objects that reflected contact with the West.

In researching the Prototypes, Jungen took a particular interest in the texts on bricolage by anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss. Through the careful examination of artifacts displayed at the Royal British Columbian Museum, 

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29 The “salvage paradigm” is an early 20th century anthropological term describing a belief that supports the accumulation, collection and dislocation of cultural objects from their native locations in order to preserve them from destruction by the dominant culture or by the effects of time. As Marcia Crosby states, “when a culture is represented as going through fatal changes, the natural thing to do is to save or salvage it.” This removal of cultural objects from their places of origin was an exercise in dominance through selectivity over the types of objects that would later exemplify the cultural production of Aboriginal populations in those regions where objects were collected. Refer to Marcia Crosby, “Construction of the Imaginary Indian,” in Vancouver Anthology: The Institutional Politics of Art, ed. Stan Douglas (Vancouver: Talon Books and the Or Gallery, 2011; first edition in 1991), 280, 283.


Jungen discovered that the “methods of incorporation of non-native objects into Native culture are as diverse as the different cultures of the continent, and varied insofar as the uses to which they were adopted.” He noted that “common things like tobacco tins and buttons” expanded the repertoire of materials used in regalia. These materials comprise Claude Lévi-Strauss’ notion of the bricoleur’s “treasury.” Strauss described the bricoleur’s tactic as one that examined “treasury” materials “to discover what each of them could 'signify' and so contribute to the definition of a set which has yet to materialize.” Clearly, inventiveness, cultural contact and transformation were processes in play throughout the museological record of regalia making, yet bricolage was not considered a traditional practice of Northwest Coast cultures. As Jungen states:

There are plenty of historic examples in the artwork of First Nations cultures where European products were modified and used for their aesthetic qualities, thereby changing the intended use value of these products. This type of exchange accrued as contact with European traders spread across the continent, but I’m curious to know why this component of history is not “revived” in today’s carving and regalia.

Jungen’s question seems to be directed towards contemporary Northwest Coast artists, and suggests that historical artifacts, collected by anthropologists, have played a role in defining contemporary craft. He opens the possibility for bricolage as a traditional practice, and the notion that tradition itself has always been in flux.

36 Ibid., 12.
As hybrid objects composed from western products, the Prototypes combine bricolage to evoke associations with the historical artifacts of Vancouver’s Museum of Anthropology. In this way the Prototypes can as well be seen as intruders in an ancient and culturally specific practice of traditional West Coast art. Despite his extensive museum research, Jungen's mask sculptures deviate broadly from actual regalia artifacts. Prototype for New Understanding #1 (fig. 4, pg. 67), for example, is oval in shape with eyes set widely apart and launched upward from the head in alien-like appendages. Another mask resembles a prehistoric dinosaur (fig. 8, pg. 68). This playful digression from sacred forms has not always been well received by Northwest Coast elders, for the Prototypes seem to question, or even mock, the adherence to strict notions of traditionally sanctioned Aboriginal art practices. Jungen’s work thereby negotiates another arena Aboriginal identity politics in Vancouver, that of the West Coast as the place of an Aboriginal cultural “renaissance.”

The West Coast “renaissance” began as a process of cultural reclamation by First Nations artists. Surviving elders were consulted, stories from native communities were collected, and imagery from the land, such as pictographs and totem poles, were used as material reference. Museum collections offered avenues to study lost traditions. However, the art produced from these efforts was often quite distinct from the objects collected by anthropologists. Many Northwest Coast artists created “masks” designed to be hung on a wall, or “totems” carved from argillite for display.
Jewelry, fabric, glass, metal and a variety of new mediums were employed in the production of work for an art market, in contrast to their traditional use as functional regalia. Chainsaws, printmaking, electric equipment and appliances were incorporated into the toolset of modern Aboriginal cultural production. Bill Reid was an important contributor to this “renaissance” movement.

The Northwest Coast “renaissance” discourse was largely rooted in Vancouver, where Bill Reid’s studio was located from the 1950s until his death in 1998. The Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver played a significant role in retrieving artifacts as well as in hiring artists to recreate traditional forms of the past, such as the museum’s Haida village constructed by Bill Reid and Doug Cranmer between 1958 and 1962. Scott Watson, curator and professor at the University of British Columbia, attributes the Northwest Coast revival to the *Arts of the Raven* exhibition at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1967. This showcase of traditional Northwest Coast arts, the first in a major public gallery, was made possible by “the friendship between Bill Reid and Vancouver Art Gallery curator and scholar Doris Shadbolt.”

According to art historian Leslie Dawn, concepts of a Northwest Coast revival in art, culture and identity “circulated as stable truths” until the 1990s. Brian Jungen’s *Prototypes* were conceived in the

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same year as Reid’s passing, and function to critique the revival discourse and the
canon Reid helped to forge in Vancouver.

As a notable figure in the Northwest Coast cultural “renaissance,” Bill Reid offers a
useful counterpoint to the relationship between hybridity and place in Jungen’s own
practice. Educated in the western modernist view of universalism and individuality,
Bill Reid developed an understanding of Haida formline design rooted in the past.
However, he also took “the figures off the poles” and made “freestanding sculptures”
unlike any produced before.40 Reid, among others of his generation, worked
“towards a modern lingua franca while remaining loyal to (his) culture.”41 Marcia
Crosby argues that “positing Bill Reid as a reviver of native culture has its roots in
the Western heroicizing of an artist/author as genius.”42 And while Reid certainly
promoted his own popular reputation, Charlotte Townsend-Gault has suggested that
he navigated the complex path of a universalism that ran “counter to the constraints
implicit in identifying with a distinct culture and its traditions.” Reid’s works had to
be read in the context of their Haida references as much as from their individualistic,
universalist, approaches.43 Positioned between the interests of preserving culture
and of participating in hegemonic art world ideologies, Reid became a celebrated

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figure in Vancouver, and also vilified by some dissenting voices within the local Aboriginal community. A generation later, Jungen has become the subject of similar criticisms. In Vancouver, grievances towards Jungen's appropriation of forms, and his perceived complicity with the dominant culture and art world interests emerged out of the residue of Bill Reid's legacy. Both artists dealt with notions of tradition from an impure site of either cultural reclamation or bricolage. Yet the two artists' positions are quite different. Reid worked to create a market for West Coast First Nation's commodities in Vancouver, while Jungen's art critiques the endurance of the canon Reid's art helped to establish.

Anthropologist Aldona Jonaitis has argued that many Northwest Coast artists are still bound to a canon that was established during the cultural “renaissance” of the sixties. “Even today,” she asserted, “Northwest Coast artists often feel the constraints of tradition if they attempt a level of creativity thought by communities or critics to be unacceptably innovative.” Caught between the demands of tradition, the desire to preserve culture, and the urge to create new art forms seems endemic to Northwest Coast artists. Even Jungen felt pressured to respond to his act of appropriation:

44 In responding to questions about “his reputation” Jungen felt obliged to answer for his appropriation of Northwest Coast regalia, defending his act as one that did not reference specific cultures. There is a dialogue occurring orally within Aboriginal communities that Jungen is clearly attuned to, but I have been unable to find a voice willing to be quoted here. Brian Jungen, interview with Robert Enright, “The Tortoise and the Air: An Interview with Brian Jungen,” in Border Crossings, No. 118, 2011, 23-24.
Young coastal artists in BC never could have tampered with the traditional motifs the way I did with the Nike work because it would have been considered sacrilegious. But I’m interior and not Northwest Coast and I wasn’t referencing a specific culture...A lot of young artists from Tsimshian, Haida or Tlingit lineages knew their elders would be upset if they did what I did. What it allowed was the door to open up a bit.46

The door he was opening was not a challenge to the specific forms and practices that exist within a culture, but the strict adherence to tradition that may inhibit the change, growth and development of contemporary Aboriginal creative expression. In demonstrating a hybridity enacted through bricolage practices of the past, Jungen hoped to open up the possibility for new forms to emerge within traditional practices in the future.

