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CANADIAN VISUAL ART MAGAZINES AS CULTURAL FORMATIONS

by

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Abstract

This study explores the relationships between four exemplary Canadian art magazines and the art world they inform and in which they are situated. The principal claim is that the visual art world has become a textual community by virtue of the premium placed on the printed word and the ties that have developed among individuals, such as artists and curators, and organizations, such as the magazines, funding agencies and the academy.

For theoretical direction the multidisciplinary study draws on communication theory, art history, the sociology of organizations and culture as well as management studies. Of principal importance are the media theories of Innis (1972, 1973) and the organizational formulations of DiMaggio (1985). Three types of investigation support the claims: a) an historical account of the four magazines, which includes tracking the strategies the editors undertook, a consideration of each periodical's rhetorical features and a description of several networks in the art world which involve individuals and organizations.

The study then considers the deliberate and unintended consequences of the visual art world becoming a textual community, some of which are liberating while others are disabling. The study concludes by suggesting how the research undertaken contributes to current debates about the analysis of communications and culture.

Abrégé

Cette étude explore les relations entre quatre magazines d'art canadiens importants, et le milieu des arts qu'ils ont pour mandat d'informer, et dans lequel ils sont situés. L'affirmation principale du présent ouvrage est la suivante : que le monde des arts visuels est devenu une collectivité liée par le texte, en vertu de la valeur donnée au mot imprimé, ainsi que des liens qui se sont développés entre les individus, tels les artistes et les conservateurs, et les organisations, telles que les magazines, les organismes de subvention et les universités.

Au niveau théorique, l'étude multidisciplinaire puise ses lignes directrices dans la théorie des communications, l'histoire de l'art, la sociologie des organisations et de la culture, ainsi que dans les recherches en gestion. Les théories des médias de Innis (1972, 1973) et les formulations organisationnelles de DiMaggio (1985) sont d'une importance capitale. Trois types d'enquêtes viennent appuyer les affirmations : un exposé historique des quatre magazines, qui inclut le suivi des stratégies entreprises par les éditeurs; l'examen des caractéristiques rhétoriques de chaque magazine; enfin, une description de plusieurs réseaux dans le domaine des arts qui touchent les individus et les organisations.

L'étude se penche ensuite sur les conséquences voulues et celles involontaires résultant de la transformation du milieu des arts visuels en collectivité liée par le texte. Certaines de ces conséquences ont un effet libérateur, tandis que d'autres, au contraire, s'avèrent un handicap. L'étude conclut en suggérant de quelle façon la recherche entreprise ici contribue aux débats actuels sur l'analyse des communications et de la culture.

Table of Contents

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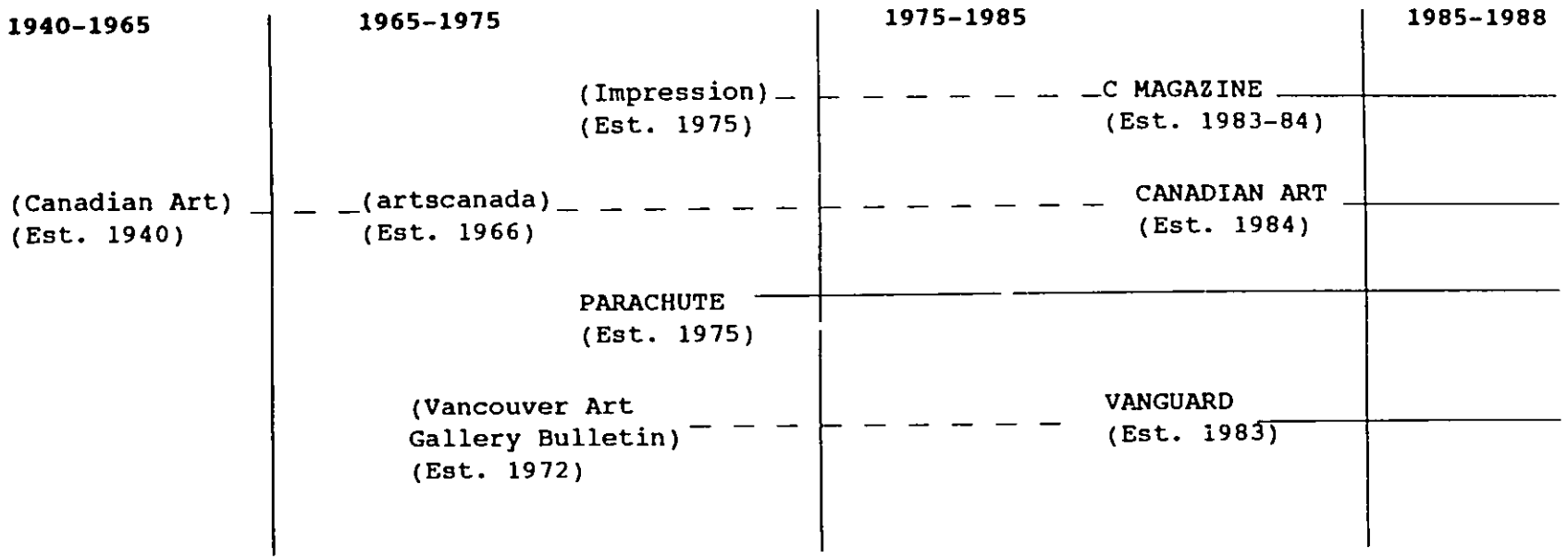
I wish to dedicate this thesis to my sons Ira and Evan Dubinsky.

TIME LINE: Four Canadian Visual Arts Magazines, 1940-1988



Key: ( ) Predecessor Magazines

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The Canadian can not get on without his newspaper anymore than the American without his tobacco.

Susannah Moodie, a chronicler of life in 19th Century English Canada, made this observation over one hundred and thirty years ago (Rutherford, 1978). It is as apt today because a distinctly Canadian engagement with communications remains. This is not to say that other nations are not preoccupied with media industries and products. What distinguishes the Canadian situation is the extent to which communications is an intellectual and institutional concern.

For one thing, intellectual life in Canada is greatly taken up with communication as a system and process. This is evidenced in the pioneering work of Harold Innis (1972, 1973), Marshall McLuhan (1962, 1964) and George Grant (1969) and the debates which this work has generated. There is an on going attempt to regulate communications through legislation and by maintaining state agencies, such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and The National Film Board. There is also a constant stream of government commissions and task forces which address the control and impact of broadcasting, film, publishing and other media. No segment of Canadian society appears untouched by a preoccupation with communications and this includes the visual art world. To

paraphrase Moodie, Canadian visual artists can not get on without their periodicals.

Poggioli (1968) points out that art movements make extensive use of periodicals as polemical devices and displays for work. Thus the convergence of text and image is not altogether surprising. Art magazines have also become indispensable guides to the art market, replete with advertisements from private and public galleries which announce current and upcoming exhibitions. What is significant about the Canadian visual art world given its relatively small size, is the abundance of art specific or art related periodicals. With few exceptions, all depend extensively on grants from the publishing program of the Canada Council. A cultural policy contributes to the structuring of information and knowledge in the Canadian art world. This is not an unusual practice given state support of the arts in other countries. What is notable is the attendant network of institutions and associations which the art magazines assist in creating and reproducing.

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationships between an exemplary group of Canadian visual art magazines and the world they inform and in which they are located. They are C, Canadian Art, Vanguard and Parachute. The study is not confined to an analysis of contents in which a claim is made for a faithful correspondence between the art world and the art and artists the magazines present or represent. Rather, the emphasis of the study is situational. The argument is that the periodicals link people,

such as artists, critics and curators, to organizations, including public and private art galleries, art schools, professional associations and funding agencies.

The following metaphor further explains the nature of the relationships and the primary intent of the study. Most analyses of magazines are entirely consumed with content as they attempt to make some sense of what lies between the covers. By contrast this study is concerned with the spines of selected art periodicals. Just as the spines hold each issue together, these magazines collectively are the ties that bind the visual art world. What the magazines choose to include as content is an important but not a sufficient measure of what they do or what happens in the art world. How they include what they cover becomes the more interesting and necessary consideration. The inclusion is accomplished through a process of stitching which this study shows is deliberate and emergent in character.

A Multidisciplinary Approach:

To extend the metaphor further, the task of describing the bookwork is also an act of binding as several disciplines, methods and theoretical issues require incorporation. First, communications studies are taken up with, among other things, the significance of print media. Approaches vary: historical, semiotic and policy-centered. Despite differing purposes and methodologies, all approaches share the assumption that media of communication are pervasive enough to warrant a specific disciplinary focus. As a

result, a study of magazines, art or otherwise, would focus on the salient features and effects of the medium and be less concerned with the subject matter of the publications.

An approach primarily grounded in art history would emphasize the developments in artistic practice which are reflected in the magazines. Yet social and cultural contexts would be possibly missed or marginalized, including the fact that a magazine is a cultural form. These oversights do not always occur as some recent developments in art history have a concern with the circumstances and forms in which art is made and valued. Baxandall (1989) offers an historical explanation of works by connecting their formal features to economic and cultural conditions. More specifically, Clark (1984), for example, provides an analysis of Manet and his world that is grounded in social history, while Pollack (1988) offers feminist readings of art history which focus heavily on contextual considerations. Communication studies is also addressing the social bases of media practices and forms as well as continuing to stress the effects and features of particular media. Consider the work of Marvin (1988) which examines the development of electricity, including the role played by scientific journals and other publications.

Finally, there are organizational approaches which are grounded in sociology and management studies. Magazines are first and foremost organizational entities. Any claims about their functions and interests require an understanding of their structural properties and their institutional formation. Whatever

the approach, and there are many as outlined by Perrow (1979), none would necessarily disregard the significance of the magazines as media. Each method varies as to its choice of a starting point for the subsequent analysis of texts and production practices.

To adopt a single disciplinary focus is theoretically tempting and methodologically convenient, but ultimately less fruitful than a multidsciplinary approach. The study of art magazines, if not other media forms, requires the inclusion of several disciplines to tackle what Schutz (1967) calls "multiple realities". First, the visual art world has become what Stock calls a "textual community", a formation in which "groups rally around authoritative texts and their designated interpreters" (Marvin, 1988 p.12). Art pieces no longer constitute the body of work of concern to artists. Written treatises, (many of them densely theoretical), are also accorded authority while art works are also frequently considered texts, thus extending the corpus of subjects. The magazines sustain the community because they are sources for referring to all these authoritative texts as well as locating their interpreters.

Thus, to the extent that institutional growth is evident, textual realities are very much a part of the organizational shape of the art world. This is not a new development. It is the degree of embrace that is significant as educational institutions, galleries, museums, fundirg agencies and art schools place an even higher value on text. The consequence is that the art world is becoming more of an academic field and the periodicals are central

to this evolution as they traffic in written text, the preferred academic medium.

Nevertheless, relying on theories about text will not completely account for organizational realities. Some history of art and art criticism becomes another necessary component of this study of magazines. For example, Wolff (1981) acknowledges that the printed word altered the circumstances in which art was produced and valued.

> For the painter, too, the advent of printing and the book was important, as Eisenstein argues, in contributing to the setting up of a learned trade and profession, with accompanying discourses and journals and the founding of academies (p. 37).

It is apparent that contemporary periodicals as well as university faculties of art and state patronage are further institutional outgrowths. Each accords authority to the printed word by respectively emphasizing written reviews, written examinations and grant applications.

To attach more importance to print as a factor governing changes in the visual art world is not a concession to technological determinism. The thesis does not claim that technology is an autonomous force that orchestrates the activities of the art world because of its capacity for presentation and dissemination. Rather, to recall the initial metaphor, the claim is that the magazines bind people and organizations. Words and texts are the fibers required for the stitching while the organizational settings in which the stitching takes place are of comparable significance. Attendantly, there is a need to describe

the processes of magazine production, to identify the binding which contributes to and emerges from the periodicals. Thus, the study will address the organization of work and word in an effort to understand the art world as a textual community.

At this point there is need to refer to the presence of both micro and macro concerns in the study because such a dual interest is contentious. Until recently, the separation of micro and macro was considered sacrosanct by most disciplines, especially sociology. Theoretically and methodologically, it was assumed that only unsubstantiated connections could be drawn between micro activities, such as magazine production, and macro structures, such as the Canadian visual art world. Recent work (Cicourel, 1981), (Collins 1981 and 1986), (Kersten 1986), (Giddens, 1986) and (Alexander et. al. 1987) suggests that this great divide stems from limited epistemological interests and analytic deficiencies of various disciplines rather than from an inherent incompatibility between the micro and macro.

The thesis adopts the position of Cicourel et. al. and identifies the micro and macro relationships among individuals and organizations which the magazines are instrumental in developing and reproducing. Indeed, one of the paths to further resolving the micro-macro dichotomy is to give more attention to the forms of agency that link the two. Suffice to say at this juncture, media of communication connect individuals and organizations in ways that go beyond the simple transmission of information. Further

discussion of how micro and macro considerations will be treated is found in chapter two.

The case for a multidisciplinary approach has been made. But just as an analysis can not be based on the interests of one discipline, the art world and its magazines are not a self-contained entity. A community of individuals and organizations prevails but it is not hermetic. The art magazines, for example, are bound by several organizational and economic constraints common to the periodical publishing industry. There are also other art worlds which are characterized by national boundaries, or exist as a transnational configurations such as a market. The relationship between internal and external ties may prove to be the most consequential as far as the emergent character of the Canadian visual art world is concerned.

The exogenous situation requires further noting. This is not to contradict the claim for a defined community of individuals and organizations but to recognize the ongoing importance of several contextual realities. As Geertz (1986) puts it: "We are living more and more in the midst of an enormous collage" and he goes on to describe how.

> ....it is in fact getting to be the case that rather than being sorted into framed units, social spaces with definite edges to them, seriously disparate approaches to life are becoming scrambled together in ill-defined expanses, social spaces whose edges are unfixed, irregular, and difficult to locate. The question of how to deal with puzzles of judgement to which such disparities give rise takes on a rather different aspect. Confronting landscapes is one thing; panoramas and collages quite another (p. 121).

Many commentators, Geertz included, suggest that part of the collage phenomenon is derived from the pervasiveness and diversity of communications media. Magazines are visual proof as a maker of and material for the collage. Look at several periodicals: a sports or fashion magazine, a health or medical digest or an art magazine. Spread them out on a table and immediately some of life's multiple and intersecting realities are evident, "juxtaposed and scrambled", to use Geertz"s words. In the case of the art magazines, there are design formats found in other periodicals and even in some cases there is a convergence of content. To illustrate, artists who have gained celebrity status because of the high monetary and critical value of their work are featured in widely distributed art periodicals such as Art in America and in fashion magazines, such as Mirabella.

Consistent with the collage aspects of the art magazines is the collage composition of the visual art world. Whether in its Canadian context or as a global configuration, the social and culture space for visual art has no "fixed boundaries". Content and the modes of presentation are diverse and often incorporate other art forms and organizations. To further recall Geertz the visual art world is no longer a "still life" or a "landscape", a painting neatly framed, but itself a "panorama", "collage", or to invoke another art medium, an installation. These configurations not only emerge through a process of emulation, in which the magazines and their referent, the art world, mirror each other. Communication also occurs and is a consequence of several

interactions. Of great significance is the emergence of a common discourse to handle, if not master, the apparent diversity. In this respect, the magazines play a considerable role in connecting individuals, organizations and ideas in the art world.

Methodological and Empirical Considerations:

Having introduced the aims of this study and presented several disciplinary matters, an initial explanation of the methodology is now required. First, what research strategies and methods will be used to identify the ties and make sense of the resulting data? Second, what magazines will be selected and by what criteria? A case was made for tapping several theories and disciplines to deal with multiple and intersecting realities. It is tempting to derive from this theoretical mass the causes for ties and attempt to confirm or disprove them. However, this presents a conceptual and methodological conundrum. Proposing a comparative historical analysis as an alternative, Weber (1977) draws attention to a dilemma in logic that occurs if there is an attempt to connect factors and theories to concrete manifestations.

> ....the analysis of reality is concerned with the configuration (his italics) in to which those (hypothetical) factors are arranged to form a cultural phenomenon which is historically significant to us. Furthermore, if we wish to "explain" this individual configuration "causally" we must invoke other equally individual configurations on the basis of which we explain it with the aid of these (hypothetical!) laws (p.27).

The study adopts Weber's suggestion by tracing the development of four magazines which are historically evolved configurations and are "contemporaneously significant" (p. 27).

To this end, the study first considers each magazine's "strategy formation" in an effort to account for an evolving network of individuals and organizations. As de Certet (1988) explains:

> I call a strategy (his italics) the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that become possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be determined as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed (p. 36).

Relying on this observation which is consistent with the situational concerns of the study, there is an analysis of the strategies undertaken by each magazine.

Mintzberg (1978) and Mintzberg and Waters (1985) provide the framework for the examination. For them strategy is a "pattern in a stream of decisions". (1985, p. 257). There are two fundamental types: deliberate strategies, actions taken which are realized; and emergent strategies, actions that are realized despite or in the absence of intentions. Mintzberg and Waters go on to provide a continuum of strategies ranging from the most deliberate to the most emergent which further specify what types of decisions are made. The present study applies the continuum in an attempt to categorize and examine the various actions taken by each magazine

throughout its history. Of principal concern are editorial decisions, the actions of contributing writers and curators, content changes as well as related shifts in format and design. The study also compares the actions of each publication to provide a more sustained appreciation of how the publications individually and collectively contribute to the development of a textual community. This comparison invites a second methodological task.

Commenting on decision making, Huff (1982) suggests that "we need to know more about the pool of strategic concepts which a group of organizations holds in common at any given time" (p. 119). These concepts are the stuff out of which several ties are established and reproduced. They are the fibers which also create the textual community and they exist in the form of vocabularies and texts. To illustrate, consider that "strategy" itself is a word that presently has great currency in the art world for defining art activities. It unites individuals and organizations who use it to characterize a particular artistic practice or more generally to profess some kind of ideological engagement within the art world. The concept alone is not necessarily responsible for ties but as part of a larger vocabulary it facilitates a network of relationships.

To attach significance to such words and concepts suggests that the present study also includes a complete discursive analysis. Individuals and organizations are joined by a common discourse but it is not necessary to search endlessly through the texts themselves for repetitive instances, such as ideological

agreement, to indicate commonalties. Continuities and changes which exist, for example, at the level of editorship, design, in titles and selected passages provide the signals for the embedded presence of several concepts and ideas.

A third methodological task will complement the historical analysis and rhetorical findings and in doing so give equal weight to the location of and connections among individuals and organizations. This is a visual description of ties as they are established and reproduced. It draws its inspiration from the concerns of network analysis (Berkowitz 1982, 1988). To return to the initial metaphor, this description further accounts for the stitching which creates a pattern of relationships that are sustained over time. It is not within the limits of the study to provide an exhaustive description of the networks within the Canadian visual art world. What is emphasized are "the strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973, 1982). Such relationships extend beyond the bonds associated with close friendships, families and other intimate circles. Weak ties are grounded in acquaintanceships and "inter-group connections" Simmel (1955) and Blau (1974). They contribute to the "cohesive power" (Granovetter 1982) which binds individuals and organizations. A description of ties along the lines advocated by Granovetter can identify the relationships that link micro activities, such as magazine production, to macro structures, such as the visual art world. What the study will be looking for are placements, connections and attachments, for example, of artists, editors and curators to

magazines and other organizations such as the Canada Council and galleries.

The interest in networks, which is primarily grounded in the discipline of sociology, need not divert the study from its concern with media. Ties are essentially communication devices which link individuals and organizations. As Klapper has insisted "communication operates among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences" (Schramm, 1980, pp. 306-307). In acknowledging Klapper, Schramm also points out that the effects of media are not simple and that they occur over a long period of time. The development of ties and the emergence of a textual community confirm the above observations, including the inadequacy of only dealing with the periodicals as a message system. Applying Schramm further, the historical account in this present study permits some understanding of each magazine's development over time.

However, it is also important to have a grasp of contemporary realities, to see in a sense where history has landed. Thus the historical account of strategic activity is facilitated by unstructured interviews with the magazine editors and with the officer of the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals Program. The responses assist in understanding what kinds of relationships get established and reproduced as choices are made about authorship, content and design. It may appear that an historical analysis and current observations are incompatible. Yet, extracting a history and sketching a network from past texts can not sufficiently

capture what the periodicals do besides or as a consequence of transmitting information. Conversely, an analysis exclusively preoccupied with the contemporary risks not having the analytical and reflective distance that historical documents have the possibility of providing given their very disembodiment.

Having outlined the methodological tasks, it is appropriate to account for the selection of the four magazines. All are chosen from the group of visual arts publications supported by the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals program. This is more than just a convenient list from which to fashion a sample. Council support confers legitimacy, enabling the magazines to speak with authority about art and the art world. The periodicals under study have developed considerable status and their coverage of contemporary art in Canada is quite comprehensive. They are C, Canadian Art, Parachute and Vanguard. These magazines ascribe legitimation to the artists, art works, organizations and issues they cover. These periodicals are also connected to other Council activities. Many magazine contributors are editors, curators, critics and artists who are the beneficiaries or adjudicators of other Council programs as are the artists, projects and organizations they cover. Evidently, the Council's role in facilitating ties in the visual art world is considerable and will be acknowledged as relationships are uncovered. However, this study is primarily concerned with four magazines. It intends to show how a medium of communication, in this case print, assists in creating and reproducing a network

of associations and how this network in turn structures power relations in the Canadian visual art world.

Faced with the many periodicals receiving support how can such a specific selection be made? Are there other publications equally appropriate or representative? Why not consider all magazines? The number of art magazines is too large to permit close attention to vocabularies and texts that often connect people to organizations. The most viable and appropriate strategy is to make a selection of exemplary magazines. The four publications chosen qualify as such. Others are more particular in their orientations and therefore present the dilemma of representativeness. For example, there is Vie Des Arts, the oldest, current publication but its coverage of contemporary art is uneven. The interests of Border Crossings and Arts Atlantic are regional and while this is surely an important consideration, the scope of these magazines is limited. There is also FUSE magazine but it raises specific political and social concerns rather than attempting to cover a wide range of issues and exhibitions.

An exemplary group must further be distinguished from a representative sample. The former is connected to certain theoretical and institutional concerns, the latter would have to conclusively represent art magazines as a whole with respect to point of view, location, size, frequency, and production. This inclusion is tempting but invariably leads to an infinite regress as an accurate representation is sought. Of the four magazines for study three are considered in detail: C. Canadian Art and Vanguard.

This includes charting their strategy formation, examining rhetorical features and describing the network of associations. The fourth: Parachute is also subject to historical, textual and network considerations but its editor did not permit an interview or an on site observation. The time frame is from the mid 1970's until 1988. As is explained in the following chapter, the mid 1970's marks the establishment of two magazines Parachute and Vanguard. It also signals the beginning of decline for a major existing publication artscanada and a shift in policy by the Canada Council with respect to funding art magazines. As for the two other periodicals under study they began in the mid 1980's. The end date 1988 is when the interviews took place.

Implications for Communications Studies:

It is now appropriate to consider the purpose of this study relative to communication studies as a field of inquiry. Much has been written about the necessity and value of studies which have a pluralist orientation but most communications research still adheres to traditional concerns, such as a limited conception of media effects. Yet as Halloran (1983) points out:

> There is no need to apologize for a multiperspective diagnosis; indeed we should seek to promote eclecticism rather than try to make excuses for it. (p.271)

For Halloran, the challenge is to avoid ideological approaches which confuse assertion with validation (p. 273), but retain, if desired, a critical disposition. He also argues that multiple perspectives are best able to deal with complexity.

> Our acceptance of empirical methods, then, does not simply imply indifference to values and social concerns, any more than it does our willingness to adopt complementary perspectives. The plural approach signifies a recognition of the complexity of the situation in which we pursue our values, manifest our concerns, and search for change, by using what each of us regards as the most appropriate methods available (p. 274).

This study of magazines adopts Halloran's call by relying on several disciplines for theoretical and methodological direction. Halloran's point must also be addressed in relation to the constraints that govern the content of communications studies. In this respect the field could also benefit from more eclecticism, or else it risks confining itself to media forms which are all pervasive, such as television and popular music. In many ways, this is already happening, given the emergence of areas such as cultural studies and interdisciplinary programs in technology and society. The difficulty of categorizing a form or practice as cultural, communicational or artistic, has also loosened the grip and subsequently the territorial claims and interests of most traditional disciplines as well as fields such as communication studies.

Nevertheless, the temptation to cling to one's own discipline persists. It is perhaps akin to an attachment to family rather than an alliance to a specific theoretical or methodological camp. This study understands and appreciates the secure and often necessary boundaries that a kinship structure provides. It also recognizes the value of working on the edges, where as Weick (1985)

notes "some of the best clues to context occur, areas where one situation grades into another" (p. 610). Walking along the rim of communication studies and the visual art world constitutes working on the edges. Such positioning assists in the understanding of the relations between the art world and its periodicals. It will also provide a basis for suggesting how communication studies and the art world can further inform each other theoretically and empirically.

The study now proceeds by further addressing theoretical and methodological matters. This includes a treatment of literature from several areas including the history of print media, the sociology of culture and organizations and art history. Chapter three contains an account of the strategy formation of the four magazines. An examination of rhetorical features and the description of networks comprise the fourth chapter. Chapter five examines the consequences of the art world becoming a textual community. The sixth and concluding chapter assesses the contributions of the research to the study of communication studies and attendant fields.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Initial Constructs and Contexts:

The chapter considers several theoretical and methodological issues in order to establish the conceptual grounding of this study. The first issue is the question of how constructs germane to the analysis, such as art world, production, field, medium and network are treated by several disciplines. Art world first receives examination as this term is frequently used in the present study to describe the setting in which the magazines operate. As Becker (1982) puts it:

> Art worlds consist of all the people whose activities are necessary to their production of the characteristic works which that world and perhaps others as well, define as art. Members of art worlds co-ordinate the activities by which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artifacts. The same people often cooperate repeatedly, even routinely, in similar ways to produce similar works, so that we can think of an art world as an established network of cooperative links among participants (pp. 34-35).

For Becker, the key words are activities, cooperation and co-ordination. Art worlds are configurations that develop on the basis of common interests and objectives. As art works are made, reviewed, taught about, presented and possibly sold, links among participants are established, sustained or reproduced. Consider the following example. A public gallery organizes a thematic exhibition which brings together visual artists who work in various

media. Some in the "show" may be familiar with each other's work. For other artists it may be the first time they receive such exposure and juxtaposition. Additionally, private dealers may come into contact with what is for them new work. Other public galleries may respond by featuring the work of some or all of the artists. Meanwhile, the exhibition is reviewed in one or several magazines and this can generate other connections between individuals, works and organizations.

An art world then is diffuse and polyphonic. Transactions and relationships in this setting are not necessarily finite or exclusive. Within the visual art world there is an ensemble of works, practices and organizations which in the process of their enactment also describe the world in which they are situated. Accordingly, "art world", as conceived by Becker, is a conceptually and empirically attractive designation but this does not entirely justify its use as a concept. Its utility is also connected to several theoretical issues of concern to the sociology of culture, communications and organizations. Complementary constructs, including network and field, are also pertinent to these debates and require definition and discussion.

For most of its existence North American sociology, like its social science cousins, has been governed by the tenets of positivism. As a result the study of contemporary culture and communications is still primarily taken up with a quantitative discussion of the transmission and effects of information. As

Carey (1977) describes it for communication studies, the dominant tendency is to see

> communication as a process of transmitting messages at a distance for the purpose of control. The archetypal case of communication then is persuasion, attitude change, behaviour modification, socialization through the transmission of information, influence or conditioning (p.412).

However, the literature does not consist entirely of behavioral studies. As Hirsch (1975 and 1977) initially points out, there are also studies which address occupational, organizational and institutional considerations. The research focuses on the circumstances of transmission, such as news gathering activities or the cross-ownership of media companies. But what is characteristic of most studies, is an industrial outlook. They concentrate on mass transmissions, such as television programming, and conceptualize outputs almost exclusively as products. The industrial model is not confined to studies of large communications conglomerates whose industrial character is obvious given their size and market objectives. It is also used to examine other arenas of culture and communication, including the art world. For example, Adler (1979), in a study of an art school, assumes the institution to be industrial in its organizational structure and its intent.

As a consequence, most studies are as much taken up with the production and consumption of communicational activities as they are with their transmission and effects. What underlies research preoccupations is a basic assumption which is often referred to as

the "production of culture" thesis (Peterson, 1976). As Tuchman explains it paraphrasing Peterson: "production processes influence content which in turn influence social behaviour and structure which influence production processes" (1983, p. 332). Yet there are many challenges to this thesis. Peterson himself (1985) offers amendments which take into account such factors as the legal constraints which govern production. Kadushin (1977) questions whether the production of culture is always so deliberate, institutionalized and sequential. He draws attention to the emergent properties of cultural production. As distinguished from Becker, he focuses on circles or networks of activity, pointing out that producers of culture, such as intellectuals, writers, and painters are also avid consumers of each other's work. This does not lead Kadushin to suggest that other organizations or worlds are without their network configurations. What he emphasizes is the particular "interstitial and less formally instituted" formations that prevail in the cultural arena (p. 108).

There are other refutations of the thesis which do not so much reject the industrial model but provide a critique of the very culture that serves as an impetus to industrialization. Most notable is Frankfurt School sociology, especially Horkheimer and Adorno's trenchant "The Dialectic of the Enlightenment" (1982). This work accounts for the emergence of the "culture industry" which is coincident with an economy that is predominantly capitalist and industrial in its formation and its structure. In the authors' famous phrase such conditions have created a state of

"enlightenment as mass deception" given the commercialization and exploitation of culture as a product. Many European studies of culture and communication have been particularly influenced by Frankfurt sociology.

In addition to the critique there is a rich and varied interest in the symbolic properties of media. Carey (1977) contrasts this interest with the American preoccupation with transmission, production and effects.

> ...the preponderant view is a ritual one: communication is viewed as a process through which a shared culture is created, modified, transformed. The archetypal case of communication is ritual and mythology. A ritual view of communication is not directed toward the extension of messages in space but the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting influence, but the creation representation and celebration of shared beliefs (p. 412).

Returning to Becker, his conception of an art world accommodates the two traditions described by Carey. Becker identifies the production and consumption aspects of art making but avoids casting art activities in an entirely industrial mold. Becker also acknowledges the ritual elements of art making. He attends to its participatory aspects and to repeated enactments, such as exhibitions. What then does Becker's construct lack? What is needed is a more comprehensive framework for understanding the process of making and interpreting art. What is also required is a more detailed explanation of the role of communications media, such as art publications.

Zolberg (1990) suggests Becker focuses primarily on features particular to each art world.

> The worlds (her italics) in which artists work exist, more or less as institutionalized subcultures, that normally have little to do with each one another. Each centers around one of four principal types of artists: integrated professionals, mavericks, folk artists, naive artists. This subcultural analysis presents the arts as relatively self-contained and segmented one from the other, more like a mosaic than a collage (p. 124-125).

For Zolberg, this is not so much a case of inaccuracy or ignorance as it is a failing which results from paying "too little attention to the overarching macrostructure of society and polity within which these worlds function" (p. 125). She supports her position by referring to Becker's treatment of the role of the state in the making of art.

> It is not that Becker is unaware of the importance of the state in providing a structure of opportunity and constraint, but that he tends to assimilate it to "other art world" participants even as he notes its capacity to punish those people guilty of creating undesirable work by death, imprisonment or other kinds of sanctions (Zolberg, 1990, p. 125).

Zolberg's is not using a "straw-man" tactic to illustrate how Becker's micro-concerns can be taken to extreme conclusions. There are less dramatic cases of inter-connectedness which Becker acknowledges, but insufficiently. As he puts it:

> .... art worlds typically have intimate and extensive relations with worlds from which they try to distinguish themselves. They share sources of supply with other worlds, recruit personnel from them, adopt ideas that

> originate in them, and compete with them for audiences and financial support (1982, p.36).

Becker is surely aware of other important relationships. But as with Zolberg's example, it is precisely the designation of other relations which poses the difficulty. An indispensable connection, such as state funding, is regarded as external to a world that is self-contained. Moreover, except for the attention to competition, Becker does not sufficiently acknowledge the conflict or collision of different art worlds, which may also be a source of connection. He prefers to emphasize co-ordination and cooperation. Once again, this is not so much wrong-headed as it is a limiting analytic device. As Zolberg explains:

> ...his approach is so grounded on the primacy of interaction that it leaves the macro-sociological level of society in shadow and inadequately theorized. One consequence of this is that his premise of the segregation of art worlds makes it difficult to account for the "crossing over" among diverse art worlds that has actually been the norm. Even though certain art worlds are relatively segregated from others, it is well known that the arts impinge and infringe on each other, making it difficult to establish and maintain boundaries against encroachment (p.127).

Zolberg supports her position through historical references, including a discussion of how the French academy of art "guarded against outsider art but only with partial success." (1990, Chapter 7, passim) There are also contemporary realities, pertinent to this study of periodicals, which also suggest that Becker's framework while a good starting point, requires reworking. It is instructive to identify these modifications before suggesting what other theoretical amendments are necessary.

First, Zolberg's discussion of the state is especially relevant within the Canadian context. As was noted in the introductory chapter, the role of the Canada Council in funding arts activities is essential. This includes support for literary and art magazines, which in many cases accounts for most of their funding. Clearly, the state does not belong in the category to which Becker assigns it, that of "other art participants". The state is at the core of art production through its support of galleries, exhibitions, individual artists and publications. This is not to put aside some of the less formally instituted relationships, to recall Kadushin. Art schools and faculties, for example, are no longer inextricably tied to the academic arena but are also very much part of the larger art world. Faculty teach and pursue careers while the university has become an increasingly hospitable site for exhibitions and critical inquiry (Balfe, 1988). Nevertheless, all these multiple and intersecting realities do not render "art world" an inappropriate construct. What is required is an additional construct, that of "organizational field" (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) which takes these other activities into account. This construct will be introduced shortly.

Second, the thesis also claims that the visual art world has become a textual community. On first notice, this characterization seems consistent with Becker's description of an art world. The presence of such a world requires co-ordination, common practice and the sharing of resources, all of which imply the existence of a community. Zolberg (1990) also identifies a community aspect in

Becker's formulation by referring to his theoretical roots. "In the tradition of the Chicago school of urban sociology, art worlds are like neighborhoods making up a city" (p.125). However, the textual community is quite unlike what Becker envisages. As the introductory chapter emphasizes, the use of texts is instrumental in bringing self-contained units of activity, such as universities and galleries, into contact with each other, thereby creating a collage, to recall both Zolberg and Geertz. To be sure, there is a community dimension to this situation. In Becker's terms the magazines assist in establishing and/or maintaining "conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in continually used artifacts" (Becker 1982, p. 34-35).

Nevertheless, magazines and periodicals by their existence as print media are also removed from the actual activity of making and experiencing visual art works. They create disembodied relationships between works and individuals. This is the essence of what Ricoeur (1973) calls "textualization". As Van Mannen (1988) explains, it is a process by which unwritten behaviour, beliefs, values, rituals and oral traditions become fixed, atomized and classified (p. 95). As with the prominence of the state, the overwhelming presence of text must be conceptually and empirically incorporated if there is to be an account of the workings of the visual art world. This requires the acknowledgement that an art world is also an "organizational field" (DiMaggio, 1985 and DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). It also necessitates the inclusion of communications theory and history, in particular the work of Innis

(1972, 1973). His ideas call attention to the expressive and disseminating capacities of print media as a shaper of culture.

Field, Medium and Structure:

First, there is a need to define what is meant by a "field". For DiMaggio, a field refers to "sets of organizations that together accomplish some task in which a researcher is interested" (1983 p. 148). DiMaggio also indicates that he uses "field" in the dual sense in which Bourdieu (1975) uses "champ", that is to signify both common purpose and an arena of strategy and conflict" (DiMaggio, p. 149). For DiMaggio then, a field is made up of organizations which produce outputs, be they works, services or intangible phenomena, such as spiritual support, as well as organizations that supply resources, effect constraints, or pose contingencies (p. 149). It is evident that the field concept goes much beyond Becker's initial formulation. The concern with co-ordination and resources is present but with an acknowledgment that there is an array of actions and relationships.

Again, this is not to take away from Becker's micro-concerns but to incorporate a construct which is also mindful of several macro-realities. Further to this end, DiMaggio, acknowledging Weber, describes the contemporary organizational climate within an historical context.

> Bureaucratization led to a formalization and centralization of intraorganizational life. (his italics)... Currently, we are seeing an analogous formalization of inter-organizational (his italics) structure as a consequence of environmental factors. As the

> bureaucratization of organizations was stimulated by the growth of the modern economy so the "structuration" of relations among organizations is promoted by the expansion of the modern state (p.151).

What DiMaggio does is situate the state as a constituent part of a field but also identifies it as a primary determinant of inter-organizational relations.

As for the connection between these phenomena and the art world, DiMaggio confirms his hypothesis by citing the support of the arts by successive presidential administrations, including the Reagan years. There has been a continual provision of funds but the channelling of such support is through a network of private and non-profit arts organizations. The Canadian experience further confirms assumptions about the extent of state involvement. The Canada Council distributes funds to organizations in the visual art world, including many whose very initiation it has encouraged. These include artist-run galleries, publications and service organizations, such as the Association of Non-profit Art Centers.

DiMaggio (1985) suggests that an organizational field, such as an art world, has several structural components which involve the state to a considerable extent.

1) an increase in the level of interaction among organizations;

2) an increase in the load of information on organizations;

3) the emergence of a structure of domination;

4) the formation of coalitions;

5) the development, at the cultural level, of an ideology of the field.

DiMaggio suggests that the components become concrete realities through several processes and he provides examples which refer to arts support in the United States. Canadian comparisons follow. First, constituency building is a consequence of interaction. For example, American associations, such as the League of Symphony Orchestras, are the strategic outgrowths of shared understandings or aims, such as promoting a particular art form, to recall Becker. As for Canada, many service and advocacy associations are equally instrumental especially since their involvement with governments is considerable. For example, the Association of Nonprofit Artists Centers and the Canadian Museums Associations receive state support to communicate the needs and interests of their members. This includes convincing governments of the importance of museums and galleries.

Second, specific coalitions can develop around a cause or condition, such as the threat of reduced arts funding by the federal government. The Nova Scotia Coalition on Arts and Culture is a case in point, having been formed in 1983 as a result of proposed federal government cuts to cultural spending at the time. Third, DiMaggio suggests that an organizational field can have an ideological cast which is derived from the professionalization of work. In Canada, the state plays a central role because the Canada Council expects a certain level of curatorship on the part of the organizations it supports.

Art magazines have the capacity to be involved in any or all of these processes by virtue of participation in two others

identified by DiMaggio. First, the periodicals generate information by their very existence as media of communication. Such "loading", to recall DiMaggio, can become very ideological and more than an expression of professional expectations. Magazines, such as FUSE, which are funded by the Canada Council and the Ontario Arts Council, frequently participate in coalition building by taking political positions on a whole range of cultural policies. Second, magazines engage in the process of legitimation with some becoming an integral part of a structure of domination. This can be become continuous as a result of receiving state support over an extended period of time. Such was the case of artscanada (Graham, 1989) which enjoyed substantial Canada Council support over a ten year period, and often to the exclusion of support for other magazines. As for contemporary periodicals, this present study suggests that other patterns of domination may have emerged. Indeed, certain magazines have substantial legitimating powers which are realized in the coverage of certain artists, works, events, issues and organizations. All of this takes place with the implied approval of the state, given its funding commitment.

As has been indicated, the components and processes put forth by DiMaggio refer to several developments that occur within an organizational field. Yet are factors such as legitimation, knowledge dissemination and coalition building common to all fields? DiMaggio (1985) and DiMaggio and Powell (1983) clearly say yes. They contend that an organizational isomorphism prevails

which is evident in all fields as a consequence of state expansion and attendant factors, such as the professionalization of work. Their stance implies some reworking of the industrial model of culture and communication previously described. However, it must be recognized that the processes and components take more into account than the standard industrial model with respect to what constitutes production and transmission. Indeed, the field construct not only acknowledges the state and several forms of interaction. It also accommodates formulations about the very media which generate information, which according to DiMaggio is one process which gives structure to a field.

In this respect, the theories of Innis (1972, 1973) are especially relevant. He contends that each medium of communication is biased toward time or space. Innis explains that this phenomena can be understood historically. To illustrate, parchment was the medium of ecclesiastics. At it was not very portable the texts were like monuments, highly regarded, exclusive, authoritative, frozen in time. As a consequence the texts helped to maintain religious organization and control. The introduction of paper and the eventual emergence of the printing press facilitated efficient and effective translation and production of texts, including scriptures. According to Innis, ecclesiastical control declined and this gave rise to vernaculars and the growth of the nation-state and in turn extensive bureaucratic and political organization. These forms were also preoccupied with spatial matters, such as territorial claims and jurisdiction over property

and knowledge (1972, pp. 141-170.). Innis goes on to demonstrate how print forms, such as newspapers, magazines and books, continued to structure political and social realities. He refers, for example, to the rise of large metropolitan newspapers. He also points out that writing and reading became tantamount to possessing knowledge and power, given the growth of educational institutions with their emphasis on the production and study of printed and written texts.

From Innis's perspective, the magazines under study take on significance as print media. They are not simply the neutral and technological means for generating information. Their historical lineage and inherent properties help shape and give meaning to the legitimation and domination which occurs. The magazines assist in discursively structuring the space in which they are located - an organizational field - called an art world. Innis' point about the rise of vernaculars is especially germane. Magazines are produced in various languages. Some, like Parachute are always bilingual. However, it is also crucial to recognize that the art world has developed its own vocabulary through a preferred and consistent use of terms and idioms. These terms become the tools of legitimation and domination as they are used to qualify art works and art practice. As with all vernaculars and dialects, there are words which are borrowed from other discourses. In some cases it is another national language, in others the source is the specialized vocabulary of another discipline or field.

As has been argued, Innis' theoretical approach and historical readings attach importance to the periodicals as print media. More specifically, Innis shows that the rise of print is tied to the emergence of bureaucratic forms of organization. This development is consistent with DiMaggio's account of state expansion in organizational fields. It appears that communication, at least in the art world, is doubly biased toward space given the means through which information is generated and the state institutions which support such production.

The connections between the form of communication and the role of the state go deeper. There are also theoretical links to the work of Giddens (1981, 1986) which address, among other things, the structure of social worlds across time and space. For DiMaggio, state expansion and isomorphic tendencies contribute to what Giddens calls the "structuration" of relations among organizations. "Structuration" refers to the structuring of social relations across time and space "in virtue of the duality of structure" (1986, p. 25). The structural properties of social systems, such as the state within an organizational field, are both the "medium and outcome of the conduct they recursively organize" (p. 25).

Giddens also maintains that there are resources which constitute structures of domination which he identifies as allocative and authoritative (p.258). The former include: 1) material features of the environment such as raw materials, 2) the means of production and reproduction, such as instruments of technology and 3) produced goods, such as artifacts created by the

interaction of production and the environment. Authoritative resources include: 1) the organization of social time-space, for example the regular movement of groups, such as nomadic cultures. 2) the production and reproduction of the body. Giddens emphasizes that these resources should not be assimilated into the allocative list as they refer to the human capacity for production. As he explains "the co-ordination (his italics) of numbers of people together in a society and their reproduction over time is an authoritative source of the most fundamental sort" (p.260). 3) A third authoritative resource is the organization of life-chances such as self-development and expression. Again, Giddens provides a qualification. Life chances refer to the

> sheer survival of human beings in different forms and regions of society, but also connote the whole range of aptitudes and capabilities Weber had in mind when he introduced the term (p. 261).

As an example, Giddens refers to mass literacy which he notes enables a literate population to be mobilized in ways quite distinct from groups with largely oral cultures.

Giddens goes on to suggest that the "storage" of allocative and authoritative resources is crucial because it is the medium for the expansion of domination.

> Storage may be understood as the retention and control of information of knowledge whereby social relations are perpetuated across time-space. Storage presumes media (his italics) of information representation, modes of information retrieval (his italics) or recall, and as with all power resources, modes of its dissemination. Notches on wood, written lists, books, files, films tapes - all these

> are media of information storage of widely varying capacity and detail (p. 261).

These observations and the listing of resources by Giddens, confirm the roles for media of communication claimed by Innis. Print media, such as the art magazines in this present study, are allocative forms of storage which facilitate the production and reproduction of art. Moreover, Giddens also stresses the impact of technology. Referring to McLuhan (1962) who acknowledges Innis as central to his thinking, Giddens insists that

> The dissemination of stored information is of course, influenced by the technology available for its production. The existence of mechanized printing, for instance, conditions what forms of information are available and who can make use of it. Moreover, the character of the information medium - as McLuhan that now forgotten prophet consistently stressed - directly influences the nature of the social relations it helps to organize (pp. 261-262).

At this point it may appear that the present study relies heavily on the theories of Giddens and Innis in an attempt to offer technological determinism as an explanation for organizational realities. However, this is not the course being pursued. It must be recalled that the whole point of introducing the theories of Giddens and Innis is to incorporate the media as one of several factors and not as the sole determinant of connections in the art world. Nevertheless, Innis ascribes to various media certain inherent properties and capacities but he does so in <u>relation</u> to several historical conditions, such as the changes in form and distribution of print. Technological developments are not the primary or single cause of organizational relations but "a field of

human experience" (Kroker, 1983) involving many transformations and connections.

As for the remarks by Giddens about the influence of media, they acknowledge a key feature of cultural and economic control and transmission, namely the structuring of knowledge. In this regard they are essential to understanding the reproduction of domination which is also so central to Gidden's entire theoretical project. Giddens also insists, in his listing of resources, that human agency is equally crucial, in particular co-ordination. This claim also reinforces Becker's observation.

> Members of art worlds co-ordinate activities in which work is produced by referring to a body of conventional understandings embodied in common practice and in frequently used artifacts (1982, p.34-35).

Yet what is added to Becker's initial construct by way of Zolberg, DiMaggio and Innis is the role of state involvement and the comparative significance of the media of communication in use.

An additional qualification is necessary with respect to what is being designated as media and as technology. The concern of this study is the printed and written word and the periodicals under consideration, to use Giddens' term, are the "storage" for this material. As for the information technology which facilitates magazine production, such as word processing, these are less consequential. The study reveals that such technologies enabled one of the periodicals to accomplish some tasks more efficiently, such as the layout of the magazine. However, it is the printed word itself which is bound up with the formation of a textual

community and this is irrespective of recent technological innovations. Such a claim arrests any further determinist leanings and now directs attention to the significance of the magazines as organizations. As Aldrich (1979) explains:

> A particular technology is effective only in so far as it is appropriate to the environment an organization faces. Now matter how internally efficient the technology-activity system, the loss of external relevance dooms an organization to inferior status unless it has other sources of power over its environment (p. 18).

Aldrich's emphasis is not incompatible with the Innisian aspects of this study. The periodicals under study confer significance on their contents because of their external relevance. Each magazine is regarded as an "important" source of recognition and judgement by artists, curators and other participants in the art world. This is co-extensive with the printed word's historically derived acceptance as an authoritative means of communication, amounting to what Jonathan Miller (1968) aptly terms "the aristocracy of print".

A study by Marvin (1988) helps to further explain the significance of the printed word as opposed to the new technologies which now assist in its production. Explaining the development of electricity in the 19th century, Marvin makes the following claim.

> The early history of electric media is less the evolution of technical efficiencies in communication than a series of arenas for negotiating issues crucial to the conduct of social life: among them, who is inside and outside, who may speak, who may not and who has the authority and may be believed. Changes in the speed, capacity and

> performance of communications devices tell us little about these questions (p.4).

Rejecting an instrumental emphasis, Marvin "shifts to the drama in which existing groups perpetually negotiate power, authority, representation and knowledge with what resources are available" (p. 5). In several cases, it is not just a new technology which gives rise to an old contestation; an old medium is also one of the "allocative resources", to recall Giddens, which is used to negotiate power and knowledge. These are journals which deal with electricity and related scientific and engineering interests.

Marvin continues by explaining that new technologies, such as electricity, "intrude" on the contestation by providing "new platforms on which groups confront each other". There may be changes, such as "the frequency and intensity of contact". But ultimately the so called "new" developments are inextricably tied to old social relationships which are not so much displaced as reconstituted. As Marvin concludes:

> New practices do not so much flow from technologies that inspire them as they are improvised out of old practices that no longer work in new settings (p.4).

Marvin's contention has some applicability to the specific textual developments in the visual art world. To illustrate, a relatively new technology, such as computer typesetting, may streamline the production of magazines. It also can be a factor in the frequency and intensity of contact by enabling editors and writers to produce and exchange more texts. But various social relationships persist as does the domination of the printed word

itself. Treatises and other discourses have always been prevalent but the authority of the printed word in the art world now matches the authority it has had for centuries in the university and in state bureaucratic organizations. The printed word has become necessary to the visual art world's attempt to, in Marvin's words, "define and locate" itself. (p.5)

Thus far, this study has relied primarily on concepts drawn from the sociology of art and from communications and organization theory to establish a theoretical framework. "Art world" and "field" are the key constructs of what is primarily an organizational treatment of the magazines. For example, the connections between the periodicals and their primary source of funding, the state, is emphasized as is their relationship to other cultural entities in the organizational field, such as galleries. The discussion has shown that it is also necessary, to take account of the magazines as print media. There is inclusion of the theories of Innis, additional consideration of Giddens' work and finally the inclusion of a recent formulation by Marvin. These references support the claim that the art world has become a textual community to the degree that the trafficking and storage of words is central to the development of power relationships.

The Visual Art World's Perception of Itself:

Many of the theoretical concerns outlined have not passed unnoticed by the visual art world itself. Much has been already made of the preoccupation with text as a phenomenon. The amount of

writing has increased; there is an appropriation of several writing practices and there are designations of art works as texts. It is as if much of the visual art community has been involved in a transformation described by Barthes some fifteen years ago.

> It is not the disciplines which need to be exchanged, it is the objects: there is no question of applying linguistics to the picture, injecting a little semiology into art history; there <u>is</u> (his italics) a question of eliminating the distance (the censorship) institutionally separating picture and text. Something is being born, something which will invalidate "literature" as much as "painting" (and their metalinguistic correlates, "criticism" and "aesthetics"), substituting for these cultural divinities a generalized "ergography", the text as work, the work as text (1977 p. 152).

Thus, the present study of periodicals, by necessity, involves following the emergence of the text as a dominant mode of communication in the art world, of seeing its historical development through a systematic study of specific magazines over time. What this amounts to is observing the art world caught, for better or worse, in a web of words. However, there is a required preamble to this analysis of selected texts and these are the observations of artists, curators, critics, art historians and journalists about magazines and the phenomenon of writing.

First, as was noted in the introductory chapter, Wolff (1979) points out that the invention of printing altered the social organization of scholars and artists. Basing her study on the work of Febvre and Martin (1958) and Eisenstein (1979) she contends that

> ..... the use and development of print, by making possible the growth of literary learning in journals and treatises, enhanced

> the tendency for individual artists to emerge out of the hitherto collective conditions of guild and workshop production (p.36).

Wolff's observations are consistent with Innis' theories about the impact of printing. The shift from script to print also seems to have hastened the birth of the individual artist and the emergence of a dominant organizational form. What replaced the guilds and workshops in several nations were academies of art which developed a monopoly on formal, certified training and established a hierarchy of artists and styles.

By the 19th century print became more instrumental while the academies were superseded by new forms of social organization. For example, White and White (1965) show in their watershed study that the privileging of certain artists in France passed from the French Academy of Art to a network of artists, dealers and critics. Printed material about work became a crucial means for advancing particular artists and styles. The twentieth century has witnessed an even greater proliferation of journals and writing. As noted at the outset of this study, Poggioli (1968) acknowledges a convergence between image and text, especially among avant-garde circles. Magazines, as well as manifestos and catalogues, became the means for valuing artists and movements as well as for displaying art works. As Isaak (1986) shows this coverage includes texts which connect developments in several media, especially literature and visual art.

Art and literacy periodicals in the early 20th century are the first instances of what are generally called the "little

magazines". Tracing the developments in Canada of these periodicals between 1925-80, Norris (1984) refers to a study by Gnarowski (1967) which establishes a connection between the small literary periodical and the rise of modernism.

> The little magazine in Canada has been the most important single factor behind the rise and continued progress of Modernism in Canadian poetry. The history of the little magazine covers a period of some forty years and closely parallels the development of modern poetry itself from the mid-1920's to the present time. All the important events in poetry and most of the initiating manifestos and examples of change are to be found in the little magazines (p.11).

Anderson and Kinze (1978) emphasize that the numbers and kinds of little magazines have in no way diminished and continue to be the source for advancing particular styles and authors. The number of subscribers is small but the magazines are nonetheless vital in sustaining a network of writers and readers which is not subject to the conventions and expectations of commercial publishing. The visual arts, as well as music and the performing arts, continue to have their versions of the little magazines. It is no wonder that over thirty years ago C. Wright Mills would include all of these periodicals as part of the "cultural apparatus" of contemporary society.

> The cultural apparatus refers to all organizations and milieux in which artistic, intellectual and scientific work goes on, and to the means by which such work is made available to circles, publics and masses. In the cultural apparatus art, science and learning, entertainment, malarkey, and information are produced and distributed and consumed. It contains an elaborate set of institutions: of schools and theatres,

> newspapers and census bureaus, studios, laboratories, museums, little magazines, radio networks (Gouldner, 1976 p. 171).

More recently, the little magazines have given way, at least in the visual art world, to periodicals which have a broader constituency but whose content is equally esoteric. Not coincidentally, artists, critics and journalists have commented on the increasing power of periodicals to set agendas in the art world. What may be part of a larger cultural apparatus is for the art world in particular also a vehicle of negotiation and legitimation. As Alloway puts it:

> .....the art magazines dominate the art communication system, providing the bulk of the contextual information we bring to the interpretation of works of art in galleries and museums (1984, p. 178).

Alloway's observation is directed at major magazines such as Artforum and Art in America. More specifically, he suggests that the editorial content of these major periodicals is tied to their advertising. The advertisements consist primarily of show announcements from private, commercial galleries which these magazines are very dependent on for revenue. Alloway also indicates that it is not uncommon to find "articles which are glorified reviews, say a think piece about collage to coincide with an exhibition of the same" (p.183). He goes on to suggest that "the correspondence of ads and editorial matter are a stimulus to ideological attacks on the art world by radical critics" (p.179).

Alloway's comments were prophetic as Rosler (1981), among others, includes the major art magazines as an integral part of the current art system. For her, the major art journals are

> for the most part either primarily trade magazines or primarily consumer guides which perform the function of unifying information (p. 35).

She maintains that buyers and dealers regularly consult them to find out who and what is being written about so "there is a cash value associated with art journalism" (p. 36). She also insists that journals "patently live on their advertising" and cites a particular case to support her point.

> The new Artforum of 1975-76, which lionized photography and began a hesitant though injudiciously trumpeted foray into cultural criticism, was deserted by its staff of critics, was slapped down in print by the art world powers-that-be (who literally seemed to fear a Marxian takeover of editorial policy), and was immediately faced with the danger of destruction by the withdrawal of gallery advertising (1981, p. 35).

In addition to these ideological realities, Alloway also sees in the convergence of art and text, an ideological undercurrent in the very presentation of work and reviews. This is regardless of what is selected, promoted, discouraged or omitted. Referring to Benjamin's piece "The Work of Art in Age of Mechanical Reproduction" and to Malraux's "Museums Without Walls", Alloway claims that magazines assume power by providing viewers and readers with copies of works. On the one hand, the consequence is that "the physical properties of art are lost and so is art's attachment to place" (p. 183). On the other, Alloway suggests that the

practice is entirely acceptable, if not a virtue. The desire to duplicate confirms the significance and location of the original works. Whatever view one subscribes to, both call attention to the strategic function which reproductions in periodicals perform. The magazines are more than guides for dealers and buyers and more than brokers of status and power. They are maps of the art world, not entirely accurate or precise but they nevertheless mark out the borders, terrain, camps, and installations through an array of photographs, reviews, articles and advertisements.

As for Alloway, he seems to favour Benjamin and regards the reproduction of works with some regret. Such feeling must have impelled him to begin the journal Art Criticism which he co-edited with Donald Kuspit. Referring to it and the journal October, Alloway points out that both

> emphasize text without illustrations in a format derived from literary and scientific journals. They are a deliberate attempt to rehabilitate verbal discourse among writers (p. 180).

The intent is noble and both journals can not be faulted for articles and reviews which are clear and uncompromising in their literary and critical standards. However, these periodicals are no less authoritative and influential than Artforum and the other "glossies" as Alloway calls them. The power of the reproduced image is replaced by the word as an authoritative voice, recalling what Miller terms the "aristocracy of print". In these instances, the periodicals and journals function less as maps or guides and more as directives.

Clearly, this is the phenomenon which prompted Wolfe to write his acerbic The Painted Word (1976). He claims that modern art, especially abstract expressionist painting, "has become completely literary; the paintings and other works exist only to illustrate the text" (p.6). The principal texts to which Wolfe refers are the works of critics, especially Clement Greenberg, whose notoriety was coincident with their written espousal of abstract expressionism. Wolfe regards the subordination of art work to written criticism as a reversal of the tenets of modern art. For Wolfe, such tenets

> consisted of a complete rejection of the literary nature of academic art, meaning the sort of realistic art which originated in the Renaissance and which the various national academies still held up as the last word (p. 7).

Wolfe engages in some dazzling and satirical journalism. Much of The Painted Word is a pure send up but it does call attention to the power of critics, including Wolfe himself. More importantly, he highlights their chosen medium of criticism: words. What Wolfe does not acknowledge is that contemporary art and modern art are not always synonymous. As has been suggested, much of contemporary art is preoccupied with or incorporates text. It is often at odds with its own visual aspects and as a consequence frequently requires written explanation. This may not conform to Wolfe's modernist but orthodox aesthetic but it is part of the reality called the art world which magazines are constituent of and to which they attend.

Still, amidst the textual thicket there is a concern among artists, critics and curators with the function of criticism. Most

magazines, whether they are glossy or academic, commercially driven or not-for profit and state supported, exist primarily to consider art work. In the book and television series State of the Art (1987) Nairne acknowledges the importance of advertising but stresses "that criteria and aesthetic assumptions can be questioned, and the terms of the debate can be altered" (p. 77). His position is elaborated upon by Ingrid Sischy, a former editor of Artforum.

> The very endeavour of art criticism is to try and get close to this thing of what is, that's what it's about. It's not certain judgement. It is a record of a certain perception at a given time, of a certain thing. I think that even to approach criticism as final judgement, I think is to misunderstand what it is (Nairne, p. 78).

A perusal of Artforum's review section or the comparable section of Canadian periodicals such as C magazine or Vanguard confirm Sischy's observations. Seldom are exhibitions or individual works enshrined or condemned. What seems to prevail is the technique of the suspended judgement. As Nairne suggests above, there is questioning and shifting of positions given factors such as styles of writing, changes in editorship and curatorial or dealer preferences. However, the magazines generally retain their map-like characteristics, serving as tools which assist in negotiating the terrain called the art world. All of this is not akin to making one's way through a conventional atlas as reading the map requires engagement with the very people, organizations and works which are also plotted and marked.

Thus, Sischy's point that in criticism one must get close to what "it is" is very pertinent. In the context of this present study it is necessary to examine the kinds of organizational and interpersonal actions that are bound up with criticism as an approximation of work. Or to put it more succinctly, this thesis is concerned with the organization of work and word. The answer, as the study will show, is to be found in more than correlations between editorial content and advertising as Alloway suggests. Theoretical considerations and now the concerns of several critics, journalists and artists suggest that the art world is a complex configuration. It is a network consisting of various alliances and connections and the magazines document and maintain these ties as much as they examine the art works themselves.

Nevertheless, certain observations made about American magazines apply to the Canadian situation which is the focus of this study. First, the traditional little magazine in its form and content is now less prevalent. Jacoby (1987) points out that there is an abundance of periodicals but "their moment seems to be over as they seem to have lost their zeal and direction" (p. xi). For further confirmation, Jacoby refers to the observations of a coordinator of small literary journals.

> Few of these magazines "take a critical stand; essays, even book reviews and correspondence, are less and less common." Nowadays they seem to be devoted to "knitting up the tattered edges of the present" (p. xi).

Additionally, the production values of several magazines have become more sophisticated while most magazines are not especially

dedicated to the espousal of one particular style or movement as was previously the case for most. Still, there are no commercial equivalents of Artforum or Art in America. But Canadian periodicals contain advertising from private and public galleries, although it makes up substantially less of the magazines than is the case with American publications. There is some glossiness, especially in Canadian Art. Otherwise the promotional material about upcoming exhibitions and related events is relatively understated.

What differs significantly is the dependency factor. It is difficult to claim, as Alloway and Rosler do for major American magazines, that there is a significant correlation between editorial content and advertising in Canadian art magazines. It is not unrealistic to suggest that there is an editorial relationship between Canadian magazines and their principal funder, the Canada Council. The arrangement is not deliberate or conspiratorial, that is the magazines do not privilege outright Council recipients be they individual artists or institutions. Rather, magazine coverage is part of a process of reinforcement and legitimation, with certain artists receiving repeated attention from funding agencies, magazines and galleries. Some artists remain in the limelight for considerable periods of time but for most acknowledgement is short-lived despite several forms of attention. This is a function of the endless turnover that characterizes the present art world, be it constantly changing exhibitions and/or shifting styles. As

Nairne concludes: "It is the art magazines that influence artists and curators and help set new trends" (1981, p. 77).

These developments do not render any less significant the map-like aspects of magazines. The prominence and legitimation of artists, curators and galleries can be equated with the degrees of boldness used in maps to designate larger centers and other significant sites. These particular "marks" can be further equated with the directive function of certain periodicals, that is signalling who and what is important. Thus, it is further apparent that textual forces contribute to and are in themselves part of a structure of domination. The processes of legitimation and reinforcement, in which magazines and funding agencies have a close proximity, also furnishes provisional evidence about the instrumental role of the state in an organizational field as posited by DiMaggio (1985). The function of these periodicals as maps also lends further justification to several theoretical claims about the significance of the magazines as print media.

Recall for example, Marvin's suggestion that communicational forms are a site for negotiating meaning and agenda setting. These are two operations which are bound up with map making and interpretation as "readers" make sense of the terrain, (in this case the art world). The space-binding properties of print media, such as magazines and newspapers, noted by Innis are further accentuated as these media are capable of including maps in the literal sense as well having map-like qualities themselves. Maps affirm the power and control of space as they represent attempts to

understand it, to negotiate it, to situate oneself within it, and above all to reach destinations. The evolution of the map as a form of communication seems consistent with the spatial biases of print media and corresponding organizational developments, such as state expansion. In this respect the observations of Foucault, who has traced many institutional formations, are very relevant. He suggests that the map has been transformed from an

> instrument of measure to a an instrument of inquiry to an instrument of examination. A point has been reached where all these functions now intersect in the form of record-keeping, surveillance and cataloguing (1980, pp. 74-75).

Additional Historical Considerations:

There are two other historical developments which require consideration in order to further advance the theoretical positions. First, the historical confirmation of the state's participation is to be found in government commissioned reports about Canadian periodicals. Second, the development of art magazines must be understood not only within the context of social, organizational and cultural changes in the visual art world. They must also be seen with the context of changes in magazine publishing and production.

Turning to the first matter, there is an ongoing state interest, if not preoccupation, with the support and development of publications in the form of royal commissions, task forces and commissioned studies. These include: the Massey-Levesque Commission on Arts, Letters and Sciences (1951), the Royal

Commission on Publications (1960), the Davey Commission on the Mass Media (1970). More recent inquiries include the Royal Commission on Newspapers (1981), the Federal Cultural Policy Review Committee (1982) and several studies conducted or commissioned by the federal Department of Communications on magazine distribution and costs, such as the Woods Gordon report (1984). All repeatedly emphasize the necessary informational and intellectual role of periodicals in the nation's cultural life. Some insist that periodicals edited and published in Canada are one of the few sources of opinion and coverage that are sufficiently Canadian as to be culturally distinct from American mass media offerings which monopolize newsstands as well as television and film screens.

As a result, Canadian magazines have received support through policy vehicles including tax incentives, postal subsidies and direct grants. Funding has been consistent but various policies have implemented and then rescinded when governments have changed. Whatever the policy thrust is advocacy by the Canadian Periodical Publishers Associations and similar organizations seldom abates, thus providing magazines with an ongoing public profile. To illustrate, the present economic climate for all magazines seems especially precarious. The Free Trade Act (1988) has effectively removed legislation which permitted tax deductions on the cost of advertising in publications edited and produced in Canada. The Goods and Services tax applies to magazines and books and it is believed that this measure will be detrimental to both publishers and booksellers.