Like Bill Reid, Jungen employs new tools and processes to create works that are personally expressive and inspired by traditional forms. Created for art galleries and the Western market, the Prototypes are display ornaments that cannot be worn. They are “masks” without eyeholes, or any means of being affixed to the head or body. Jungen researched the formal structure of formline design, just like Bill Reid had done decades earlier.47 However, Jungen’s creations are only evocative of traditional Northwest Coast masks, and only loosely related to formline design. As Jungen has stated, “all I did was take these shoes apart and re-sew them, and everyone else puts together in their head what those lines and colours mean.”48

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Jungen toys with the notion of authenticity so prized by the consumer of primitive art. The exposed backs and interiors of his masks reveal the hacking, cutting, and sewing that was involved in their creation.49 They appear raw, rough, unpolished, and indeed “primitive.” The Prototypes are therefore neither the products of a cultural reclamation nor rarified historical regalia, but the influences of both are quite clear.

Ruth Phillips has noted that the modernist quest for authentic experience of the cultural other led to a widespread appreciation for primitive art and encouraged the appropriation of Aboriginal imagery.50 Removing Aboriginal material from its cultural context allowed collectors to attach their own signification to these objects. Jungen has employed a strategy that reverses this primitivist impulse of emptying and refilling the symbolic content of salvaged cultural objects by providing western signifiers within the composite materials of his Prototypes. Nike Air Jordan trainers have a notorious reputation, as author Michael Turner stated, as being “made by children, for children” in sweatshops all over the world.51 Despite their disreputable origins, they are among the most expensive shoes ever sold, particularly when they

were first released in the mid-eighties.\textsuperscript{52} And shoes are, in the words of Cuauhtémoc Medina:

the contemporary consumer’s mask, a tool for the Western ritual of impersonation...a shamanic tool of sorts (that) can easily be attested to by advertisements, which usually portray them as quasi-magically transforming their user, fusing the phantasm of the sports idol with the consumer.\textsuperscript{53} The famous logo, married to a cult of personality, transforms the wearer into the spirit it resembles. Not Bear, or Raven, but Michael Jordan himself. Through this form of mythologizing, these shoes have become fetishized to the brink of being sacred. Employing this highly symbolic object, Jungen has in fact turned the commodity-loving West into primitivism’s “irrational savage.” As curator Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev has argued, he has reversed “the European gaze on the objects that ‘other’ cultures made, that were criticized as being fetish”.\textsuperscript{54} Jungen’s \textit{Prototypes} clearly locate idol worship in the Western domain.

In merging the signifiers of historical regalia with mass-produced commodities, Jungen’s \textit{Prototypes} relate to the issues of place in Vancouver’s booming tourist industry of the 1990s. In selecting one of the most well-branded and spectacularly marketed running shoes with which to create artificial regalia objects, Jungen paid homage to the commodification of Aboriginal cultural production in a context of colonial stereotyping. Northwest Coast cultural forms emerged as a new ethnic


category in Vancouver’s service economy that included therapies, spiritual practices and trend-setting goods. Crests and insignia, once the proud markers of family lineages, were produced, appropriated and mechanically replicated to satisfy a growing consumer demand. Tourist stores, most notably in the shops at the Vancouver International Airport, offered painted boxes, plastic replica masks and miniature totem poles imported from factories all over the world.\(^55\) Aboriginal signifiers functioned as brands for innumerable products, companies, government agencies, and for “Supernatural British Columbia.” According to anthropologist Charlotte Townsend-Gault, Aboriginal imagery was incorporated into “the vast heaving mass of ephemeral and disposable forms” of the society of the spectacle.\(^56\)

Townsend-Gault has argued that there are certain restrictions in place by which First Nations control the dissemination of their culture. Not just anything can bear traditional motifs, and permissions are required. The enterprise of selling commercial goods emblazoned with family totems, crests and other insignia is conducted in the interest of economic independence, consideration for what is actually shared, and to declare a presence. As one First Nations entrepreneur reported, “We want the visitor to see something of our culture, that’s how they will know that we are here. But they don’t need to know everything.”\(^57\) Townsend-Gault draws from a growing body of First Nations discourse on the differing ideas


\(^{57}\) Ibid., 186.
concerning the placement of crests on inconsequential ephemera, pointing out that “their ways of valuing cultural production are in sharp distinction to those of the settler society with its focus on the seen and the material, its taxonomic obsessions and need for textual verification.”

Northwest Coast cultures engaged in the branding of their culture for consumption and trade is evidence of hybridity at work in the distinct value systems being negotiated through the dissemination of commercial goods. The resemblance of the *Prototypes* to manufactured commodities as much as to Northwest Coast artifacts plays upon this difference. The mask sculptures do not critique Aboriginal commodities but rather mobilizes a debate concerning their role in locating Aboriginal identity. Jungen has repeatedly dispelled any notion that the *Prototypes* are “a censorious critique of commercialization.”

Shopping, for him, is simply a fact of life in the West.

As hybrid forms, *Prototypes for New Understanding* mobilize a complex arena of cultural identity politics concerned with the dissemination of Aboriginal signs in Vancouver. Jungen’s sculptures are deterritorialized in their lack of connection to a specific culture but still associated with the issues of place. They can be examined as products of the postmodern art world context of Vancouver in the 1990s.

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Prototypes for Negotiating Postmodernism

The hybrid strategies of Jungen’s Prototypes for New Understanding also can be read against the prevailing theories of collapsing meta-narratives and rising multiculturalism that characterized the advent of postmodernism. Yet these sculptures negotiated different critical positions on postmodernism, one as a cultural dominant and the other as a critique expressed by Aboriginal “postmodernists.” Conceived within this context, the Prototypes can be read as deterriorialized objects and convey something of Jungen’s experience of dislocation as an urban Aboriginal artist in Vancouver.

Jungen can be located within Fredric Jameson’s conception of postmodernism as a fragmented, dislocated subject with a hybrid identity.61 The Prototypes for New Understanding were thus created within an arena of multiculturalism and pluralism, by an artist who embodied the postmodern experience. Evoking traditional artifact and contemporary commodity, the Prototypes collapse the past with the present in a synchronic moment. They are presented as representations of Northwest Coast masks, but they are simulacra. As Métis scholar David Garneau observed, Jungen’s masks are “copying not sacred originals but already corrupted copies.”62 Their

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61 Fredric Jameson has argued that postmodernism is a cultural dominant characterized by certain conditions, including a fragmented subjectivity, a declining avant-garde, and a growing nostalgia for a sense of an “imagined past” rather than “real history.” Jameson also observed the emergence of mass culture, the prevalence of pastiche, simulacra, collage, and synchronous moments as all deriving from the omnipresence of late capitalism. Fredric Jameson, “Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,” New Left Review, no.142, 53-92.

industrial manufacture is readily apparent in the patent leather and plastic materials of the shoes, and in their slick, tight, final compositions.