Postal subsidies, which have been in effect for over a 100 years, are being gradually phased out. According to the federal Department of Communications it will make direct grants to magazines which clearly contribute to the cultural life of the country. In effect a program of incentives will replace a subsidy policy. It is difficult at this point to predict which magazines will qualify. Yet the proposed support once again confirms that magazines are regarded as necessary cultural mainstays even for the present government, committed as it is to a market-driven economy. As indicated, one or all actions may be deleterious yet what is significant for this present study is the consistent focus on the periodical publishing industry as both a cultural and economic consideration.

Art and literary publications will also be subject to the measures outlined. Unlike other specialized vehicles or mass circulation magazines, they are already supported by direct grants from the Canada Council's aid to publications program. Since its inception in 1957, the Council has provided many of these "little magazines" with funds. Since 1974 there has been a specific program which considers, on a yearly basis and through a jury, requests for funding for arts as well as literary publications. Initially, almost all the funds were given to two publications considered major and indispensable, artscanada and Vie des Arts. Yet as Graham (1988) shows, by the early 1980's, the support for artscanada decreased each year with the magazine ceasing publication in 1983. This was due to a combination of factors

including strong sentiment in the visual arts community that it would be better served by several different publications which should be supported by the Council's program. Vie des Arts continues to receive substantial support primarily because it remains as the major all French publication. Meanwhile, other magazines have emerged and filled the gap left by artscanada.

Appropriately, this comparative study starts in the mid 1970's when artscanada's support and influence were declining and when other magazines had just begun, including Vanguard and Parachute. The study covers roughly a fifteen year period, ending in 1988 when Vanguard and Parachute are still being published. There have been several other entrants, including two periodicals to be studied: C and Canadian Art, an outgrowth of artscanada and its predecessor the first Canadian Art. The study will attempt to show how these magazines function as maps by marking out the terrain in their distinctive fashion given variations in design, editorial conviction and in tone. Similarities between these magazines may also abound with respect to their internal organization and to their negotiating and legitimating functions. As an ensemble the four magazines contribute to the formation of the visual art world as a textual community.

The theoretical and empirical concerns of this study also take on increased significance given the support of magazines by the state. First, the Canada Council's funding and policy initiatives illustrate the state's involvement in a world of intersecting organizations and individuals. This in turn has been identified

conceptually as an organizational field as outlined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). Second, the concern with publications and other media of communication in the form of government task forces and studies demonstrates the validity of Innis's claims. It is understandable that a country such as Canada, which many have acknowledged has more geography than history, is preoccupied with modes and forms of transportation and communication given its vastness as a spatial domain. More particularly, the historical and policy interest in print, a medium which privileges space, is further consistent with what Canada is presently as a geographical and organizational reality.

In addition to these instances where theory and practice converge, the art periodicals must also be seen within the context of wider developments in periodical publishing. This necessitates going beyond government commissions and reports and the specific history of visual art publications. Of interest are several macro phenomena which may help to explain further what appear as particular features of art magazines and periodicals.

First, the increasing presence of the art periodical in the 19th and 20th century, as noted by White and White (1965) and Wolff (1981), is part of the expansion of print media as a source of information and knowledge. Studies abound which examine the emergence of a reading public, a development that is coincident with the spread of mass schooling and the increase in numbers of newspapers and other print media. Dudek (1960), for example, chronicles the development of literary magazines and journals but

he does not confine his study to the "little magazines" identified earlier. He also charts the evolution of what he terms the "popular" press, referring to such vehicles as daily newspapers and the "penny" magazines which were distributed widely and contained serial fiction and other literary material. In his seminal study Hoggart (1963) goes further and attribu . profound cultural changes to the development of the popular press and other forms of mass communication. He contends that the increase in literacy in England effaced to a significant extent class distinctions which were often made on the basis of who had access to knowledge. With the advent of the newspapers, magazines and other mass forms of communication, such as radio and television, all classes were becoming part of a literate mass and in effect cultural consumers. Still, there were distinctions to be made about who reads what. Dudek insists that while the popular press abounded, there were publications, such as the little magazine, which were of interest to tiny and elite constituencies.

Dudek's survey confirms a cultural phenomena identified by DiMaggio in his study of the organizational development of high culture in America (1982a, 1982b). DiMaggio contends that in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the monied classes in large urban centers, such as Boston which is his case study, created their own cultural institutions, such as symphony orchestras and museums. These organizations were open to the public but privately and effectively managed by their upper class founders. This was achieved through their operation as not-for-profit organizations as

opposed to being government institutions or for profit businesses dependent on sales revenue.

The little magazines, while small and less accessible, are operated in the same way. They were privately controlled and not-for-profit but had a public mandate, albeit circumscribed. The writers and artists associated with many of them may not have possessed the wealth and influence of museum founders and patrons but their various interests also fostered situations of exclusivity. Periodically, the aesthetic interests of patrons and artists and writers converged. Lowry (1986) chronicles the development of Arcadia which Montreal financier Joseph Gould published from 1892-93 and which was devoted to contemporary art and criticism. It is surely not coincidental that its emergence parallels the rise of the metropolitan museum in major urban centers in North America as indicated by DiMaggio (1982a, 1982b). Included amongst these cities is Montreal. Funds and a collection were bequeathed to an Arts Association in 1879 followed by the construction of a museum in 1912.

As the magazine "Arcadia" indicates, what is significant for this present study of periodicals is the distinction between vehicles of high, elite culture and mass or popular expression. "The little magazines" as well as other texts referred to by Poggolli (1968) and Isaak (1986) are the historical antecedents of contemporary art periodicals as they cater to relatively small and select constituencies. To recall Kadushin's (1976) account of circles and networks of culture: the producers of work: artists,

critics and patrons are also its consumers - the "lookers, buyers and dealers " as Rosler (1979) puts it.

Yet there is one characteristic shared by all contemporary art periodicals which sets them apart from their art ancestors. It can be best described as rhetorical. This feature arose out of presentational changes in large circulation magazines which also began in the early twentieth century and which is also characteristic of most other current magazines. The trait is connected not so much to shifting ideologies and tastes within the art world as it is to the emergence of promotion as a constituent of all media presentation and dissemination. The obvious manifestation is advertising. Recalling Alloway and Rosler's claim that there are correlations between advertising and editorial choices suggests that promotion is one of the salient features of contemporary art periodicals.

However, advertising is surface rhetoric, albeit crucial and persuasive. There is also a need to look closely at other developments; to account for the resonance that emanates from the texts; to identify voices and vocabularies in what is presented. A study by Wilson (1983) of early 20th century general interest magazines such as The Saturday Evening Post and The World's Work provides an introduction to such considerations.

> I choose the word "rhetoric" rather than "ideology" or "structure of feeling" because I am primarily intent on describing a mode of language (in the broadest sense), a way of discussing and seeing that embraces diction, tone of voice and narrative design (p. 42).

The mass circulation periodicals in Wilson's study are one source of contemporary rhetoric, while the study itself offers several constituents of a rhetorical analysis. As Wilson explains:

> My thesis is that the change in the reading process derived essentially, although not exclusively, from a consumerism reorientation implemented by a group of men well versed in the verbal, communicative, and organizational skills of a sales economy; that these skills changed not only at the level of production, but in the very "voice" (his italics) they conveyed; and finally, that these editors' penchant for "anticipatory" production resulted in design strategies and narrative devices that attempted to streamline and manage the reading process itself. In each magazine editors orchestrated a mode of "realism" - in different variations of authority, factuality, intimacy and common sense - which created an aura of legitimacy around their offerings (p.43).

According to Wilson, the magazines he considers, such as the Ladies Home Journal, were bent on promotion and this goal permeated their advertisements, fiction selections and human interest stories. The strategies used to attain this presentational style were deliberate, consisting of certain formats, juxtapositions and vocabularies of motive. Canadian art magazines do not engage in promotion to the same degree as mainstream consumer magazines or commercially driven art periodicals, such as the ones cited by Alloway and Rosler. Yet there is a sense in which presentation is bound up with the specialized vocabularies and narratives of the visual art world. In this regard the rhetoric used may be very emphatic and self-conscious, and consequently more persuasive than the surface i.e. promotional rhetoric, so apparent in advertisements found in other magazines.

Rephrasing Wilson, it can be said that the art periodicals complicate the reading process while legitimating and promoting art works, exhibitions and styles. What may be considered specialized rhetoric by the lay reader is one of the features of contemporary art. It stands in contrast to the generalized discourse found in mass forms of communication, such as the mass circulation magazines and television news, which cater to indiscriminately large audiences. In point of fact, the development of specialized rhetoric is consistent with some general trends in magazine publishing. As Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1986) suggest magazine publishing is now marked by market segmentation with periodicals appealing to specific constituencies and vocations. This is in contrast to the first sixty years of the twentieth century which saw the domination of the general interest, large circulation magazines, such as The Saturday Evening Post, Life, Look and other mass offerings. What remains of these precursors is a rhetorical style which has been tailored to suit many constituencies.

Wilson's study also suggests several ways in which rhetorical considerations can be brought to bear on the magazines in this present study. This analytic concern may seem logically at odds with conceiving magazines as maps. Rhetorical considerations need not take away from the earlier metaphor which contended that this study is about the spines of the magazines rather than their contents. As Wilson suggests, rhetoric refers to tone, formats and design strategies - necessary discursive and binding properties of maps if they are to provide adequate direction and information

about a given terrain. As for the literal and metaphoric connections between spines, maps and rhetoric the handling of an art magazine and a map reveals their affinities. Compare, for example, wading through a periodical to the unfolding of a highway map. Each is an experience in connections as relations are uncovered and the terrain becomes understandable. With the former, associations between work, individuals and organizations, such as galleries are encountered, with the latter, relationships are also approximated as the map reader makes sense of locations, routes and distances.

The interest in rhetorical aspects of the magazines signal a departure from the theoretical issues and the introduction of methodological matters. Wilson's rhetorical concerns serve as a means for determining how the magazines in this present study contribute to the formation of the art world as a textual community. Yet an analysis which concentrates on discursive properties can not sufficiently account for the work and workings of the periodicals. These comprise only part of the strategy formation of the magazines under study. As stated in the introduction, other empirical observations are necessary. Before turning to a consideration of these research tasks, it is appropriate at this juncture to summarize major theoretical concerns. First, it was suggested that art magazines are more than a selective reflection of the art world in which they are situated. The magazines are instrumental in forging ties among individuals and organizations that create a network of cultural production in

which producers of work are also its major consumers (Kadushin, 1976). Where the study departs from conventional sociological interest is in its insistence that the visual art world has also become a textual community. The choice of and reliance on words and their "storage" sites (Giddens, 1986) such as magazines, journals and catalogues, also establishes and reinforces linkages.

The above claim is not an academic version of The Painted Word (1976) which cynically claims that the pontifications of critics, such as Clement Greenberg, possess more power than artists and their works. Contemporary critics of the stature of Greenberg, such as Donald Kuspit, are only one constituent of a cultural system that also includes, theorists, historians, dealers, curators and grants officers. Each participant often has several roles with an artist, for example, sometimes assuming the role of a curator, or a grants officer becoming a dealer or the director of a public gallery.

Several interstitial realities are particular to the art world but are also symptomatic of an evolving preoccupation with text evident throughout contemporary western culture. It is self-evident that "the word" has a formidable presence and force given religious tracts, legal documents, advertising, news reports and other sources of written authority. The profusion and prominence of articles, journals, books and magazines is also facilitated by developments in information technology. What has occurred is a transformation that is both cultural and cognitive. Communicating in and through printed forms has less to do with words as

expressive and clarifying devices and more to do with texts - reviews, tracts, reports, magazines, books, newspapers, data bases - as sites for negotiation and networking. For the visual arts this change complicates and alters the presentation and explanation of images.

Accordingly, theoretical excursions were undertaken in the sociology of art, in communications theory and in the history of art to situate and account for textual developments. First, it was shown by reference to Wolff (1981), Becker (1982) and Zolberg (1990) that a more complex conception of the art world is necessary; one which further acknowledges its network aspects, that is the ties and linkages among makers, consumers and mediating organizations. DiMaggio and Powell's concept of an organizational field (1983) was introduced as a way of accounting for such complexities. Aimed at identifying "a totality of relevant actors", this construct permits the inclusion of a range of possible participants which for the art world means more than an inventory of artists and critics. The "field" construct is particularly applicable to the Canadian situation because it acknowledges the centrality of the state in the structuring of the art world.

Nevertheless, the field concept, even with its acknowledgement of many organizational realities does not sufficiently address the work and workings of specific magazines. Here, the theoretical formulations of Giddens (1984) are germane especially the "duality of structure" which suggests that structures are the "medium and

outcome of conduct they recursively organize" (p.25). For the purpose of this study, publications are one of the allocative resources, to recall Giddens' term, which facilitate conduct within a field while becoming an outcome of it. But just as Giddens' formulations are a necessary adjunct to the field concept, the ideas of Innis (1972) (1973) are a necessary adjunct to Giddens' conception of medium. What Innis stresses are the properties of communicational forms. As was emphasized, the spatial biases of print create a domain for ties between and among artists, curators, critics, galleries and other attendant individuals and organizations. The magazines function as maps which mark out these relationships, routes and sites while being strategically situated on the terrain called the art world. In effect, the art world has discovered the possibilities of text for establishing and reinforcing configurations of power.

Methodological and Empirical Considerations:

The remainder of this chapter presents the framework for the empirical investigation. Before turning to an explanation of specific research tasks, there is reference to several general considerations which provide methodological guidance. First, this study responds to a call by Griswold (1987) for a more comprehensive approach to the study of culture. She points out that the study of culture tends to be interpretative, in which there is "a focus on cultural objects in all their complexity and richness of nuance" (p. 2). Or the approach is institutional, a

which there is an emphasis on "collective action and the organization of social resources in the production of symbolic goods" (p. 2).

Griswold acknowledges that interpretive approaches produce "striking insights into cultural phenomena and can often reveal often ambiguous characteristics of cultural objects per se but they do not encourage general testing" (p. 2-3). By contrast, she notes that institutional analyses are able to make causal claims that can be tested and hence appear scientific. Yet she expresses a caution.

> An approach to culture uninterested in meaning or in how cultural objects differ from porkbellies, seems destined to continue to play a marginal role in cultural, though perhaps not social, analysis (p.3).

As a result, she recommends a conjoining of approaches which initially requires "focusing cultural analysis on the point at which individuals interact with a cultural object" (p. 4).

The present study of magazines accommodate's Griswold's suggestion by drawing upon the research tradition known as symbolic interactionism. As Blumer (1968) puts it:

> Symbolic interactionism sees meanings as social products, as creations that are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact (p. 5).

The present study is interactionist in its assumptions and analysis because it examines how the magazines, as cultural objects, embody and generate meaning. Artists, curators, critics and other participants in the visual art world engage as writers and readers, "social agents", to use Griswold's terms. The study also has

related institutional concerns as there is a description of the networks of individuals and organizations that facilitate or are a consequence of the textual activity that occurs. All such relationships are instances of interaction which help define the visual art world as a communicational entity.

As for the account of meaning, symbolic interactionism has an empirical orientation. McCall and Becker (1990) explain.

> The ultimate interactionist test of concepts is whether they make sense of particular situations known in great deal through detailed observation. You answer the questions by going to see for yourself, studying the real world, and evaluating the evidence. (p.5).

As previously noted, Becker follows his own precepts. The concept "art world" has relevance and applicability because it is grounded in extensive observations of artists, their work and the organizations they frequent. As the literature review indicated, there are other concepts, such as network, which are equally germane and will be used in this present study in conjunction with several empirical tasks which are outlined below.

First, there is an historical account of each magazine. It includes the identification and analysis of a range of strategies undertaken by each periodical. As noted in the introduction, the work of Mintzberg and his colleagues provides direction. In several studies Mintzberg (1978) and Mintzberg and Waters (1985) define strategy " a pattern in a stream of decisions". They go on to point out that the definition is used to "operationalize" the concept of strategy in order to conduct research about how it forms

in organizations. Mintzberg suggests that there are two fundamental strategies: deliberate, actions that are realized as intended, and emergent strategies, actions that are realized, despite or in the absence, of intentions (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985 p.257).

More specifically, Mintzberg and Waters offer a continuum of strategies which are used to classify actions which range from the most deliberate to the most emergent (1985, passim). These are:

1) Planned strategies which are the result of "precise intentions and controls".

2) Entrepreneurial strategies which originate in a "central vision" usually that of an individual who has personal control over the organization which is located in a protected environment.

3) Ideological which are actions which stem from shared beliefs. Deliberate actions persist but the collective involvement allows for some emergent activity.

4) Umbrella strategies which originate and conform to certain constraints but which are not entirely subject to precise controls thus also permitting some emergent activity.

5) Process strategies where decision making is not tightly controlled and often decentralized, thus allowing further for strategies to evolve out of relationships, such as enclaves within the organization. Nevertheless, the lack of overall constraint may encourage deliberate actions in specific instances or locations.

6) Consensus strategies, whereby organizational actions are taken through mutual adjustment as opposed to shared beliefs and goals.

7) Imposed strategies which consist of actions that take place in the organization's environment. These strategies are emergent because the organization can not always anticipate them, much less control them or initiate them. However, the organization may choose to internalize the actions in very deliberate and precise ways.

This classification can be applied to specific and general actions taken by the magazines. In these cases, each magazine functions as a small organizational entity, - consisting of a publisher and/or an editor, productions assistants - what Mintzberg (1976) calls a "simple structure". There is a tendency for entrepreneurial strategies to prevail. A simple structure is under the control of an individual and exists within a protected environment, in this case the visual art world. However, these characteristics do not preclude the adoption or emergence of other strategies. Two examples initially suggest this possibility with respect to the present study. First, a magazine may undertake imposed strategies because of demands made by a funding agency. Second, a magazine may interact with other organizations, such as a gallery, to the extent that process or consensus strategies become necessary.

Given the Mintzberg and Waters continuum and the four magazines under study, the identification of strategies over time seems a daunting task. Yet it is doubtful that such an exhaustive inventory would yield anything empirically or theoretically conclusive. As Mintzberg notes, the task of tracking strategies must have its own emergent dimension. There is a need to be open to all kinds of unanticipated evidence. But the research must also be systematic and have a purpose. As Mintzberg puts it:

> No matter how small our sample or what our interest, we have always tried to go in to organizations with a well-defined focus - to collect data systematically. In one study we wanted to know who contacts the manager, how for how long and why; in the second we were

> interested in the sequence of steps used in making certain key decisions; in the third we are after chronologies of decision in various strategic areas (1979, p. 595).

In this present study, the primary purpose of tracking strategies is to identify how the magazines facilitate associations among individuals and organizations. The focus on linkages will require tracking strategies in each magazine but also comparing their similarities and differences. This allows for an understanding of patterns and continuities which are the stuff of strategic actions and organizational formations. The tracking of strategies as outlined will also involve additional data. Decisions taken that are conveyed by the magazines per se, such as personnel and format changes, are amplified by the interviews with several editors and with Luc Jutras, officer of the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals Program. (For further information about the nature of the interviews and the visits to the magazines see Appendix II).

In addition to identifying the strategies there is a need to consider the rhetorical features of the magazines. Recalling Wilson (1983), there are several rhetorical elements pertinent to this study. These are narrative design, diction and tone of the magazines. Relying on a recent review of several publications and books by McGregor (1989), the study will first identify several rhetorical elements in general terms. Next, there is attention to selected titles and passages from the magazines in order to develop a fuller understanding of the form and flow of the text.

Other discursive considerations follow. As Huff suggests "we need to know more about the pool of strategic concepts which a group of organizations holds in common at any given time" (1982, p. 119). Such conceptual relationships are also the reference points out of which ties are established and reproduced. They are the fibers of the textual community and they manifest themselves in the form of key words, authoritative texts such as theoretical works. Once identified, they also bear some connection to design alterations and to changes and continuities in editorship and contributing authors. As is evident, the tracking of strategies and rhetorical concerns satisfy Griswold's call for including interpretative and institutional considerations. The research tasks also adopt an interactionist perspective as conceptual concerns are grounded in empirical observations. Of particular importance are the interviews with the editors and the studies of rhetorical usage.

A final research activity also satisfies Griswold and some concerns of interactionism. This is a description of several networks of individuals and organizations involved in magazine production and coverage. The appropriateness of this task is confirmed by Gilmore (1990).

> In a social world, people's collaborative activity ties them into a set of direct relations that have meaning for them. The cluster of individuals who interact with each other produce a relatively stable aggregation of relations. This pattern of meaningful aggregated relations represents a social world. Such a "network" based conceptualization of social structure has proved attractive to interactionists if

> sufficient emphasis is put on the meaning of both an individual's direct and aggregate relations (p. 149).

Accordingly, the network descriptions in this present study attempt to confirm linkages among relevant actors. What is documented is the organization of the visual art world, in particular some of its configurations of power.

During the past ten years network considerations have acquired substantial currency in the sociology of organizations and attendant fields. Perrow (1979) suggests that they are a useful means for making conceptual and empirical sense of environments in which various kinds of relationships and associations prevail. More specifically and recently, most network studies are based on structural analysis, a relatively new form of investigation. This method has its roots in mathematical modelling but differs dramatically from conventional statistical quantification in its concern with mapping relationships as opposed to measuring proportions and populations.

To provide a concrete example, consider the composition of a suburb. A structural analysis is taken up with the network of associations, that is the interactions and transactions among individuals and organizations. In an attempt to render a social picture of a community, a conventional profile is concerned with how many types of individuals and organizations there are, for example what occupations are present. By contrast a structural analysis is not content to know how many doctors or florists there

are; it also wants to know about their "connectivity". (Granovetter, 1982). As Berkowitz explains:

> ..... structural analysis in particular proposes a very different way of looking at things. Instead of assuming that classes or other categories of actors are real in themselves, structural analysts begin by recognizing that there are underlying relationships (his italics) among the elementary parts of a social system that constrain their interactions with one another and shape the patterns of behaviour in which they engage. Individuals, groups and organizations, it maintains, are bound up with one and other, simultaneously, in a number of quite different ways (1988, p. 480).

Computer simulation can facilitate the identification of a potentially large number of associations. However, a modest profile of a community, such as the Canadian visual art world, does not require elegant mathematical formulations or computerized book keeping. Such an approach is descriptive and draws its inspiration from an anthropological strain in network analysis (Scherer (1972), Boissevain (1973), Boissevain and Mitchell (1974). The mapping of associations is complemented by personal accounts and an historical treatment in an effort to provide a more qualitative reading of the linkages. In the case of this study of magazines, the interviews with editors suffices for the former while the tracking of strategies suffices for the latter.

This present study of magazines also has some affinity with network concerns within communications studies. Rogers (1981) has undertaken studies, albeit of much larger locations, but the intention is similar as he was principally concerned with the diffusion and control of knowledge as he sought to understand how

a community became aware of birth control. As for this present study of the visual art world, the interaction of individuals and organizations is very much about the dissemination of ideas. The periodicals are sources of connectivity with the consequence being the emergence of the art world as a textual community.

Yet what kind of interpersonal and organizational relationships characterize the art world or any other diverse community? Granovetter (1982) defines such connections as "weak ties" but emphasizes they have considerable "strength" to the extent that they help to create the "cohesive power" in such a community. The ties are not intimate, involving kin or close friends. Rather, they are usually second hand, involving for example "friends of friends" (Boissevain, 1974) or acquaintances and are the result of organizational contacts such as board memberships. The relevance of Granovetter's observation becomes immediately apparent for the art world. To illustrate, consider the following sites which effect ties: a) the system of peer review at funding agencies, such as the Canada Council which consist of changing juries of artists, curators or other actors and b) what artists' works are shown in what galleries. In point of fact, ties are established between organizations through individuals while individuals are also linked to each other through organizations.

There is also the possibility of other network formations. Cliques, which are more intimate and close - strong ties perhaps - can develop around and through a cluster of organizations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). As the study tries to indicate, one magazine at

least has been instrumental in the formation of cliques but not to the degree that weak ties are neutralized. The strength of individual and organizational acquaintanceships remains.

The above examples are but two instances of the ties that bind the visual art world. The magazines facilitate a mapping of the relationships in the form of articles, editorials, reviews and advertisements for upcoming exhibitions. But the magazines are also a constituent of the very linkages they facilitate given the individuals and organizations covered. To recall once more, a major theoretical proposition of the study: they are both "the medium and the outcome of conduct they recursively organize" (Giddens, 1986). Thus, the description of the networks relies on the magazines for obvious information. More important, it identifies how the magazines are implicated in the evolving network of associations. Other data which will provide insight about connections includes some noting of who were the recipients of and jurors for several Canada Council awards. Such information serves to further account for configurations of power.

Having outlined what is entailed in a description of networks, two additional considerations are in order. There is further comment on the relationship between the network concerns and the tracking of strategies. There is also a justification for why the study can proceed even if it seems to fly in the face of the micro/macro dichotomy given its interests in individual and organizational activities. First, returning to Granovetter, he

suggests that weak ties are responsible for much of the homogenization of a community or subculture. As he points out:

> this may seem paradoxical since my emphasis has been on the ability of weak ties to reach out to groups with ideas and information different than one's own (p. 118).

Granovetter also notes that the development of ties occurs over a period of time. What are initially (his emphasis) relationships and ideas characterized by diversity and diffusion gradually produce an isomorphic situation. Granovetter goes on to examine this phenomenon with reference to Fine and Kleinman's (1975) study of youth culture in two locations:

> What can not be entirely explained from arguments about diffusion is why groups in California and New York, with initially different orientations adopt (his italics) enough of one another's cultures to end up looking very similar. Weak ties may provide the possibility for this homogenization but the adoption of ideas can not be explained purely by structural considerations. Content and the motives for adopting one rather than another idea or symbol must enter as a crucial part of the analysis. The active role of individuals in a culture can not be neglected, lest the explanation became too mechanistic (pp. 118-119).

Granovetter is acknowledging the limits of networks in totally accounting for the shape and substance of a community. In doing so, he underlines the importance of tracking strategies and examining rhetorical features as complementary and necessary empirical tasks. Given these observations, it seems that the texts themselves are also sites for diffusion, negotiation and eventual adoption of ideas as readers, writers, curators and artists traffic in common key words and authoritative works. This in turn recalls

once more the capacities of a medium as noted by Innis and Giddens and "the pool of strategic concepts" deemed so important by Huff. In addition, individuals in the visual art world, such as the magazine editors in this present study, may be a source of power in their own right. They engage in extensive strategic activity, including the very formation of ties and cliques of which they are also constituents.

The Micro-Macro Link

Accounting for the actions of individuals and the activities of organizations represents a melding of micro and macro considerations. Until quite recently this combination would have been regarded as methodologically unacceptable. Indeed, much of social science investigation continues to abide by a stringent dichotomy. There is, on the one hand, the behaviour of a person or individuals in specific locales and institutions such as the traditional family. There are on the other hand macro-forces, such as economic development. These involve many units, some of which are proportionally large, such as nation states. The prevailing orthodoxy does not deny that there are connections between individual actions and macro forces but claims that investigations must proceed along distinct lines. Only then is there a basis for suggesting the presence of relationships.

The problem with this great divide is that it fails to take sufficient account of contextual realities, including the complexities of interaction. (Cicourel 1981), (Collins, 1981 and

1986), (Kersten 1986) and (Alexander et. al. 1987). An individual's world, for example, can extend beyond micro-situations into a macro reality through various communications channels. As Wittgenstein asks "Does my telephone call to New York strengthen my conviction that the earth exists"? (1969, p. 28). What he expresses is the micro-macro relationship in all its complexity. A routine communication situates the individual temporally and spatially in a macro reality. Thus, it is not so much that the micro and macro can be linked, but rather they <u>are</u>.

The omnipresence of communication suggests that the micro-macro dichotomy is unrealistic while symbolic interactionism, which informs the research tasks in this present study, suggests how micro and macro realities can be examined. The observations of Gilmore are especially germane as they pertain to the study of art worlds.

> Interactionist research in art worlds has succeeded in producing both individually and collectively meaningful descriptions of social organizations. The development of a truly organizational (i. e. relational) approach to exploring artistic collective activity makes it easier to establish the connections between micro and macro levels of analysis. Macro relations are simply an extension of micro relations and vice versa. Artists are integrated into a social setting through the support networks in which they participate. The networks and social processes through which artists and support personnel interact help explain variation in collective forms of expression. Stable patterns of networks and artistic processes establish these collective aesthetic interests. The explanatory focus is on social relations and interdependent activity (p. 149).

Finally, and in addition to relational factors, the role of media of communication must be emphasized, especially in the context of this present study of periodicals. Their range, number and proliferation coupled with the attention paid to them as system and process have also made the micro-macro link less a conceptual conundrum and more a reality. Magazines and other cultural forms given their propensity for transmission, diffusion and interaction are instrumental in connecting micro and macro worlds. As Gerstein (1987) explains:

> A cultural system considered as a whole is like a membership library, containing stored, partially ordered symbolism that is in discontinuous circulation in a variety of contexts and purposes. In particular, formation of audiences, patronage networks, and participant groups for performances, publications and ritual enactments is the classical locus of cultural linkage, rendering group boundaries and purposes concrete to members, socializing and enculturating them, embedding meanings into habit and thereby turning them into facts (pp. 100-101).

The micro-macro considerations bring to an end the discussion of the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study. The empirical investigation begins in the following chapter with an historical account of the origin and development of the four magazines.

CHAPTER THREE

A History of Four Exemplary Magazines

Origins:

This chapter traces the histories of the four magazines up to 1988 when interviews with the editors were conducted. The account describes the strategies undertaken and identifies various constituents of the Canadian visual art world. The time period under consideration is sixteen years with Vanguard beginning in 1972, followed by Parachute in 1975, C in 1983 and Canadian Art in 1984. The origins of the four magazines are significant as they arise out of a combination of factors which are linked to strategy making.

First, and of primary importance in all cases, is the involvement of the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals program. Since the Council was created in 1957, it has supported visual arts, literary and performing arts publications. During the 1960's and until the mid 1970's a small number of magazines were funded on the basis of judgments provided by outside readers engaged by the Council. It was not until 1974 that an actual program was established within the Writing and Publishing section of the Council (Jutras, 1982 and 1986). A jury system was also instituted and it consisted of five people, who on a rotating basis, annually reviewed the publications requesting support. This process continued until 1981 when, according to Luc Jutras, the officer of the program at the time of this present study, it was recognized

that there were still serious problems of adjudication and "the artistic community was not satisfied" (1988 p. 2). Since 1981 there has been a core committee of three, consisting of an expert on periodical publishing, a representative from the visual arts and another from the literary arts. When publications from a specific area are assessed two individuals from the area under consideration are added to the jury, making a total of five. As Jutras explains this arrangement provides for a combination of expertise, representation from the specific arts communities as well as someone from an attendant arts area.

The evolution and growth of the four publications under study coincides with the changes in the Council's support for publications. Parachute began in 1975, a year after the Council formalized and increased its program of support. The convergence was more than a meeting of mutual interests as it occurred within a larger cultural context, notable for attendant policy initiatives. As Jutras indicates, funding art and literary publications was part of increased government support of the magazine publishing industry. Other measures at the time included Bill C-58 in 1976 which allowed advertisers to deduct their advertising in Canadian owned magazines as a business expense. As Swanson (1976) and Litvack and Maule (1981) indicate this legislation was the culmination of many attempts, which began as early as the 1930's, to give preferential treatment to magazines owned and published in Canada. The purpose was to compete with

American magazines which were monopolizing the sales market and continue to do so.

In addition to incentives for magazines, the federal government substantially increased its funding of the arts and culture overall while also creating new programs of support. At the Council, for example, funding began and still is available for "parallel" structures such as artist-run centres and film cooperatives which are intended to support contemporary work by young and new artists. These alternative spaces provided opportunities for artistic activity which could not be adequately supplied by large and established museums and galleries. The spaces also provided opportunities for experimental and independent film and video work which was of no interest to the commercial film and television industry.

Parachute emerged from aspirations and interests which were uppermost in artist-run centres such as Vehicule. Its founding editors and many of its earliest contributors were directly affiliated with parallel galleries or at the very least were ardent supporters of work shown in these settings. By contrast, Vanguard did not begin as an alternative magazine but as a publication of the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1972. Initially, it was a tabloid about the gallery's activities but gradually it became concerned with other exhibitions and trends in contemporary art. By 1979, it had adopted a magazine format and while it remained a gallery publication it had become more autonomous. It also had a new editor, Russell Keziere, who had worked on the magazine as a

freelance writer and photographer and who was committed to expanding its base of support and its content interests. Keziere describes the situation at the time.