Vincent Crapanzano has argued that although the postcolonial world has been called postmodern, the ruins of the former do not equate with the referents of the latter. History, place and memory are highly valued, meaningful, and potent elements of Aboriginal life and culture, and are thus resistant to the trivializations of simulacra and mechanical reproduction.\textsuperscript{63} The Prototypes are a response to the commercially produced and deterritorialized Aboriginal trinkets that were abundant in Vancouver. In this regard, the masks subvert iconic signs of Aboriginality in a tactic more closely associated with the Aboriginal postmodernists.

Allan J. Ryan has identified an Aboriginal art movement in Canada as engaging in a “Postmodern Parody” at the very moment that Jungen graduated from art school.\textsuperscript{64} Carl Beam, Rebecca Belmore, among many other Aboriginal artists, found opportunity within the pluralism and multicultural climate of the eighties and early nineties to develop their own distinctive art forms and dialogues that countered Jameson’s concept of a cultural dominant. Unlike Jameson’s conditions, these artists were concerned with self-expression, conveying a sense of alienation and capturing “our pluralism” for the sake of parodying it.\textsuperscript{65} In a manner articulated by Crapanzano, they unraveled the pretense of egalitarian cross-cultural discourse that

\textsuperscript{64} Allan J. Ryan, “Postmodern Parody: A Political Strategy in Contemporary Canadian Native Art,” from Art Journal: Recent Native American Art, Autumn, 1992, 59.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 59.
postmodern theorists presume.\textsuperscript{66} Gerald McMaster has argued that postmodernism offered Aboriginal artists “strategies of resistance, articulation and empowerment” by connecting “art with social and political issues.”\textsuperscript{67} Employing pop culture and romanticized images of Aboriginal people, and reversing their meaning, these artists created works that were at once accessible and critical of western ideas of Aboriginal identity.

The most prevalent strategy of the Aboriginal postmodernists, according to Ryan, was “trickstering.” The Trickster is a complex figure in Aboriginal myth, and has been named by several Aboriginal artists as exerting an influence over their creative production. Trickstering was perceived as a means of reformulating notions of Aboriginal identity through contesting and reclaiming the use of Aboriginal iconography.\textsuperscript{68} Because these issues have been at the foreground of Jungen’s artistic concerns throughout his career, beginning with the Prototypes, Jungen has frequently been named a “trickster.”\textsuperscript{69} However, he dislikes this term:

The Trickster is a contentious figure for me. He’s not benign and he doesn’t play a positive role. Personally, I hate the term. It’s pejorative and disingenuous because it has been completely abused and co-opted out of Native culture and into general culture. A lot of my Indian pals use the term as a joke, like dream catcher.\textsuperscript{70}


\textsuperscript{68} Allan J. Ryan, “Postmodern Parody: A Political Strategy in Contemporary Canadian Native Art,” from \textit{Art Journal: Recent Native American Art, Autumn}, 1992, 59.

\textsuperscript{69} See Milroy, Rodgers, and Gopnik among others.

Jungen’s protest is aligned with the very premise of the Aboriginal postmodern impulse to parody and thereby subvert western ideas concerning Aboriginal identity. In fact, his statement reveals a central issue that underscored his artistic trajectory for many years: how does an Aboriginal aesthetic take hold in a way that it cannot be co-opted by the West? The Prototypes for New Understanding utilize a popular, consumer aesthetic as a means of parodying western appropriation of Northwest Coast Aboriginal imagery and motifs. Yet Jungen’s appropriation of iconography from other Aboriginal cultures may certainly be regarded as a postmodern, if not a “Trickster” performance.

This chapter has examined several frames of interpretation for the Prototypes for New Understanding. Their hybridity has been shown to function within the arenas of Aboriginal identity politics and postmodernism. The Prototypes have been discussed here as deterritorialized objects that lack specific cultural references but respond to the localized discourses of Vancouver in the 1990s. The political strategy mobilized by the Prototypes are a reflection of Jungen’s sense of dislocation as an urban Aboriginal in Vancouver, where the mainstream indicators of Aboriginality arguably did not reflect his own cultural heritage or his own hybrid identity. In the years that followed the emergence of the Prototypes, which were not completed until 2005, Jungen worked on a series of site-specific projects far from home, where hybrid strategies became a means of addressing social and historical issues related to place.
in his work. The postmodern placelessness of the Prototypes gradually became replaced by artworks that engaged a process of reterritorialization.
Chapter 2: Jungen’s Site-Specific Strategy Goes Home

The international success of Brian Jungen’s *Prototypes for New Understanding* precipitated a series of invitations to create site-specific works in places far from his Vancouver base. These projects challenged Jungen to develop an aesthetic that shifted his core strategies focused on loosening attachments to stereotypical signs of Aboriginal identity. Rather than negotiating critical fields within Aboriginal identity politics and postmodernism, these projects explored hybridity in relation to specific locations. In this chapter I argue that through these projects Jungen was able to develop insights into the way that social and historical contexts inform issues of identity, and that he discovered a means of exploring Aboriginal epistemologies within the contemporary art establishment. I further posit that these projects developed a new means of relating hybridity to place, which lead the way to Jungen’s reconnection with home, and towards a new understanding of the culture of the Dane-zaa.

Hybridity and Place in Site-Specific Strategies

Jungen’s first site-specific project, *Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time* (2001, fig. 11, pg. 70), was made in Kingston Ontario at the Correctional Services of Canada Museum, which houses the paraphernalia created by inmates who have attempted to escape. Jungen felt an immediate alliance with the imaginative repurposing of
everyday materials observable in the museum’s collection. Among the weapons, dummy heads, and contraband reliquaries was a stack of hoarded lunch trays in which a cavity large enough to hold a small man had been carved. In 1980, a prisoner assembled this cleverly discrete enclosure in a desperate bid for freedom, and nearly succeeded. This prisoner hid within the trays as they were moved to a cleaning facility, and thereby made his escape, although he was soon apprehended. Jungen decided to recreate this object as a hybrid form that displayed the emotional affect of imprisonment.

Jungen’s research commenced with an investigation into the conditions of prison life. On a private tour of a cellblock at the Kingston Penitentiary, he was able to glimpse the terrifying world of incarceration:

I was really struck by how incredibly isolated (it was)... the windows were kind of glazed over. The only measure of the passing of time was in these small televisions, and that was really the only window to the outside world.

Deeply moved by the austere and lonely lives of prisoners, Jungen recreated the museum’s lunch tray escape pod of 1980. Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time was composed of nearly 1500 cafeteria trays stacked together into a cube formation on a handcrafted red cedar pallet. A space in the middle of the trays housed a television set that radiated a faint blue light. Muted voices emitted from random

72 Ibid., 37-38.
programming could be heard, and evoked the sense that prison life offered little privacy or opportunity for secrecy. The placement of Jungen’s structure in a dark empty room, away from the museum’s exhibits, conveyed the isolation experienced by the Penitentiary’s inmates. For critic Nancy Tousley, the modular trays signified the regimentation of modern social institutions through a “procession of days marked by mealtimes.” However, Jungen embedded an Aboriginal political perspective into the work. Each tray represented a single Aboriginal male currently incarcerated in Canadian prisons, and the colours of the trays denoted the length of their sentence. Jungen thereby created a hybrid structure in which the prisoner’s lunch-tray escape pod could be read as a three-dimensional graph illustrating the disproportionately high number of Aboriginal inmates in Canada.