> We needed to establish some kind of credibility, something in the east to attract contributors, writers, advertisers and we also needed to make sure the gallery would stay off our back. For the most part they left us alone and Luc Romboult, the Director protected the magazine from the queries of the Board of Trustees. He recognized this was serious international art stuff and we should be allowed to do it (p. 2).

As for financial support, Vanguard was receiving $60,000 annually from the gallery's operating budget. Direct outside assistance was minimal and this included a $3,000 grant from the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals program. By 1983, there were tensions between the magazine and the gallery. As Keziere explains:

> I have to admit my own writing and interests were taking me further afield. I was getting a little frustrated with the administrative bureaucracy of the gallery and not happy with the (gallery's) move to the courthouse, what it meant for the gallery, for art in Vancouver. It was clear things were going to get a whole lot better or a whole lot worse (p.2).

Things did get worse. In late 1984, the Director Luc Romboult left and the gallery was in financial disarray. Without Romboult to shield the magazine from the Board of Trustees it was without a basis of support. As Keziere recalls: "when he (Romboult) left, the board turned on the magazine and in a way that was catastrophic" (p.1). Vanguard was left with two clear choices: to suspend publication or to maintain the magazine without the financial and administrative support of the gallery. Keziere chose

to continue and within a week "The Society for Critical Arts Publications" was established to operate the magazine with Keziere continuing as the editor.

It was this "new" Vanguard, which like other free-standing publications, sought increased funding from the Council's Aid to Periodicals program. The time was especially propitious despite Vanguard's financial vulnerability and uncertain future. As noted, in 1981 there was dissatisfaction in the arts community about what the Canada Council's program was funding and this brought about a change in the assessment process. The primary source of discontent and the resulting shifts were the declining fortunes and respect of artscanada. Since the early 1970's the Council had been its principal funder. Its commitment for 1978-79, for example, reached $200,000 and in 1981-82 it still received $130,000. But the magazine was in severe financial straits and a consensus had developed in the visual arts community that it was not responsive to developments in contemporary art to warrant such extensive support.

As a result its funding was finally terminated in 1983. As Jutras explains:

> We had the courage to eliminate magazines that clearly were not serving the arts community. artscanada is an example. The community just could not take it any longer. With this money we helped Vanguard, Fuse, a whole range of publications which to an extent were suffering from the largesse of the Canada Council vis a vis artscanada (1988, p. 6).

While the Canada Council was not instrumental in the establishment of Vanguard in 1972, it was bound up with its own origin as an

independent publication. As with Parachute, this was not just a matter of available funding as related policy initiatives also had consequences for the establishment of both magazines. In Vanguard's case it was a change in the assessment process, in Parachute's it was the concurrent emergence of artist-run centres.

C magazine's origin is also tied to the Canada Council. It grew out of the publication Impressions which had been a recipient of Council support. Thus, from the outset C had legitimacy as an art publication with respect to its principal funder and the art community, all of which were based on prior perceptions and assessments. The link to Impressions, for example, did not require C to publish three issues, which is the condition of eligibility for funding required by the Aid to Periodicals program. Continued Council support was a signal to the community that this was a publication worth maintaining.

As Vanguard and C demonstrate, the Council played an instrumental role in their continuance, although the circumstances were different. The contrasting cases indicate the Council's desire and ability to react to various types of organizational and budgetary constraints to the extent that the magazines now rely primarily on Council support. As for Parachute, the Council has always been its principal funder. Thus, the very power to fund certainly confirms the Council's importance. There is significant external resource dependency in the art world as far as its publications are concerned. This constraint prompted initial

decisions which the magazines took to ensure their funding. Mintzberg and Waters (1985) would characterize these decisions as "imposed strategies". They are actions which take place in an organization's environment and which are seemingly emergent because an organization can not always anticipate them, much less control or initiate them. It is also evident that Council's funding guidelines and choices are imposed given the jury process but it can not be assumed that once the magazines become successful applicants dependency continues and they have no clout.

Jutras, however, acknowledges that the Aid to Periodicals program has "historical biases" to the extent that once a magazine receives funding it is likely to continue getting support. What seems to emerge is a consensus in the community about the value and importance of a magazine and the juries come to reflect this. This is not an example of a consensus strategy of the kind identified by Mintzberg and Waters (1985) which occurs inside an organization and is the result of mutual adjustment as opposed to shared goals and beliefs. This an illustration of a consensus that grows out of previous intersections, permitting a tradition of support to develop. Magazines over time become strategically positioned to facilitate the developments of ties in the art world, unless they are beset with financial woes which the Council can not ignore or correct.

It is evident that historical biases are not confined to a magazine's "track record" which follows initial funding. The circumstances of origin foster tradition or what Williams likes to

call "reproduction in action" (1981, p. 187). As indicated, Parachute, Vanguard and C stem from individuals and existing organizations which are also likely to have connections to the Council. What all this suggests is the importance of emanation (Berkowitz, 1982) in giving structure, texture and direction to a community such as the visual art world. For Parachute, the source was a nucleus of individuals and organizations. Some were Montreal-based, such as the artist-run centres; others were attached to organizations such as galleries and universities throughout Canada. All endorsed Parachute's desire to engage in what seemed at the time new theoretical and critical explorations. Many individuals had substantial credibility within the visual arts community because of curatorial activities and serving on Council juries and advisory committees.

For Vanguard, it was the connection to the Vancouver Art Gallery despite the rupture that took place. Other and equally crucial sources of legitimacy were art historian and curator Doris Shadbolt, who Keziere points out was "respected by the Canada Council" (p. 2), and Scot MacIntyre of publisher Douglas and MacIntyre, which it must be noted received substantial Council support. C's prior links to the publication Impressions and the Council's program have already been noted. The further significance of emanation is found in Canadian Art, the fourth magazine under study. In this case, it is necessary to go back two generations. Canada's first art magazine of any historical or critical consequence is acknowledged to be Canadian Art which began

publication in 1940. It struggled along and began to receive Council assistance soon after the Council was created in 1957. Support continued into the 1960's but the magazine went through several editorial changes. What emerged in 1966 was artscanada, which from the outset received substantial Council support. As noted above, the magazine continued to enjoy this largesse until 1983, when a consensus in the art community was significant enough to persuade the Council to terminate funding.

In 1984 Canadian Art "reappeared", having taken its name from the original publication and consisting of a board which included several who had served on artscanada's board. The magazine is a joint venture of Maclean Hunter Publishing and Key Publishing while Council support is an average of $30,000 yearly. This amounts to about one-fifth of what was on the average annually granted to artscanada. It can be argued that the magazine's lineage mitigates against receiving more support given artscanada's thorny relationship with the Canada Council and the arts community. Nevertheless, a negative development also suggests emanation is consequential as it illustrates which routes produce certain configurations. For three magazines, emanation is a factor in the establishment and maintenance of ties among individuals and organizations, for the fourth it is a constraining mechanism.

The account of each magazine's origins confirms the existence of prior networks. It also confirms how instrumental prior connections are in situating each publication within in the visual arts community. Each magazine is projected as it were onto the

community and becomes a reference point with its own routes of access and spheres of influence. The description of networks in the succeeding chapter will further account for initial relationships. Yet it must be recalled from Chapter two that magazines as sites of contact and activity within the art world also have become maps for further understanding the terrain in which they are situated. As the points of origin demonstrate, a whole range of strategic actions and interactions, some common to the four publications, others particular to each magazine, are central to their development and to the world in which they are located. Accordingly, the historical account moves from the very beginnings of the magazines, including the establishment of the Aid to Periodicals Program, to the early history of each publication.

The Early Years

As noted, Vanguard is the oldest of the magazines, having begun as the Vancouver Art Gallery Bulletin in 1972. During its first six years as a tabloid, it existed primarily to inform the community about gallery exhibitions and programs. It was not until 1978-79 that it became a full-fledged art publication with an editor, in the person of Russell Keziere. He was committed from the outset to eclectic coverage of the art world. The magazine provided review and analysis of Canadian and American contemporary art; it frequently contained historical essays and it attempted to consider a range of media including painting, sculpture, photography and performance art.

The February 1979 issue, the first which was not a tabloid, is exemplary as it set the tone for the magazine for the next four years. The colour cover is of a work by American artist Frank Stella. Inside there is a study of the 19th century Quebec painter Ozias Leduc, a lengthy review of Gary Kennedy's exhibition at the Art Gallery of Ontario, an interview with American artist Bruce Nauman as well as attention paid to Vancouver performance artist Paul Wong, sculptor Nancy Holt, and conceptual artist Joseph Kossuth. Brief reviews and a compilation of exhibitions and other events throughout Canada filled the remaining pages. Each issue is approximately 40-45 pages, with advertising accounting for 20% of space and with six to eight issues published annually.

The interview of Nauman is especially significant as it refers to the capacity of publications for structuring the world in which they are situated. Describing his work, Nauman declares: "I will tell you about myself by giving a show, but I will only tell you so much" (p.16). However, in the course of the interview he reveals a good deal more about his artistic intentions and choices as well as how he perceives the art world. His work is in effect expanded and contextualized through the medium of print. Nauman also explains how publications are a source for work. Commenting on the demands of making and defining art, especially in New York City, he offers this observation.

> .....Since so many people do so much work, you're going to overlap no matter what you do; the pressure is to clean it up and find your own area. But this same pressure can force you to be narrow and in some ways can inhibit real change. I was on an NEA (National

> Endowment of the Arts) advisory committee recently, for example, and had to look at an awful lot of art. I think the saddest thing was that all the artists were trying to look like they had just come out of an art magazine. It was almost as if they were thinking that if we make it look this way it will be acceptable. The edges had been taken off, there was a total lack of experimentation. No one was willing to make a mistake. (February, 1979, p. 18)

Nauman, and through an art magazine no less, calls attention to the modelling power of such publications. Whether it is to be found in the early history of Vanguard or in the pages of other magazines, the selections of editors and writers offer a "preferred reading" (Tuchman, 1983) of the art world. What is covered in the forms of essays, reviews, photographs and advertisements becomes the standard by and through which others develop and value their work. This is no straight-forward stimulus-response process. These magazines function as more than simple instruments of selection. For the content to have the impact described by Nauman, it requires that the magazines be bound up with the world they try to define. As Tuchman suggests: "content is implicit in the process of its production" (1983, p. 335).

What then is to be found in the early history of Vanguard and the other three publications which contribute to what Tuchman calls the "juncture of process, content and effect" (p.335)? First, the origins of each publication established working relationships between the magazines and the world that was and is their preoccupation. Vanguard, for example, even when it became more autonomous under editor Keziere, still covered local art while

also attending to contemporary developments and historical interests elsewhere. Keziere's eclecticism was more than an editor's prerogative but a deliberate response to several constituencies. As will be noted later, this eclecticism became the basis for the appointment of regional editors, a future strategy that established Vanguard as a truly Canadian publication.

By contrast, and from the outset, Parachute was more focused, committing itself to the advocacy of certain artists and aesthetic issues. Its international coverage extended to art in Europe. The very look and feel of the magazine, which will be considered in detail later, demonstrated the convergence of concerns about content and process. As for C (like its predecessor Impressions), it focused on the work of Toronto artists and continued to have as much visual material as written. As will be indicated, this content was in no way divorced from matters of production. What ended up between the covers of C emanated from a combination of aesthetic intentions and organizational constraints. Finally, Canadian Art was a product whose content was also bound up with initial aesthetic concerns and organizational realities.

In addition to origins, the organizational nature of the publications was a factor which governed their relationship to the art world. This is apparent in the early history which is the present concern and in later developments. The first and most evident organizational aspect is that each magazine is what Mintzberg (1979) calls a "simple structure". Each magazine was and

remains a small operation with a minimum number of employees and positions. As Mintzberg puts it.

> The Simple Structure is characterized, above all, by what it is not - elaborated. Typically, it has little or no technostructure, few support staffers, a loose division of labour, minimal differentiation among its units, and a small managerial hierarchy. Little of behaviour is formalized, and it makes minimal use of planning, training and the liaison devices. It is above all organic (p. 306).

Prior to Keziere assuming the editorship of Vanguard, the publication was a unit within the Vancouver Art Gallery, what Mintzberg would describe in organizational terms as a "professional bureaucracy" (1979, pp. 348-79 passim). When Keziere took over, it remained a unit but its new found autonomy made it a department of the gallery in name only. From this point it operated as a simple structure with Keziere in charge, plus a production assistant and a secretarial assistant. Keziere had total supervision and he was, to use Mintzberg's characterization, the "one-man strategic apex" (1979, p. 316) as far as decision-making was concerned. The autonomous situation surely provided Keziere with the power of selection but it amounted to more than Keziere simply exerting his editorial authority. He had the freedom to seek out work which was tried or new. He engaged various writers and he did so on both accounts given the seeming eclecticism of the publication. Yet by his own admission he was not always successful. What appeared as diversity was really Keziere speaking in different voices.

> I had commitments from several writers; they didn't come through so I ended up writing most of it myself under pseudonyms and this

> occurred regularly over the next several issues (p.1).

"Whoever" was articulating, there was clearly a connection between the content and the production process. The simple structure provided Keziere with maneuverability and relative independence for initially he did not have to constantly answer to a higher authority. He could not fill the pages of the magazines unless he also became actively engaged in the worlds he was bent on informing and covering. It was therefore incumbent on him in his role as editor to keep abreast of exhibitions and issues. This entailed interacting with artists, curators and writers and by following developments as reflected in other texts, including art magazines. Out of such relationships came what Tuchman calls "preferred readings" of the art world but also the complementary emergence of ties among individuals and organizations. For example, several writers became frequent contributors including Peter Wollheim and Jennifer Ollie thus establishing some predictability with respect to magazine coverage. Wollheim, for instance, was interested in photography and when his name appeared the reader could expect a review of work or a theoretical consideration of the medium.

Keziere was also not reluctant about taking positions on major shows or contemporary issues. His concern, for example, was not necessarily directed at the merits of an artist's work but at the circumstances of an exhibition. He made his views known through an editorial column or a lead article in the magazine. Consider the lengthy response to Pluralities, the 1980 survey of Canadian

contemporary art at the National Gallery. In "Ambivalence, Ambition and Administration" (September 1980), Keziere began by asking why the Gallery needed four guest curators to undertake the exhibition. He knew the bureaucratic answer which is that several permanent and contracted curators had departed and the gallery was slow in replacing them. The choices of the guest curators permitted Keziere to "consider the philosophy of curating in Canada and sketch its relationship to the contemporary art community" (p. 8).

Keziere concluded that the curatorial dispositions worked against any comprehensive understanding of art in Canada.

> .....the curators, rather than working toward a consensus and distinguishing themselves from one and another through critical essays, chose to cordon off the available spaces and install habitual favourites (p. 8).

He went on to justify his claim by describing the relationship between the curator and the curated as manifested in the selection and display of work as well as textual commentary about it. Despite his liking for several individuals works in the show, Keziere rejected the exhibition and suggested that other or new parameters were required to deal with the presentation and appreciation of Canadian contemporary art.

Keziere's own desire did not go unfilled for too long, but it took the form of a book not an exhibition. In 1983 he co-edited Visions: Contemporary Art in Canada. It is a richly illustrated text which also included five essays by leading curators and critics. The emphasis was on current artists but their work was placed within an historical perspective. Readers could fault this

approach just as Keziere had questioned the choices and suppositions of Pluralities. What is significant from the perspective of this present study, is that the book demonstrates the formation of organizational and individual ties that are somewhat bound up with Keziere's editorship of Vanguard. It should come as no surprise that a co-editor of the book is curator Doris Shadbolt, who as noted earlier was instrumental in keeping Vanguard afloat after it severed its ties with the Vancouver Art Gallery. Two of the essays were written by Charlotte Townsend Gault and Diana Nemiroff who had become Vanguard's regional editors. Finally, the book's publisher is Douglas and MacIntyre. As it will be recalled it was the same Scot MacIntyre, like Shadbolt, who helped Keziere in maintaining Vanguard.

As Keziere's activities and the content of the magazine demonstrate, they are bound up with the formation of ties within the art world. Vanguard became more than a selective rendering of exhibitions and works. It was part of the terrain of the art world where ideas were tested and advocated and relationships were established and maintained over time. The first four years of Keziere's editorship confirm these developments to the extent that in Mintzberg and Water's term it is evident that an "entrepreneurial strategy" was at work. Clearly, Keziere had a "central vision", which was to keep the magazine humming which in turn meant helping to keeping the art world turning.

By 1982-83 Vanguard had become a magazine consistent in its offerings and format. But it was also beginning to go through

several major changes. These entailed the adoption and emergence of different strategies and would culminate, as noted earlier, in the magazine becoming a completely independent publication. Before considering these developments and their connection to the art world, it is first necessary to account for Parachute's initial years up to the early 1980's.

Parachute began in 1975 under the direction of Chantal Pontbriand and France Morin. The very first issue confirmed that the magazine was a departure from existing and previous publications. The introductory "editorial" read like a manifesto. Here is a condensation which indicates the magazine's purpose and goals. The entire editorial is contained in Appendix V.

> What do we know of contemporary art outside of Quebec, in Canada or abroad? Do we even know that contemporary art exists in Montreal ....How does information about art circulate? The only publications considered of value in Canada at present are concerned with the "world" of art in general. We are occasionally given the privilege of reading a few articles on art-in-the making, but always in terms of the so-called contradiction between classical art and modern art. Any experimental work, any avant-garde then, seems to be off the rails rather than a development of contemporary ideology or a continuation of the historical pattern of which we are a part.
>
> We hope to offer to the reader a magazine preoccupied with the tendencies specific to the times, within an historical perspective that will enable PARACHUTE to look at those who have made history and whose work remains important today. It is possible to publish a contemporary art magazine, without joining the modernist camp which perpetuates as much prejudice, partisanship and snobbism as adversaries..... We want to achieve an interdisciplinary and international exchange which will break down the cultural barriers

> and find an antithesis to regionalism..... To inform means not only to describe objectively the different directions of contemporary art but to permit the participation of artists, critics and administrators in our pages, giving them the total freedom to express themselves on problems relative to contemporary art. PARACHUTE wishes to become the instrument which will examine art-in-the-making as it takes root in terrain filled with ambiguity.....
>
> We must avoid falling into lyrical and esthetical criticism or forgetting the context out of which flows all creative energy. At the same time, we must be beware of the avant-garde utopians who pretend to have the solution to any problem without taking into account the complexity of the world today.
>
> We live at the crossroads of cultures and civilizations in mutation. It is therefore a mistake to wall ourselves off form the world and its multitude of new ideas and even forgotten ones which reappear and lead us to the process of reconsideration, critical judgement, new alternatives. (np)

The editorial contentions and commitments were immediately reflected in the design and content of the magazine and in its contributors. This was no ordinary and glossy publication. It was printed on cheap paper and its cover had the look and feeling of stiff and light brown wrapping paper. The image on the first issue also attested to the magazine's dedication to international art and critical alternatives. It was of a reproduction of a drawing Vladimir Tatlin's tower - a highly symbolic work of Soviet constructivist art of the 1920's. From the very beginning, Parachute delivered on its commitment to engage artists, critics, curators and administrators and they frequently did more than just write. The sculptor Roland Poulin, for example, was responsible

for the magazine's graphics for the first six issues. He was joined and then succeeded by photographer Pierre Boogaerts. Boogaerts also was a contributor and his work appeared on the cover of two issues. By 1978, Angela Grauholtz was responsible for the graphics. She continued to be until the mid 1980's while becoming a highly regarded photographer in her own right.

As for the content it fell into three categories which were not mutually exclusive. First, international predilections were evident with European artists usually more privileged than Americans. Second, and from the outset, Parachute promoted, and with uncompromising devotion, several artists, who lived and worked primarily in Montreal. These primarily included, but were and are not limited to, Betty Goodwin, Roland Poulin, Raymond Gervais, Irene Whittome, Rober Racine, Melvin Charney and later younger artists, such as Genevieve Cadieux. Attention to these artist went beyond magazine coverage. Many were repeatedly in exhibitions curated by either of the editors. This included the Pluralities show, which as noted earlier was at least for Vanguard editor, Russell Keziere, very characteristic of curatorial indulgence. Keziere, it will be recalled, described the presence of many "habitual favourites." Thirdly, the magazine was a forum for theoretical exercises and treatises. There were contributions form European writers while other pieces were from contributors throughout Canada who had discovered semiotics, structuralism and other theoretical currents. Within these categories it must also be pointed out that other artists received attention in lead

articles and brief reviews but even here there were several preferences, most notably Michael Snow and the art group General Idea.

As the choices and concerns of the magazine illustrate, it remained committed to the mission set down in its first editorial. One can not help but be impressed by the perseverance especially within the context of political and cultural change in Quebec. The Parti Quebecois was elected in 1976 and the artistic community as a whole seemed committed to independence and therefore privileged Francophone artists and culture. Parachute remained a bilingual publication and also continued to cover art outside of Quebec. The artists from Montreal which it promoted were also not all Francophones. It might be argued that these actions were undertaken to satisfy the Canada Council which had been funding the magazine since 1977. Yet the continuity evident in the subject matter suggests something much more.

Parachute was constantly looking beyond Quebec, remaining convinced that art should not be impeded by the constraints of regionalism. Still, Parachute's commitments during the first five years of its history can not be reduced to the espousal of a single and comprehensive aesthetic. Rather, it was helping to sustain a climate of activity in which thinking about art became the essence of art making. This emphasis extended to all the visual arts and to the inspection of a range of theories and styles in the magazine. As a result, there were special issues devoted to one medium or issue which complemented the regular coverage. These

included but were not limited to Number 10 on experimental film, Number 30 on technology and mass culture, Number 37 on installation art and later Number 46 on museums. The magazine also organized festivals and colloquia which dealt with contemporary concerns such as performance art.

It is clear that Parachute was and is a proactive publication. Its very existence as a magazine enabled it to create a climate for activity while at the same time be affected by it. The art it both laboured over and frequently promoted was usually dense and cerebral. Theoretical excursions and other kinds of written work were logical extensions of such art work or its source of creation. As a consequence, the visual art world, or at least the Canadian version of it, became a textual community through the various interests of Parachute. As noted above, these extended to curatorial and conference activities on the part of the editors which also meant that the magazine occupied a larger strategic space in the terrain called the art world.

The increasing interest in catalogues and other didactic material had further impact. It was not that the art work had become secondary to the texts as Tom Wolfe sarcastically claims in The Painted Word. Rather, writing and publication had attained roughly equal status. It was no longer enough for artists to show and exhibit; they had to be read and read about and Parachute together with other magazines in Canada and abroad were instrumental in bringing about this textual transformation. It is thus becoming more apparent how Parachute in particular is both the

medium and outcome of conduct it recursively organizes, to recall Giddens (1986). Such positioning was secured during the first five years of operation and has continued uninterrupted even though like other magazines under study there have been staff and design changes.

The most significant personnel change, which occurred in the magazine's fifth year of operation, was the departure of France Morin as co-director. Since the magazine's inception, it appeared as if these co-founders were working in concert. They would take turns contributing pieces, be they editorial statements or lead articles. They seemed to share equally in the magazine's rising influence. But by 1979-80 it was evident that the magazine was not big enough for two editors both of whom had great expectations. There was no mention of Morin's departure; she just disappeared from the masthead but continued to have an important role within the art community. For several years after she operated Galerie France Morin. She has since been the director of the 49th Parallel in New York City when it was supported by the federal government as a showcase for Canadian contemporary art. Most recently, she has become a curator at the New Museum of Contemporary, also in New York City.

The departure of France Morin provides room for speculation about the organizational nature of the magazine. As was the case with Vanguard, Parachute eventually became the vision of one person, Chantal Pontbriand. To apply Mintzberg and Waters topology of strategies (1965), Pontbriand seems to have been even more

entrepreneurial than Keziere. She was not content to just edit the magazine. Other events which she organized or participated in - the guest curating, the colloquia for example, became synonymous with Parachute. These initiatives not only secured Parachute's place in the art world but extended its spheres of influence.

However, there is another organizational characteristic that both magazines share. While each bore the stamp of its editor, neither could effectively function without assistance with production and other administrative responsibilities. Janice Whitehead filled this role at Vanguard. From the outset, first as a production assistant and later as managing editor she was responsible for many facets of the magazine, including advertising. In Parachute's case it has been Colette Tougas. She joined the magazine as a production secretary in 1978, gradually took on more administrative and production responsibilities. At the time of this writing she is the managing editor.

New Strategies and New Entrants

Thus far the account of Vanguard and Parachute extends to 1981-82. By this time both magazines had become entrenched in the art community. This did not deter either magazine from making subsequent changes; indeed it can be argued that stability, at least for a small organization, is a precondition for shifts and alterations. As noted at the outset of this chapter, the declining fortunes of artscanada also contributed to the ascendancy of Vanguard and Parachute. Support for artscanada was finally

suspended in 1983 thus freeing up funds in the Canada Council's Aid to Periodicals program. Other developments also made the mid 1980's especially fertile. By 1984 C magazine had begun publication as did Canadian Art, the step-child of artscanada. Before looking at the history of these new entrants, it is necessary to continue charting the history of Vanguard and Parachute.

As noted earlier, by 1982 Vanguard had a standard format and length but the continuing challenge of assembling the magazine did not go unnoticed by editor Russell Keziere. He came to the realization that what the art community needed was more writing but also more writers who could make contributions as well as solicit others on a regular basis. Keziere's solution was to create regional editors who would feed material to Vanguard, making it a truly pan-Canadian publication. He sought and received funding from the Canada Council and the Cultural Initiatives Program of the federal Department of Communications to achieve his objective. By 1982-83, regional editors were in place in Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario and the Eastern Prairies. The impact of the initiative was immediately felt. The magazine continued to have three to five major articles but the brief reviews section had increased four fold.

Applying the Mintzberg and Waters typology (1985), Keziere acted in an "entrepreneurial" fashion, aggressively pursuing opportunities to support the editors program. Once this was accomplished the entrepreneurial strategy was replaced by an

umbrella strategy. Decisions originated and conformed to certain constraints and expectations but they were not subject to precise controls thus permitting some emergent activity (1985, passim). To be sure, Keziere was still very much the editor and in this capacity he also continued to produce editorials and major pieces as well as getting others to contribute lead articles. However, he could control the influx from the regions only up to a point since the whole purpose of the initiative was to have coverage from across the country which emanated from local writers and artists. The strategy fulfilled Keziere's unabashed eclecticism even though it meant he did not have complete authority.

A perusal of an issue during this period of adjustment and new direction further demonstrates what Vanguard was becoming. Consider the combined issue, Numbers 9 & 10, December-January 1982-83. There were three lead articles. Two covered major international exhibitions which had recently taken place: the 40th Venice Biennale and the 7th Installment of Documenta. Both were analyzed by major Canadian artists, the former by Toronto video maker Vera Frankel, the latter by Vancouver photographer Ian Wallace. The third article by Victor Coleman dealt with a large exhibition which took place simultaneously in Toronto at various artist-run centres and which was playfully titled "Monumenta". As for the brief exhibition reviews there were twenty-one. Regional representation was extensive and a range of media were covered. It was evident that the editors program was working and it continued

to do so with the editors themselves often contributing major pieces in subsequent issues.

While diversity had become something of the magazine's credo, the publication did not provide a faithful correspondence of activities in the visual art world. No matter how representative the magazine tried to be, "preferred readings", to recall Tuchman, were inevitable. There was also a language of coverage that was becoming common to many reviews and articles even though the contributors writers, artists and curators, were an increasingly eclectic group. This discursive homogeneity had the effect of checking the diversity of content to the extent that it contributed to the emergence of the art world as a textual community. The trafficking of common texts and terms, which will be considered in some detail later in this chapter, was making the art world rather homogeneous and cohesive at least in the ways it informed itself. As well, and the description of networks confirms this, the discourse contributed to the formation of ties among individuals and organizations with mutual interests.

However, these communicative developments can never be attributed to the activities of a sole publication. There were also common discourses to be found in the content of Parachute and later C. There were surely variations in the prose as Parachute was frequently more viscous and turgid. What is most significant is that all three of these magazines had discursive similarities despite major differences with respect to works covered and issues addressed. The study returns to these very salient developments

but first the histories of the four publications must be fully considered.

Returning to Vanguard, the presence of regional editors further secured the magazine's place within the art world. It had evidently addressed content objectives and production requirements by drawing on a range of resources external to the magazine. This reaching out, as the network descriptions will demonstrate, made Vanguard more of a crucial reference point within the terrain of the art world. Nevertheless, all was not stable at the Vancouver Art Gallery, the publication's home base. As was noted, by 1984 there was great turmoil. The institution was in financial disarray, the Board of Trustees questioned the magazine's very existence and Director Luke Romboult, who had protected the magazine, resigned. With the gallery unwilling to continue supporting the magazine, Keziere chose to run Vanguard as an independent publication. He remained as editor but overnight he also became the magazine's publisher. As he recalls:

> I became an editor by default because I was a writer without one and did not have a place to publish so I also became an editor to make a magazine in which I could publish. I became a publisher by accident because my publishers betrayed me. (p. 3)

Within a week in November 1984, publisher Keziere had to make a formal offer for the magazine and incorporate a nonprofit society to oversee the publication. It was also necessary to establish a funding base. This included allaying the fears of funding agencies such as the British Columbia Cultural Fund and the Canada Council which were already supporting the magazine. Given these changes

and challenges, the move to have regional editors was in retrospect much more than a deliberate strategy concerned with content. Vanguard's pan Canadian interests also provided the magazine with legitimacy which the Canada Council had to take into account when the magazine applied for increased funding. In this respect, the umbrella strategy was both deliberate and emergent. Despite the financial challenges, Vanguard published nine issues in 1985. For acknowledgement of the magazine's new independent status, see the editorial in the February issue (Appendix 2).

However, the productivity was no consolation for Keziere. As he notes:

> At this point I saw the need for long term stability so that an art publication could be subversive and provide other than what the dominant culture is prepared to a accept (p. 6).

For Keziere, this meant taking advantage of new developments in information technology. As a result, more of the production process was done in-house and less was spent on outside service costs. As Keziere put it: "The computer became a way of getting out from under the capital intensity of publishing" (p. 4). In succeeding years, technological innovation played an even bigger role. In effort to generate revenues, Vanguard began providing production services such as computer typesetting.

Given these changes, it is necessary at this juncture to consider the degree to which technology facilitated production and as a consequence enabled Vanguard and the other magazines under study to survive, if not flourish. In Vanguard's case, new

technology per se was not a determinant of success but an available alternative that proved very useful given the magazines financial situation and mandate. As Keziere points out: "Technology and economic distress coincided with cultural needs". (p. 4) As for the other magazines, technology seems to have played no significant role in their continuance. It has only been very recently that Parachute has become extensively computerized. As for C, its financial resources dictated the extent to which it could make use of sophisticated technologies but the technologies in themselves did not restrict the magazine from continuing. In the case of Canadian Art, it used the resources of its parent companies Maclean Hunter and Key Publishing. This no doubt facilitated production but as shall be further indicated it was the magazine's scope, readership and relations with the art world that were of fundamental concern.

Turning now to Parachute's middle years, it had, like Vanguard, secured an enviable place within the world that it was informing. The most telling illustration was a change in design. By issue Number 28 (Fall, 1982) it had shed its familiar brown cover and replaced with it with a multi-colour photographic image. Inside, the layout remained relatively the same, as did the unconventional 10" x 12" size. While this seemed a small change it was charged with symbolic significance. The magazine had taken on a new presence which seemed more authoritative in tone. This would become more evidenced in future issues. The reduction of the magazine's width by one inch and the use of more expensive paper

gave the publication a very professional appearance. Inside there was still no colour. This did not take away from the magazine's authority; rather the somber layout and black and white photographs conveyed a seriousness of purpose which, by implication, also meant the magazine and its writers were taking themselves more seriously.

As a result, the magazine maintained a documentary style but had done away with the "grittiness" so characteristic of alternative publications bent on conveying a real world, such as the early editions of the magazine. A further confirmation of how instrumental the design changes were is contained in an editorial written in 1980, marking the fifth year of the publication. It expressed a hope that the magazine would see "an increase in approaches together with a proliferation of possible readings" (p. 4) while also attaining economic stability and having an increased readership. The design changes were an indication of the realization of these desires. Yet they would continue to be tempered by an editorial single-mindedness which has informed the publication from its very beginnings and which is primarily responsible for the magazine's current influence and direction.

To further illustrate both the shifting and stable aspects of the magazine, consider, for example, issue Number 38, (March, April, May 1985). The colour cover is of the work "Batsman in the Crowd" by European artist Jean-Luc Vilmouth. Of the four major essays, two are in French and two are in English. One is about the cover artist while the others deal with experimental film, video and the work of British artist Conrad Atkinson. The latter

requires noting since the author is Charlotte Townsend-Gault who at the same time was serving as Vanguard's editor for the Atlantic Provinces. This is not to be misconstrued as a conflict of loyalties or interests but an indication of the comparatively small group of writers whose very size contributed to shaping the network of individuals and organizations. As for the review section, it is varied and bilingual and the contributors are a mix of curators, critics and artists. There is also a four page information section about recent books, catalogues and monographs, which like the rest of the issue has an international thrust. As the 1980 editorial claimed, there were a "proliferations of readings" but the global interests and theoretical predilections remained constant.

It would seem that during Parachute's middle years an entrepreneurial strategy persisted with the editor maintaining a "central vision". (Mintzberg and Waters, 1985). The magazine did allow for the expression of many theoretical points of view. This created a variance of opinion but more often than not it harkened back to many of the tenets contained in the first editorial. The work reviewed also was consistently dense and cerebral. If the magazine's most favoured Montreal artists were not covered, those who were, seemed strikingly similar in their concerns.

As for other aspects of the publication, there were several organizational changes which maintained the magazine's credibility and bolstered the editor's interests. This included a "Conseil de Redaction", an advisory board, which was actually initiated soon after the departure of France Morin in 1980 and which consisted of

a mix of artists, curators, critics and academics. With the exception of musician and theorist Raymond Gervais and art historians and critics Rene Payant and Johanne Lamoureux, who remained very dedicated to the magazine as conseil members and writers, other board member did not stay long. In this category, for example, during the early and mid-1980's were critic and theorist Philip Fry, curator-critics Phillip Monk and Bruce Ferguson as well as Rick Rhodes, who would go on to become the first editor of C magazine. Their affiliations were relatively short, but amounted to influential ties which were, as the network analysis indicates, an integral part of a larger configuration of individuals and organizations.

Before moving on to an account of C and Canadian Art, further comment is required about Parachute's design and format. These are elements, to recall chapter two, of what Wilson (1983) terms rhetorical strategies: "language in the broadest sense which encompass such things as diction, tone of voice and narrative design" (p.42). Wilson insists that these characteristics are as significant as the content itself for as he suggests they effect the reading process. (p. 43). Wilson's claims are surely confirmed by Parachute. The often dense narratives and the presumptive inclusion of terms and concepts require readers to exhibit inordinate concentration. The width of the magazine also makes the process of reading more challenging as it is two inches wider than any other standard magazine comprised primarily of text. As a consequence, there is more for the reader to digest per line by

line. At times, going back over the text, to recall an initial analogy, is like reading a map as the reader scans the surface to make sense of the territory and to find a specific point. The complex reading that is required, if not elicited and demanded is another aspect of the textual dimension of the art world. The list and reviews of catalogues, theoretical books and other didactic material at the end of each issue is also indication of the degree to which artists, critics and curators are caught in a web of words.

This study further elaborates on the language and lore of Parachute when it considers the rhetorical strategies and tendencies of all publications under study in the succeeding chapter. For now it returns to other historical developments by tracing the beginnings of C magazine and Canadian Art followed by the recent history of all four magazines.

C magazine began publication in the fall of 1983. As noted at the outset of this chapter, it grew out of the magazine Impressions, whose editor Isaac Applebaum had decided to focus on other interests. The new editor was Rick Rhodes who had been a curator and writer and was serving on Parachute's editorial board. Applebaum remained an associate editor for a few issues while also assisting Dyan Marie, a Toronto artist, with the design. Initially, the magazine's size was nine and a half by thirteen inches and its pages were newsprint. Gradually the size was reduced and the magazine was printed on better quality paper. As Rhodes recalls:

> Each and every issue became not only an exercise in learning how to do..... There were at times three designers with every 10 pages different looking.... The struggle to find an identity was a matter of costs. Newsprint did not hold up. We went to a glossy printer who offered a cheap price but the result was awful so eventually the magazine shrunk to conventional size (p. 1).

While the design suffered from inconsistency, this was not sufficient to impede the magazine's intentions or acceptance. In contrast to Vanguard and Parachute which had become very professional in their presentation, C initially was refreshingly gritty, somewhat reminiscent of Parachute's early issues. But there was nothing nostalgic about its early content as the magazine seemed exclusively concerned with Toronto artists and writers. As William Wood, who became an assistant editor in 1985 (and later become an associate editor of Vanguard), recalls:

> You have to look at those early issues of C and see how many times Robert McNealy's work is there, Will Gorlitz's work, Diane's (the magazine's designer), Oliver Girling, Joanne Tod, people he had (Rhodes) came up in the parallel system with (pp. 1-2).

The coziness was perhaps most evident in Rhodes' selection of artists for Canadian representation at the Sao Paulo Biennale in 1985. They included four of the artists cited above. The existence of such relationships implies the formation of cliques but the insularity should not be overstated as the magazine eventually became part of a larger network of individuals and organizations. This was due to two factors: a) Rhodes' emerging editorial inclinations and b) the impact of other existing and similar organizations on the genesis of the magazine.

First, as editor of C and regardless of financial constraints, Rhodes was positioned to pursue specific objectives. These were potentially equal in scope and authority to those undertaken by Russell Keziere at Vanguard and Chantal Pontbriand at Parachute. Yet he did not exercise this prerogative. There were no strategies equivalent to Keziere's regional editors program or Pontbriand's extensive transnational and theoretical interests. This is not to suggest C had no purpose but that the goals it did have were sufficiently flexible to accommodate a range of contributions. The "message" from the editor in the first issue stated that C would be : "a critical/visual magazine, a magazine where the independent and inter-connection of art and criticism is made real." The message also emphasized that the magazine would have room for artist projects, thus remaining faithful to its predecessor Impressions magazine. The concluding sentence of the message summed up C's intentions. "We want to be a magazine of both the eye and the mind." For the complete citation, see Appendix V.

Rhodes delivered on his pledge as C contained much more visual material than Parachute or Vanguard both in its early and later issues. As he put it:

> I am very interested in setting up a magazine that has an imaginative play to it. That is what I think we have over other magazines (p. 3).

Rhodes also considers C something of a repository for the unedited work of artists and writers, a tenet that makes C more an archive and only incidentally a magazine.

> Part of how I see C operating is a kind of document. I like the idea that I can publish Donald Kuspit but without a lot of editing. One of the things we can do is give him a free rein to express himself (p. 1).

Several lengthy pieces were published by Kuspit and other major writers. As William Wood points out some of the former's contributions were longer versions of work published elsewhere (p. 5). This certainly took away from their exclusiveness and contributed to C's role as a kind of record keeper but Rhodes did not see himself merely as a custodian.

> I am making the magazine for myself and what I think art criticism is and will be of interest to other people. I don't pretend to represent anybody (p.4).

Rhodes was also aware that he had relatively free reign to publish what he deemed interesting. "It's frustrating but I am completely aware that my position is regarded as one of privilege by members of the community" (p. 5).

Despite what he recognized as his critical power, he did not in later issues use it only to promote a select group of Toronto artists and writers. By 1985, the magazine's content had become more diverse but it was still an unordered mix of reviews, artists' projects, interviews and theoretical excursions. The Fall 1985 issue was exemplary. Contributions ranged from a visual work by American artist Nancy Spero to a dialogue about Montreal artist Susan Scott involving Montreal writers Reesa Greenberg and Bella Rabinovitch. There was also a film review by experimental filmmaker and theorist Bruce Elder. There were pieces by writers

and curators such as Bruce Ferguson, Peggy Gale and Jennifer Oille who also contributed to other publications. The artists included were also a diverse lot. Some were reviewers; others contributed projects, as was the case with Vancouver photographer Roy Arden.

The mix was not the kind of eclecticism which had filled the pages of Vanguard. C took more liberties especially during its first two years of operation. By contrast, Vanguard had little in the way of artists' projects and the regional editors program established a certain balance with respect to what work was covered and who was writing. Thus, for C, and according to Mintzberg and Waters (1985), a consensus strategy prevailed - in which decision making was not tightly controlled. It was not that Rhodes surrendered his editorial authority. In fact, William Wood reveals that part of the reason he left and joined Vanguard was that "he and Rick started having more serious disputes about the way the work was going" (p. 2). Wood contends, for example, that he was more interested in Canadian issues while Rhodes was increasingly drawn to international work. What characterized the consensus was the willingness to publish almost anything. This hit and miss strategy had virtues as it produced interesting juxtapositions and accommodated what Rhodes calls "speculative and experimental criticism" (p. 4). But as Wood also points out the approach often amounted to following fashions rather than actually becoming involved with issues (p. 6).

The consensus aspects of C were also tied to the surrounding art world in very specific ways. As Wiewel and Hunter (1985)

suggest "the presence of similar organizations in an environment may aid the genesis of a new organization" (p. 482). They contend that such support occurs in the form of a) resource exchange b) internal and external legitimation and c) defining the domain of organizational activities. C's experience seems to confirm this model. First, contributors to other art periodicals began to write for C while continuing to make other submissions. The editor and many writers were able to draw on their past involvements with several organizations in the art world. From the outset this provided the magazine with acceptance. Wiewel and Hunter note that "this kind of legitimation derives from the Weberian sense of legitimacy rooted in the belief of others" (p. 490). They also maintain that how an organization lays claim to and acquires resources is a function of the degree to which its authority is accepted by others. C relied on its many contacts within the art world. Initially, this meant a circle of Toronto acquaintances, later it would include influential writers such as American critic Donald Kuspit.

Wiewel and Hunter, referring to Stinchcombe (1965), also suggest that legitimacy arises out of "nested power".

> Legitimacy is seen as the direct function of the degree to which one can call upon the sources of "back up" power to make one's own power effective in case of need (p. 490).

Applying this to C, increased advertising and grants indicated that the magazine was able to draw upon "back up" sources. In this regard the Fall 1985 issue, described above, is also noteworthy. In addition to regular ads listing upcoming shows at public and

private galleries, the magazine contained an extra sixty pages on artists represented by several private Toronto galleries. Each artist had a full page which contained a reproduction of a work and the name and address of the representing gallery.

Turning to Wiewel and Hunter's third consideration, defining the domain of organizational activity, existing periodicals pointed to what resources, in addition to writers, were required to make the C a viable publication. The established content and style also suggested what should not be copied if C was in anyway to visually and critically distinguish itself. As noted already, C's advertising revenue and government funding provided legitimacy but it would be two to three years before the magazine was in any way sufficiently stable. As for style, the inconsistency of design and lack of funding was a kind of guarantee of not looking like other publications.

As for the content, it initially consisted of an unordered mix of reviews, theoretical statements, interviews and artists projects. However, the mix only temporarily set it apart from Vanguard and Parachute as all three magazines became more similar despite their surface differences. By 1986-87, C had fully graduated from its newsprint and large format stage having slimmed down. It now had a format not unlike Vanguard and Parachute. There were three or four major articles, a series of brief exhibition reviews and occasionally artists' projects and interviews. By 1988, when the interviews were undertaken for this study, Rhodes was still editor. He had been joined by two

associate editors, Arni Runar Haraldsson in Toronto and Reesa Greenberg, a critic and academic in Montreal. The magazine maintained the same format and content interests which had been established two years previously.

The detailing of C's interorganizational relations lend further credence to the importance of emanation in giving shape and substance to a community, such as the art world. It also accounts for how organizations become anchored within the world they feed upon and to which they also contribute. Both of these developments will receive more attention in the description of networks in the next chapter. What will also be addressed later is why and how C came to increasingly resemble other publications. Some particular rhetorical strategies remained. What became common was a language of coverage that would transform the visual art world into the textual community it now is.

Having accounted for the development of C magazine, the history of Canadian Art, the fourth and last publication in this study, now receives consideration. This magazine also began in 1984, the result of an alliance between media giant Maclean Hunter and Key Publishing under the editorship of Susan Walker, who had worked at Key Publishing. She describes the magazine's genesis.

> It went back to the failure of artscanada and Arts Magazine. There was no English language consumer style magazine about art. The company decided to look into this and approached MacLean-Hunter to share in the start up costs and form a partnership (p. 1).

The connection to artscanada did not go unnoticed by many in the art community. There was an uneasiness, if not outright dismissal

by some although Canadian Art did not resemble artscanada. The link was more of a convenient starting point for an aesthetic rejection. In question was the look and intent of the new magazine. It was journalistic in tone, colourful, glossy and very matter of fact about its consumer orientation. As Walker recalls:

> We also had a missionary zeal about bringing art to the populous which was widely disparaged by the art community and will continue to be (p. 2).

Once again the rejection came from artists who frequented artist-runs centres as well as curators and critics who preferred the theoretical preoccupations of Vanguard, Parachute and C. The response was in the early stages "nightmarish", according to Walker and confirmed by current editor Jocelyn Laurence with individual artists complaining about the magazine.

The connection to artscanada and the magazine's consumer appeal also did not sit well with funding agencies. Since Canadian Art's inception, The Ontario Arts Council has provided little or no support. The Canada Council has for some time provided approximately $35,000 annually, apparently as a matter of policy. Walker indicated that according to former Council Director Timothy Porteous there were no increases because as he put it the magazine's parents publishers do not fit our models. What Porteous was referring to were publications which are part of a larger publishing operation, such as Key, that produces substantial revenue and as a result can not be heavily subsidized. The argument is lost on Walker and Canadian Art's past and current publishers Lucia Stephenson and Laurie Vernon. They point out that

the magazine continues to lose money, although less each succeeding year, and claim the co-publishers continue to support it for primarily altruistic reasons. For them it fulfils a wider cultural need not satisfied by C, Vanguard or Parachute whose readerships are artists, curators, critics and academics who are situated almost exclusively within the art community. Evidently, the revenues received from other publications compensate for Canadian Art's lack of profitability in economic terms.

Just as Canadian Art differed in style and goals so did its content. Like other magazines, it had and retains a mix of major articles and reviews, including several by writers who frequent other publications. There is also the "Collage" section which contains information about upcoming major exhibitions, senior appointments to galleries and agencies, some international news and mention of special events such as the opening of new museums. The journalistic and consumer orientation also resulted in a further popularization of what is generally considered "high art" and primarily through a focus on personalities as much as the works themselves. There were several artist profiles and special coverage often also had a personal bent. To illustrate, a feature of the Fall 1985 issue was "Personal Bests", which contained the favourites of 24 gallery directors, curators, artists, collectors and artists from across Canada. The choices and rationales were complemented by colour and black and white photographs of some the work and some of the artists chosen. The issue's cover is of Carol Wainio, also one of the artists selected. The summer 1988 issue is

another example. It was primarily devoted to the National Gallery of Canada as its new building had opened. Predictably, the cover was of Shirley Thomson, the Gallery Director standing in the building's main corridor and not of the building itself which is a major architectural work.

All of these content interests were pursued through what Mintzberg and Waters (1985) term a consensus strategy. In this respect, the magazine is similar to C in that decisions were not tightly controlled by the editor. Walker mentions working closely with Sarah Milroy who had served as Associate Editor. She also acknowledged that being an editor was an educating process, pointing out that her background was journalism and that she had no professional training or experience in the visual arts. This entailed listening and speaking to many artists and writers, not to mention the countless trips to exhibitions. However, such contact did not constitute full membership in the community. In a sense, one had to be "born" there as was the case editor Rick Rhodes. The same outsider role awaited Jocelyn Laurence who succeeded Walker as editor in early 1988. However, she suggests that being on the periphery has its advantages because it does not commit one to a particular focus. As she put it:

> "They don't know what to do with me. They do not know where to position me and it is fashionable to adopt a stance, to be a part of a group, to be strongly associated with a group (p. 1).

Clearly, the magazine's voice, narrative design and other rhetorical strategies set it apart from the other publications.

This does not suggest it had no impact. The formation of a textual community does not occur only through the texts it prefers. For one thing, the very presence of the magazine was a recognition that a community of individuals and organizations existed. The acknowledgment is as significant as the community's own coverage as it signals that other social worlds and communities are taking notice. This is legitimacy of a very real and effective kind especially for those artists and organizations within the community who receive positive exposure. A magazine like Canadian Art, despite its commercial and consumer orientation, is on the edge and therefore strategically positioned to be on the outside looking in. This does not provide it with any built in objectivity; it offers no more of a faithful representation of the art world and its activities than magazines, such as C, which is more embedded in the community. But by being situated on the edge, Canadian Art became a reference point for coming to terms with the intersections of commerce and culture as well as journalism and art theory.

It is something of an irony that a commercial entity, especially one underwritten by a media giant, finds itself on the margins. It is small, under financed, and alternative publications which are usually on the outskirts. Canadian Art was certainly mindful of its location. It continued to cover artists and engage writers, many from the community's aesthetic centre but full membership offered no real privileges and seemed inappropriate, if not unlikely. As editor Walker concluded "There were certain barriers that couldn't be crossed "(p.3). Thus it is not surprising

that Canadian Art is not as implicated as are the other publications in the ties that characterize the community.

The Recent History

Having accounted for the development of C and Canadian Art from their beginnings in the mid 1980's until 1988, the recent history of Vanguard and Parachute now receives attention. As for Vanguard as noted earlier, by 1986-87 it had a direction and purpose. Its regional editors program was firmly established and its financial situation was relatively stable. Both were further bolstered by a grant in late 1987 from the federal Department of Communications for the editors network and for a feasibility study of cultural publishing. Meanwhile, the Canada Council had increased its commitment. Content and style changes were minimal, but significant. The layout of the magazine had become more crisp. The number of brief reviews was beginning to decline. This was in no way a contradiction of regional commitments; the desire was for more sustained pieces and from contributors throughout the country. What was preoccupying most of editor's Keziere's attention was the long term viability of the magazine and attendantly his multiple responsibilities as a publisher, editor and writer.

As the cultural publishing feasibility study indicated, and as noted earlier, Keziere saw in computer typesetting and other technological services long term sources of revenue for Vanguard. Keziere saw a niche both within the art world and in the city of

Vancouver and he was spending considerable time promoting software packages and technological services. He was at one point even having discussions with Canadian Art and its parent companies. Meanwhile of course, the daily tasks of running a magazine remained. Janice Whitehead, who had been with the magazine since its days at the Vancouver Art Gallery, was managing editor and her responsibilities included soliciting advertising. In 1988, Keziere was also the recipient of a Senior Arts Award for criticism and curating from the Council Canada which would enable him to concentrate on writing for a year. This necessitated finding someone to assume many of the editorial responsibilities and it turned out to be William Wood who had been an assistant editor at C magazine.

Keziere's interest in the long term future of the magazine together with his impending, but temporary detachment to focus on his writing, made him reflective about running the magazine.

> I found that my stress levels paralleled my readings in critical theory and I have never lacked for examples. And so when I sit down and read some of the theory we are all reading now I have only to look to my own life to find economic and social realities (p.6).

Keziere was also candid about the actions that he took. He acknowledged that some initiatives such as the regional editors program were quite deliberate but felt that

> what we were doing can not be reduced to a set of rational decisions. There is a certain amount of craziness and self abuse. (p.7).

While the exhaustive aspects of running a magazine were obviously on the editor's mind, they did not deter him from recognizing the attributes of the art community to which he ministered.

> I was being fed by the community here in Vancouver. There are a series of connections that I have never had in academic life, this sense of connection that I have been given by and through the art community as occasionally small-minded as it seems to us; the sense of knowing that we were sharing something (p. 7).

Keziere's perceptions are further evidence of the closeness between the community and its publications, making for the formation and maintenance of ties among individuals and organizations. The relationships are symbiotic; the magazines feed upon the community while at the same sustaining it through the coverage of exhibitions, events and issues. As will be shown in the consideration of rhetorical strategies a language of coverage common to at least three publications institutionalized these connections. The communicative consequence is a community of readers and writers speaking as it were in the same tongue but the sacrifice is a diversity of expression. A perusal of Vanguard reveals that a kind of passivity did set in. There was little in the way of confrontation or a willingness to chart entirely new theoretical or critical directions. It is as if the community had become sufficiently established, despite the economic vulnerability of most of its participating artists and organizations. This is not meant to be a lamentation or a recommendation for excessive partisanship within or between the publications as was the case with many newspapers and journals during previous generations. The

point is simply that despite the commitment to eclecticism a consensus had emerged about what should be necessarily covered but how it should be articulated.

These claims are perhaps best advanced by taking note of exceptions, that is the few cases where partisanship was evident. In Vanguard this is apparent in the review of Songs of Experience, the National Gallery of Canada's show of contemporary Canadian Art in 1986 by Vanguard's then Quebec Editor Jean Tourangeau. He expressed great reservations about the scope and purpose of the exhibition, including why so many of the works chosen were so inappropriate to the show's major themes: the experience of creation, the complicated relations between image and text as well as feminist concerns with representation. Tourangeau is most perturbed about the absence of Francophone artists in the exhibition.

> .....the extremely negative reaction of the Francophone art milieu is quite understandable in the face of an exhibition about or relying on language - especially when this is what specifically characterizes the exhibition - when it is excluded. How can one affirm that language and writing are the cornerstones of culture, of its authority, if not its existence, and at the same time refuse Francophone works the opportunity of being seen, read or heard? The height of irony: how can one put forward the feminist cause on the pretence that women are marginalized, and in same breath ignore one-third of the Canadian population? (December 1986/January 1987, p. 18).

However, Tourangeau does not confine his criticism to the Francophone absence. He acknowledges that there are always problems of selection in any exhibition but because the National

Gallery is a national institution it has to be especially sensitive about the politics of representation. Thus, Tourangeau also points out that nearly half of the artists are from Toronto, as are the dealers which represent them while there is no artist in the exhibition from Atlantic Canada. It is interesting to note that it is another National Gallery survey, Pluralities in 1980 that prompted editor Keziere to express many critical reservations about that exhibition's selections and curatorial practices. Apparently, one of the few issues that seem to raise eyebrows is when the country's expected commitment to fairness and balance is violated in the from of exhibition selections and other choices in the art community.

Yet to be fair to Vanguard these are not the only challenges. In several editorials Keziere questioned cultural policies, the actions of arts organizations as well as prevailing ideologies. Where constructive debate or contentious subject matter was largely absent was in the main body of the publications, with the exception of a piece, such as Tourangeau's. Small disagreements are accommodated, such as taking issue with a review of a small solo or group show in which the artist or a critic desires to set the record straight. However, these are contained in a Letters to the Editor section. This is a convenient journalistic device used by almost all magazines, journals and newspapers for giving requested space to the wise, the usually silent and even the ill-tempered.

The passivity evident in Vanguard's most recent history is also apparent in Parachute's. There were moments of confrontation

but for the most part the magazine pursued the same aesthetic course it had been travelling for the past decade. International coverage was abundant and there are several impressive special issues including the milestone Number 50 which consisted entirely of artists' projects. As for exceptions, they stand out and predictably the major one was a reaction to the Songs of Experience exhibition. Issue Number 40 contained a scathing editorial by Chantal Pontbriand, a negative review by writer and teacher Carol Laing. The catalogue was also scrutinized in the books and magazines review by Reesa Greenberg. Returning to the editorial, it not only rejected the show on curatorial and theoretical grounds and chided the curators for a complete lack of Francophone representation. It went further and emphatically stated that the exhibition was perpetuating divisiveness within the art community.

> If it is true that a certain consensus links and promotes the artists included, that for the last few years on the Canadian scene, the Anglophone community and certain magazines from Toronto and Vancouver that represent it, despite appearances, duly serve the Anglophone cause, this is not the case for Francophone artists. In most cases, Francophones are without doubt not part of this network and Songs of Experience is an aggravating reflection of this (p. 80).

What is significant for this present study is not only the general and exceptional confrontational style. The editorial expressed concerns about some of the ties which gave shape and substance to the Canadian visual art world and this included reference to other publications and a particular national exhibition. There is surely some validity to the two solitudes

argument - the presence of many Francophone artists in shows, for example, in Prairie galleries is minimal, while the same would be true for Anglophone representation at the Musée Rimouski. Still, it must be pointed out that Vanguard, and Parachute more so, which is pointing the finger, are bilingual publications. As a consequence they traffic in artists and issues that traverse all of Canada and beyond. Furthermore, a structure of domination, to recall DiMaggio and Giddens' term, has emerged in the Canadian visual art community despite regional factions and linguistic differences. It is characterized by the privileging of certain artists and institutions and discourse. The magazines - Parachute certainly - have been central to this development given their scope and predilections.

A fitting confirmation is a recent exhibition at the Power Plant Gallery in Toronto which was curated by editor Pontbriand. The theme is art in Montreal. Again, Pontbriand chose what Russell Keziere in 1980 called "habitual favourites" such as Melvin Charney, Robert Racine, Roland Poulin, Irene Whittome and one relative newcomer Celine Baril. The exhibition and catalogue are also significant for their privileging of certain ideologies and discourse to the extent that there is confidence that Canadian art, at least in Montreal, has come of age. As Pontbriand puts its.

> the "Montreal art" that you will see in this exhibition is not "typical" of the slightest regionalism or nationalism. It has all the style - perhaps the idiosyncrasies - of work produced in a context that one must still, for want of a better expression, term the international avant-garde.

> The astonishing thing about Montreal is the vitality and quantity of art that is produced in all disciplines. And from all this activity true quality is emerging; Art that is basically critical and informed, in tune with contemporary reality, and far removed from any mimicry or provincialism. Montreal is a francophone city, and thus much more "European" than the other cities on this continent. For ages, its artists have turned to Europe for inspiration as often to the United States, while maintaining an awareness of their own cultural specificity. The American and European influences combine to produce an approach to art that is exclusive to Montreal's artists. Art in Montreal will always be closer to Marcel Broodthaers, Jannis Kounellis and Gerard Garouste than to Joseph Kosuth, Richard Serra and David Salle (p. 9).

It is evident that during the recent history of Parachute an entrepreneurial strategy persisted, to recall the Mintzberg and Waters (1985) typology. Through its entire life this deliberate approach seems to have successfully realized the theoretical, multidisciplinary and international interests that were articulated in the publication's first editorial. The magazine is a strategic site on the terrain called the Canadian visual art world. To this extent it has become an institutional force, and that is now where its influence primarily lies. The magazine coverage, the attendant curatorial activities and conferences have solidified its preeminent position.

In its recent history, Vanguard also has engaged in an entrepreneurial strategy given editor Keziere's technological plans. But his plans applied primarily to the economic viability of the operation. An umbrella strategy prevails with respect to content, given the regional editors network and the delegation of

some editorial responsibilities due to Keziere's temporary detachment. Clearly, Vanguard, because of financial constraints and major organizational shifts, such as the break with the Vancouver Art Gallery, has never been in a position long enough to realize certain objectives to the degree that Parachute has. The intent and desire was surely present and the editors program is gradually making the magazine more of an institutional force but not in same way as Parachute.

Returning to the histories of C magazine and Canadian Art, their strategies also indicated how and where they are situated within the Canadian visual art world. C is still positioning itself. The consensus strategy has enabled the magazine to pursue some defined interests, such as what Rhodes referred to as "speculative and experimental criticism", while also responding to the pressures of the community. As editor Rhodes remarks: "People want to impose on us that's fine and that's how we get things done around here" (p.5). As for Canadian Art, it is encamped on the edges of the community pursuing a consensus strategy. The decision seems appropriate. The location has enabled it to take deliberate actions which are consistent with its commercial and consumer orientation. But it also allows for emergent developments to occur out of a somewhat strained relationship with the world about which it reports.

Some Theoretical Reminders

An historical account of the four magazines has been provided, from their origins until 1988 when the interviews were conducted. The content and design of each publication has been described as have the magazines as organizations and their relationship to individuals and other organizations within the Canadian visual art world. The strategies pursued, the ideologies adhered to, the discourse that has accumulated and the ties that have been established and maintained all suggest that the magazines, in varying degrees, map the terrain in which they are situated while also giving it shape and substance. However, this is not the occasion to furnish conclusions about such developments as closer attention must be paid to rhetorical features and to the existence of networks in the following chapter. What can be offered are some provisional considerations in relation to the theoretical concerns that inform the study.

First, DiMaggio and Powell's concept of an organizational field (1983) permitted the identification of "a totality of relevant actors" within a field, in this case the Canadian visual art world. But it became evident that the field concept was more than a convenient framework for a descriptive analysis of the art community as the art magazines, were also to some degree its architects. As Bourdieu (1989) explains:

> The field of positions is methodologically inseparable from the field of stances or position-takings (prises de position), i.e., the structured system of practices and expressions of agents. Both spaces, that of the objective positions and that of stances,

> must be analyzed together, treated as two translations of the same sentence as Spinoza put it (p. 40).

As was argued in chapter two, one of the reasons this duality exists with respect to the art world, if not other fields, is the presence of certain forms of communication, such as the publications. They are "the medium and outcome of conduct they recursively organize", to recall Giddens (1986). It also follows that the more these media engage themselves as informants and informers, the more they contribute to structuring the field. The concrete outcome of these activities is the greater institutionalization of the art community with the magazines as architects and beneficiaries.

According to Innis (1972, 1973) this development can be attributed somewhat to the bias of print in effecting social organization given its capacity to house, control and disseminate knowledge. The development also results from the involvement of the state in the form of the Canada Council and other funding agencies. Attendantly, the community developed several organizational characteristics, outlined by DiMaggio and Powell (1983). These include an increase in the level of interaction among individuals and organizations, an increase in the load of information and the emergence of a structure of domination. For example, critics, curators and artists wrote for several publications while there were alliances between the magazines and other organizations in the community. Parachute, for example, relied on or worked with specific private galleries, such as

Galerie Rene Blouin and Galerie Chantal Boulanger on projects of mutual interest such as conferences and exhibitions. It was no coincidence that these galleries represent many of the artists Parachute favours. There were also other kinds of interactions between individuals and organizations, including the Canada Council as many artists, curators and writers were Council jurors and award recipients. As is evidenced, Parachute is more implicated in these outgrowths but all of the magazines had roles as a result of their strategic interests and activities.

One unusual finding should be conveyed at this juncture and that is the lack of direct contact between the magazines per se. There is almost no communication over and beyond their engagement of the same contributors. If there is connection it is as exceptional as the instances of confrontation. William Wood, for example, began his editorial career at C, then moved to Vanguard and at the time of this writing had become a contributing editor to Parachute. Recalling, Chantal Pontbriand's editorial about the Songs of Experience exhibition, there was mention of "certain magazines from Toronto and Vancouver" (p. 18) that serve the Anglophone community but they were not named. One of the only other incidents of direct interaction occurred between 1983-84. Vanguard published a review of the book Mining Photographs and other Pictures which was quite negative. The review prompted a defense of the book but uncharacteristically it appeared in Parachute rather than in Vanguard in the form of a letter to the editor.

These exceptions suggest that the magazines had a go it alone policy with respect to situating themselves within the community. They were of course not immune from each other given the close proximity of individuals, such as writers to all of them and the mediating role of organizations such as, the Canada Council. Recalling the claims of Wiewel and Hunter (1985), it was evident that in C's case existing organization's affected its genesis but this was more of a kind of osmosis than direct intervention. The magazines must harbour some competitive notions and a desire to maintain an identity in order to function as instruments of legitimation on their terms. However, while they may regard themselves as independent voices and arbiters, there is a sense in which they were and remain remarkably similar, despite the lack of direct contact. As has been indicated, they share a language of coverage which is evident in articles and reviews as well as all references to specific theories and thinkers. The rhetorical features of this discourse along with the formation of ties among individuals and organizations receives attention in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Rhetorical Features and A Network Analysis

Rhetorical Features

Theoretical concerns and the historical account indicate that several kinds of rhetoric also govern the content and presentation of the magazines. Wilson (1983) identifies these principally as diction, tone of voice and narrative design (p. 42). It is these elements which also give the periodicals their map-like qualities, which to recall Foucault provides them with their record keeping, surveillance and cataloguing aspects. The following chapter demonstrates that these communicative devices are so instrumental that they amount to another set of strategies, in addition to the organizational actions which the Mintzberg and Waters' (1985) typology assisted in identifying. The chapter also includes a description of networks prevalent in the Canadian visual art world. This empirical task is a further attempt at understanding the structure of the art community, in particular some of the power relations which the magazines assist in establishing and maintaining.

Turning first to the rhetorical elements some are publication specific, at least in their surface manifestations. There are obvious differences in each magazine's visual design including layout, typefaces, size and use of colour. Recall, for example, the glossiness and abundant colour of Canadian Art which is consistent with its commercial and consumer orientation, the

grittiness of the early issues of C and Parachute which symbolized their alternative status, or the clean and crisp layout of Vanguard which makes it familiar enough to be accessible but never to the point of seeming commercial. Commenting on the recent editions of Parachute, McGregor (1989) suggests that it has a postmodern "look" as it embodies many of the "consensual features of postmodern discourse" (p.151). For McGregor these include:

> anti-elitism (the mixed bag of kinds), interdisciplinarity (breaking down genre/medium boundaries) (and) the delineation of "narrative" (non-"illustrative" use of graphics and visuals).... (p. 151).