Employing a minimalist aesthetic, Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time was invested with social and historical meanings associated with the prison as a place of incarceration. Unlike Jungen’s Prototypes for New Understanding, this work did not engage a discourse of stereotyping but rather invested a hybrid object with an Aboriginal political perspective related to its site in the Correctional Services of Canada Museum.

75 Barbara Fischer, “NewModulr” (curatorial statement, Blackwood Gallery, Toronto: 2002).
79 Ibid., 38.
Jungen’s next commission, *Court* (2004, fig. 12, pg. 70), was created for New York’s Triple Candie Gallery located in a converted garment factory space in Harlem. Here Jungen created a basketball court from two hundred sewing tables. When pushed together, these surfaces become a massive two-meter high stage. Twelve lacquered columns created a central nave and evoked religious architecture. Marked with regulation lines and bounded by professional hoops, the illusion of a basketball court seemed complete. However, this court was punctuated by the gaping holes of missing sewing machines, making it a treacherous playing surface. Jungen describes his project as responding to the history of the Triple Candie space:

> A lot of sports gear was mass-produced right there in Harlem 40 years ago...I’m drawing parallels between the history of industry and sweatshop production there and the attention given to sports as a way of escaping that manual labour, that manufacturing life.

*Court* linked the warehouse's location to a history of industrial labour and a cultural veneration for basketball. The subordinate positioning of these civil rights-era workers is revealed in the sewing tables, as each surface embodied both a lifetime of toil and a floor to be trampled by basketball heroes. Harlem's sweat shops once created high-end sports gear by those who could least afford it, yet who most identified with the dream of basketball stardom. Jungen describes his work as responding to Harlem’s basketball culture “especially the kind of heroes that have come out of there, that have kind of left the ghetto, if you will, through the medium

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of sports.” Court evinced the dream of sports fame and fortune as a haunting memorial to the slavish circumstance of earlier industrial labour, continuing today in many third world nations. The struggle within a system of demand and desire becomes abundantly clear in the presence of this grand theatrical arena.

Representing both a sweatshop and a basketball arena, Court is a hybrid structure that negotiates the specific social conditions of place. In this work, Harlem’s history of textile manufacturing is related to the basketball legends it has produced, such as the Harlem Globetrotters. The sewing tables may be read as a platform upon which factory workers produce basketball gear as a cultural export. In this respect, a parallel may be drawn with the issues of stereotyping emerging from the commodification of Aboriginal art forms addressed in Jungen’s Prototypes.

Within months of creating Court, Jungen began work on a project that took a more humorous approach to hybridity and place by drawing attention to Montreal’s homeless cat population. Habitat 04: Cité radieuse des chats/Cats Radiant City (2004, fig. 13, pg. 71) was created for the Darling Foundry, located in an old industrial building near the harbour where Moshie Safdie’s Habitat 67 graces the skyline. The habitat Jungen constructed was built from IKEA file boxes covered in carpeting, resulting in Donald Judd-like modular structures hybridized with cat furniture. Stacking these boxes in accordance with Safdie’s Habitat 67 plan of four units per

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section, with alternating arrangements for variety, Jungen created a room-sized replica of the iconic building. This model was designed to house eight homeless felines for the duration of the exhibition. To protect the cats’ privacy, Jungen ensured that visitors could not directly access the gallery. However, in a panoptic move redolent of prison architecture, Jungen installed video cameras to broadcast the felines’ movements onto television screens surrounding their staged environment.

Jungen conceived this project as a means of advancing the cause of the SPCA (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals) by reviving the utopian vision of Expo 67’s most celebrated monument, Habitat 67. As Kitty Scott articulated in a letter responding to Jungen's initial proposal:

Rather than treat this situation as an exhibition, you have conceived of it as a mechanism in support of the mandate of the SPCA. To this end all publicity will be directed towards finding permanent homes for these homeless animals. There will be no opening, as this type of art world event would presumably make the cats nervous.... In offering a version of the complex to the disenfranchised cats you appear to be salvaging something of Safdie’s original plan.83

Safdie’s Habitat 67 aimed to develop an affordable housing solution that would alleviate swelling populations in developing nations through the mass-production of prefabricated, stackable, living units. This utopian dream fizzled as the modular spaces proved expensive to produce, and the building’s fame boosted demand, resulting in some of the most exorbitantly priced residences in Montreal. Still,

Jungen’s project reinvigorated Safdie’s modernist vision, but reconfigured as a solution for homeless cats. Place in this work was both an iconic structure, but also a home.

Like Safdie’s monument, created as a showcase at Expo 67, Jungen’s Habitat 04 was also designed to elicit awareness for a cause. Jungen’s project promoted the efforts of the SPCA, while also attempting to find permanent homes for the animals participating in his exhibition. Volunteers from the SPCA monitored the eight felines living within the project space, cared for their dietary and health needs, and facilitated adoptions.84 Jungen’s project created a means by which cats could be seen as art objects and thereby become imbued with a higher value, increasing their adoption potential. Unlike Safdie’s dream of alleviating housing shortages, dashed by the skyrocketing valuations of his modular units, Jungen intentionally harnessed the power of the art-world-as-a-mystifying-machine for a cause with which he was deeply concerned. Ultimately the carpeted “city” for cats successfully found new homes for twenty animals.85 Habitat 04 revived a modernist agenda in the service of Montreal’s vagrant animals. In recreating Habitat 67, Jungen’s hybrid structure was linked to place and created a “home” for cats. This project was in many ways an experiment, testing the thesis that modernist aesthetics could be redeployed in the service of contemporary issues.

85 Ibid., 118.
Habitat 04 employed a formal hybridity that was quite distinct from that of the Prototypes for New Understanding which aimed not to revive modernism, but to critique the fixity of traditional practices, stereotypes and primitivist attitudes that Northwest Coast masks in Vancouver still evoked. The Prototypes were not concerned with creating solutions for displacement, but with exposing the complexities emerging between iconic signs of Aboriginality and the urban Aboriginal inhabitants of Vancouver. By engaging with the modernist icons of a different place, Jungen was able to experiment with its ideals in ways that other Aboriginal artists, such as Bill Reid, could not. Modernism increasingly became a vehicle for exploring ways of moving beyond the issues of Aboriginal identity Jungen had exhaustively engaged with the Prototypes.

Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time, Court and Habitat 04, are each composed of placeless, ubiquitous and disposable commodities, such as plastic trays, sewing machine tables, and file boxes, as symbols of the transient, mutable nature of the globalized contemporary world. By associating these seemingly inconsequential objects with place, Jungen demonstrates the significance that can be invested into things that would normally pass in and out of one's life without notice. Critic Nancy Tousley has commented that Jungen's sense of place "is not nostalgic but the consequence of specific present and historical conditions that his work simultaneously draws from and critiques, from the perspective of a double
consciousness.”86 Thus hybridity in his site-specific approach negotiates the specific history and memory of local cultures and the trappings of globalization. This strategy laid the groundwork for a new approach to site that emerged after Jungen reconnected with his reserve.

**A New Hybrid Strategy for Place**

In 2008, Jungen was invited to participate in the Sydney Biennial in Australia, and to respond to its theme, “Revolutions: Forms that Turn.” Here Jungen created *Crux (as seen from those who sleep on the surface of the earth under the night sky)* (fig. 14, pg. 71). After spending time with his elders and listening to their stories about the encounters between mythic creatures and man at very precise locations in Dane-zaa territory, Jungen was relocated in a nexus that awoke in him a renewed sense of place. A new relationship of place and story emerged in Jungen’s work in Sydney.