This observation is from a long review essay about how selected Canadian journals, collections and studies define and apply postmoderism, the term that is now overwhelmingly used to characterize a range of cultural and epistemological changes and practices. Vanguard is also included in the review but McGregor suggests that, unlike Parachute,

> editorially, it has not caught on to the distinction. Individual contributions notwithstanding, its format and focus are clearly intended to reinforce traditional norms of vehicle transparency (p. 151).

McGregor's claims provide a greater appreciation for the surfaces of both magazines. She has also done an inventory of how postmodernism is treated in the content of these two periodicals. The findings provide a jumping off point for further examining the language and rhetoric common to Parachute, Vanguard and C magazine, as the phenomenon postmoderism is the source of much of the vocabulary and syntax that prevails. McGregor's observations

indicate that postmodernism as an issue or practice has not so much monopolized the content as it has infiltrated how the content is conveyed.

It must be noted that McGregor mentions C but elects not to include it in her analysis because "it has not yet been fully integrated into the mainstream as Vanguard and Parachute have" (p. 169). For the purpose of this study, C remains of fundamental interest as its "relatively short-life span and specialized focus", (McGregor p. 149) is bound up with the language of coverage. C's penchant for artist's projects and other installations is not so much postmodern in its intent; rather the magazine's emergence and discourse is the fashionable consequence of contemporary theorizing. McGregor also refers to Canadian Art, regarding it as an example of a "traditional publication" which has remained "oblivious" to theory. This observation, while more emphatic, is generally consistent with the findings of this present study. As was indicated, Canadian Art is on the edges of the community and this includes being mostly removed from major theoretical preoccupations. As a result, it does not contain the language of coverage common to the three other publications. Still, vocabulary and syntax seep in as a consequence of reviewing art work which is itself explicitly bound up with postmodern discourse.

Turning to McGregor's study, between 1982 and 1987 when Vanguard's interests became broader, the coverage of theoretical issues also increased. The survey shows that 74 of the 238 feature articles had some sort of theoretical component (p. 149).

Considering theorizing as a "challenge to the modernist emphasis on the self-validation of art", McGregor regards this content change as something of a postmodern stance. In a closer reading, she finds that 20 of the theory articles contain explicit references to postmoderism but that there is lack of agreement about what it is. McGregor is especially concerned about the "slightness of most applications". As she explains:

> Despite the increasingly pervasive sounding of trendy terms and references, little of the "postmodern" component in the Vanguard sample goes beyond tacked-on introductions to conventional critiques, or token, offhand references to what "everyone knows" (p. 150).

McGregor also indicates that most of the writers who addressed postmodernism were not "advocates but critics". She points out that in 1985 when interest in the subject peaked in the magazine, five of the seven articles reacted negatively to postmodern works or ideas.

> It seems clear from such indicators that the apparent mid-decade burgeoning of Vanguard's interest in and commitment to postmodernism was only coincidental (p. 150).

McGregor uncovers similar patterns in Parachute which are compensated for only by its "postmodern look". (For comparable counts for the magazines in this present study, see Appendix VI). McGregor also shows that complementary issues such as feminism are largely absent from Parachute as well as Vanguard, even in otherwise competent articles about work which invites a discussion of feminist issues (p. 150).

The treatment of postmodernism becomes more curious and complex. McGregor finds it embedded in the writing style through casual and recurrent use of terms which are derived from the larger phenomena, post-structuralism.

> Regardless of how they might label themselves - regardless too, of how deep the change goes - it is clear that these writers as a group have picked up a whole new set of critical conventions. In so doing - and this is the really crucial development - they implicitly subvert traditional notions of what art writing involves. By privileging codes and dethroning the subject, the language of "post" explodes the whole notion of authority..... Postmodernism <u>does</u> what postmodernism <u>is</u> (pp. 150-151).

McGregor reaches the same conclusion as the present study, which is that a common language of coverage pervades the magazines. Her observations further demonstrate the power inherent in rhetorical devices. Privileged codes - for example, postmodern terms, such as the "decentered subject" - give substance to language which make it forceful but not necessarily eloquent or clear. What is at issue is whether this "new" language of articulation is any less authoritative. An indispensable feature of any language is that it is, or at least should be, a form <u>of</u> and <u>for</u> communication and as such a source of power for both writers and readers. Language also acquires greater authority given the amount and locations of its usage. English, for example, is globally acknowledged, if not accepted, as the principal language of commerce.

It follows, given McGregor's observation and this study, that the new discourse has become an established norm for writing in the art community rather than an alternative strategy of communication.

Attendantly, the crucial question becomes why this degree and form of textuality? Did not previous expressive paradigms, such as the formalist writing of Clement Greenberg, also have a comprehensive effect? The change is found in the kind of rhetoric that is used, in the forms of and increase in knowledge dissemination and in the domination of certain organizations in the art world which parallel the emergence of a common discourse.

First, and recalling Wilson (1983), the language incorporates more than just the codes which give it an authoritative tone and substance. There is also the redemptive sin of presumption. Writers continuously assume that readers have more than a familiarity with art works or ideas. As a result terms and phrases float or to recall McGregor are "tacked-on" or used "offhand", as is the case with postmodernism itself. The practice is redemptive because it takes place within a given community which has shared conventions of expression and therefore allows for such practices. Thus in most art worlds, except those subject to extensive political oppression, there is a sense in which "everyone knows", to recall McGregor, but that anything can also flow.

This is not meant as a judgement which includes a message that the art world should somehow return to an age of specificity or preciseness. A feature of any community is its presumptions, such as conventions of expression and codes of behaviour. They provide the framework in which practices occur, in which meaning is constructed and in which values are ultimately formed. In this respect the art world is no different. The printed word, a

traditional source of power in other arenas of Western culture, has become a privileged and authoritative means of expression complete with a language whose vocabulary and syntax dominate the proceedings.

To further make this case some exemplary illustrations are necessary which complement McGregor's findings about theory and more specifically postmodernism. First, in addition to the presence of terms - a vocabulary of presumption as it were - the titles of articles also announce issues and persuasions. The words used are as revealing as their framing as both try to encompass a range of considerations. Call these introductions postmodern but they are also the first assertions of knowing, of having some degree of "conceptual ownership." (Connolly, 1989). What also gives the titles significance is that their counterparts are found in the naming of exhibitions.

The following examples confirm the claims. They by no means comprise a majority in the magazines or exhibitions. Most titles still consist of the names of artists or include more historically grounded terms, such as image. When there are departures from this norm they tend to signal the community's contemporary preoccupations. The titles below are not grouped according to their specific source but are randomly presented together. This gives the full effect of the commonality that prevails. The name of the periodical that each title is taken from or whether it is the name of an exhibition is noted in brackets. This list includes titles from selected editions of each magazine. As well, the

titles, in keeping with McGregor's time frame noted above, primarily cover the years 1982-86.

A Selection of Titles

Pure Activity Late Capitalist Texts To. Be. Sung (C)

Fashion: Demythology/Fascination (Parachute)

Phallocentrism (Exhibition)

Fracture . Narrative

. Self (Exhibition)

David Askevold Political Modernism and Postmodernity (Vanguard)

differences (Exhibition)

Theory of the Absurd as Ethical Reason Art (Vanguards)

80/1/2/3/4 Toronto Content. Context (Exhibition)

To Speak of Difference (Parachute)

Altered Situations/Changing Strategies (Exhibition)

Sound Image and The Media Rock Video and Social Reconstruction (Parachute)

Ich Bin Ein Woodcutter
Kanada/Europa/Amerika (Vanguard)

Active Surplus: The Economy of the Object (Exhibition)

In Pursuit of the Vanishing Subject (C)

Ob/scene vs. Catastrophe
Italian Theatre 1960-1984 (Parachute)

The (Dis)appearance of the Artist (Vanguard)
Theatre, Cinema, Power (Parachute)

Appropriation/Expropriation (Exhibition)

Sustaining Testimony Under The Gaze of Criticism (Vanguard)

Vancouver Interrupted (Vanguard)

As the list illustrates, terms reappear to the degree that there is a recognized vocabulary of concepts. Another rhetorical feature is the length of some titles which can be attributed to a desire to encompass many considerations or disciplines. The cumulative effect of these features is the formation of a complex "narrative design", Wilson (1983), which demands that the reader make sense of more information. The attendant punctuation, such as slashes, while providing breaks or "ruptures" to use post-structuralist coinage, do so more as obstacles than as cues for pausing. Thus, the titles are less of a challenge to notions of authority and more of an exercise of the power of language itself.

As a narrative feature, length is more noticeable in the sentence structure of articles and reviews. The passages that follow are exemplary illustrations. As with the titles, the following selections are not taken from one edition of each magazine and are presented randomly with the periodical noted in brackets. There is an attempt to select from a range of editions and from features articles and reviews with ostensibly different concerns.

> From the numbing irrationality of the equivalent form, as well as from the fragmentation, specialization, and rationalization (the capacity to be made thoroughly calculable, not to be confused with 'reason') of production in general, arises from the accompanying autonomy of every sphere of human endeavour.

> Irony ceases to be a functioning strategy of critical distance and becomes instead - just preceding its being smothered by a system with no need of irony - an inadequate form of aesthetic self-defense (something that should have been gleaned by Warhol). (Parachute)
>
> An architectonic culture which is not prioristically determined does have the potential to destabilize a privileged Occidental view of world culture, to create architecture which dislocates Greco-Roman hegemony. (Vanguard)
>
> The exhibition seemed, by reason of the elegant museum ambience and pomp and circumstance of the installation, to be deliberately holding Lack the inevitable decay of objects with built-in material obsolescence, officially immortalizing the immediate, arguing for the indispensability of the obviously dispensable. (C)
>
> The form as signifier gathers unto itself all significations of its own form, and unites them into a simple complex sign, and one that strikes a singularly resonant chord within the horizon's of the artist's intentionality - and the shared intentionalities of his viewers. (Vanguard)
>
> The gesture suspends all action and all potential for action, thereby inscribing the body into the registry of discourse. (Parachute)
>
> What has been dissembled is not necessarily the specifically sexual passion evident in Al MacWilliams non-verbal confinements; what I think is being thinly ironically, disguised because disguise has been seen by these artists as the principal means by which to 'reveal' - is our physical condition in the world, our productions, our dissolutions, our structures, the means by which we have defined meaning. (C)

The point of including these passages is not to closely examine each but to realize their net effect in contributing to a common language of coverage. In this respect, the reader is again

faced with narrative that is dense, complex and authoritative. The sin of presumption is also evident although some allowances must be made for the fact that the passages are taken out of context. It is conceivable that some explanation of the terms and phrases used was previously made. In addition to the obvious tone, the pacing of all extracts is rapid and very rhythmic, a rhetorical device that allows for the inclusion of more and more ideas within the limits of a sentence. This may be a further index of the postmodern impulse to recall McGregor. What the discourse also embodies is one of several master-narratives identified by Lyotard which he claims has died with the advent of post-modernism but which seems particularly applicable.

> This vibratory, musical property of narrative is clearly revealed in the ritual performance of certain Cashinahua tales: They are handed down in initiation ceremonies, in absolutely fixed form, in a language whose meaning is obscured by lexical and syntactic anomalies, and they are sung as interminable monotonous chants. It is a strange brand of knowledge, you may say, that does not even make itself understood to the young men to whom it is addressed (1988, p. 21).

As the passages and the titles suggest, there is a language of coverage that is common, if not ritualistic in tone, design and rhythm. As has been pointed out in other findings in this study, such discourse should not be construed as a complete illustration of the art world and its interests. What the language does is structure connections and meaning within the art community thus contributing to its textuality and to the formation of power relations.

Strategic Concepts and The Concept of Strategy

The language and the articles and reviews from which they are taken also reveal "the pool of strategic concepts a group of organizations holds in common at any period of time" (Huff, 1982, p. 119). Thus, they are of significance in gauging some of the common actions and interests of participants in the art world, including the periodicals and galleries. The concepts are also found in various schools of art in the form of course offerings, reading lists and in the publication activities of many faculty members. An obvious strategic concept is "postmodern" for both the visual art world and for intersecting communities such as academe, as MacGregor's findings confirm. Recalling the titles of articles and exhibitions, difference is another concept which many individuals and organizations consider pertinent. It refers to a theme in contemporary art which is the exploration and celebration of human differences such as gender, sexual and ethnic. Yet paradoxically such assertions are frequently cloaked, once again, in a common discourse as attested to by the selected magazine passages provided above.

A more telling illustration is that the concept strategy itself has become ubiquitous. Originally it was a military term which accounted for battle tactics and other combat decisions. Over the last twenty years it has become a key component of corporate decision making and the attendant study of organizations. More recently, it's use extends to the arts and humanities,

conceptually and as implying a form of practice. Recalling the titles listed above strategy is explicitly invoked as in the exhibition Alternate Situations/Changing Strategies. It is also found in passages from the articles as in "Irony ceases to be a functioning strategy of critical distance..." There are many other instances such as writings about specific artists and works. Consider, for example, critic-curator Phillip Monk's piece about the art group General Idea in Parachute (Number 33). "Strategy" is used throughout the essay both to convey what the group does and what their work is about. The following passages are illustrative.

> Strategies then are part of this language system. Oriented to the discourse of the broader system that is disseminated to Toronto, through the transmission partly of General Idea and File magazine, these strategies have more to do with the manipulation of a sign system than with the material production of art objects themselves (p. 13).
>
> Is this enunciation their "real" strategy and intention, or one statement within another strategy that is more properly the discourse and form of their art? (p.13).

It is arguable that all the uses of the term are of no special consequence. Individuals in the art world - artists, editors, administrators, writers, curators and teachers - singularly or collectively make decisions and follow through on plans. Each may constitute a pattern of action which Mintzberg (1978) and Mintzberg and Waters (1985) identify as a strategy. Given its historical derivation and application a strategy also suggests calculation, contest, even conquest. This may not be the way strategy is always conceived or operationalized in the art world. Yet it is difficult

to totally deny these connotations given the positioning of individuals and organizations in the community and the interactions and domination that ensues.

The pervasiveness of strategy as a concept, pattern and practice within the art world is a further demonstration of the common language of coverage. The use of the term in intersecting fields, especially the academy, also raises questions about the connection between the discourse and broader developments in the growth and dissemination of knowledge. McGregor also points out that the interest in postmodernism as an idea and practice now extends to many disciplines and arenas of knowledge. Attendantly, what have emerged over the past twenty years are several figures whose theoretical, historical and disciplinary interests are far reaching, giving rise to what Geertz (1983), characterizes as "blurred genres". Marcus, an anthropologist by training, comments on this phenomenon in a catalogue essay for a recent exhibition of contemporary art.

> The especially strong alliance between artists and critics suggests a shared intellectual horizon broader than merely the art world. The artists and critics are unified by having read or been influenced by the same social thinkers, such as Foucault, Jean Baudrillard and Jacques Derrida, albeit the channels of influence and uses of such theory may be deployed differently in the works of the artist and critic (1991, p. 143).

In addition to the copious citing of these thinkers, there are references to a mounting list of authoritative interpreters, such as Spivak, in the case of Derrida. These "readers" have established notoriety on the basis of the their translations of the

major works as well as their own original writings. All of the works are theoretical touchstones for much of the language of coverage of concern to this study. Increasingly, the figures are not always an all male or a set group, nor are they any longer predominantly European or more to the point only French thinkers. Notoriety is also now as fleeting and temporary for most theorists as it is for the majority of artists and critics. What persists is the unending circulation of ideas, what Said (1983) calls "travelling theory".

> Like people and schools of criticism, ideas and theories travel - from person to person, from situation to situation, from one period to another. Cultural and intellectual life are usually nourished and often sustained by this circulation of ideas, and whether it takes the form of acknowledged or unconscious influence, creative borrowing, or wholesale appropriation, the movement of ideas and theories from one place to another is both a fact of life and a usefully enabling condition of intellectual activity (p. 226).

The visual art world encounters theory as it moves through its accommodating terrain, taken up as it is with the processing of presentation of knowledge. Ideas are embodied in art work and in writing. Increasingly, the art world is also becoming a site for and a source of theorizing which spills over into other fields, adding to the bluriness Geertz describes. Consider, for example, the interests of Critical Inquiry, which since its appearance in 1974, has been one of the leading advocates of multi and interdisciplinary study in the arts and humanities. Historical and contemporary visual art has always been a subject but in a recent

issue (Spring 1991) two artists, Richard Serra and Barbara Kruger, are principal authors.

For the most part though the art world is still importing theories. A consequences is that the community is becoming more and more academic in discursive and organizational ways. Returning to the language of coverage, most articles and many reviews contain extensive footnoting which is a hallmark of academic discourse. This feature is not confined to Canadian art periodicals and is found in Art in America and Artforum which are market-driven but nevertheless incorporate scholarly conventions. Paralleling these changes are several publishing developments. These include the appearance of more multidisciplinary magazines and journals the interests of which traverse several cultural fields. An exemplary case is October , which is published by MIT Press along with a whole series of books on contemporary art and architecture. The rise and length of academic exhibition catalogues is also considerable. Finally, there is a marked increase in artists' projects in magazines. This extends to the publication of book works by artists, by galleries, art documentation centres and periodicals, as in Parachute's "Les Editions Parachute". These works do not necessarily use academic conventions, such as footnotes, but the very fact that they are in book form is significant as print is the preferred academic medium. Artists have joined curators, critics and scholars in the desire and need to be published.

It can be concluded that the language of coverage with its discernible vocabulary and syntax have given the community its textual features. The discourse is also symptomatic of the growing academicization of the art world which is played out in many publishing activities and at the intersection of several knowledge communities. As these developments confirm and as the study continuously argues, the visual art world has become increasingly institutionalized with respect to its cultural formation and collective associations.

It is necessary at this point to ask whether institutionalization has always prevailed. Perhaps current conditions have their antecedents or equivalents in previous eras in the form of other organizations and practices. Consider, for example, the relations of painters and patrons in the 17th century (Haskell, 1963), the domination of the Academies of Art between the late 17th century and the early 19th century (Bourdieu, 1988) and following from the latter the development in France during the mid-19th century of a system of artists, dealers and critics (White and White, 1965). Holt (1983) also documents the emerging role of exhibitions and critics between 1785 and 1948. More recently, Crane (1987) demonstrates that success for painters in emerging art movements from the 1940's to 1985 meant establishing links with "sponsors". These included organizational patrons, such as public agencies and private galleries, art experts, such as critics and curators, as well as dealers and private collectors. Today, there is at least one fundamental difference and that is the increased

premium placed on print as a medium of communication and legitimacy.

Yet is print pervasive relative to its usage? What about the "little magazines" of the past century or the artists' manifestos and other documents noted in chapter two. Or to present a more specific case, consider, as Crane (1987) does, the 1950's visual art world in New York City which was dominated by abstract expressionist painting. There were several dominating critics, most notably Clement Greenberg, whose work appeared in intellectual journals, such as the Partisan Review. There was popular acknowledgement in magazines, such as The New Yorker. There was also to some extent a common language of analysis and appreciation whose formalism matched those of the paintings considered.

What did not exist at that time was a complex web of individuals and organizations for whom writing was a major enterprise. By contrast, and as Gruen (1972) notes, the New York visual art world in the 1950's was small and intimate although as Crane confirms something of a system of recognition prevailed. More to the point, the vocations of the participants were specific: artist, critic, curator, dealer, collector and the attention to work was confined to a limited number of journals and magazines.

The current period under study is one in which there is a constant changing of hats with, for example, artist as critics, curators as critics, and artists as curators. Additionally, many also have academic positions. Unlike the writing of the previous period, writing today is also confined almost exclusively to work

and its theoretical contexts. The changing of hats does not necessarily imply changes in subject matter with an artist/critic, for example, also writing about another art, such as literature, as Greenberg (1965) had done. Writing has become something more than a means expression undertaken by a defined group, such as critics. It has become a practice for many participants in the visual art world and as such defines it as a textual community. While the space is larger, paradoxically the interests are more specialized. A common vocabulary and syntax is more noticeable with each passing magazine or journal issue.

Given the discourse that has emerged and the concurrent developments in publishing, the theories of Innis, which have informed this study from the outset, are more salient. The written word is inextricably tied to the institutionalization that is now characteristic of the visual art world. The sheer effect of reading art magazines also perpetuates their significance. As editor William Wood confesses:

> I consume a lot of magazines, have for a long time. That's how I got started getting into the idea of writing. I learned to write by reading the stuff. Rick (Editor of C magazine) had the same experience. A roommate left and gave him a whole stack of Artforums. It is infectious (p.9).

The pervasiveness of print media, especially given its rhetorical features, must be further understood in relation to another institutional formation. As was noted in previous chapters, the state plays a considerable role in the support and valuing of visual art. Since its creation in 1957, the Canada

Council has been the primary source of funding for individual artists and arts organizations in the literary, performing and visual arts. As has been indicated, this includes essential and on going support for art magazines through the Aid to Periodicals program. But the connections between the Council and the periodicals also go beyond that of a patron/client relationship.

Magazines, especially major publications such as Parachute, once established become sufficiently recognized and valued that support is practically assumed. As Luc Jutras, the former officer of the Council's Periodical Program points out, the magazines, particularly the longer standing ones, acquire substantial independence and become less accountable (p.2). As a result, the leading publications such as Parachute, C, Vanguard and other periodicals have become an integral part of a system which supports, rewards and values individual work and arts organizations. This means that some of the editors and many of the writers also function as curators and serve on Council juries which make awards to individual artists and fund exhibitions. Such integration demonstrates both the scope of the periodicals and the breadth of Council's involvement. Editor William Wood explains one of the implications for magazines.

> It is really government art, the stuff that Vanguard is dealing with, the stuff that I am writing about (p. 10).

The above situation suggests that the art work which is supported and covered also have common aspects. There is a consensus of participating individuals and organizations which is

also realized in Council procedures and funding. The common language of coverage, in addition to taking its cue from an authoritative literature and having particular rhetorical features, also derives some of its sameness from the very work it is considering. This isomorphism reinforces a structure of domination of which the magazines are a constituent. As Innis suggests the bias of print toward space is bound up with the formation and maintenance of an organizational configuration. It is not simply that the Canada Council per se exerts influence. Rather, it is a primary reference point in a system of relationships in which print is a major vehicle for legitimation and communication. Hence, the claim made throughout this study that magazines are instrumental in establishing and maintaining ties in the community while also being constitutive of an evolving network of associations. Accordingly, the study moves from a focus on the configurations brought about by rhetorical elements and theoretical interests to a description of the networks of individuals and organizations in the Canadian visual art world.

A Description of Networks:

As stated in chapter two, a description of networks can be very extensive if the intent is to account for relationships among all the participating individuals and organizations in the community over time. However, such an undertaking is not within the scope of this study as this description is only one of several institutional indicators. Thus, there is a selection of several

exemplary relationships which involve the periodicals. Faced with these descriptions, there is a need to recall several conceptual and methodological matters raised in chapter two.

First, the relationships of principal concern are what Granovetter (1982) terms "weak ties". These are not bonds which are close and intimate but are second hand, involving, for example, professional associations or "friends of friends" (Boissevain, 1974), and other forms of acquaintanceship. Granovetter regards these relationships as nevertheless strong because they help to create "cohesive power" in a given community. The relevance of Granovetter's observation for the art world is apparent given the mechanisms which effect ties such as the magazines and funding programs. In point of fact, ties are established between organizations through individuals while individuals are also connected to each other through organizations, thus also confirming the micro-macro link. William Wood, formerly of C and Vanguard and now a contributing editor to Parachute provides a revealing anecdote which further illustrates the prevalence of connections.

> A survey came up at the last (Vanguard) board meeting. Do you know your readership? Russell (Vanguard editor) and I had both done this - every fifth or sixth person in the subscription list you know them, you've heard of their work. We know our readers (p. 8).

What Wood is referring to are not necessarily intimate relationships in the sense of knowing someone well but being aware of many people. It is these latter kinds of connections that account for much of the communication that takes place in the

community. What then should a description of networks consist of in order to confirm some of the linkages? As Mitchell puts it:

> We need to specify what the lines actually represent and in what way they are deemed to be isomorphic with reality (Aldrich and Whetten, 1981, p. 386).

Working from Mitchell's requirement, this study turns to Berkowitz (1982) for methodological guidance. Berkowitz also relies on the work of Mitchell and his colleagues as a basis for analysis. For Berkowitz, networks consists of "nodes" and "relations". The former refers to an individual, group or organization and is represented by a single point or by a box or circle. The latter is shown as lines joining nodes with different types of lines depicting different types of ties (p. 32). Using these symbolic representations, Berkowitz and others, posit that networks have several characteristics as a consequence of the relationships they embody. These include emanation, reachability, density, range and frequency. What follows is a definition of each feature and how they re manifested in the visual art world. A series of descriptive templates further illustrates some of the relationships that exist in the visual art world.

Emanation:

Networks of individuals and organizations consist of emanations, "properties or characteristics of nodes which are projected onto others" (Berkowitz, p. 36). He goes on to make a distinction between these connections and "genuine bonded-ties" as the former comprises an outgrowth whereas the latter, like a

marriage relation, inevitably involves a partnership. Figures 1.1 to 1.4 depict the emanations that characterized the formations of the four magazines.

Reachability:

As the historical account confirmed C arose directly out of another magazine, Vanguard had a connection to the Vancouver Art Gallery, while Parachute and Canadian Art were linked to several organizations. Such emanations carry considerable weight with respect to the development of each magazine's scope of contacts, what Berkowitz and others define as reachability. Figures 2.1 to 2.4 illustrates the reachability of each magazine in the study. As noted in the historical account, Vanguard, in particular, increased its "reach" given the regional editors program. As Figure 2.5 illustrates, this scope created several other direct relationships as well as mediated interaction among the magazines, artists, and galleries.

Density, Range and Frequency:

Thus far, the diagrams illustrate the equivalent links among organizations such as the magazines, the Canada Council as well as groups, such as artists. The density of the networks undoubtedly increases when individual ties are also taken into account. What also becomes significant is the range of relationships, that is wideness and kinds of contacts, as well as the frequency, that is how often and how regularly links occur. It is not within the

confines of this description of networks to map out all or most prior or existing ties as artists, curators and other individuals have on going contact with various organizations.

Yet several exemplary illustrations can provide more than an inkling about weak ties, as well as some of the cliques, that are part of a larger network of associations. Before providing these cases a further clarification about the nature of ties is in order. Berkowitz distinguishes between the "self-looped relations" (p. 43) of individuals and ties between one or more persons. The former refers to the affiliations an individual has to organizations and is hence an "identity relation" (p. 43). The latter refers to ties of individuals on the basis of shared institutional connections.

Figure 3.1, based on Berkowitz's scheme, marks out a set of specific links in the art world. First, four individuals have been chosen and include a magazine editor, two curators and an artist. The self-looped relations of each are noted and in these exemplary cases they include magazine affiliations and gallery attachments. In the case of the curators, a connection to the magazine implies a written contribution and/or membership on the periodicals's board; for the artist it is an article or review about the work. Other ties are determined on the basis of whether the artist was in an exhibition mounted by a curator in given gallery. On the basis of these relations, lines of contact are shown among the four individuals.

As will be evident the magazines are very instrumental to the maintenance of various relationships as they signal the presence of

some ties while generating others. For example, the repeated engagement, that is the frequency, of certain contributors, be they curators, critics or artists and the attention to certain artists and galleries reenforce linkages, which include the magazines.

To illustrate several kinds of linkage, the next example refers to the weak ties between artists and organizations which are established and maintained because of an interest in the same art medium, in this case photography. Figure 3.2 includes five artists who have various affiliations including gallery connections and Canada Council support.

However, there are some cases when the frequency of association is so intense and the number of individuals and organizations is exclusive, that cliques can emerge. For example, recalling the historical account of Parachute, it was shown that the magazine has promoted several Montreal artists through its coverage and through exhibitions, such as the Pluralities show in 1980. During the past five years many of these artists have come to be represented by the same private dealer, thus making for closer links between various constituents. Figure 3.3 accounts for these developments. The artists selected for three major public exhibitions came primarily from the above gallery while two of these exhibitions were curated by the editor of Parachute. Other connections are also illustrated.

Figure 3.4 shows yet another configuration. Again, the frequency of contact is of significance but the number of galleries, artists and publications is greater thus demonstrating

a network of weak ties rather than the formation of a clique. The template shows some of the coverage by the four magazines of exhibitions at seven selected galleries in Toronto, including three public and four private, from 1985 to 1988.

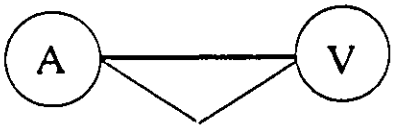
Summary:

As the various configurations confirm, the visual art world is characterized by a network of multiple associations. Especially prevalent are weak ties which in Granovetter's words have sufficient "strength" to give the community its "cohesive power". More significantly, the density of the network recalls, as noted in chapter two, Granovetter's argument that the establishment and maintenance of ties leads to the homogenization of a community or subculture. As Granovetter explains connections initially facilitate the diffusion of knowledge with individuals and groups coming into contact with ideas that are not their own. But as the ties persist over time, there is the possibility of homogenization as more interaction, such as the sharing of theories, produces more similarities in the art work and written material. For the visual art world, the major confirmation of this development is the emergence of a common language of coverage.

It is evident that ties are bound up with the community's interests but as Granovetter cautions "the adoption of ideas can not be explained by purely structural considerations" (1982, pp. 118-119). As he points out the "content and the motives" for choosing an idea or symbol are crucial as are the roles of

individuals. (p. 118-119). The history of the magazines and the rhetorical analysis confirm that the texts themselves are central to the content that is privileged, including the art and written work. As for the parts played by individuals, the description of networks reveals that editors and curators have pivotal roles to a degree that they have become gatekeepers of knowledge and taste. This crucial development will be addressed in the succeeding chapter as will other deliberate and unintended consequences of the art world becoming a textual community.

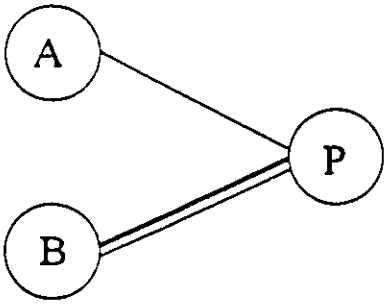
Figure 1.1



Key A: Vancouver Art Gallery
V: Vanguard

——— bonded tie
——— emanation

Figure 1.2



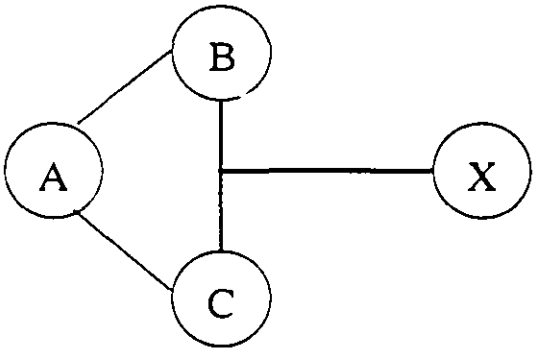
Key A: Artist run centers
B: Other organizations: galleries, university
P: Parachute

——— bonded tie
——— emanation

Figure 1.3

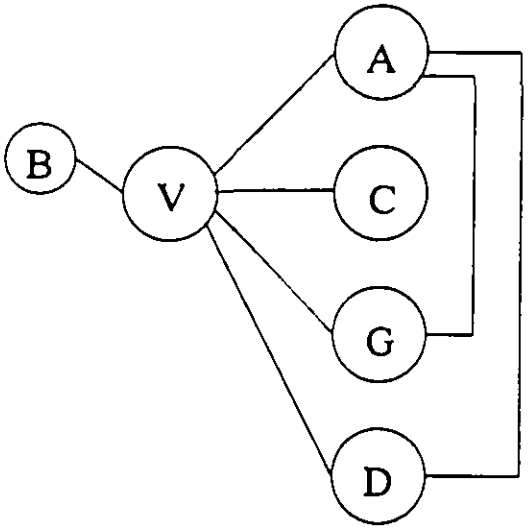
Key A: Impressions Magazine ——— bonded tie
C: C

Figure 1.4



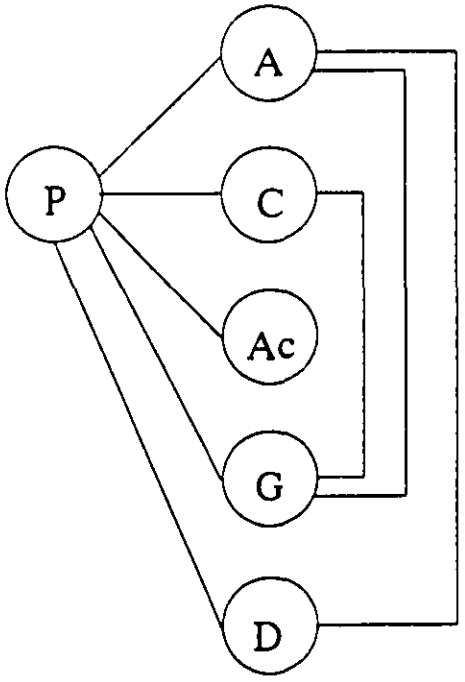
Key A: artscanada ——— bonded tie
B: Maclean-Hunter ——— emanation
C: Key Publishing
X: Canadian Art

Figure 2.1



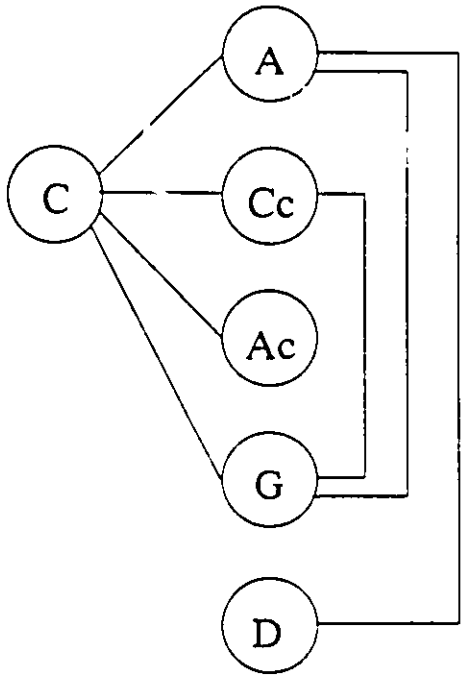
Key
A: Artists
B: British Columbia Cultural Fund
C: Canada Council
D: Dealers
G: Galleries
V: Vanguard

Figure 2.2



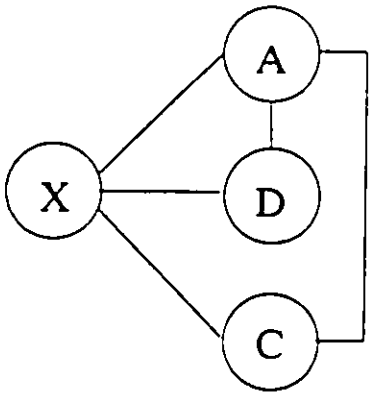
Key
A: Artists
Ac: Artist run centers
C: Canada Council
D: Dealers
G: Galleries
P: Parachute

Figure 2.3



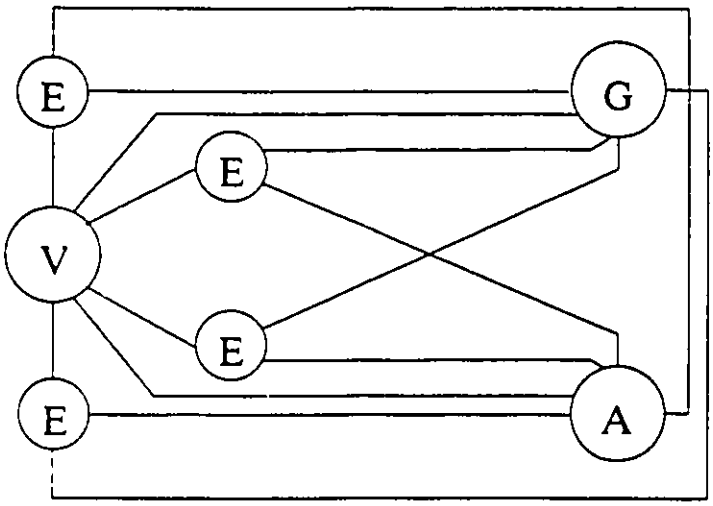
Key
A: Artists
Ac: Artist run centers
C: C
Cc: Canada Council
D: Dealers
G: Galleries

Figure 2.4



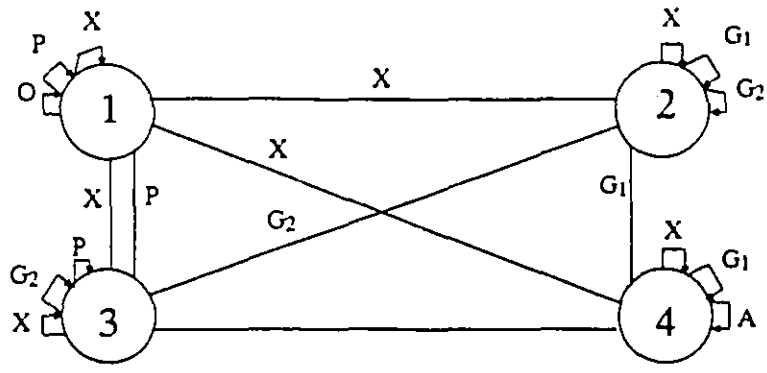
Key
A: Artists
C: Canada Council
D: Dealers
X:

Figure 2.5



Key A: Artists
G: Galleries
V: Vanguard
E: Regional Editors

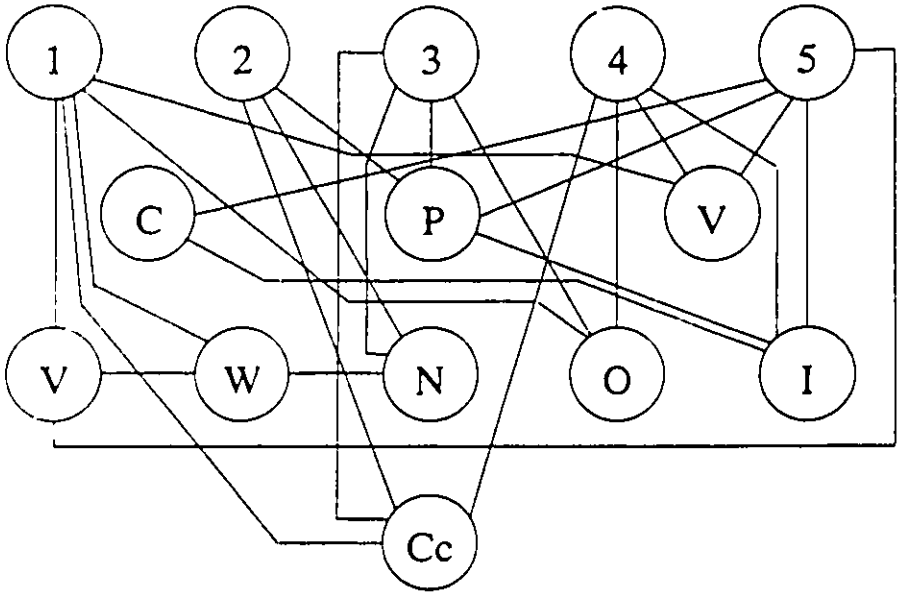
Figure 3.1



Key
1: Editor
2: Artist
3: Curator
4: Curator

X: Magazine
G_1: Exhibition 1
G_2: Exhibition 2
P: Other contributions
0, A: Other responsibilities

Figure 3.2



Key
1: Artist
2: Artist
3: Artist
4: Artist
5: Artist

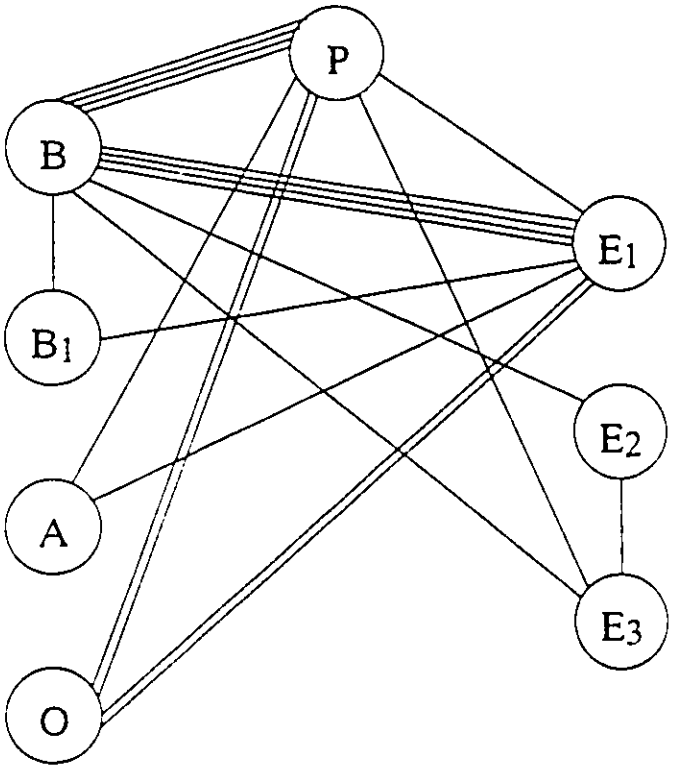
C: C Magazine
P: Parachute
V: Vanguard

Exhibitions:

V: Vancouver Art Gallery
W: Winnipeg Art Gallery
N: National Gallery
O: Artist run centers, Montreal
I: Centre international arts contemporain

Cc: Canada Council

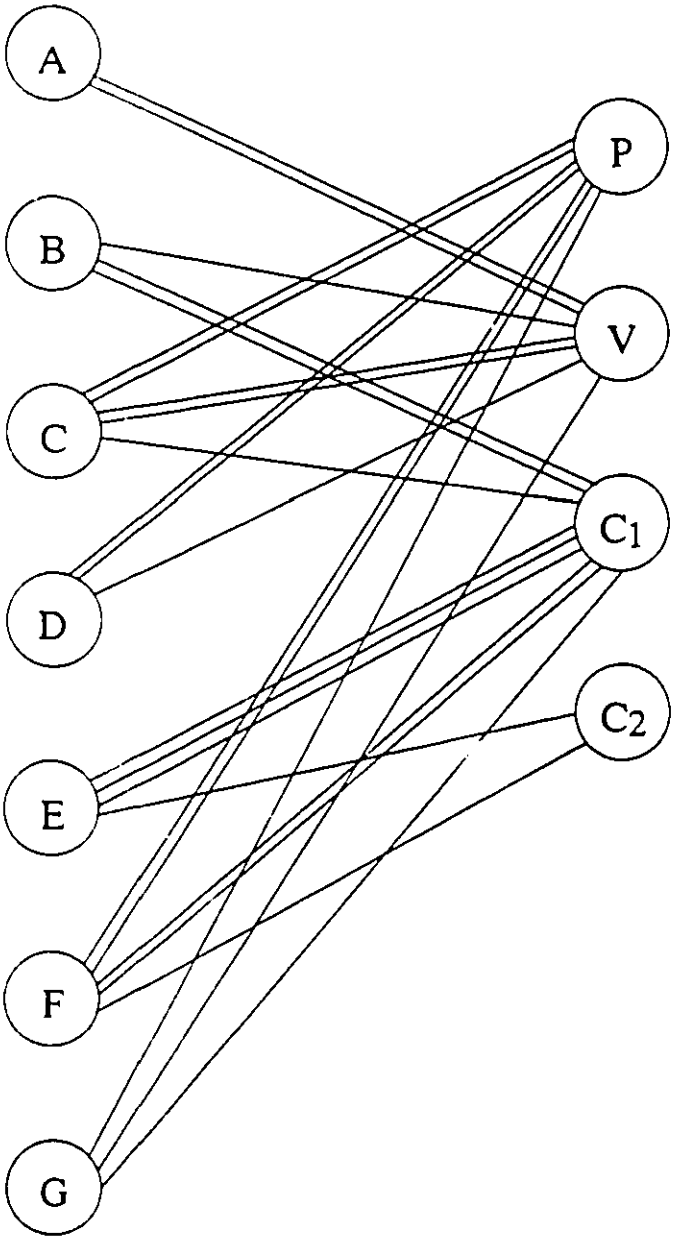
Figure 3.3



Key P: Parachute
B_1: Galerie René Blouin
B_2: Galerie Chantal Boulanger
A: Galerie Art 45
O: Other artists not represented by galleries at the time

E_1: Exhibition: The Historical Ruse, Power Plant
E_2: Exhibition: Venice Biennale, 1986
E_3: Exhibition: Venice Biennale, 1990

Figure 3.4



Key

A: Power Plant
B: Mercer Union
C: YYZ
D: Ydessa
E: S.L. Simpson
F: Carman Lamana
G: Sable-Castelli

——— Artist exhibitions

P: Parachute
V: Vanguard
C_1: C
C_2: Canadian Art

CHAPTER 5

The Consequences of Community

A Review of Claims and Investigations

The relationships between four exemplary visual art magazines and the world they inform and in which they are located suggest that even if the magazines were a source of exhaustive coverage they could not fully account for activities in the art world. The magazines do, however, significantly assist in connecting people with ideas and organizations - artists and critics to theoretical interests, galleries, art schools and funding agencies. They do this through the formation and maintenance of a network of associations. The art world that results is a community characterized by many ties and the magazines are central to these interactions. By virtue of their role as an allocative resource, the magazines also serve as maps which indicate other sites of activity and their attendant relationships to the whole. This duality of function seems to confirm in particular Giddens' wide theoretical claim; which is that the visual art magazines may be seen as "the medium and outcome of conduct they recursively organize" (1986, pp. 25-29).

The facilitation of ties would be enough to confirm the force and substance of the magazines but there is a complementary function that is also instrumental and interactive. The magazines are central to the visual art world becoming a textual community in which "groups rally around authoritative texts and their designated

interpreters" (Marvin, 1988, p.12). Artists, critics and curators are both the producers and consumers of each others work. Yet the premium that has been placed on the printed and written word over the past ten years has contributed, notably through the vehicle of the art periodicals as the thesis argues, to a situation in which art pieces no longer entirely constitute the body of work of concern to artists. Written work and much of it dense and theoretical are also accorded authority within which art works are frequently considered texts, thus extending the corpus of subjects. The magazines help sustain the community because they are the sources for these authoritative texts and for locating their interpreters. Together the magazines along with other print vehicles, such as catalogues, artists' book works and other documents, have academicized the art world to a considerable extent.

What are the consequences of this embrace? Has this dependence on print as a form for legitimacy, valuation and communication made the visual arts community more institutionalized? The thesis suggests that the increase and reliance on print works to create ties to other institutions. Art schools, if not academe as a whole, are entwined in the art community and predictably, especially in the case of the latter, become sites for theorizing and writing. The incorporation of print also goes beyond the production of texts and extends to the inclusion of extensive footnoting, a hallmark of academic discourse. As the study shows, there is also the emergence of a

common language of coverage with its own widening vocabulary and syntax. This is especially evident in the rhetorical features and strategies identified in articles and reviews.

If there is an institutional structure of domination in the art world it is not a new phenomenon. The history of art indicates the presence of systems of power in various periods and locations. What seems to distinguish the current configuration is the extensive role of government as patron and the increasing role of print as a privileged mode of communication. DiMaggio (1985) and Giddens (1986) account for the emergence of the state as an authoritative mechanism. However, this present study suggests that it is Innis' claim that "print biases space" (1972, 1973) which really packs punch. Innis sees the growth of print engendering forms of social and political organizations, especially the bureaucratic variety. The introduction of paper and the eventual emergence of the printing press facilitated the effective production and storage of texts that were essential to the functioning of religious institutions. When ecclesiastical control declined and gave rise to vernaculars and the growth of the nation-state, print also accommodated these developments as it was used in the operation of bureaucratic and political forms of organization. Other institutional outgrowths are bound up with the use of print including the rise of the university and the role played by print as an authoritative form of explanation and presentation.

The increase in the use and privileging of print and the parallel rise of the state as a patron of the Canadian visual art

world constitute a complex pattern of influence, which some critical literature refers to as domination. The examination of communication as practised within this arts community illustrate that there is a wider relationship between how art knowledge is similarly disseminated and the role of sponsoring institutions.

Having reviewed these major claims and findings of the study, it is now possible to assess what are the consequences of the art world becoming a textual community. What specifically does the research indicate about the role of visual art magazines, admittedly limited historical cases, in the context of Canadian communications and culture.

The Historical Account

The historical account of the four magazines from their origins to 1988 reveal a tremendous amount of industriousness and commitment. The great number of articles and the greater number of reviews referred to or involved several hundred artists, critics and curators. Roles are not defined as many artists for example, were both the authors and subjects of reviews. This is especially evident in Parachute, Vanguard and C. On the basis of sheer numbers it is no wonder that the magazines collectively establish and reinforce connections among a range of individuals and organizations. Nevertheless, there is a crucial constant and this is the uninterrupted engagement of a limited number of editors. Founding editor Chantal Pontbriand remains the Directrice of Parachute. Russell Keziere has a ten year association with

Vanguard, beginning with his contributions as freelancer in the late 1970's. At the time the interviews for this study were done Rick Rhodes had been editor of C for four years and would remain until late 1990. Susan Walker was editor of Canadian Art from its inception in 1984 until the fall of 1988 when she was succeeded by Jocelyn Laurence, the present editor.

The longevity suggests the considerable time that must be expended for a magazine to develop and adequately situate itself but it also suggests how much of a single-minded occupation, if not preoccupation being an editor is. All the editors had support staff and in the cases of Parachute and Vanguard, the managing editors have also played long-standing and crucial administrative roles. Yet it is ultimately the editors who give the magazines direction, who structure and seek out much of the content. Fulfilling the role of gatekeepers of knowledge and information they are becoming more like than their counterparts in the print and electronic media.

The strategies pursued, adopted or that were emergent become especially revealing as they emanate from editorships of considerable length relative to the life cycle of most "little magazines" and similar cultural vehicles. It is instructive to review the types of strategies that evolved to try and ascertain if there is any direct linkage over time to some of the overall developments of the Canadian visual art world presented in this study. Recalling the historical account, did Vanguard's regional editors program, for example, have any bearing on the formation of

the art world as a textual community? The following table will serve as a reacquaintance with the types of strategies. The time span considered begins with Parachute's appearance in 1975. This is because Vanguard's predecessor the Vancouver Art Gallery Bulletin (1972-78) was predominantly a house organ and not a magazine in the strategic sense as Vanguard and the other publications under study.

	1975-79	1979-84	1984-88
	Strategy	Strategy	Strategy
Parachute	Entrepreneurial	Entrepreneurial	Entrepreneurial
Vanguard	N.A.	Entrepreneurial	Entrepreneurial/ Umbrella
C	-	-	Consensus
Canadian Art	-	-	Consensus

Parachute's consistency of style and action is obvious. As the historical account indicates, deliberate and precise intentions applied to all interests of the magazine, including theoretical issues, multidisciplinary concerns and the promotion of certain artists. What was initially an alternative publication is now a mainstream mechanism which strategically situates itself at the crossroads of North American and European contemporary art. The tenure of the editor surely provides the magazine with stability and an identity. As a result there is a predictability as to the treatment and advocacy of issues and artists. It is not so much that Parachute reflects the visual art world but that it presents the community with its brand of standards and preferences. This does not prevent the magazine from accommodating several views nor does it appear that there are restrictions about what artists and exhibitions can be reviewed. Yet there is also ample room for attention to the Montreal-based artists that the magazine has constantly favoured and promoted.

As a result of Parachute's duration, there has also been time sufficient time for a common discourse to emerge. This was not a

deliberate strategy but an unintended consequence that is tied to the magazine's ongoing commitments and posture. It can be argued that a discourse takes much longer to develop and permeate. But fifteen years is a considerable length of time relative to the staying power of trends, issues and styles that descend upon or are generated by the art world. The magazine's temporal significance also does not contradict its spatial biases which have been described through frequent reference to the work of Innis and others. It is the magazine's life span that facilitated the visual art world emergence as a textual community.

Parachute in particular also transformed some of the terrain in which it is situated by extending its parameters. Long before it became the norm for most individuals and organizations in the visual arts community, Parachute was preoccupied with contemporary art internationally. There can be no denying that this early embrace contributed to the cross-disciplinarity and textual developments that ensued, perhaps because it distinguished itself from other coverage. It is only when the exceptional began translating into the norm, when, to recall Said (1983), "travelling theory" was having an increasing impact in many organizational fields, including academe, that Parachute's interest became more of a standard and less a form of advocacy. It is evident that Parachute played a strategic role in the art world. Its longevity and actions have been projected onto the community that was and is its subject of articulation.

However, as noted in the historical account, no publication

has complete authority. In the case of Vanguard its credibility and substance are located in its commitment to diverse coverage. Even in its early years when it was still under the aegis of the Vancouver Art Gallery, there was a conscious attempt to include historical essays, theoretical pieces, lead articles about individual artists, policy considerations and reviews of solo and group exhibitions. With the advent of the regional editors program the balance increased to include geographical representation with respect to both content and contributors. This commitment is demonstrated in the shift from an entrepreneurial to an umbrella strategy. In effect, Vanguard is the quintessential Canadian publication as it tries to accommodate a whole range of interests and concerns. It is reactive and attendantly becomes a site for the manufacture and dissemination of the "new" discourse. The regional commitment ensures that readers or writers are not confined to major cultural centres, such as Montreal and Toronto. As editor Russell Keziere explains:

> Strategy is not to accept anybody else's criteria, is not to impose any previous ideologies and not to stop anyone from looking under any kind of rock (p. 6).

By contrast C never strove for any particular balance and it does not seem to have any strong commitments, other than a willingness to include more artists' projects and other visual material. This consensual strategy is suited to the development of the new discourse to the point of that the two seem synonymous. If Parachute, to recall McGregor, has the "look" of a postmodern publication, C increasingly is the magazine whose language closely

approximates the postmodern ethos. As for Canadian Art, its relative outsider status prevents it from reaching deeply into the art world. Still, there are cases of seepage. Even with its conventional journalistic bent, Canadian Art, can not withstand the community's discourse. As magazine issues reveal, this occurs especially when Toronto-based work is under consideration, including some by the very artists who had castigated the magazine when it first appeared. The works because of their preoccupation with the language often elicit an equally thick response. It may well be that the incorporation of the discourse by Canadian Art confirms the status, but not necessarily the acceptance, of a language in what is for the most part foreign territory.

Rhetorical Considerations:

The strategies of the four magazines indicate each made significant contributions to the emergence of a discourse which now gives shape and substance to the visual art world as a textual community. This development also marks a change in the experience and interpretation of visual art work which goes beyond the tenets of postmodernism and other contemporary "strategies" such as deconstruction. As pointed out in the historical account of Parachute, art is read and read about given how it is increasingly surrounded by, if not some cases superimposed with or immersed in the printed word. Understanding visual art through magazines and other publications also takes the place of experiencing work directly. This is not a new practice given earlier periodicals,

newspaper reviews, other written accounts as well as visual histories in book form. Magazines also function purely as informational vehicles enabling readers to keep track of exhibitions and other events. There is also the discipline of art history. In most cases, it must depend almost entirely on slides of work and printed media for pedagogical and scholarly purposes rather than actual art pieces.

What separates the prevailing discourse from these existing forms and uses is that art works can be something even less than reproductions or descriptive accounts. They can become mummified because of the extent and density of the discourse. Thus, what the study terms the common language of coverage has another implication. It also has the potential of covering up works. To take the discourse to an extreme, it has the potential of functioning as a large and thick cover wide enough to be placed over the terrain of the art world. Such coverage only provides access to art works to those who are conversant in the vocabulary and syntax.

The cohesiveness and orthodoxy afforded by this kind of literacy is consistent with a finding by Niezen (1991). He questions the long held premise that literacy contributes to the growth of knowledge by presenting two cases which suggest that literacy is a restricting mechanism. In Musilm Africa, for example, he notes that widespread literacy "does not lead to criticism or the revision of basic religious tenets" (p.252). "The orthodoxy of the book" seems to account for the preservation of old

Islamic traditions (p. 252).

Attendantly, the parameters imposed by coverage help to demarcate the visual art world as a textual community. There are constraints, such as a set of codes and conventions, which to recall Marvin (1988) are a means to "define and locate" the community. These include several rhetorical features, the most significant being tone, diction and narrative design and which the study has considered. They are by no means exclusive to the discourse of concern to this study. As Carrier (1987) claims:

> Artwriting is always a form of rhetoric, so the real distinction is not between suasive plain accounts, but between more and less successful exercises in rhetoric (p. 129).

The discourse under consideration is successful despite its seeming inaccessibility as far as a wider audience is concerned. This is because, as noted above, it has given the art community its form and substance. For many, this development when applied to individual works represents the converse, if not the rejection, of the modernist aesthetic in the visual arts and thus falls again under the rubric which has been termed postmodernism. Consider, for example, the dense passages found in chapter four in contrast to Clement Greenberg's attempt <u>through</u> language to capture the essence of abstract works, to "excavate their form" (Kuspit, 1988). The former stands for a work whereas the latter stands beside the work as an annunciation of it. This does not result in one discourse having any less authority for as Wolfe (1976) and others have pointed out Greenberg's translucent reviews became as influential as the art works he privileged.

Where the difference lies is in a profound functional change. The increased reliance on the "word" as a form for articulation and power has made language an instrument of security with artists, curators, and critics trying to cover more aesthetic and theoretical bases in the form of printed and written text. The art world seems to have bought into the comforts afforded by a common discourse. As the study shows, this is a binding process with institutional side-effects as the art world has become more academic while also becoming a subject of increasing interest to the academy. Before examining some of the consequences of these changes, it is necessary to provide other examples of academic affiliation in addition to what is expressed in and through the discourse.

Network Factors:

The description of networks acknowledge academic sites. More specifically, there are examples of organizational shifts and links in the form of university appointments, disciplinary changes and scholarly interests. Consider the following developments. A former Director of the Canada Council, is now President of the Ontario College of Art while a former assistant head of Visual Art at the Canada Council is the Directrice of the Department of Visual Art, University of Ottawa. The Winnipeg Art Gallery and the University of Manitoba have established a cross-appointment in modern Canadian art. As well, many curators are also treating contemporary art more academically. This is evidenced in

contributions to magazines and in the language and concerns of exhibitions and their catalogues. It is not that the contemporary art world and the academy have never had relations what with the interests of some art history departments and artists holding teaching positions. Magazines and journals have also long served as a meeting place. In Canada's case, this practice goes back to the days of the first Canadian Art and artscanada. What is significant is the degree and formalization of relations as indicated by some of the concrete examples above.

As for the academy's interest in the art world, the formalization is equally evident with art work increasingly becoming of interest to many disciplines and fields. This has come about in part because of the emergence of interdisciplinary areas, such as cultural studies, whose concern with contemporary cultural forms often coincides with interests in the visual arts. There are also an increasing number of conferences and professional associations which demonstrate an academic interest in art. For example, there is an annual conference on the "Role of The Liberal Arts in the Education of Artists" which began in 1989 and the "Conference on Social Theory, Politics and the Arts" which is in its 16th year. The impetus for the latter conference was the lack of interest by major professional associations such as the American Sociological Association which has since instituted a division on the sociology of art and culture.

All of these developments are no doubt recasting the art world and thus contributing further to the blurring of genres and the

absence of fixed boundaries to recall Geertz (1983 and 1986). The network has become wider and more dense with many fields, interests and organizations overlapping. Yet throughout this study a claim has been that the Canadian visual art world has become a textual community, that is an identifiable "place", primarily as a consequence of the reliance on print as a vehicle of legitimacy and communication. The emergence of a common language of coverage seen to have completed the process with art works primarily accessible to those conversant with the discourse. Despite intermingling specific structural and discursive features prevail.

This is not a contradiction but the presence of a vital tension that exists between the art world and a larger network of associations. The art world is not hermetically sealed but this does not prevent it from engaging in discursive practices that demarcate and or define its interests. In this respect it functions like other communities, such as the academy, inserting and asserting itself within a larger network through the appropriation and generation of knowledge. Increasingly, these activities both address and are situated within wider arenas. As Ross (1986) suggests:

> The struggle to win popular respect and consent for authority is endlessly being waged, and most of it takes place in the realm of what we recognize as popular culture (p.3).

It is all so slippery causing many commentators, such as Geertz 1983) to refer to the "intellectual poaching" that can sometimes occur. As a result, the art world is a textual community of its own design, given the play of <u>its</u> organizations such as magazines,

funding agencies and galleries. But the context for interaction is increasingly complex making for much instability, challenge and restlessness that is both liberating and disabling.

The Consequences of Community:

The study now turns to the consequences of the visual art world becoming a textual community. First, the liberating aspects are to be found in the medium of print. This form of communication may have facilitated the emergence, if not the enforcement, of a common discourse. But there are also cases in which authority of the printed word is bound up with artistic digression, experimentation and dissent, especially at this particular point in time. Freedom of expression is being challenged more frequently in Canada and the United States as government bodies and special interest groups attempt to use the law and other written policy to legislate taste and ban what is considered immoral and obscene art. The response by the great majority of the visual arts community is to interpret the legal texts differently in the hope of preventing a dreaded censorship. As the study indicates, many art works bear the mark of a community taken up with text and this also has liberating qualities. There are many pieces which are as "overtextualized" as the dense theoretical tracts and reviews that inform them. They should not be ceremoniously dismissed because of their apparent remoteness. Yet the works which are most significant are those which are especially accessible and inventive. Many take their inspiration from language and then turn

the tables on the power of words, breathing new life into the endless pursuit of meaning. For example, consider the work of Jenny Holzer who has placed statements on electronic billboards and on marble tombs and benches in darkly-lit gallery installations. As Willinsky (1991) explains:

> Holzer's texts may seem, at first, to be like fish out of water. But soon we realize that they cause us to take stock of the language environment that we have been swimming in. Her insinuating messages of social commentary - "PROTECT ME FROM WHAT I WANT" - turn up in contexts that we have learned to read as if they couldn't mean, anything, really, and now clearly do at a number of levels.... The appropriation of literacy is in the name of art's exploration of meaning and representation. It occurs at the very point where language is losing any hope of the free and dangerous play of meaning, in public (p. 18).

Willinsky's claim about this use of text within the art world suggests that a conventional notion of literacy is no longer adequate or appropriate in tackling art or other forms of expression. Holzer's work is indicative of new attempts at articulation, although they partake of the "word", a traditional and authoritative form of communication. As Willinsky goes on to point out, these works are thus capable of transcending the boundaries of the art world. They have implications for the teaching and learning of reading and writing as they point to other possibilities of expression.

Still, the liberating features of the visual art world are checked by several potentially disabling consequences. First, as the study indicates, language has become an instrument of security

with artists and curators, for example, using it to communicate authoritatively, to protect the territory called the art world. There is nothing inherently disabling about this "strategy", to invoke a term often found in the discourse. There are many understandable objectives, including the advancement, if not promotion of particular art works or ideas. But a false sense of security may also prevail to the extent that print is assumed to be totally satisfactory as a vehicle for explanation and expression.

In Plato's Phaedrus, there is a claim that writing is the act of forgetting while speaking is the act of remembering (1968, p. 184). Once something is written down it becomes storage, as Giddens (1986) noted, but it is capable of being mechanically retrieved and circulated. It is also a confirmation that the writer is in the possession of knowledge and by extension power. Thus, the writer is less compelled to remember, to communicate directly, to think on his her feet, or to engage in the delights and challenges of oral discourse. Writing, and its forms of consignment, such as printed text, allow for the act, if not the practice, of forgetting. This may be an especially limiting enterprise when critically attending to visual art. There may be a need to talk as much as there is a desire to write and read.

The importance of speaking and listening can not be overemphasized especially since writing and reading embody seeing, the most dominant form of communication. As deCertet graphically explains:

> From TV to newspapers, from advertising to all sorts of mercantile epiphanies, our society

> is characterized by a cancerous growth of vision, measuring everything by its ability to show or be shown and transmuting communication into a visual journey. It is a sort of epic (his italics) of the eye and the impulse to read (1988, p. xxi).

These observations are consistent with critiques of "visualism" which are increasingly prominent in the humanities and social sciences. Paradoxically, as attested by the art world and this very study, writing and reading are also expanding.

Still the critiques are wide reaching, amounting to what is now generally referred to as the crisis of representation. For example, Rorty calls into question what has been the major premise of philosophy since the 17th century, which is that the "mind is a mirror that reflects reality and that knowledge is concerned with the accuracy of these reflections" (1979, passim). More specifically, Carey (1982) indicates how vision is a principal metaphor for communication studies. The dominance of visualism is perhaps best summarized by Clifford (1986). Referring to Ong (1967, 1977), Clifford explains its general consequences and by extension the specific impact for anthropology, his field of inquiry.