Choosing the site of the abandoned British prison on Cockatoo Island in Sydney harbour, Jungen had a tumultuous and layered historical complex from which to draw inspiration. Like the Kingston Penitentiary that inspired *Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time*, this place was remote and burdened with a tumultuous history. Constructed by the forced labour of British prisoners in exile, the prison was later a World War II shipbuilding yard and finally an institution where “wayward” girls

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were treated for varying symptoms of madness. However, unlike his earlier site-specific work, Jungen did not engage directly with the specific historical and social context of this isolated prison. Instead, his focus changed to one more concerned with his own experience of that place, and he employed hybridity as a means of conveying two worldviews, global culture and Aboriginal epistemologies, as coexisting.

As Jungen has explained in an interview, Cockatoo Island was a challenging place to produce art. Prohibited access to the exhibition space in the British prison, Jungen developed *Crux* in response to his experience on the remote island location in the middle of Sydney’s bustling harbour. Cockatoo was utterly abandoned and without reliable ferry access, prompting Jungen’s decision to camp out in a small tent. He acquired a rowboat to haul materials back and forth from the mainland. As other artists began to follow suit, a sense of community began to emerge on the island, one that Jungen describes as being akin to a survival experience:

> The artists who were staying on Cockatoo had to share resources, and band together at certain times because the conditions weren’t ideal. It was a very raw space, so everything that managed to happen was amazing.

These circumstances enhanced Jungen’s awareness for his surroundings. Spending his nights sleeping under the flight-path of the Sydney airport made him cognizant of the cyclical nature of international travel. He became attuned to the time of day based on the branded jets arriving at regular intervals. It occurred to him that the

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88 Ibid.
coming and going of international flights had become a way of tracking time, just as the movements of the sun and constellations had provided this information to travelers of the past.

Jungen has attributed the inspiration for Crux to his investigation into certain epistemologies associated with Australia's Indigenous people.89 Such an inspiration was likely encouraged by Jungen’s own recent reconnection with the stories of the Dane-zaa told by elders on the Doig River reserve. The Aboriginal people of Australia had discovered a means of relating movements of the stars across the sky to a complex navigation system. Their constellations were animal forms observable in the spaces between celestial bodies occupied by “the dust clouds of galaxies,” rather than by anthropomorphic forms created by connecting the stars.90 These figures conveyed information about time, space and location, and served as the starting point for Jungen’s project.

Crux is a sophisticated piece constructed from luggage, a sign of the jet-set lifestyle of art biennial culture. Suitcases became the raw material from which Jungen composed the five main animals in the Indigenous Southern Cross constellation: the shark, emu, possum, sea eagle and crocodile. These creatures are suspended from the overturned rowboat that was so integral to the creation of the work. The result

89 Ibid.
is a mobile of the stellar arrangements, or “skyworld flipped upside down.”\textsuperscript{91} This revolving celestial map was hung low to the ground, encouraging visitors to literally walk among the creatures whose movements across the sky revealed the passage of time.

Significantly, Jungen did not choose to incorporate social and historical issues related to the site of his project on Cockatoo Island, despite ample opportunity to do so. Instead, the experience of surviving in a tent on a remote island while still surrounded by the signs of global culture helped him to consider the intersection of cultures in a new way. While there is certainly a generalized appeal to history in this work, \textit{Crux} related more specifically to different views of time. Here hybridity is revealed in the meeting of two worldviews, ancient Aboriginal knowledge and modern conceptions of time and travel, so that two seemingly oppositional perspectives became resolved in a hybrid mobile structure related to his experience of place.

\textit{Crux} reveals a transformation in Jungen’s approach to Aboriginal identity politics. \textit{Prototypes for New Understanding} appropriated Northwest Coast regalia in order to critique their denotative status as markers of Aboriginal identity. These sculptures had negotiated museum artifacts and contemporary carving traditions to critique the ways Aboriginal identity had been constructed in Vancouver. By contrast, Jungen’s \textit{Crux} situates the Aboriginal people of Australia as the keepers of ancient

knowledges. Although this work addresses a different culture in a different continent, it represents a change in Jungen’s hybrid strategy as it relates to place, in which his position of critique of commodity culture was transformed by Aboriginal epistemologies and their location.

Jungen’s last major site-specific installation, *Carapace* (2009, fig. 15, pg. 72), was created for Frac des Pays de la Loire in Carquefou, France. Drawing inspiration from “Turtle Island,” the simultaneously mythic and real place of origin for North American Indigenous people, Jungen proposed an intervention for his temporary French location. Unlike his previous projects that were concerned with finding a means of identifying with social and historical issues related to place, Jungen conveyed a North American Aboriginal perspective by evoking Turtle Island. *Carapace* (2009) was a bold step towards announcing his Aboriginal identity in an international art world context, particularly as it was created for a stately residence in the heart of France:

I was working in this old chateau that was converted into a contemporary art space and it had been surrounded by idyllic farmland, except the last few years it was all being converted into suburbs, just like you would see in Calgary, Edmonton, and Fort St. John. In these suburbs I kept seeing these new garbage bins that just became a symbol for the sign of the times and a symbol for unbridled housing excess that I decided to use the bins as source material.\(^{92}\)

Composed of “universal” green and blue trash containers, *Carapace* is a monumentally large, futuristic turtle shell. Referring to his materials as “building
blocks,” Jungen underscored the way Turtle’s back served as the base structure for the earth in Aboriginal legend.\(^93\) In support of this viewpoint, Candice Hopkins emphasizes the reality behind the myth of Turtle Island, noting that the building-sized creatures featured prominently in Dane-zaa stories, really did roam the earth in the Pleistocene era.\(^94\) However, Jungen inscribed a science-fiction reading into this origin myth of place:

(Carapace) was initially made for an exhibition in the Loire Valley, where Jules Verne is from. I was reading some of his stories and I liked his idea of these mythical giant animals. So I thought it would be an interesting starting place.\(^95\)

Jules Verne wrote a number of books that imagined flights around the world and trips to the bottom of the ocean, which were frighteningly futuristic for the 1860s.\(^96\) Hybridity in Carapace is reflected in Jungen’s own mythological associations with North America converged with Verne’s imaginary projectile/spaceship, evident in Carapace’s sleek, glossy exterior. This object can be interpreted as a construction from waste receptacles, or alternatively, as a vehicle for recycling and maintaining the health of the planet. Both readings lean towards understanding Jungen’s intervention as a proposal for the ideal home of the future.


\(^{96}\) Jules Verne is credited as being the “father” of science fiction by Adam Charles Roberts (2000) having written about air, space and underwater travel before any real means to do so had been invented. He is best known for the books A Journey to the Center of the Earth (1864), Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea (1870), and Around the World in Eighty Days (1873).
The overwhelming dimensions of this work, its welcoming interior, and its resemblance to an igloo structure or geodesic dome, evoke a sense of sanctuary. Carapace acts as a shelter, a home, or a gathering place.\(^7\) As American art critic Christopher Bedford noted of Carapace:

> It is more indeterminate, neither of the past nor the present, neither an object for display nor a structure to be used, but rather a model – or better a proposal – for a function that has yet to fully crystallize…amplifying Jungen's ongoing propositional address: It is the site for a ritual yet to exist.\(^8\)

Jugen's nod to the future, and the idea of a home and a safe space, reveals the transformation he had undergone in his theoretical approaches to site-specific practices. His relationship to place was becoming more and more related to the psychological space of home. Carapace was an iconic object invested with Aboriginal, and, to a lesser extent, local associations.

Crux and Carapace were both hybrid objects Jungen created in response to the places they were created. Unlike Jungen’s earlier site-specific projects that related social and historical issues of place, these works projected an Aboriginal worldview within art world contexts. Although they were composed of ubiquitous globalized commodities, they moved away from the postmodern trickstering that had been evident in the Prototypes for New Understanding. These sculptures were not simulacra or appropriations of existing cultural forms, nor were they deterritorialized. Instead, they introduced Jungen to a new way of thinking about

\(^8\) Ibid., 202.
Aboriginal worldviews in the contemporary world, which helped to influence the works he created when he returned home.

**Rediscovering Home**

After a five-year absence, an invitation to speak at a weekend Aboriginal wellness clinic on his reserve marked a new beginning in Jungen’s relationship with his Dane-zaa community.\(^9\) From 2006, he began to spend his summers at Doig River and became more actively involved in the cultural life of his band. In 2009, after ten years of exhibiting across Canada and around the world, Jungen’s work was transformed by returning to live on the Doig River reserve.\(^10\) Living out of a trailer, he began hunting and trapping for the first time since his childhood, and learning the craft of drum making.\(^11\) This was a period of escape from the pressures of the art world, and an opportunity to come to terms with the relationship of hybridity and place in the Doig River community, and with the social, historical, and epistemological issues that defined its present. Observing and experiencing the contemporary culture of the Dane-zaa after his long absence revealed the transformations that had occurred. In the seventies, when Jungen was a boy, there had been horse-drawn carts, teepees, and sod-covered shelters. Now the landscape was comprised of trucks, government-issued housing, and a brand-new cultural centre replete with its own museum and gymnasium. This last was a product of the

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\(^9\) Sarah Milroy has written: “a speaking engagement at a three-day Aboriginal wellness clinic turned into a three-month-long prodigal homecoming.” This suggests that the wellness clinic took place on Jungen’s reserve, but I have been unable to confirm this. Sarah Milroy, “Work in Progress,” *Canadian Art*, Spring 2011, 84.


\(^11\) Ibid., 84.
Dane-zaa’s $147 million dollar breach of trust settlement with the Canadian government.102 Things were different now, and this provided fodder for Jungen to develop a new aesthetic language rooted in an understanding of the present condition of the reserve.

Traditionally nomadic hunters, trappers, and gatherers, the Dane-zaa lived in portable and compact teepees, and therefore did not engage in the carving of totem poles or masks as did the cultures of the Northwest Coast. Culture revolved around drumming and storytelling, and special occasions were celebrated with song and dance. Every site in Dane-zaa territory holds a story, remembered through oral tradition and in the songs of prophets called “Dreamers.” These prophets “travel to heaven in their dreams and bring back songs. These songs provide teachings, visions and prophecies from the creator.”103 Such prophecies were often recorded on drums as maps and symbolic imagery. The last prophet, Charlie Yahey, told the story of how:

the creator drew a cross on the surface of a primordial body of water and sent muskrat down to bring back the first dirt. He placed the dirt at the center of the cross, and from this small beginning, he made the world.104

This story was illustrated on Yahey’s drum in a series of lines and concentric circles but its meaning was revealed through a performative telling incorporating the drum’s rhythm. Despite the significance of Dreamer's drums and their imagery, community elders have pointedly restricted their dissemination to ensure that they are treated respectfully.105 These fears of appropriation and misrepresentation have influenced Jungen’s artistic concerns.

While the Dane-zaa may have avoided mass appropriation of their visual identity, they were certainly not immune to the effects of trade or the impact of commodity culture. From the late eighteenth century they participated in the European fur trade, and their way of life became dependant upon it, particularly with the influx of European settlers into their traditional hunting territories. Western influence gradually impacted Dane-zaa culture, and they became reliant upon new technologies. Trade became the means by which intercultural relations were defined and understood, as the objects desired by Europeans were harvested and produced in greater quantities to be exchanged for goods such as steel traps, knives and snare wire.106 Beaver pelts became so associated with the Dane-zaa that Europeans referred to them as “Beaver,” a name that is still connected with their language today.

The mutual benefits of cultural exchange were not to last. By 1900 the demand for beaver pelts declined, and the Dane-zaa signed Treaty 8, in which land title was traded for reserves and government aid. Settlement properties were promised to those who chose to live outside the community, and thereby renounce their heritage. Treaty Day is an annual, farcical event in which each living member of the Beaver Nation receives a five-dollar handout from the RCMP as per the terms of the original peace agreement. This amount has not been adjusted for inflation, and thereby has become symbolic of the misunderstanding that existed between colonized and colonizer.

The treaty agreement launched an era of hardship, worsened by settler incursions and government duplicity. Dramatic changes incurred by the construction of the Alaskan highway saw the loss of lands and a swarm of new inhabitants in traditional territories, resulting in severe restrictions to hunting. Oil deposits brought big industry and truckloads of rig workers. Charlie Yahey had:

predicted that the white people would discover this resource (pools of grease from the bodies of giant animals) and drill wells into the earth. He warned that the grease from the giant animals would power their vehicles and airplanes, and as a result, ‘make the world too small.’

His prophecy was fully realized when government mining interests forced the Dane-zaa off their settlement and to move further north. Now completely cut off from the

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places that connected them to ancestral stories and knowledge, they were also forced to send their children to government schools. Children were taught a new language, a new religion, and were disconnected from their heritage.\textsuperscript{110} This was the experience of modernity for most Aboriginal people in Canada.

Canada’s great modernist project, the reserve system has been described by Gerald McMaster as embodying “modernity’s universalizing assumptions: bureaucratization, rationalization, socialization, and compartmentalization”.\textsuperscript{111} The early decades of the twentieth century, which McMaster has referred to as the “reserve era,” was characterized by Aboriginal confinement to parceled territories, prohibition from political and land claim activities, and assault by assimilation programs.\textsuperscript{112} Unlike Western formulations of modernity that envisioned a better future, “progress” here was a government strategy to destroy tradition, hinder growth, and force assimilation. McMaster has also argued that the reserve as a psychological space has undergone a transformation. After World War II, the “post-reservation period” became “energized by issues of land claims, self-government, and autonomy, and vigorously affirmed” of cultural identity.\textsuperscript{113} Jungen describes the transformations that have occurred in Doig River since the seventies:


\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 44-46.

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 46.
The reserves were different then, too. The governance wasn’t as tight; there weren’t any social programs on the reserves for addiction therapy, so there were lots of stereotypical drunk Indians. There is still alcohol and drug abuse, but what has changed is that you see much more positive representation of Indian folks in town.¹¹⁴

These positive representations are reconfiguring contemporary notions of the reserve, and Aboriginal attitudes concerning identity. Whereas Jungen’s mother was ostracized for marrying outside the community, Jungen has witnessed the Dane-zaa’s embrace of certain changes while negotiating or rejecting others. Jungen’s membership in the Doig River band, despite his hybrid status, is a testament to this change. As he has stated, “in the last 15 years, my band has made huge advances in recovering from my mother’s afflicted generation.”¹¹⁵

Life on the Doig River reserve has found a balance between working in industrial labour such as road building, forestry, and oilfields and traditional practices and culture. For example, annual rodeos still feature traditional drumming and dancing. The Dane-zaa trap and hunt as well as play hockey and baseball. Through this incorporation of modern technology and western influences into their traditional way of life, they have forged for themselves a self proclaimed “hybrid world.”¹¹⁶

Jungen has described ways in which band leaders “are using platforms like eco-tourism, and destination game hunting to encourage members to launch commercial

enterprises.” Such endeavors suggest a transformation in the meaning once associated with the reserve.