> Ong, among others has studied ways in which the senses are hierarchically ordered in different cultures and epochs. He argues that the truth of vision in Western, literate cultures has predominated over the evidences of sound and interlocution, of touch, smell, and taste..... The predominant metaphors in anthropological research have been participant-observation, data collection and cultural description, all of which presuppose a standpoint outside - looking at, objectifying, or somewhat closer, "reading", a given reality (p. 11).

Some critiques also contain recommendations for alternative communicational practices. They support the suggestion made above that there is a greater need for talk within the visual art world. For example, McGregor (1989) concludes her analysis of Parachute, Vanguard and other postmodern texts by insisting that "in order to avoid deconstrution itself "post" discourse has to entail some kind of dialogue" (p. 168). But it is perhaps Rorty, who in his desire for a "philosophy without mirrors", makes a recommendation that is most appropriate for many disciplines and communities. As he suggests:

> we have to understand speech not only as not the externalising of inner representations, but not as representations at all (1979, p.371).

For Rorty, one of the ways to accomplish this goal is to engage in what he calls "edifying philosophy" which seeks to encourage the continuing of conversation rather than the discovering of truth (p. 373). Rorty draws inspiration from several thinkers whom he considers "edifying philosophers", such as Wittgenstein and Dewey. As he points out they did not found new schools of thought or discourse the concepts and vocabularies of which came to characterize a whole community. Rather, the edifying philosophers are "intentionally peripheral" (p. 369).

As Rorty continues,

> they dread the thought that their vocabularies should ever be institutionalized, or that their writing might be seen as commensurable with tradition (p. 369).

Rorty's aim suggests how the art world might wrestle with some of

the disabling consequences of becoming a textual community. It offers an approach to talking and to writing that is an alternative to the systematic and authoritative discourse which increasingly prevails.

However, Rorty's prescription points to other disabling and perhaps unintended situations. Once a structure of domination is in place, such as a discourse and its adherents, it is difficult to accept the importance of other organizational relationships except those that are consistent with existing models. For example, it is significant that since the advent of C in 1984, which itself grew out of an existing publication, there have been few attempts to start new magazines. The halcyon period seems to have passed. A new magazine will reaffirm the power of the text but also have the possibility of generating new relationships or reworking old ties, of "continuing the conversation", to use Rorty's words.

This is not to suggest that stagnation completely prevails, for as noted above, there is experimentation and dissent. There is room for what Williams calls an "emergent culture, that is, "new meanings and values, new practices and relationships which are continuously being created" (1977, p. 23). But Williams cautions that it is often very difficult to distinguish between what is actually a new phase of the dominant and something that is truly a departure from the existing order in the sense of being alternative or oppositional. As with any dense network, such as the visual art world, the formation of an alternative becomes an especially complex and challenging matter given the range and frequency of

contacts. It is further complicated by "travelling theory", to recall Said.

The attention to several disabling consequences is not meant to paint a bleak picture of the art world, to use a visual metaphor. For many, the present organizational and discursive realities are not gloomy but inevitable. The visual art world is confronting the consequences of its rapid development from a small, intimate community both in numbers and locations to one which is institutionally bound and inscribed as well as becoming increasingly professionalised. A more specific consequence of these transformations, as noted earlier, is the emergence of curators and editors as gatekeepers of knowledge.

It is not so much that they have been assigned this responsibility. Rather the explosion and subsequent ordering of knowledge is bound up with their powers of adjudication as they choose artists, exhibitions themes and what to write about. Artists, critics and dealers have always made decisions about what work to value and publicize. But because the art world was small and intimate, selection and dissemination was usually direct. Today, critics, editors and others who assume gatekeeping roles, have become intermediaries, brokers of a sort, as they traffic in works, and texts while deriving their power from a network of associations.

Fortunately, this critical role is not going unnoticed as curators, writers and editors have begun to acknowledge, if not question, their sensitive and strategic positions. For example, in

the fall of 1990 the Dia Art Foundation sponsored conferences in New York and London on "The Politics of Images: Issues in the Presentation of Contemporary Art". There was a similar but smaller seminar held at York University in Toronto in the winter of 1991. The evaluations are also beginning to extend to considerations of actual writing as evidenced by a 1988 instalment of Artviews, a publication of the Ontario Arts Council and a piece on the difficulties of reading art criticism in a 1990 edition of the Vancouver Review.

The emergence of gatekeeping is another indication that the visual art world has become a textual community. In this respect the community joins other arenas of communication, such as the academy and the popular media, where screening and agenda setting, much of which is accomplished in and through written documents, have been commonplace activities. As with other textual developments, there are liberating and disabling aspects. There is the possibility of adverse concentrations of power with a very select number of gatekeepers controlling the agenda. Yet the willingness to question the relations of power shows an awareness of the complexities of responding to the many individuals, groups and organizations competing for attention, especially those who are part of an emergent culture. Having examined several consequences of the art world becoming a textual community, the next and final chapter of the thesis considers how the research contributes to the study of communications and culture.

CHAPTER 6

Coming In From The Edges:

A study of four exemplary Canadian art magazines has been undertaken with the intent of examining their relationship to the world they inform and in which they are situated. What has been analyzed and documented is the formation of a textual community and an attendant network of ties implicating or involving many individuals and organizations. As noted in the introductory chapter, the study was conducted at the edges of the art world and communications studies, where as Weick notes "some of the best clues to context occur, areas where one situation grades into another" (1985, p. 610). The analysis drew upon theories of communication, literature from the sociology of culture, art history, as well as organizational and management studies.

The forms of investigation were also varied. They included: an historical account of the magazines, a study of their rhetorical features and a description of several networks which prevail in the Canadian visual art world. Inevitably, there is a point when the observer must come in from the edges and take the findings to the centre of the subject under study and to the discipline that has been the major impetus for the investigation. The previous chapter examined some of the consequences of the art world becoming a textual community. This final chapter brings the research face to face with some issues raised by the study of communication and culture.

First, the analysis of magazines confirms the value of multidisciplinary study as outlined in the introductory chapter, especially in reference to a claim advanced by Halloran (1983).

> The plural approach signifies a recognition of the complexity of the situation in which we pursue our values, manifest our concerns and search for change by using what each of us regards as the most appropriate methods available (p. 274).

Halloran is calling for the use of multiple resources if a topic or subject is to receive sufficient and thoughtful consideration. The present study incorporated several disciplines and methods. There were also cases when it was advantageous to draw on areas and conceptions which were seemingly unrelated. This occurred, for example, with the importation of concerns from art history and management studies. It seems that communication studies which is itself an amalgam of disciplines and methods can not help but continue to encourage eclecticism. However, this creates for the field, as was the case for the art world, some restlessness and instability. Communication studies is subject to and dependent on a constructive infusion of ideas but also many fleeting intellectual fashions. Still, and with the art world as well, there is a positive, generative side which this study hopefully confirms.

Implications for the Study of Popular Culture

More specifically, the research, with its focus on magazines and with communication studies serving as the major disciplinary guide, contributes to debates about the study of popular culture.

To pursue this claim it is first necessary to identify certain academic parameters by referring extensively to a recent essay by Schudson (1987). During the past two decades communications studies has been a major hub for the study of popular culture given its emphasis on mass media, such as television and the press. More recently, there has been an increase in the forms of popular culture receiving attention. As Schudson points out what was once a study confined to "readable objects, written and visual material where there are available traditions of interpretation and criticism" has become a greater arena of investigation.

> .....the range of what is considered readable has expanded vastly: now spatial arrangements, household objects, advertisements, food and drink, dress, and youth cultural styles are all parts of the readable cultural systems. The special task of interpretation, for many years left to the humanities, has become a more general subject to which anthropology, sociolinguistics and psychoanalysis have contributed creating a new convergence of the humanities and social sciences (p. 52).

Schudson suggests the burgeoning interest has come to include the study of the production of cultural objects, the content of the objects themselves and the reception of the objects by various individuals and groups (p. 52). These activities provide sufficient "validation" to give popular culture a legitimate standing in academia. However, he claims that this development is double-edged especially with respect to the "identity" of the university. On one hand he notes that there is "a lot of justifiable excitement" with barriers to the halls of academe being breached by cultural objects which have never before seen the insides of a classroom"

(p. 64). Accordingly, for Schudson, "the celebration of popular culture and popular audiences in the universities has been a political act" (p. 66).

On the other hand, he contends that the new valuation also amounts to an "indiscriminately sentimental view of popular culture" (p. 51) which does not take sufficient account of related embedded conditions. As a result he makes the following recommendation.

> The challenge is not to deny a place of judgement and valuation but to identify the institutional, national, class, race and gender-biased set deep in past judgments and to make them available for critical reassessment. The new validation of popular culture should not lead higher education to abandon its job of helping students to be critical and playful readers, helping to deepen and refine in them a capacity for significant response (p. 66).

Schudson realizes that in questioning the study and celebration of popular culture he is caught up in the university as a "moral educator" (p.66). As he describes it, he is standing between

> sentimentality on one side - would be populists waving the banner of people culture and piety on the other - ardent champions of a traditional curriculum wailing at the decline of literacy, values, morals, the university and their student's to write (or even recognize) a good English sentence (p. 67).

It is hard to avoid the dilemmas posed by Schudson as one grapples with the meaning of contemporary culture within the context of the academy, itself a cultural institution. Joining the populists or the traditionalists affords a certain comfort as each is clear about what it thinks culture and the university are, or

more to the point, what they should be. But opting for either side will not permit sufficient consideration or appreciation of the ambiguities, tensions and consequences which characterize cultural forms and practices, popular and otherwise. This is not to imply that there are no studies which address these factors. What is being recommended is a greater emphasis which takes a particular interest in cultural connections and identification. Of concern, for example, are situations when and where so called "high" art, such as painting, and popular culture converge giving meaning and shape to a whole range of associations and activities.

Consider, for instance, the present study. Recalling Schudson's challenge it addressed several institutional formations and in doing so pointed to many instances of convergence which bear further examination. To illustrate, the contemporary visual art world remains relatively exclusive given its size and the work produced is not especially popular, in the sense of having a wide and diverse audience. Yet the theoretical, creative and critical preoccupations with forms of popular culture are extensive. Consider, for example, the work of the art group General Idea, which includes File magazine, a take off on the publication Life or the depictions of popular media in the recent paintings of Carol Wainio. This "high/lo" phenomenon, as it is now being called by many, extends to exhibitions which trace the interface of fine art and popular culture. These include a huge show in the fall of 1990 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York city which tried to

document the convergence from the late 19th century until present day.

Still, there is great dispute about when and how popular imagery and objects are incorporated into fine art, such as painting. There are claims that the relationships have always existed in some form given the subject matter of realist and religious work in various cultural periods. Moreover, as Gans (1974) and others point out, the designations high and low, fine art and popular, are contestable, given historical preferences for certain art forms and the pejorative connotations associated with low culture. Whatever the issue, much of the incorporation of popular culture within the art world is increasingly wrapped up in written text, the preferred academic medium. In this respect, as the study also shows, the art world is not unlike the university given the premium placed on print. But there is a fundamental difference. For the art world, the convergence of high and popular is at the centre of activity where as in the university it is one small aspect of the academic enterprise, although as Schudson notes the impact is now considerable.

The situations described above are cases of convergence which can generate further study. There are many others requiring attention and they cut both ways. Consider, for example, the popularization of high art as realized in the televised broadcasts of operatic productions. Or what should be made of Donatello, Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael who "are" the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, the current, most favoured film and television

heroes of children? What's more the media are once again instrumental in these cases and also in the visual art world given the strategic significance of the periodicals. Returning to the present study of magazines, further research might proceed along the lines Radway advocates as a consequence of her study of the readers of romance novels.

> If we can detect exactly what it is the readers in a formally recognized group share, and how this common fund of knowledge affects what they "do" with printed texts, we may be able to ask certain questions of apparently unconnected individuals that will also reveal the particular ways in which they behave with printed texts and, therefore how they are literate (1991 p. 469).

The examples above pertain to cultural connections which invite researchers to go beyond examining how media fulfil certain informational requirements to also ask "why media matter" (Tuchman, p. 331).

The Study of Organizations

Moving from the implications of the research for the study of popular culture, there is a focus on its contribution to analyzing organizational phenomena. These pertain to the subunit known as organizational communication and to a wider sociology of organizations and culture. First, the magazines under study are small organizations, "simple structures" to recall Mintzberg (1976). They also exist within a community that is rather exclusive despite changing borders and various kinds of interactions. Thus their size, interests and relative autonomy

suggest that they are of no significant analytic consequence for organizational theorizing which is devoted to the study of large, complex organizations. But as Weick (1974) argued there is need to study micro-organizations as well as "everyday events, places and questions" (p. 487). He contends that it is possible to extrapolate from close-up situations theories about interaction which may apply to the activities of large and complex entities. As it happens, Weick's example is taken from the art world. He reveals what a rehearsal by jazz musicians tell about the complexities of interruption as individual musicians go over and over their parts and what consequences this had for the ensemble performance. Weick uses these observations to comment on the interruptions faced by managers as they attempt to carry out specific actions, possibly involving many individuals.

The magazines, or more accurately, the organizations that produce them also invite speculation especially when their connections to artists, curators and other organizations are taken into account. The common langauge of coverage that prevails becomes especially relevant because it permits reflection about the purpose and formation of rhetoric as a vehicle for communication and legitimation. To illustrate, complex organizations may accommodate many discourses. There is the general language and lore of management and labour as well as more specialized vocabularies that are a function of a specific division or field such as marketing or engineering. As with the art world,

communication is an exercise in both interpersonal connections and translation.

In addition to the micro phenomena noted, there are also organizational changes which give surprising currency to ecological and cyclical theories about the diffusion of knowledge. As the thesis demonstrates, diffusion in the art world occurs through ties among many individuals and organizations but the more such relationships persist, the less diffusion there is and a homogenization of interests takes effect. Today, the expansion and diversity of knowledge seems increasingly checked by several organizational constraints. Some order is necessary to ensure a synthesis of ideas before another profusion can take place. The point here is not to offer a definitive conclusion about the form which the flow and organization of knowledge takes. Evidence drawn from the art world only further suggests that the communication of ideas is regulated by complex patterns of influence which include media selection and several organizational formations.

The findings also call attention again to the specific role of curators and editors as gatekeepers of knowledge and taste. These intermediaries or brokers are central to the diffusion process in its pervasive and selective phases. As noted in chapter five, gatekeeping is already being addressed within the art world. This evaluation can be enhanced by a comparative analysis which extends to other areas of public life, including other art worlds. Any examination though will have to take notice of a profound intellectual transformation described by Jacoby (1987). He argues

that, unlike previous generations there are presently few "public intellectuals, writers and thinkers who address a general and educated audience" (p. 5). Jacoby attributes this development principally to "the restructuring of cities, the passing of a Bohemian culture and the expansion of the university" (p. 5). His observations are not in conflict with an earlier reference to Ross (1986) who claims that intellectuals compete in the wider realm of popular culture if their ideas are to have any authority. This space is not Jacoby's lost public arena. He is concerned with the "vitality of a public culture" in which there is direct engagement with ideas through small enclaves as well as vehicles such as little magazines and not primarily through monolithic organizations, such as the university, or mediations, such as popular culture.

Critics, curators, editors and artists used to primarily reside in the public arena as Jacoby describes it as opposed to the their present positions which are tied to institutions such as the academy. What inevitably comes with the new territory among other things is gatekeeping, a strategic activity already existent in the political arena, private business, science and in the mainstream media. There is a literature about gatekeeping which spans communication studies, sociology as well as other social sciences. A recent study by Horowitz (1986) on scholarly communication is exemplary and raises issues, about technological developments and publishing procedures that are of increasing relevance to the visual art world especially given its recent institutional and

discursive incarnation. Horowitz has many insights but one is particularly germane for a study of art periodicals that is drawing to a close.

Horowitz notes that social science publications have considerable impact which goes beyond informing a relatively small professional constituency. This is perhaps one of the last traces of the vital public culture which Jacoby laments, although he might question just how accessible these publications are. Yet as Horowitz explains:

> .....scholarly communications are filtering devices by means of which elites transmit important findings and opinions to the masses. In turn, the mass media challenge such elite publications to improve formats, modernize typefaces, and simplify language in presenting ideas, thereby providing a constant spur to scholarly publications to look alive, to sharpen up, to have a better kind of presentation of self, and perhaps to reach wider audiences (p. 203).

It appears that the visual art world, at least in Canada, has not reached this stage of publishing judging from most of its periodicals. It may well be that for such a community to retain an identity it must have vehicles of and for communication which can clearly remain its own. The social science community has its equivalents which are sustained by existing within the university. For the art world then, this may become one of the enabling consequences of its growing academicization. However, Horowitz's observations are a challenge to the art world, especially its gatekeepers, to also engage in writing that is somewhere between journalism and scholarship. This is achievable by adopting the

former's concern with brevity without compromising the latter's regard for thoroughness.

The reference to mediators and mediation returns consideration once again to the publications themselves. It is an appropriate conclusion for this is where the study began with textual materials called magazines. Theories, studies, critiques and recommendations come and go but the forms which accommodate them remain by their sheer physical presence. They may be subject to alteration, change or a new purpose given Horowitz's view. After all, Innis (1972, 1973) suggests that the bias of a medium is eventually checked if not replaced or supplanted by other media, including new forms of communication. Consider the euphoria in the 1960's and 1970's over the communicational potential and possibilities of television and video. This was combined with an insistence that print was obsolete. The response may have been to the long-standing authority of the printed and written word and attendant social and political organizations. Today, if the visual art world is any indication print is getting its revenge and then some.

Appendix I

A Postscript

The time frame for this study of the magazines was 16 years, beginning in 1972 with the publication of the Vancouver Art Gallery Bulletin and ending in 1988 when the interviews with the editors were conducted. Since 1988, there have been several kinds of changes which should be noted. They do not alter the claims made but reenforce the conclusions. First and foremost, in 1989 Vanguard abruptly ceased publication apparently because of financial woes. There was discussion about starting another publication in Vancouver but so far nothing has materialized. As Vanguard was the most pan-Canadian publication. Its demise has left a void, the result being less diversity with respect to issues and artists covered.

In 1990, Rick Rhodes resigned as the editor of C magazine to become a curator at the Power Plant Gallery in Toronto. This appointment only confirms the significance of connections among a network of individuals and organizations. Rhodes has been replaced by Joyce Mason who had been serving as Associate Editor. Her former involvement in the art world has been primarily in film and video and this includes a brief stint as an officer in the Canada Council's Media Arts section.

In the wake of Vanguard's closure no doubt C's support from the Canada Council has increased substantially. This is also the

case for other Toronto-based publications including Fuse and Impulse. Other publications receiving increased support are Bordercrossings and Arts Atlantic, two regionally-based periodicals. As for Canadian Art it remains under the editorship of Jocelyn Laurence but it is no longer receiving an annual grant from the Aid to Periodicals program. However, a non-profit foundation was recently set up to operate the magazine. This will enable Maclean Hunter and Key Publishing to continue supporting the publication if they so wish and also make the magazine eligible for government grants.

Parachute under Directrice Chantal Pontbriand maintains a formidable presence. It has become smaller and has more advertising but it is keeping its postmodern look. (McGregor, 1989). It continues to enjoy Canada Council support in excess of $100,000 while Vie Des Arts, the major all French publication also receives approximately $100,000 per year. William Wood, formerly of C and Vanguard has become a contributing editor at Parachute but the masthead also indicates that there is no longer a Conseil de Redaction.

As for other significant personnel changes, in 1990 Luc Jutras left his position as Officer in charge of the Aid to Periodicals program at the Canada Council after serving for over ten years. It is not known at this time whether the change in staffing will result in any change in the program's policies.

As for the establishment of new publications, they are almost non-existent. One attempt is Harbour, which thus far has received

support from the Canada Council's special projects fund. The lack of initiatives may be tied to financial exigencies which have affected the entire art community during this current recession. It may also be a signal that as a textual community the visual art world has reached a saturation point in some of the ways that it places a premium on text. In the future there may be a further shift in institutional arrangements with the academy playing a more critical and hospitable role and a renewed emphasis on other communications media.

APPENDIX II

A Note on Methodology

This study of magazines entailed the collection of various kinds of data, in addition to the information found in the periodicals themselves. What follows is a description of the observations and sources.

First, the historical accounts of C, Canadian Art and Vanguard were facilitated by interviews with editors and other personnel as well as extended visits to the offices of the three magazines. Excerpts cited within the study are noted by references to the pages of the transcripts. In early 1988, I spent a morning at C magazine which at the time operated out of one room in an industrial building in downtown Toronto. The space was spartan, a few desks, an apple computer system, telephone and other basic office furniture. The interview with editor Rick Rhodes took two hours. It was frequently interrupted by telephone calls which the editor took, thus confirming the degree to which the operation of the magazine is primarily a one-person undertaking.

In early 1988, I also conducted on site observations at Canadian Art. At the time it was housed in cramped quarters at Key Publishers, one of its parent publishers. Nevertheless, I was given a desk for the three days I spent at the magazine. During this time I conducted two lengthy interviews with recently appointed editor Jocelyn Laurence. There were also conversations

with associate editor Sarah Milroy, publisher Laurie Vernon, secretarial staff and previous publisher Lucia Stephenson. During the visit much of the staff discussions centered around the upcoming issue which was editor Laurence's first. After the visit, I had a three hour interview with Susan Walker, the previous editor at her office at the Toronto Star where she was the paper's book editor.

In August 1988 I spent nearly five days at the office of Vanguard. It was located in a comfortable space in Vancouver's gaslight district. The editors and other staff were very accommodating and seemed genuinely interested in the study. I saw several issues at various stages of production. This included watching the computer typesetting of the upcoming issue and listening to discussions about the contents of future issues. Other tasks observed included the processing of subscriptions. One afternoon was spent with managing editor Janice Whitehead visiting several private galleries in Vancouver to solicit advertising.

During the time spent at the office, the editor Russell Keziere was readily available. Upon arrival he gave me the magazine's financial records, its large file of grant applications and other pertinent information, such as the act of incorporation as well as circulation and subscription figures. The editor and I also had a three hour interview which focused on the evolution of the magazine as well as its present circumstances. I also had a two hour interview with William Wood, who had recently become the associate editor.

As noted in the study, the editor of Parachute did not permit an interview or an on site observation. As for other recorded discussions, in 1988 I had a two hour interview with Luc Jutras, then officer of the Canada Council's Aid To Periodicals Program.

As for other documents, the supplements to the Canada Council Annual Reports were of assistance in describing the networks of individuals and organizations. The documents list all the grant recipients for a given year as well as the juries for the various programs and competitions.

APPENDIX III

CANADA COUNCIL

PROGRAMME OF SUPPORT TO PERIODICALS, 1959-1987

Periodical grant holders and corresponding amounts according to disciplines for the fiscal periods identified.

	1957-58	1962-63	1967-68	1972-73	1977-78	1980-81	1986-87
Literature							
No. of periodicals	-	4	7	19	32	35	55
$ Amount granted	-	13,000	31,200	111,000	265,410	333,700	573,210
Performing Arts							
No. of periodicals	-	-	1	4	10	10	11
$ Amount granted	-	-	10,000	48,000	78,300	100,663	200,500
Visual Arts							
No. of periodicals	2	2	2	10	14	16	18
$ Amount granted	34,500	24,000	25,500	205,500	522,500	482,500	634,350
Interdisciplinary							
No. of periodicals	-	-	-	4	9	8	17
$ Amount granted	-	-	-	51,500	199,100	130,000	222,000
Children's							
No. of periodicals	-	-	-	-	3	5	5
$ Amount granted	-	-	-	-	26,000	81,000	90,000

	1957-58	1962-63	1967-68	1972-73	1977-78	1980-81	1986-87
TOTAL - English language periodicals	1	4	6	24	53	50	65
TOTAL - $ Amount granted	30,000	23,000	31,200	294,600	773,510	701,510	1,110,900
TOTAL - French language periodicals	1	2	4	14	15	25	41
TOTAL - $ Amount granted	4,500	14,000	35,500	181,000	307,800	429,700	710,150
GRAND TOTAL - Periodicals	2	6	10	38	68	75	106
GRAND TOTAL - $ Amount granted	34,500	37,000	66,700	475,600	1,081,310	1,130,513	1,821,050

Note: Periodicals in the Social Sciences and Humanities are not included in this table.

Source: Luc Jutras, "The Canada Council's Programme of Support to Periodicals," CPPA Newsletter, April 1982 and data supplied by the Writing and Publishing section, Canada Council: 1986.

Appendix IV

Canada Council Grants to Periodicals

1975-1988

	Canadian	Parachute	Vanguard	Impressions/ C	
75-76	-	-	-	-	
76-77		20,000	-	(9,500)	
77-78		30,000	3,000	-	
78-79		36,000	3,000	(9,500)	
79-80		48,000	3,000	(9,500)	
80-81		50,000	3,000	-	
81-82		70,000	20,000	(12,000)	
82-83		143,750	40,000	-	
83-84		86,000	52,800	18,000*	
84-85	35,000	92,000	70,000	26,000	
85-86	35,000	92,000	75,000	33,000	
86-87	35,000	97,000	85,000	50,000	
87-88	35,000	106,000	92,000	68,000	

Note: Impressions was succeeded by C. The bracketed figures apply to the former, the remaining figures to the latter.

Canada Council Grants to Periodicals (continued)

1975-1988

	arts canada	Arts Manitoba/ Border Crossings	Impulse	Vie des Arts	Fuse	Arts Atlantic
75-76	160,000	-	5,850	92,000	-	-
76-77	180,000		6,400	101,600	-	-
77-78	200,000		7,700	110,000	-	-
78-79	160,000		10,000	110,000	-	-
79-80	144,000		8,000	110,000	-	5,000
80-81	130,000		20,000	120,000	33,950	10,000
81-82	-		15,000	120,000	35,000	12,500
82-83	-	(20,000)	25,000	120,000	75,000	19,500
83-84	-	(22,000)	35,000	120,000	48,000	19,000
84-85	-	(28,000)	45,000	120,000	48,000	20,000
85-86	-	30,000	45,000	120,000	50,000	20,000
86-87	-	30,000	45,000	145,000	50,000	22,000
87-88	-	32,000	45,000	120,000	53,000	22,000

Note: Arts Manitoba was succeeded by BorderCrossings. The bracketed figures apply to the former, the remaining figures to the latter.

APPENDIX V

Editorial: 1st issue of Parachute, 1975 (p.48)

EDITORIAL

What do we know of contemporary art outside of Quebec, in Canada or abroad? Do we even know what contemporary art exists in Montreal . . . How does information about art circulate? The only publications considered of value in Canada at present are concerned with the "world" of art in general. We are occasionaly given the privilege of reading a few articles on art-in-the-making, but always in terms of the so-called contradiction between classical art and modern art. Any experimental work, any avant-garde art then, seems to be off the rails rather than a development of contemporary ideology or a continuation of the historical pattern of which we are a part.

We hope to offer to the reader a magazine preoccupied with the tendencies specific to the times within an historical perspective that will enable PARACHUTE to look at those who have made history and whose work remains important to-day. It is possible to publish a contemporary art magazine, without joining the 'modernist' camp which perpetuates as much prejudice, partisanship and snobism as adversaries. Information about art must be placed not only within its own historical frame of reference but the political, social and economic context must also be taken into account. We want to achieve an interdisciplinary and international exchange which will break down the cultural barriers and find an antithesis to regionalism. More and more, cultural catching-up and dependance on others is fading away. It now remains to learn to function within cultural patterns which are in a state of change exploring at the same time the ways of the past and the new ideological, scientific and technological realities. To inform means not only to describe objectively the different directions of contemporary art but to permit the participation of artists, critics and administrators in our pages, giving them total freedom to express their views on problems relative to contemporary art. PARACHUTE wishes to become the instrument which will examine art-in-the-making as it takes root in terrain filled with ambiguity. It would be difficult to attempt to find a basis for our artistic development were we to limit ourselves solely to the history of art in this country. This problem is compounded by the fact that art here depends more on politics than of its economic viability. Because of this, information about art becomes an essential part of our national prestige rather than a critical analysis of a developing society. We must avoid falling into lyrical and esthetical criticism or forgetting the context out of which flows all creative energy. At the same time, we must beware of the avant-garde utopians who pretend to have the solution to any problem without taking into account the complexity of the world today.

We live at the crossroads of cultures and civilisations in mutation. It is therefore a mistake to wall ourselves off from the world and its multitude of new ideas and even forgotten ones which reappear and lead us to the process of reconsideration, critical judgment, new alternatives.

Editorial: 1st Issue of Vanguard as an independent publication,

VANGUARD EDITORIAL

A magazine devoted to art and criticism is, surely, an oddity in a culture which seems to have an endless appetite for short-lived television series and two-week hit songs. Our visual world is shaped by a kaleidoscope of consumable styles, a kind of "Capitalist Realism" written in the language of advertising. Like the language of ideology in Soviet "Socialist Realism", it is found everywhere. Art — at its best — resists this maelstrom of persuasion through a non-violent and personal insistence.

An art magazine should be similarly respectful and humble. When I think of Vanguard's life these past six years I am reminded of the anecdote of a postman in the Northwest Territories who had served one town for so many years that he became part of their families, a kind of roving baby-sitter and part-time uncle. When the head office decided to transfer him to a new route, the families who were his clients protested so vigorously that he was allowed to remain.

Vanguard has been delivering the mail to the Canadian art world for six years now: monthly publication of reviews and articles by established and new Canadian critics, from all parts of the country. We are now heading, through the proverbial hail, snow, and sleet, into our seventh year of publication. The satisfaction and privilege of producing Vanguard has grown beyond any of our expectations because of the support and response from our readers.

One of the things Vanguard has learned over the years is that if it wants to serve the entire country, it cannot homogenize Canadian art. That's why Vanguard readers are asked to give equal, but critical, attention to a print shop in St John's, a video collective in Montreal, a commercial gallery in Toronto, a ceramist in Saskatoon, a sculptor in Edmonton and a photographer in Vancouver.

Vanguard's editorial policy reflects this spirit. The magazine is edited and translated by a network of Regional Editors who work and live with the artists and critics of their respective provinces. Putting together each issue of Vanguard has all the complications of hosting a First Ministers Conference (without the entertainment allowances!). The end result, however, is different. Finding out what is shared and what is unique in the many diverse art communities across the country is the real reward of the magazine.

The folly of thinking that art has a universal value which can be stamped on anything like some kind of abstract cookie cutter is now clear. And Canadians know, better than most peoples, the effects which centralised or imported standards can have on self-perceptions. That is why Vanguard seeks to enhance the awareness, enjoyment and understanding of visual culture by working through the specifically Canadian experience of art.

Our readers will notice that we have shifted publishers and have moved out of the Vancouver Art Gallery. We will miss our friends there a great deal and are grateful for the support they have shown us now and over the years. (We were treated to a most generous farewell celebration — an "office shower" that included, among the desk lamps, staplers, scotch tape dispensers and non-repro pens, a stack of fifty new subscription orders!)

Vanguard's independence has, more than anything, renewed its commitment. There are risks involved, but these are secondary to the many issues which need to be discussed and the many more artists who deserve our critical attention.

Russell Keziere
Editor
Vanguard

From The Editor: 1st Issue of C magazine, Winter 1983-84

This is the first of what we hope will be many issues of C Magazine. In this first one we've tried to create something new for a Canadian art publication. The idea was to show a partnership between art and criticism, to give room for original art to live alongside interpretive art writing. Hence a critical/visual art magazine, a magazine where the independence and inter-connection of art and criticism is made real, a magazine where readers can see for themselves the qualities in the art that the criticism is seeking to expand on, a magazine where the fact of the original art work is never lost sight of.

It's in keeping with this that C makes room for artist projects in concert with the reproduction of the art mentioned in the various essays and reviews. These artist projects are central to the idea of the magazine, and central too in recognizing our roots. C is a revamped and re-named Impressions Magazine and it was Impressions under the editorship of Isaac Applebaum that in recent years gave readers a sample of what a visual-based art magazine could be. C wants to build on that base. We want to be a magazine of both the eye and the mind.

Richard Rhodes

Appendix VI

A Sample of Magazine Articles by Subject 1979-88*

Magazine	Time	Subject: Theory	Individual Work/Exhibitions	Group	History	Policy
Parachute	1979-86	24	24	14	8	0
Vanguard	1981-88	16	28	27	12	4
C	1985-87	2	18	6	4	0
Canadian Art	1985-88	0	10	3	5	2
Total:		42	80	50	29	14

* This a random selection of issues and therefore does not represent the total number of articles during the stated time frames.

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