From this standpoint, the reterritorialized space of the Doig River reserve provided Jungen with the social, historical and epistemological framework with which to create the works exhibited at the Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition at the AGO. The relationship between hybridity and place in these works can now be addressed.

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Chapter 3: Tomorrow, Repeated

The works displayed at the Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition at the AGO in the summer of 2011 convey something of the hybrid culture on the Doig River reserve. Although some critics observed cultural “mash-ups,” the relationship between hybridity and place in these objects is more personal and more complex than anything Jungen has yet produced. Jungen’s seven years spent creating the deterritorialized Prototypes for New Understanding, his dislocation from home, and his extended world travels seem to have inspired a desire to reterritorialize. In these new works, I argue that Jungen has revisited the social and historical issues explored in Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time, Court and Habitat 04, the Indigenous epistemologies examined in Crux and Carapace, and the political strategy engaged by his Prototypes for New Understanding. In this final analysis of the paper, I demonstrate that the works displayed at the Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition serve as an expression of Jungen’s relationship to his Dane-zaa First Nation home.

The sculptures displayed in the Henry Moore Sculpture Centre, including Tomorrow, Repeated (2010, fig. 1, pg. 66), The Men of My Family (2010, fig. 2, pg. 66), and Star (2011, fig. 3, pg. 67), are light and billowing forms, like sails held to metal booms. Closer inspection reveals much weightier structures composed of fur-trimmed animal hides tethered to detached fenders. The car parts gleam with unmarred

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paint, and the freezer chests upon which these works are mounted appear brand new, as ready-made plinths. The visual language on display belongs neither wholly to the Dane-zaa nor to commodity culture. Evoking a litany of readings, these new works point to a new cultural phenomena emerging out of a convergence of two worlds on the Doig River reserve.

Like Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time, Court and Habitat 04, the hybrid forms of Jungen’s new works respond to the history of place, but in this case it is his home on the Doig River reserve. The collision of car parts and animal skins indicates a violent exchange that can be read against the cultural collision that has defined the post-treaty, colonial era of the Dane-zaa. The hides recall the nomadic lifestyle of hunting and trapping that was terminated by forced relocation to reserves. Yet the gesture of binding, so pronounced in the rawhide stitching affixing fenders to hides, seems to signify a patching together, a healing process. This gesture calls to mind the recent reparations made between the Dane-zaa and the Canadian government over their forced relocation to the Doig River reserve. The settlement funds won by the Doig River band have been used to build a community centre, to invest in business ventures, and to buy the cars and trucks that now litter the landscape.

Jungen’s Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition employs the hybrid strategy of his site-specific projects by incorporating signifiers associated with place. As AGO curator Michelle Jacques points out, he has created:
an evocative, if indirect, picture of a northern landscape and its people, a setting where venerable native customs and contemporary mainstream conventions inevitably coexist.\(^\text{119}\)

The car parts, hides and freezers are signifiers of the Doig River landscape that Jungen has fused into sculptural forms. This mixing of mass produced commodities, such as car parts and freezers, with traditionally harvested animal hides, denotes the hybrid culture that the Dane-zaa have forged from traditional practices and the influences of global culture.

The hides incorporated into his fender sculptures are highly symbolic, embodying a history of European trade, a necessary survival skill, and the material for making drums. Nearly a dozen circular skins bound tightly around *The Men of My Family* signify Jungen’s male relatives, many of whom were traditional drummers.\(^\text{120}\)

Jungen’s drums have a deeper connotation still. Drum making was a practice nearly lost, but recovered in recent decades.\(^\text{121}\) This work excites a new hope for sustaining traditional practices notwithstanding the impact of globalization. In this respect, Jungen’s deployment of a traditional practice in a different way signifies the continuity of tradition in a younger generation, as well as a new freedom of expression. As with *Crux*, which developed out of Jungen’s experience at the Sydney Biennale on Cockatoo Island, Jungen’s new works also emerge from personal engagement with place, only this time it is the place in which he had been raised and

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to which he now has returned. The moose and deer hides incorporated into the 
*Tomorrow, Repeated* sculptures were harvested from the animals killed on hunting 
expeditions with members of his family on his reserve. Jungen had hoped to kill a 
moose himself, but reported with a shrug that it “didn’t happen.”¹²² The skinning, 
cutting, stretching and curing process was also a collective endeavor, although 
Jungen was proud to admit to personally scraping one of the skins.¹²³ These 
practices were learned from Dane-zaa elders, notably his great uncle Jack, a drum 
maker.¹²⁴ Spending time with his elders has also exposed Jungen to the stories and 
histories associated with traditional territories.

Just as *Crux* and *Carapace* merged signifiers of Aboriginal epistemologies with other 
worldviews, Jungen’s new work *Star* employs a similar hybridity with a distinctly 
Dane-zaa perspective. In this sculpture, drumheads have been cut from the surface 
of the hide to create circular windows, exposing the network of rawhide stitching on 
the reverse side. These lines are reminiscent of a system of roads on a map, or 
constellations in the sky. The layering of hide, fender and rawhide converge into a 
three-dimensional landscape, evoking a complex cosmology, reminiscent of Charlie 
Yahey’s drum. *Star* thereby evokes the connection between the ritual of drumming, 
the cosmos, and the land. The green fenders determine the shape of this window, 
just as motorized vehicles now define the movements of the Dane-zaa across their

¹²³ Ibid.
traditional territories. Here Jungen has mixed traditional and contemporary mapping symbolism with a distorted drum. Like *Crux* and *Carapace*, this work suggests compatibility between Aboriginal epistemologies and contemporary global culture. However, *Star* is more abstract and refrains from figurative imagery, such as the animal forms used in these earlier works.

The use of abstraction in Jungen’s *Tomorrow, Repeated* exhibition can be read as a response to the stereotypical signs of Aboriginality he addressed in *Prototypes for New Understanding*. The fender and hide sculptures do not incorporate the immediately recognizable images of reproduction that characterized the *Prototypes*, as for example Northwest Coast masks. As these new works are difficult to imitate or even summarily describe, Jungen seem to have, for the moment, developed new icons that are resistant to appropriation. This abstraction in his new work manages to capture an essence of the Doig River tradition while moving away from imagery associated with life of the past, such as teepees, bows and arrows. This turn towards abstraction in his hybrid strategies enables Jungen to transition from his prior use of appropriated forms and towards reinvention and self-discovery to assert an identity that is not neatly packaged within museological displays. *Tomorrow, Repeated, The Men of My Family*, and *Star* are hybrid sculptures reflecting Jungen’s strategy to redefine societal assumptions of reservation life, and to forge a path toward new stories of Dane-zaa culture in the future.125

The works displayed in *Tomorrow, Repeated* evoke the confidence, aura and monumentality of modernist sculpture, while employing very specific cultural practices. As Jungen states, these works have

a very strong Modernist feel to them. I wanted some sort of macho Modernist sculptures, so I made these hide pieces using car fenders, and you can’t tell what they are.126

The modernist aesthetic merged with Dane-zaa drums creates a hybrid object that is both uncertain and self-assured. This conflicted disposition is further enhanced by their placement in a room filled with Henry Moore’s monumental casts. While Moore’s primitivist sculptures draw inspiration from natural hills, rocks and bones, Jungen’s forms rely on the steel frames of manufactured cars. There is a visual sympathy between Jungen’s sculptures and Moore’s anthropomorphic figures in the circular shapes, gaping spaces and stretched materials. Yet, there is a profound difference between them, in that Jungen’s works are derived from his experience as an Aboriginal living on his reserve, not an imagined primitivism.

Like Bill Reid, Jungen has begun a process of cultural reclamation. His profound interest in everyday objects, detritus, and trivia, are associated with his experience of daily life and culture on the Doig River reserve. Such a resurgence of interest in his traditional home and culture may in some ways relate to Reid’s “renaissance” nearly sixty years ago, yet it is utterly different in that Jungen’s sources are far from the museum vitrines. Like Reid, Jungen is discovering new tools and materials, such

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as freezers and car parts, while drawing from traditional practices in order to push the boundaries of his own creative expressions. However, Jungen diverges from Reid’s interest in reviving specific and fixed artistic traditions of the past by choosing to find inspiration for new creative expressions in the present.

The works displayed in *Tomorrow, Repeated* employ postmodern trickstering, but to different effect. Jungen is no longer scavenging pop culture and rarified museum artifacts, but instead finding new materials in the reserve. Freezers here serve as plinths, while car fenders are drum hoops. In so doing he has created works that do not directly critique the stereotypes of Aboriginal identity found in urban centers like Vancouver. Instead Jungen’s works reflect his process of reterritorialization and his return to the Doig River, where objects produced by global culture have found new meaning and cultural significance. Even the mass-produced car parts and freezers are, to him, no longer Western referents, but are entrenched in the landscape of the reserve. As Jungen has stated:

  On my rez, on my friends’ rezes, and on all the rezes across the country, everyone has deep freezers and they’re often outside. There are also car parts and bone and hides everywhere…a language that I don’t think a lot on non-Natives would understand. It’s a hidden reference.\(^\text{127}\)

Car parts and freezers are familiar signs of reservation life, and are recognizable as such by Aboriginal people, while at the same time they can be read differently by the art world. Jungen’s “hidden” references are closely aligned with the scenario that Homi Bhabha articulated in his discussion of the third space, as Bhabha described “a

\(^{127}\) Ibid., 26.
form of thinking about a resistant knowledge, a counter knowledge in a context of hegemonic power.”¹²⁸ Jungen’s new works are able to communicate in one way to reservation-based Aboriginals, through symbolic references to the visual language of the reserve, and in another way to art word audiences, via the language of modernism. In this way he has produced a third space, a new site for negotiation.

Conclusion

For over ten years, Jungen’s work has employed a hybridizing artistic strategy related to place, but eluded an exploration of his own cultural heritage, until he produced the works for Tomorrow Repeated. The Prototypes for New Understanding appropriated Northwest Coast regalia to negotiate the arena of Aboriginal identity politics and postmodernism he encountered in Vancouver in the 1990s. Jungen’s first site-specific projects reflected the hybridity of subordinate and dominant positionalities located in Kingston, New York, and Montreal. Later site-specific projects, in Sydney, and Carquefou France, employed hybrid strategies to assert Aboriginal epistemologies. However, Jungen remained adjacent to the sites of struggle referenced in his works, underscoring the power of his hybrid strategies to inspire insightful interpretations of complex issues emerging out of those sites of struggle, but without being located within them himself. Homi Bhabha has said that the third space requires the colonial subject to make:

a demand that cannot be satisfied by their colonial masters. That is the opening up of a third space, another area of negotiation, where they take a particular cultural idea of theirs, impose it on a practice that cannot absorb it, display their own agency in relation to it. That is what I call the third space.¹²⁹

The success of the Tomorrow, Repeated exhibition lies in its creation of a new area of negotiation by imposing specific, local cultural knowledges on an art form associated with the dominant culture.

Jungen’s sculptures, The Men of My Family, Star, and Tomorrow Repeated, are objects emerging out of the site of Jungen’s own family and band struggles, and are thus imbued with a significance that his other work could not achieve. Since first developing his Prototypes for New Understanding, Jungen has sought to expand Aboriginal visual culture through developing a language that speaks from the living cultures of reserve and urban Indians:

This is the work I’m making; this work is about my experience of being First Nations and trying to figure out what that means at this time... All I want to do is open things up a bit for First Nations people to come to terms with their identity, not just First Nations artists, but also the culture in general. I want them to see the incredible diversity in First Nations art and culture.¹³⁰

Brian Jungen’s exhibition Tomorrow, Repeated can be seen as a shift towards a new focus in his art. Encompassing the hybridity that now defines the cultural life of the Doig River reserve, it represents a new path in Aboriginal cultural production.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 14.
Bibliography


Burnett, Craig, “Brian Jungen: Owls, Inuits and cultural collision; museums, marketing and clichés,” from Frieze, April, 2006, 142.


Fischer, Barbara, “NewModulr” (curatorial statement, Blackwood Gallery, Toronto: 2002).


Appendix A: Images

figure 1: *Tomorrow, Repeated*
2010, moose hide, car fenders, chest freezer, steel, 244 x 156 x 75 cm.
Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 2: *The Men of My Family*
2010, moose and deer hide, car fenders, chest freezer, steel, 269 x 122 x 76 cm.
Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery
figure 3: *Star/Pointro*, installation image (Art Gallery of Ontario), 2011
Source: Colin McConnell, Toronto Star

figure 4: *Prototype for New Understanding #1*
1998, Nike Air Jordans, 17 × 13"
Source: Trevor Mills, Vancouver Art Gallery
figure 5: Prototype for New Understanding #2
1998, Nike Air Jordans, human hair,
19¼ x 8⅜ x 10"
Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 6: Prototype for New Understanding #5
1999, Nike Air Jordans, human hair, 22 x 27 x 5"
Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 7: Prototype for New Understanding #7
1999, Nike Air Jordans, 7 x 12 x 16"
Source: David Barbour, Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 8: Prototype for New Understanding #12
2002, Nike Air Jordans
Image: Centre for Contemporary Canadian Art
figure 9: Prototype for New Understanding #16
2004, Nike Air Jordans, human hair, 22½ x 12 x 18”
Source: Vancouver Art Gallery

figure 10: Prototype for New Understanding #21
2005, Nike Air Jordans, 21½ x 14½ x 13”
Source: Casey Kaplan Gallery
figure 11: *Isolated Depiction of the Passage of Time*, 2001, Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 12: *Court*, 2004, 224 sweatshop tables, paint, 2 rolling steel warehouse ladders, 2 basketball hoops with net and backboard, 148 x 336 x 840 inches (376 x 853 x 2134 cm), Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery
figure 13: *Habitat 04-Cité Radieuse des Chats/Cats Radiant City*, 2004, Plywood, carpet, cats, 132 x 180 x 336 inches (335 x 457 x 853 cm), Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery

figure 14: *Crux (as seen from those who sleep on the surface of the earth under the night sky)*, 2008 Suspended mobile of steel, cut up travel suitcases/various luggage used and new, rowboat with oars, Sydney Biennale, Cockatoo Island, Australia, Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery
figure 15: *Carapace*, 2009–2011, Plastic recycling containers, Dimensions variable
Source: Catriona Jeffries Gallery